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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOLOGY

**LINGUISTIC PERSUASIVE MEANS IN THE SPEECHES OF
AMERICAN BUSINESS LEADERS**

MA Final Thesis in English and Another Foreign (German / French) Language and Business
Communication

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**LINGVISTINĖS ĮTAIGOS PRIEMONĖS AMERIKOS
VERSLO LYDERIŲ KALBOSE**

Baigiamasis Anglų ir kitos užsienio (vokiečių k. / prancūzų k.) kalbos ir verslo
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SUMMARY

Čiročkina, M. Linguistic Persuasive Means in the Speeches of American Business Leaders. MA Final Thesis in *English and Another Foreign (German / French) Language and Business Communication*. Academic advisor lect. dr. Raimonda Mikašauskienė, Klaipėda University: Klaipėda, 2020 – 90 p.

Keywords: business speeches, persuasion, disposition, elocution, rhetorical devices.

Theme relevance. Persuasion is an integral part of business communication. Though, in spite of the abundance of materials published and presented by various authors, it has been noted that the analysis of business rhetoric in the majority of studies was carried out being mostly focused on written genres, and that the knowledge about the ways linguistic means of persuasion are used in spoken business discourse is still limited. Moreover, the existing study of business discourse is basically based on the analysis of metaphors used by the speakers in their texts, while other persuasive resources of style are usually not paid enough attention. Accordingly, taking into account that a speech that is presented to the audience and understood as the ability to address others and to define problems and their solutions is the dominant medium of persuasion in human societies, the analysis of the oral speeches delivered by various business leaders is of great importance. **The aim of the research** is to reveal and analyse linguistic means of persuasion in the speeches delivered by American business leaders. **Research object:** structural arrangement (disposition) and stylistic devices (elocution) in the spoken discourse of American business leaders. **Research revealed** that persons related to the world of entrepreneurship tend to arrange the parts of their oral discourse on the basis of the five-part system, each having its specific persuasive impact, and use various literary devices to provide vividness to the speech, grasp the attention of the audience, give emphasis to their statements, convince the listeners to accept the expressed point of view, and thus allow themselves to be persuaded.

SANTRAUKA

Čiročkina, M. Lingvistinės įtaigos priemonės Amerikos verslo lyderių kalbose. *Anglų ir kita užsienio (vokiečių k. / prancūzų k.) kalba ir verslo komunikacija* studijų programos baigiamasis magistro darbas. Darbo vadovė: lekt. dr. Raimonda Mikašauskienė, Klaipėdos Universitetas: Klaipėda, 2020– 90 p.

Raktiniai žodžiai: verslo kalbos, įtaiga, dispozicija, elokucija, meninės raiškos priemonės.

Temos aktualumas. Įtikinimas – tai neatsiejama verslo komunikacijos dalis. Buvo pastebėta, kad nepaisant daugybės įvairių autorių paskelbtų verslo retorikai skirtų darbų, dėmesys juose daugiausia skiriamas rašytiniams žanrams, o lingvistinės įtikinimo priemonės, naudojamos šnekamojoje verslo kalboje, iki šiol nėra išsamiai ištirtos. Be to, esami verslo diskurso tyrimai yra grindžiami kalbėtojų tekstuose naudojamų metaforų analize, tačiau kitoms įtikinimo priemonėms nėra skirtas pakankamas dėmesys. Atsižvelgiant į tai, kad auditorijai pristatoma kalba, suvokiama kaip kalbėtojo gebėjimas kreiptis į kitus, apibrėžti problemas ir jų sprendimo būdus, yra visuomenėje dominuojanti įtikinimo priemonė, įvairių verslo lyderių šnekamosios kalbos tyrimai turi didelę svarbą. **Tyrimo tikslas** yra atskleisti ir išanalizuoti kalbines įtikinimo priemones Amerikos verslo lyderių kalbose. **Tyrimo objektas:** struktūrinė kompozicija (dispozicija) ir stilistinės priemonės (elokucija) Amerikos verslo lyderių kalbose. **Tyrimas parodė,** kad asmenys, susiję su verslo pasauliu, linkę struktūruoti savo šnekamąjį diskursą, remdamiesi penkių dalių, turinčių skirtingą įtaigos poveikį, sistema, naudojasi įvairiomis literatūrinėmis priemonėmis, siekdami suteikti kalbai ryškumo, pritraukti auditorijos dėmesį, įtikinti klausytoją priimti išreikštą nuomonę ir tokiu būdu leisti save įtikinti.

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, there is scarcely any person in the world who is not in any kind related to the world of business. Some people have or start their own businesses and are competing with others to stay or get on the top, while others are on the other side of the wall and participate as employees or customers. Indeed, according to Herrera-Soler and White, business is “currently the leading academic discipline in the Universities and Colleges of many countries” (2012: 2), where highly intelligent and exceptionally bright professors teach business concepts, theories and models, and provide a solid foundational understanding of the principles and strategies of business that are necessary in today’s growing and constantly changing marketplace. Nevertheless, among many other important subjects related to the study of entrepreneurship, business communication plays a crucial role and can be considered the most valuable skill. It is not enough to only have knowledge to become a wealthy and successful businessman; the world of business requires a person to be acquainted with the art of speaking and persuasiveness and be able to clearly and purposefully express one’s thoughts and ideas

Effective business communication undoubtedly helps employers and management reach organizational goals and gain profit. Accordingly, many famous and well-known business leaders, who have managed to get on the list of “Forbes”¹ frequently deliver speeches and are invited to different events to speak about relevant issues. Business leaders share their experiences, speak about their practices, recall about the circumstances that influenced them to act, and tell the stories of their success. Seemingly unrelated bits of information that are presented by the persons related to the world of business are actually well thought-out measures to produce a certain effect on the audience. Undoubtedly, proper and careful use of language, as well as wise choice of words and phrases can have an enormous effect on people, their minds, values and behaviour, can influence them to buy a certain product or use certain services, change their opinion about certain things or phenomenon, as well as persuade them to do what one wants, thus achieving some personal goals.

Literary survey. Rhetoric is one of the oldest surviving systematic disciplines in the world, whose original insights and techniques remain largely valid today. Though, despite the many years of its existence, modern scholars and authors still encounter many difficulties even in the simple attempt to try and define it. Lucaites, J. L., Condit, C. M., Caudill, S. claim that rhetoric is an “artistic undertaking which concerns itself with the how, the when, and the what of expression and understands the why of purpose” (1999: 26). Given the following definition, there are almost no chances of perceiving its intended meaning. Robert and Susan Cockcroft state that in a more broad sense, rhetoric could be defined

¹ An American business magazine that features original articles on finance, industry, investing, and marketing topics, and is well known for its lists and rankings. Internet access: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forbes>

as the “arts of discourse” or to be more precise, the “art of persuasive discourse” that refers to both spoken and written language (2005: 3). In this point of view, it becomes unclear whether rhetoric should be solely related to persuasion and applied to all genres in the same way. Definitions offered by Ancient Greek and Roman rhetoricians are more extensive and nuanced, thus providing some understanding of the concept. Plato, for example, defined rhetoric as the “art of winning the soul by discourse”, Aristotle claimed it to be the “faculty of discovering in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion”, Quintilian saw it as a “good man speaking well” (Kirsch, 2014: 2). The above mentioned definitions allow to suggest that rhetoric is actually an art of presenting one’s ideas and thoughts in such a way that would have the ability to influence other people on any subject of matter.

Despite the fact that nowadays rhetoric is “enjoying a critical revival” by continuing its political functions and developing “new variants in the media explosion of the twenty-first century” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 6), Ibrahim, Z., Kassabgy, N., and Aydelott, S. note that today, besides the struggles related to its definition, the study and analysis of rhetoric is associated with two more problems. The first problem that one encounters while getting acquainted with the materials on the art of discourse, is that rhetorics of the world actually differ in the purposes for which they exist. Chinese rhetoric, for example, acknowledges “an organic universe” and exists for “maintaining social harmony”. The rhetoric of various African societies, it is claimed, “values expression as action and perforce involve the participation of the entire audience in the rhetorical act”. (2000: 94). American rhetoric is actually similar to that described by Cicero in a sense that it does “reflect the actualities of public life”, but in our times, oratory has actually become “the most important tool of public decision making and a means of personal advancement” (Benson, 1989: 2). Douglas Ehninger, an American rhetorical scholar and a consummate modernist rhetorician, who has developed the rhetorical systems approach and actually dedicated his life to the study of rhetoric, claimed that American rhetoric is “that discipline which studies all of the ways in which men may influence each other's thinking and behavior through the strategic use of symbols” (Collins, 1991: 2).

The second problem that is related to the study of rhetoric is one’s point of view towards it. Businesspersons are forced to search for more sophisticated ways of convincing and persuading the audience to change their minds and/or behave in a certain way, where the correct and wise choice of words or phrases does greatly influence the audience: by presenting convincing speeches orators make people change their opinions, accept one’s point of view, and induce them to do or act in a certain way, even if from the very beginning those to be influenced were critically committed and determined not to become amenable. It is not surprising, therefore, that rhetoric of the present, as well as in the ancient

times has faced many challenges and its true value and reputation was regularly put at doubt. Depending on the occasion when a rhetorical speech was to be delivered, not only was it considered to be a manipulative tool, but also “grandiloquence”, i.e. using “high-sounding but ‘empty’ language” (Partington, Taylor, 2018: 5). Indeed, Toye also notes that people often negatively reacted to rhetoric and saw it as being a “synonym for shallow, deceptive language – the opposite of substance” (2013: 113). When delivering their speeches in courts or to public, for example, by logically organizing the structure of the speech and using effective means of language, skilful orators managed to convince the jury or listeners that even the most cogent arguments or facts could have been viewed from another angle and called into question. According to S. Kirsch, even today, “beyond and within academic circles” the word rhetoric tends to evoke negative feelings and “narrow connotations”, such as “spin, deceit, empty words” (2014: 1).

Nevertheless, rhetoric has managed to stand up the test of time and is mostly regarded as an important skill and knowledge of persuasion that was and is related to “controlling spoken communication, rendering it effective, memorable and even repeatable for other occasions” (Martin, 2014: 15). In order to create a truly convincing written or oral discourse and fully reveal the persuasive power of rhetoric, it is necessary for an orator to understand its main principles and models that are central to the organizational structure of a speech. Nowadays, there is much discussion about who precisely and how the five canons of rhetoric, namely *Inventio*, *Dispositio*, *Elocutio*, *Pronuntiatio*, and *Memoria*, were developed. Some authors are certain that all the credit should go to M. T. Cicero (106 – 43 BC), a Roman statesman, who is thought to have created the most complete treatise on the rhetorical canons (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) with their in-depth explanation (Cockcroft & Cockcroft; Getchell, K. M., Lentz, P. J.), while others note that by the time that Cicero was a student of rhetoric, the system of rhetorical education in Rome was already established and the rhetorical canons “were firmly recognized as an important part of the pedagogical tradition” (Phillips, 2014: 711) and accordingly, it is Aristotle (384-322 BC), a Greek philosopher, who should be considered their father (Ibrahim, Z., Kassabgy, N., Aydelott, S.).

There is still one thing that the majority of scholars and authors note: the five canons of rhetoric were designed and are to be seen as a single system to help “an orator to develop an effective rhetorical act” (Phillips, 2014: 711) and prepare in advance “a strategy to achieve successful persuasion” (Martin, 2014: 51). Yet, once again, given the following attitude, a considerable amount of discord can be seen, as some authors, began to “truncate the five canons from five to three” so that invention, arrangement, and style “repeatedly colonize” and “eradicate” the other two (Getchell, Lentz, 2019), while others dedicate the whole book to the analysis of those so-called colonized ones (Reynolds).

Being aware that each canon influences the others and “without giving consideration to all, the rest would be ineffective” (Phillips, 2014: 711), as well as the fact that elements of persuasion are present in all of five, the author of the following thesis paper agrees with Troyan that textual composition should be mostly relied on “the verbal adornment that fashions each form (*elocutio*) and the overall structural relationship among the various forms within any particular composition (*dispositio*)” (Troyan, 2004: 68). Moreover, given the theme of the Master’s Thesis, from a linguistic point of view, only two of the five canons of rhetoric, namely *Dispositio* and *Elocutio*, are believed to be the most significant and be given all the attention for the successful analysis of the topic.

Nowadays, the canon of arrangement of a written or oral discourse (*dispositio*) is the reason of dispute between scholars and authors, as there is still no clear agreement as to how many parts a text had to/should have. According to Eyman, Quintilian, who was a Roman educator and rhetorician, divided the oration into five parts, while Aristotle recommended only four (2015: 68). Kirsch, agreeing with Eyman, also indicates that Aristotle recommended a four-part arrangement, i.e. introduction, statement of facts, proofs, and conclusions (2014: 46). Burke, on the other hand, claims that Aristotle thought that there were only two parts to a speech, when a speaker first needs to “state the case, and then prove it”, while introduction and conclusion were considered to be something that does not even need to be mentioned (2014: 23). Then, an argument is also present on the issue whether the classical concept of arrangement focused on the seven parts of an oration, i.e. on introduction, narration, exposition, proposition, confirmation, confutation, and conclusion (Eyman, 2015: 68) or the famous model “stipulates that there are six distinct parts to a speech or piece of written discourse”, i.e. introduction, background (or narration), brief list of arguments (or division/partition), arguments in favour (confirmation), counter arguments (confutation), and conclusion (Burke, 2014: 23). Toye is also in favour that a classical speech had to be comprised of six parts and they are somehow similar to those of Burke’s, but not completely the same. The author is certain that instead of a “brief list of arguments indicated by Burke, there should be “an outline of the structure of the speech” itself” (2013: 116). Martin and Ibrahim, Kassabgy, and Aydelott share the same opinion that the canon of arrangement and the varied parts of the speech were divided as follows: introduction, statement of fact, confirmation or proof through arguments, refutation of opposing arguments through counterarguments, and conclusion (Ibrahim, Kassabgy, Aydelott, 2000: 99; Martin, 2014: 66).

For the Romans, style, or *Elocutio*, was a system for producing and thereafter performing persuasive acts of discourse (Burke, 2014: 24). Style and the language of entrepreneurship has actually received considerable attention in the recent years. Vasiloaia, Gaisoa, and Vergara note that business discourse

is being constantly analysed to show the way rhetorical devices may be used to “suppress uncertainty and give the impression that what is presented is unassailable fact” (2011: 232). Accordingly, there is no doubt that the level of persuasion of an oral or written piece depends upon the effective language choices. In the book *Rhetorical Style: The Uses of Language in Persuasion*, Jeanne Fahnestock emphasizes that the treatments of style and its analysis used in the rhetorical tradition embraced various methods, including “commenting on principles of word choice and figures of substitution (tropes) before moving on to sentence forms and schemes, matters of managing rhetor/audience interactions, and issues involving the composition of longer passages” (2011: 14). Indeed, even today speakers and orators are profusely applying various figurative language tools in their discourse and, as a matter of fact, are highly conscious of doing so, as every linguistic device can help convince one’s audience and achieve a certain purpose. However, the analysis of discourse, especially business one, is basically based on the analysis of metaphors used by the speakers in their texts, while other persuasive resources of style are usually not taken into account.

Kheovichai claims that “metaphor is a crucial tool to develop theories in economics and communicate ideas and business phenomena to the public” (2015: 94), Herrera-Soler and White state that “metaphors are not only used to provide a better understanding of complex concepts but are decisive in showing attitudes and in engineering persuasion” (2012: 13), and Dalalau refers to metaphors as being “basic to human cognition” and thus “salient in the way we speak and talk about the world” (2009: 1195). The following may be understood, as metaphors have been an important issue for many centuries. It has been the focus of study, analysis, research and theory, and as is noted in *The Rhetoric Canon*, metaphor “lies at the very centre of Aristotle’s history of style, which in its commitment to clarity or perspicuity, aims above all the appropriate combination of familiar (or literal) and unfamiliar (or figurative) elements” (Schildgen, 1997: 137-138). Though, Aristotle also dealt with such phenomena as “clarity, amplitude, propriety, rhythm, and syntax” (Burke, 2014: 24) that by many modern authors are left without proper awareness. Moreover, a speaker to deliver a speech should keep in mind that depending on the audience and type of event, metaphors might not always be a successful tool of persuasion as they can be “misinterpreted, misunderstood or have no actual informative visual account if not enough of information is provided” (Djafarova, 2017: 42). Thus, before delivering, or even inventing a speech, an orator must not be fixated on metaphors only, but observe other ways of convincing an audience by paying enough attention to other rhetorical and linguistic tools.

Finally, in spite of the abundance of materials published and presented by various authors, in his article *Metaphor in Business English* Baramée Kheovichai notices that the analysis of business rhetoric

in the majority of studies was carried out being mostly focused on written genres, i.e. “research articles, mission statements, textbooks, economic reports, CEO letters, meetings and business training” (2015: 115) and that the knowledge about the ways linguistic means of persuasion are “used in spoken business discourse is still limited” (2015: 116). Accordingly, taking into account that James Martin claims that a speech that is presented to the audience and understood as the “ability to address others and to define problems and their solutions”, is the dominant medium of persuasion in human societies. (2014: 1), the analysis of the oral speeches delivered by various business leaders is of great importance.

Motivational basis. The motivation of the thesis has been based on two volitions. First of all, when having in mind the industry of business, financial wealth of companies or even countries and people’s future are at stake; thus, business leaders have to be demanding and characterized by careful consideration and thought, behave in a particular way, and adhere to the strict norms of delivering a speech. As a matter of fact, the speech itself should be pre-planned, impersonal, objective, whereas the language of the speeches should be concise and tightly focused around the topic of concern. It seems logical and suggested by commons sense that business language should be clear and certain, free of ambiguity and figurativeness, as much precise as possible, and preferably mathematical, whereas, as noted by many scholars and linguists, figures of speech and rhetorics in general had a twofold reputation and did exactly the opposite: they were used to present something in “a better light” and at the same time conceal something else. Accordingly, the motivational basis of the work has been related to the interest how business leaders manage to combine literalness and figurativeness in order not only to present key concepts and ideas, but also grasp the attention of people of different age groups, races and cultures, convince and persuade them to behave in a certain way or change their attitudes or opinions.

Moreover, taking into account B. Kheovichai’s remarks concerning the fact that business rhetoric was mostly analysed in written discourse, the second motivation of the present thesis paper is to provide some insights into rhetorical devices and linguistic means of persuasion used in the oral speeches delivered by business leaders. The author of the paper believes that maybe in future the following findings and discoveries might be used for a more thorough analysis of business rhetoric.

The aim of the research is to reveal and analyse linguistic means of persuasion in the speeches delivered by American business leaders.

In order to achieve the aim of the research, the following **tasks** have been set:

1. To collect and analyse empirical material;
2. To identify linguistic means of persuasion in the speeches of American business leaders;

3. To examine features of rhetorical disposition: determine main components of the rhetorical composition;

4. To analyse rhetorical elocution: reveal most characteristic rhetorical devices and how they become a tool of persuasion and influence the success of a spoken discourse.

Research object. Structural arrangement (disposition) and stylistic devices (elocution) in the spoken speeches presented by American business leaders.

Research materials. 50 speeches by American business leaders delivered on various occasions in the period of 1981-2019 have been chosen and analysed in the practical part of the paper. It is assumed that a wider range of data under investigation will provide a more thorough understanding of the linguistic means of persuasion in the business discourse. Speeches chosen for the thesis paper have been delivered by business leaders, who have been included in the list of the most respectable persons in America, are thought to be influential in the world of entrepreneurship, and who managed to stand out and not only make a fortune, but also a difference in business.

For the achievement of the purpose of the paper, the following **research methods** have been chosen. Empirical method has been applied to gather information on the topic of the thesis paper. Descriptive-analytical method has been used to approach the study of rhetoric and persuasion, present and describe relevant theoretical insights into their history and main principles. Comparative method has been used to collate the obtained information and make a distinction between the postulated ideas. The practical part of the paper was prepared by employing methods of rhetorical analysis, analysis of content, and method of conceptual metaphor. Finally, quantitative method was applied to determine and indicate the number of cases when a particular rhetorical device was used in the speeches of business leaders.

Structure of the work. The thesis is comprised of an introduction, three main parts and conclusions. Introduction presents the general information about the work: it indicates the object and aim of the research, provides information concerning the tasks set for the achievement of the aim, describes research materials and methods used. The first part of the research deals with information on the history of rhetoric and persuasion, on the five canons of rhetoric, and on three kinds of persuasive appeals, namely *Ethos*, *Pathos*, and *Logos*, originally developed by Aristotle. In the second part of the thesis, an analysis of rhetorical disposition and structural arrangement of speeches is presented. It explores the compositional arrangement of speeches given by various American business leaders, reveals the main and optional structural elements of the spoken discourse, i.e. how speakers arrange and organize their information and what are the main sections of speeches presented. The third part of the thesis analyses rhetorical elocution and style of persuasion and is concerned with the linguistic means and rhetorical devices used for

persuasion, i.e. the stylistic and linguistic means of persuasion applied in the speeches of businesspersons are examined. In the Conclusions, the most important points and results of the research are presented and highlighted. Appendices containing the transcriptions of texts of the speeches delivered by American business leaders can be found at the end of the paper.

1. RHETORIC, BUSINESS AND PERSUASION

Napoleon Hill, an American author, lecturer, and a man who is thought of being the one who decoded the secret message of what it takes to become extremely wealthy, once said: “Think twice before you speak, because your words and influence will plant the seed of either success or failure in the mind of another”². People use words everyday as a means of communication. Words can be used to express one’s feeling or emotions, to cheer someone up and be the reason someone smiles. On the other hand, words can also serve as a powerful tool to hurt or even destroy someone, cut and pierce someone like a knife. Words are weapons and in this respect it is not without a reason that rhetoric is considered to be “a loaded gun” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 2). Accordingly, to be able to “make a point shot right in the bulls’-eye”, one should be well aware of the structure of a gun and its main principles of functioning and operating.

1.1. Defining Rhetoric and Persuasion

The way we speak, think, influence and convince people today to achieve a certain aim should be beholden to the insights into rhetoric and elements of persuasion developed by ancient rhetoricians and scholars. Rhetoric has its roots in the cultures of Rome and Greece as an acknowledged system of persuasive techniques that appeared in the second half of the fifth century BCE. One of the earliest definitions and descriptions of rhetoric were provided by Aristotle, who claimed that: *Rhetoric may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion. This is not a function of any other art. Every other art can instruct or persuade about its own particular subject-matter [...]. But rhetoric we look upon as the power of observing the means of persuasion on almost any subject presented to us* (Aristotle, 2010: 6-7). Given the following definition, it becomes clear that rhetoric and persuasion were greatly interrelated, as to possess the power of rhetoric actually meant to possess a skill, an ability to convince other people to accept one’s point of view or course of action, regardless of the subject matter one had in mind.

Rhetoric was defined by its wide range of applications and its adaptability to the new subject areas as they appeared and begun to develop, it was considered an “art with universal application” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 10). Nevertheless, despite its versatility, from the very start, rhetoric was thought to be surrounded by an “unfortunate, musty aura” and have a mixed and a twofold reputation (Martin, 2014: 2). One on hand, it was associated with power and prestige and was seen as an effective tool to convince one’s audience and reach a particular aim, but on the other, it had another sense and was considered to be a “knack of disguising falsehood or ignorance as plausible truth” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 6).

² Internet access: https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/napoleon_hill_393807

In ancient time rhetoric was associated with a discourse that was primarily oriented towards deception, superficiality and even manipulation, where all kinds of techniques and tricks were used to direct a particular audience precisely in the direction planned by the speaker or orator and make them come to believe and accept certain things.

In *Rhetoric*, Aristotle classified the elements of rhetorical instruction and distinguished three ‘genres’ of rhetoric, according to which distinct types of persuasion that would serve three specific functions in specific contexts, were developed and applied. Depending on the occasion, audience and the general orientation towards action, persuasion was: *deliberative* or political, *forensic* or legal, and *display* or ceremonial. Depending on the aim of the speech, all forms of persuasion, as assumed by Aristotle, fell into at least one of these categories.

Epideictic speeches were defined by Aristotle as a type of rhetoric that is focused on admiration or blame, or as has been stated in *Rhetoric*, on “praise and censure” and that was used to speak about and proclaim present situations. What is important to notice is Aristotle’s understanding of praise. Praise, according to the ancient scholar, is the “expression in words of the eminence of a man’s good qualities” and one’s actions should be evaluated precisely due to one’s qualities; thus, even if a person has not actually performed any actions worth to be approved, the person will be praised based on the people’s opinion that he is the sort of man who could have done something good (Aristotle, 2010: 35)

The oratory of praise or blame was typically employed at funerals, festivals, or other occasions that were organized to unite the audience to engender a commitment to commonly accepted values. The mode of discourse of the *display* speeches emphasized the noble or shameful, as well as other forms and aspects that were related to the following two features; in other words, the good sides of people, who did not think about oneself or act selflessly, but were associated with the forms of virtue, such as “justice, courage, temperance, magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, gentleness, prudence, wisdom” (Aristotle, 2010: 32), and the bad sides, the “wrong-doing” of people that included things or actions of which “men feel ashamed, for men are ashamed of saying, doing, or intending to do shameful things” (Aristotle, 2010: 33).

The main function of this type of speeches was to praise an individual for one’s honorable deeds and actions that he or she intentionally performed not for one’s own, but for the sake of the society and other people. Indeed, T. Penner notices that epideictic discourse not only focuses on deeds and characters for one’s own advantage, but “on the way in which deeds and characters are exemplary” (2004: 234). *Display* speeches were considered to be an example for other people, as how they should behave or speak to be thought of being worthy of honor, good words and praise. The structure of a display speech had to be

light and varied, and as a rule, continuous, but intermittent. According to Aristotle, the introductory part of the following persuasive speeches actually had to resemble a musical prelude, where “flute-players play first some brilliant passage they know well and then fit it on to the opening notes of the piece itself” (Aristotle, 2010: 154). The orator had to begin with something that one liked and felt confident about and then “strike up his theme and lead into it” (ibid.)

The second type of persuasion was related to law and advocacy and aimed to establish justice or injustice of an action that has taken place in the past. According to J. A. Kennedy, in the early lawcourts, men involved in litigation or accused of a crime were normally expected to speak on their own behalf and if, for any reason, a man could not speak for himself, a relative or friend could speak for him (Kennedy, 1999: 20). Moreover, living in the society dominated by men, women were also represented in court by male relatives. The whole procedure assumed that an ordinary person was competent to prosecute or defend a case, but a man with no previous experience in public speaking usually found it difficult to address a large jury and explain the case clearly and convincingly. Ordinary people presented their stories and recollection of events in a simple manner and did not possess the power of words, and it is not surprising therefore, that they were usually found guilty, even if they were actually innocent. Accordingly, the following laid the foundation for the business of training and providing an unskilled speaker with some guidelines about how to prepare and deliver a speech, using simple techniques and methods for effective presentation and argumentation for a fee. Moreover, the business of speechwriting occurred, when it became possible for the people accused of crimes to buy speeches from speechwriters or those who were able to convince by words. The person accused had to simply memorize the speech, though it is obvious that such speeches were not delivered from one’s heart, but for the sake of being exculpated.

When advocacy was legalized as a profession and people were granted the right to represent the accused ones in courts, one of the main goals of the orator, who was to deliver a *forensic* speech, was first of all to discover all necessary evidence and other subsidiary information that were directly related to the case in question, i.e. for accusing or defending a person against whom a process in law has been instituted. The orator had to possess an ability to reason, apply logic and organize one’s arguments in a reasonable manner, though notwithstanding the actual status of the case, the lawyer also had to persuade the court or the jury to make a desired decision and take a take an intended action. Accordingly, another no less important goal of the speaker was to develop a speech that would convince the jury and allow themselves to be so much influenced and overwhelmed by feelings and emotions that they would lose a clear vision of the truth and have their judgement obscured. Given the circumstances, *forensic* speeches

also contained some elements of the *display* persuasion, where techniques of presenting things to relate to one's virtues or the opponent's villainy could be brought to public to persuade them.

Deliberative or political rhetoric was the form of persuasion suited to arguments or claims concerning the right course of action in the future. For Aristotle, deliberative rhetoric was the most significant of the three (Partington, Taylor, 2018: 23), as it was related to the future of the whole society or even the whole mankind, and not to separate individuals. In urging one's audience to take or avoid a course of action, the political speaker had to prove and assert that he has set one's heart, mind, and sights on the happiness of the listeners and acts in their interest and for the common good.

Political persuasion involved making judgments in contexts of uncertainty about what to do in the future, and, as claimed by Aristotle, the subjects of political oratory fall under five main heads: (1) ways and means, (2) war and peace, (3) national defence, (4) imports and exports, (5) legislation. (Aristotle, 2010: 14). Therefore, in order for the speaker to deliver a political speech on the following issues, one had to possess knowledge and expertise, an understanding of the matter. If one was to speak about war and peace, for example, and convince the audience to choose the intended way of action, the speaker had to understand the strength of one's own country, how it can be increased, with whom the country was at war before, and what was the result; one should have also been aware of the countries that might declare war and their military power for one's own homeland to be ready to secure and protect its residents. The speaker had to be well aware of the issues related not only to one's own place of living, but also the surroundings. Accordingly, political oratory had very little opening for narration, as "nobody can 'narrate' what has not yet happened" (Aristotle, 2010: 152). Thus, due to the fact that the future can not be foreseen, the best way to persuade the audience was by using examples from the past, recollection of events that would help the audience to understand the possible consequences of their decisions and to make better plans for the future.

Nowadays, rhetoric is enjoying a critical revival, but due to various changes in the modern world, researchers "increasingly recognize the need to extend the historical understanding of rhetoric in a variety of ways" (Lipson, Binkley, 2004: 2). Accordingly, authors and linguists tend to specify Aristotle's definition and believe that rhetoric is no longer a faculty or a skill, but an "inclusive term for a wide range of themes related to communicating, arguing and persuading" (Martin, 2014: 7), "the study of symbols and how they are used to influence" (O'Donnell, 2007: 138), "the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents" (Partington, Taylor, 2018: 4), "techniques which have the effect of making the weaker argument the stronger" (Thompson, 1998: 11). Moreover, compared to ancient times, rhetoric has greatly expanded the scope of its application and in addition to the three

areas it was used (law, politics, public speaking), its relevance to the discussion of social, educational, art, scientific, and many other issues is widely recognized. Business is not an exception. Today people live in an era of mass production, consumption, and competitiveness, where various companies and organizations strive to become the best and put all of their efforts to gain material wealth and prosperity. Therefore, to become the best and the most product-sold or service-provided company, businesspersons understand the need to convince the potential buyers or investments to choose them among others.

In the twenty-first century, when persuasion by threatening violence is strongly prohibited by the law, the only powerful weapon that is left to convince other people is to adhere to rhetoric and the use of persuasive language. Various developments in society have made it crucial that a person knows how to communicate effectively and sell oneself, one's vision, and one's product. As a matter of fact, the ability to use one's language, choose proper words is situated on the same line with specialist knowledge. Indeed, communication is an essential function of business and enterprise, where the ability to use words well and effectively communicate determines the success or failure, collaboration or conflict of or within an organization. Darics and Koller claim that language plays a complex and increasingly prominent role in business and is "fundamental to the way in which our organizations operate internally and compete externally" (2018: 1). On the internal level, rhetoric in business can serve as a motivation for the employees, increase their level of commitment and the speed of their work, which would influence the quality and the amount of products or services provided that would and attract more customers or investments. On the external level, the role of language and rhetorical means for the purpose of persuasion is particularly striking. "Practitioners rely on the linguistic capital of words to shape organization reputations, (re-)position products and services in the marketplace, promote issues and public policy, negotiate and establish community, employee media and customer relations" (Darics, Koller, 2018: 3). It is not surprising, therefore, that many entrepreneurs and organizations search for and invest in specialist services that understand the role and significance of language and employ consultants and branding strategists that focus on coherent tone of voice, consistent style and engaging content. In the business context, proper words and expressions can be actually considered to be an investment and accordingly a profit. Even though the words or phrases expressed are not seen as numbers or figures on financial documents, they still have a great impact, i.e. they might change the behaviour or thinking patterns of the audience.

In conclusion, rhetoric is considered to be one of the oldest disciplines in the world that was able to survive because of its ability to adapt to the changing circumstances of the world, as its features and techniques are still valid and widely used even today. Indeed, in modern times people, and especially

business leaders use language all the time to attempt to influence the beliefs or behaviour of other people and convince them to choose specific products or services, and it is not surprising, therefore, that nowadays rhetoric is still sometimes held synonymous with empty talk and deception. On the other hand, rhetoric, as claimed by R. Toye, is not something that should be treated simply as a “surface phenomenon” and be considered to be good or evil on its own, as it largely depends on the occasion of performing the act of persuasion and mostly on the person and one’s aims of using it. According to the author, “language is a kind of ideological fingerprint”, which clearly reveals the intentions and the nature of its author, even if he or she attempts to hide one’s true feelings, thoughts, plans or desires and it is necessary, therefore, to “see *into* rhetoric rather than *beyond* it” (2013: 114). As a result, in order to understand rhetoric, one needs to be aware of its principles, techniques, and ways of using it for the purpose of persuasion that have been changed in a way to conform to the modern needs.

1.2. Five Canons of Rhetoric: *Inventio*, *Dispositio*, *Elocutio*, *Memoria*, *Pronuntiatio*

Rhetoric is not only an art, but also a science, which is based on certain principles and practices directed towards the creation of persuasive and powerful oral and written communication. Generally called the ‘Five Canons’, the following models of rhetoric are characterized to be “if not the most complete system for the analysis and production of discourse, then certainly the most tenacious” (Ibrahim, Kassabgy, Aydelott, 2000: 93), and consist of five disciplines: *Inventio*, *Dispositio*, *Elocutio*, *Memoria*, *Pronuntiatio*.

The five canons of rhetoric were originally developed as a template for creating and preparing for delivering an effective and persuasive speech, and despite their increases and decreases of importance throughout the history of their existence, they continue to remain highly influential and “facilitate a rhetorical process that enables the rhetor to communicate effectively” (Kirsch, 2014: 4). Nowadays, the following canons are typically considered to constitute an organizational structure, they are thought of being five logical steps or stages that any person, who is to deliver a speech, should go through.

A speaker, just as an inventor or an originator who is to design a solution that would deal with a particular issue or address a certain problem, must design a speech that would meet the needs and desires of a particular audience in a particular situation. Accordingly, the first canon of rhetoric is invention (*Inventio*) or discovery of relevant and important arguments that are to be said on the subject of matter. As a matter of fact, Aristotle considered the first canon to be the most significant stage or part of the process of rhetoric, because, as stated by G. Pullman, “some subjects afforded more precise and reliable forms of persuasion”, i.e. scientific truths that need no assertions to make certain conclusions, but there “were many realms of human decision making where the facts were unknowable” and the only way for the

audience to make a decision was to rely on rhetoric (2013: 110). In other words, the first canon or stage of invention was of great significance as it was closely related to the process of thinking, “assembling the necessary evidence”, finding arguments appropriate to the situation, and organizing the line of reasoning for the speech to be convincing enough for one’s listeners (Toye, 2013: 115). The orator had to put a lot of effort and find the best methods of inducement by applying all possible means to appeal to the listeners’ reason, credibility, and emotions, thus persuading them to accept one’s position or argument.

Whereas *Inventio* refers to the “choices a speaker makes about the issue at hand” in order to effectively convey one’s point of view, the second canon, arrangement (*Dispositio*) refers to the “procedure of the speech, the combination of various structural elements” in a certain order (Martin, 2014: 52). The composition of a written or oral discourse requires the speaker to ponder upon its structure, give careful consideration to the order of material, and organize one’s thoughts and ideas so that they would have the maximum impact on the audience, meet their expectations and, as a result, definitely convince them. Indeed, as indicated by G. Pullman, the arrangement is the most important thing to remember, as the order of arranging arguments in a text “influences how people understand what [the speaker] is saying, what they will remember, and how much they will agree with [one]” (2013: 182).

According to R. Toye, it is important to be conscious of the structural order of one’s discourse, as it is “intimately related to its capacity to persuade” (2013: 116). For example, the author continues and cites Cicero’s words, the purpose of an introduction is to put “the mind of the auditor into a proper condition to receive the rest of the speech, in other words to get the audience’s attention and to start to win them over” (ibid.) The following may include a simple matter of introducing oneself, saying hello, acknowledging the importance of the event where the speech is to be delivered, or even making a joke. A circumspect and a sophisticated introductory part would make one’s listeners feel at ease and subconsciously reach out to the speaker, thus believing and being convinced by one’s statements, whereas the omission of introduction and proceeding to the subject matter, or as Toye puts it, into the “substance of a speech”, might imperil the chance for persuasion and make the audience bored, confused or alienated (ibid).

The canon of arrangement is related not only to the organization of words, sentences, paragraphs and sections, but also making strategic decisions concerning the placement of the organizational elements in such a way that would most likely move a particular audience and allow the speaker “to achieve a particular persuasive end” (Ibrahim, Kassabgy, Aydelott, 2000: 99). Despite the fact that a well-known model of discourse presentation that was very influential during the Renaissance period was the one

described in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which stated that a speech or piece of written discourse is to be created on the basis of a six-part composition plan (Burke, 2014: 23), and it was “a rather rigid formula” or arranging a text (Toye, 2013: 116), nowadays, however, the following structure may be reduced in number or even given different or atypical places in the arrangement of one’s speech. Indeed, modern orators and speakers are given more freedom and thus, depending on the occasion of the speech and the audience, tend to follow a more simple method of arrangement that usually includes an introduction, body, and a conclusion.

When all the necessary material for the discourse has been generated and afterwards arranged, the third canon of rhetoric, style (*Elocutio*) had to be turned to. Style was considered to be a trivial part of a written or oral discourse, “the polish added via editing after the construction is finished” (Pullman, 2013: 182). In ancient times, it was believed that a particular issue to be discussed required a particular style to be used. Roman and Greek orators and writers were to adopt an appropriate high, middle or low style depending on the occasion, matter of the subject and the composition of their audience. According to Burke, the high style was used for “lofty issues” and was said to be “the most effective style to move, delight and produce emotion” in listeners and readers; the low style was the most ordinary speech, used for instruction and teaching and was considered to be a simple “exposition of the facts”; while the middle style, as one might expect, was a combination of the above mentioned ones (Burke, 2014: 24-25). In respect, the choice of rhetorical devices and means depended on the choice of style. The high style was to be well-structured, well-punctuated and generally formal that would combine figurative language and “ornament with complex syntactic structures”; the middle style that was characterized by “wit, urbanity and incisiveness” was associated with “satire and epigram and especially with rhetorical proof and disproof”; finally, due to being straightforward, fast and casual, the text of the low style required little or no ornament at all, and was constructed in simpler forms of lexis and sentence structure, with little or no punctuation and many “run-on sentences” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 161-162).

Nowadays, however, the following categories of high, middle and low style seem “inadequate to describe current variations in spoken and written discourse” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 162). Modern speakers and orators are more open to individual variations and usually tend to use a blend of all or some styles within the same text, as well as the combination of various rhetorical and linguistic devices, believing that it would better present the message and persuade the audience. Moreover, some words and phrases have turned into fixed or phrasal expressions, have become so familiar and threadbare that are constantly used and live independently in everyday talks and conversations and without a more thorough examination are not even considered to be rhetorical figures of speech.

Compared to previous times, the approach to style has changed significantly. There are also modern writers and orators, who claim not to bother themselves and avoid rhetoric, as well as have no interest in style at all, believing that it is the message and ideas that are of a greater importance. Nevertheless, the way people write, speak, argue, and communicate with one another does matter and a simple or straightforward style, or “style-free” approach, is still a style that “reflects and refracts particular points of view, epistemological assumptions, and ways of thinking (Kirsch, 2014: 72) and accordingly may be a sign of the speaker’s “down-to-earth character and commitment to popular values” (Toye, 2013: 117).

The fourth canon of rhetoric, memory (*Memoria*), that is concerned with the process of learning and memorizing a speech, has been nowadays actually given the least attention and mostly neglected compared to other canons. Despite the fact that memory was an important aspect of a classical rhetorical system, when orators had to memorize the speech so well in order to present it without any signs of hesitation, and there even existed various devices and methods of improving the memory itself, modern authors call memory the “forgotten canon” of rhetoric (Kirsch, 2014: 77) and simply consider it to be “not significant” at all (Martin, 2014: 51). Indeed, memory, which was previously thought of being a “treasure-house of ideas” (Kirsch, 2014: 78), today, given the technological advance, is left in the background. We live in the days when we have paper notes, computers, tickers, and earbuds that are used to aid the speaker during the delivery of a speech; thus, orators and communicators do not longer need to rely on their ability to learn their speeches by heart. Moreover, compared to the highly articulate and moving orators of the past, who were expected to be able to speak “extemporaneously” on a variety of topics and have enough information on the subject, as lacking *Memoria* would make their speech seem “empty and ineffectual” (Phillips, 2014: 712), speakers of the present century are given enough time to prepare to speak on a particular issue or event, and provide no comments on the aspects not directly related to the things being discussed or in case of unexpected questions. On the other hand, Ibrahim, Z., Kassabgy, N., and Aydelott, S. are certain that in order to construct a piece of written or oral discourse, a person making a speech must employ memory, as memory is “the place where knowledge resides” and is the “storing and recalling of single facts” (2000: 104-105). Thus, in order to make a powerful speech and persuade the audience, orators need to understand and be aware of the previous experiences, series of events and sets of circumstances of the past, to make an influence on the present or future.

Finally, the fifth canon, delivery (*Pronuntiatio*), is the last stage of presenting one’s speech to the audience. Delivery is actually considered to be the “aesthetics of the finished product” – the final version and the performance of the speech itself (Ibrahim, Kassabgy, Aydelott, 2000: 105), which is quite necessary to the art of persuasion. There is no doubt that in order to find delight in an oral or written

piece of discourse presented by an orator, not only does the speech has to be stylistically comprised and beautifully organized to please the ear, but also, metaphorically speaking, delivered on a plate with a bow to please the eyes. Accordingly, the canon of delivery is associated with the non-verbal communication, including “voice qualities – pitch, volume, intensity, rate of speaking, pauses, intonation”, as well as “articulation, eye contact, the distance between the speaker and his/her audience, body stance, gestures, naturalness and readiness, whether a text is memorized as in classical times or read aloud as in modern ones” (Toye, 2013: 118), which would have a profound effect on how a speech is received.

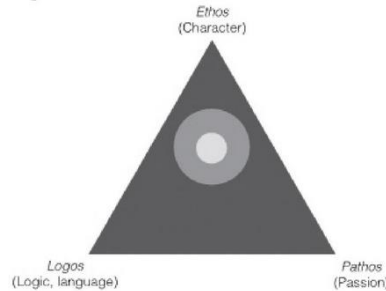
Despite the fact that some authors claim that without strong and powerful delivery “even the most intelligent speaker could fail at persuading his audience” and be held in no esteem, while an effective delivery can enable a “speaker with much less intellect” to “impress the audience and succeed” (Getchell, Lentz, 2019), in its aspect of respect, *Pronuntiatio* is quite similar to *Memoria*. From a modern point of view, the delivery of a speech does not need to involve a consideration of the management of voice and gestures. Instead, once again due to technological advance and change of perspectives, nowadays, as stated by Phillips, delivery of a written or oral discourse can relate more to “choosing the appropriate medium for creating one’s communicative act and making rhetorical choices that will lead to the most effective delivery of an argument to an intended audience” (2014: 712). There is scarcely any person in the world, especially the one to present a speech, who is not in any way acquainted with technology. Accordingly, in addition to a speech, modern orators tend to rely on the help of additional technological aids, such as, Microsoft PowerPoint presentations, film or picture projections, graphics and charts, and other visual and/or audio materials. There is no doubt that the following tools are of great importance in the modern times and make one’s presentation of the speech more interesting or informative, but they actually deflect the attention from the speaker and one’s non-verbal persuasion and communication in general.

To sum everything up, despite the fact that the five canons of rhetoric constitute a unified system for delivering a persuasive and effective speech, and each of them was viewed as being equally important to the act of communication in the past, nowadays, due to technological advance and shift in priorities, the approach to them has changed. The following canons do continue to provide a guide for developing and analysing rhetorical arguments, but various authors and scholars usually consider only some of them to be of great significance and thus tend to place emphasis on ones and neglect the others. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the choice and level of importance of the five canons should be adjustable depending on the audience, matter of the issue, and occasion of the speech itself.

1.3. Persuasive Appeal: *Ethos*, *Pathos*, *Logos*

The practice of rhetoric was originally concerned with the techniques and methods an orator could use to create an effective and a successful persuasive piece of discourse. According to P. Thompson, the act of communication itself, where a person wants to convince an audience concerning the importance or necessity of a particular issue or action, can be depicted in a form of a triangle:

Picture 1. Three modes of appeal.



Source: Thompson (1998: 16)

In the centre of the triangle is the audience to be reached, convinced and persuaded. In order to make the audience agree or disagree on the subject matter, and as a result, achieve one's aim, an orator needs to take into account and pay a lot of attention to the three sides of the triangle, i.e. *Ethos*, *Pathos*, and *Logos*. A speaker cannot succeed in delivering a persuasive speech by applying only one of the principles, without giving credit to the others, as they form a unity and are of the same importance and value.

The three modes of expression or approaches to persuasion were distinguished in the late fourth century BCE by Aristotle, who was convinced that it is impossible to “find a single line of inquiry which will apply universally to all” intellectual situations (Ibrahim, Kassabgy, Aydelott, 2000: 95). Accordingly, Aristotle classified three ‘means of persuasion’ in three main categories, and from these categories three permanent working principles of persuasion were derived. The ancient rhetorician and orator was convinced that a person who is to be in command must: 1) possess necessary qualities and values required to gain credibility, 2) reason logically, and 3) understand the emotions – that is, to be aware of their causes and ways in which they are excited (Aristotle, 2010: 8).

In order to make an impact on the audience, the speaker first had to be the person that the audience could trust and rely on; thus, the first kind of persuasive appeal, namely *Ethos*, depended on several aspects. First of all, the history of a person, one's family, upbringing, kin relationships, and the “place occupied by the speaker in society” were taken into account in deciding whether that person was credible and worth of trust (Meyer, 2017: 3). It was difficult to believe and allow oneself to be led by a person, whose parents or siblings were accused of bringing harm to society or belonged to the lower class of laborers or slaves. As a matter of fact, it may be one of the reasons why nowadays there is so much confusion in the analysis of ancient texts, as some orators and rhetoricians, due to the above-mentioned

reasons, might have chosen to conceal their real names and hide behind nicknames instead. Moreover, ancient societies were mostly dominated by male citizens, where women did not have the same rights and opportunities and were excluded as participants in the practice of speaking and persuading. M. Ballif and M. G. Moran note that “women were not allowed to speak in the law courts or political assemblies in Greece or Rome; public speaking by women was largely restricted to a few queens ruling in their own right in Greek-speaking portions of Asia Minor or in Egypt” (2005: 2). If a woman, for example, was brought to court concerning a particular issue, her husband or other male relatives had to represent and speak in her defence.

Similar to Aristotle, who believed that *Ethos* can be achieved by the “speaker’s personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible” (Aristotle, 2010: 7), Quintilian was also certain that “no man can be a good orator unless he is a good man” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 30). In ancient times, to be a good man in the eyes of the audience meant not only to have a social standing in society, but also possess moral values, knowledge and expertise in delivering an answer to certain questions. Indeed, Aristotle claimed that the speaker’s moral character was the most effective means of persuasion, where in order to be held credible and inspire confidence in the listeners, a speaker had to have good sense, good moral character, and goodwill. The mentioned virtues were thought to be developed in childhood and closely interrelated. The person to deliver a speech and persuade the audience to accept one’s point of view had to know what is right and wrong behavior and understand the difference between good and evil, one had to make sound judgments, and express kind feelings towards other people and a willingness to be helpful. By means of one’s speech, a skilful orator had no intention to appear as a rigid person that aims to completely change the opinions and beliefs of other people, as if it was only his truth worthy of notice. Conversely, a speaker had to identify oneself with the audience: convince them that one’s claims and arguments correspond to their existing values and are presented for the sake of the whole society and not only oneself, prove that the speaker wants best for the audience, as one and the listeners are actually in the same boat. Indeed, nothing can be more persuasive to an audience than the sense that the speaker is deeply involved in the issue, and honestly responds to people’s demands and opinions in reaching a joint decision.

The image of the speaker and one’s credibility played an important role in ancient societies, and continues to do so in modern times. Nowadays, people also tend to believe business leaders, who are known to be trustworthy and acknowledged for their noble deeds and actions, whereas any signs of suspicions or doubts concerning one’s reputation might substantially reduce the chances of being persuaded. On the other hand, despite the fact there are some similarities to Aristotle’s views concerning

moral values, time did make some adjustments. With the privacy law and various ways of concealing facts, people nowadays receive information that the speakers themselves want to be evident. To be oneself is not always the best way to persuade people, thus, as noted by S. and R. Cockcroft, people tend to “apply a combination of intuition and calculation to determine how much of your real self should be revealed to others” (2005: 35). People might be aware of some moral character traits and fine gestures made by business persons, such as purchasing eco-friendly technologies, donating money to charities, and making a positive impact on society, that are presented in the news, papers, or on the Internet, though, it should be admitted that people are shown only what business leaders want them to see and a lot of negative facts and information that is related to the business sector stays behind closed doors.

After being considered to be credible to speak on a particular issue or situation, the speaker had to appeal to the second principle of persuasion, i.e. *Pathos*. *Pathos* was related to the means of evoking emotions in an audience and putting the hearers into a certain emotional frame of mind. All people have feelings and experience emotions everyday concerning every existing set of circumstances or piece of information, and it is precisely emotions that help a person to perceive the world. Inevitably, emotions serve as a reaction towards a particular situation or argument, are a naturally-occurring response, which compel people to take action and greatly influence the decisions that are to be made. Emotions play an important role in the way people think and behave; thus, a skilful and wise orator, who wanted to persuade one’s listeners, could not just leave the emotional appeal out of consideration. To make the following appeal more artfully, an orator first had to understand the nature of the emotions and what arouse them. According to Aristotle, emotions are “all those feelings that so change men as to affect their judgments”, but before trying to influence the judgments of the audience, it was necessary to 1) understand the states of mind of people in which certain emotions were felt, 2) the people towards whom certain emotions were felt, and 3) the grounds on which the emotions were felt (Aristotle, 2010: 59). On the other hand, even though people might be in the same situation, they might feel different emotions because of different thoughts and conception of that situation. Therefore, the persuader had to be a psychologist, clearly understand human nature, mind and behaviour, as well as comprehend that different audience needs different approaches. Moreover, when delivering a speech, the orator had to be a spectator himself. It was possible to understand whether one’s piece of discourse was going in the right direction of persuasion by thoroughly examining the behaviour of the audience themselves. A skilful and attentive persuader had to observe the audience, decode their facial expressions, monitor their eye movements, and analyse their body language in general, as all of the mentioned helped to understand their reactions towards the speech

being delivered and whether the speaker had to give more force and focus to refine and intensify their feelings.

For Aristotle, it was the material of the speech and its language that the emotional mode of persuasion was built upon (Duke, 1990: 139). A great attention has been paid to the *elocution*, or style of the piece of discourse, i.e. the choice of “words, metaphors, illustrations, and sounds that best match the subject matter and the audience’s expectations” (Pullman, 2013: 111). In addition to adapting the words and phrases to their audience, the speaker also had to use the power of one’s imagination, as powerful imagery also enabled to create empathy. It becomes obvious then that various rhetorical devices used to intensify emotions were likely to confuse the audience, distort the truth of their perception of an issue, as well as cause people make spontaneous and sometimes wrong decision. On the other hand, emotions also served as a powerful tool that illuminated and deepened the understanding of the issue, as people were more convinced if there were allusions to something that brought them pleasure and that they have been aware of, or were able to notice similarities even between incommensurable things but that made them happy.

The fact that writers and speakers deliberately played, and do continue to play even today, on the emotions of their audience cannot be left unnoticed. It would be actually strange if people seeking to persuade and convince did not appeal to the audience’s emotions, as, according to Frederick, “[i]f you play with the readers’ emotions, you can get some very powerful results” (2011: 20). There have been a great number of studies conducted that all proved that the whole modern business industry is actually built on the emotional response of the customers. Business leaders pay significant attention to what kind of words or phrases to use to persuade and make a person believe that a certain product or service is worth attention and buying. People are more likely to be persuaded by something that is related to their values, something that would make them happy or feel pleasure. Nevertheless, “all roads lead to Rome”, or in other words, everything related to business is leading to one main point – in order to feel satisfaction and other positive emotions, one needs to allow oneself to be persuaded.

Finally, the third aspect that would persuade the audience and enable a speaker to reach one’s aim, is the appeal to *Logos*, i.e. the appeal to logic and reason. There is no doubt that the audience will always respond best to an argument that has a logical element to it and as stated by Frederick, if the audience is “given a reason, they are more likely to respond in the way you want them to” (2011: 20). Therefore, the persuader had to turn to the rational side of the listeners and their ability to deal with information. Inevitably, in one’s piece of discourse an orator presents information and arguments, but to persuade the audience that the presented information and arguments are worth of to be taken into consideration, one had to provide proof.

According to Aristotle, there were two ways of proving something, namely “to use either enthymemes or examples” (Aristotle, 2010: 8). First of all, Aristotle’s concept of the enthymeme focused on the speaker’s need to create what is now known as “audience-based reasons” (Ramage, Bean, Johnson, 2016: 58). Indeed, reasons or arguments that might seem convincing to the speaker might not be as convincing to the audience; thus, the orator had to, first of all, think about one’s listeners, their hopes and expectations and find arguments that would best suit them. On the other hand, enthymemes can be seen as an intellectual trick, when the speaker bit by bit presented arguments or claims that were slow and steady to lead the audience in the right direction. At this point, the listeners might have even been certain that there is no persuasion at all and that the conclusion concerning the benefits or drawbacks of an issue was actually reached by themselves, without any pressure from the speaker, which was actually the intention of the orator and one’s thoroughly pre-planned purpose. Persuasion by examples was a more simple way of convincing, as the audience did not have to make strenuous efforts to come to the understanding of the author’s point and search for the logical chain of the argument. The listeners’ had to either associate the information being presented with their personal experiences, or to negative it. Nevertheless, in order for the following persuasion to be effective, the orators had to present examples that were specific to the daily lives of the audience, so that each and every one of them could relate, as people tend to believe and be led persuaded by something that is closely related to their own lives and experiences.

It was not enough to simply possess knowledge and expertise, as well as present some claims to be considered rational and logical, the speaker had to structurally and orderly present one’s arguments in favour of or against a particular event or situation for the audience to fully grasp its meaning and be led persuaded. Accordingly, *logos* was also an “attempt to present a plausible argument in a logical or at least apparently logical way” (Partington, Taylor, 2018: 4). As a matter of fact, while *pathos* placed great emphasis on the style, the adornment of a piece of discourse to trigger emotions, *logos* was associated with disposition, i.e. the arrangement of the speech itself. In order to persuade the listeners, the speech had to have all the necessary parts arranged in an orderly and logical way that would enable the audience to understand what is being said or written and arrive at the conclusion that there is truth and logic in the information being presented and it should be taken into account.

Nowadays, we live in a century where a person can not believe any word being said; thus, modern orators and speakers still adhere to the logical principle of persuasion. Without being provided any evidence concerning a particular issue, it is simply rumours. Therefore, in order to convince the audience to believe that something is good or bad, that a product or service should be bought or used, business leaders tend to use words and phrases, as well as “facts, data, statistics, causal links, testimony, examples,

[and even] anecdotes”, everything that can make one’s persuasive efforts more convincing (Ramage, Bean, Johnson, 2016: 60). Having all the evidence, audience have to turn on the “work of the head”, carefully and systematically think about things being presented and only then make a thoughtful decision as to whether believe or do what the persuader wants (Thompson, 1998: 17).

To sum everything up, ancient orators, as well as modern speakers and representatives of the business industry prepare and deliver speeches created for specific occasions and for specific listeners by applying not only statistical data or facts, but also their imagination and ability to influence the audience’s emotional state of mind. To be able to persuade one’s listeners, a speaker had to speak from one’s heart, one’s head, and one’s soul. Accordingly, if the speaker is able to effectively use one’s language, logically organize the structure of one’s oral or written piece of discourse (i.e. appeal to *logos*), create positive associations and emotions (i.e. appeal to *pathos*) for the potential customer even in the cases of the worst financial scenarios, it is possible that the persons would believe in the credibility of the speaker (i.e. appeal to *ethos*) and one’s particular point of view and act as the orator has actually planned one to do.

II. RHETORICAL DISPOSITION AND STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENT

Rhetorical disposition (Lat. *dispositio*), also known as *arrangement*, is the aspect of assembling the speech into an order and is directly related to the placement of various parts of a speech and the “way speech flows from start to finish” (Martin, 2014: 65-66). After getting acquainted with the materials on disposition, it becomes clear that it is not its definition that raises questions, but rather whether there is a link between persuasion and the structure of a text. Moreover, some researchers believe that disposition is the “proper arrangement of arguments, or the parts of a discourse according to the rules of Rhetoric” (Roberts, 1820: 13), while others are certain that it is an “element that is contingent rather than fixed” (Eyman, 2015: 68) and is associated with the “inclusion, omission, or ordering of parts according to the rhetor’s needs and situation and the constraints of the chosen genre” (Enos, 1996: 32). Similarly, Toye notices that it is useful to be aware that there should be some structure, but it should not be imagined that it is to be “invariably followed” or that a successful and persuasive speech “necessarily required all the elements, at least not in such a strictly demarcated order” (Toye, 2013: 116). Finally, Cockcroft & Cockcroft note that in both spoken and written discourse there actually is an “implicit assumption that certain scripts and schemata will be followed, including the appropriate ordering of the text” (2005: 135). Indeed, patterns of rhetorical disposition help the orator to construct one’s speech, outline what is to be said in each part, yet the speaker has the possibility to improvise depending on the content of the speech, occasion and the audience. Accordingly, the more the persuader understands the audience and anticipates their response, the more this will influence any decision about persuasive ordering.

2.1. Introduction (*Exordium*)

Exordium is the introduction to a discourse, by which the writer or the speaker “endeavours to incline the persons to whom he addresses himself to judge favourably of what he is about to say”, and to “dispose them to such a train of thought as will forward and assist the purpose which he has in view” (Roberts, 1820: 13). As a matter of fact, it has been generally believed that any piece of discourse should start with an introduction. The opening of a speech is considered to be by far the most important part in the discourse, as, first of all, audience tend to make judgments about the speaker and one’s presentation in the first minutes of the appearance, and secondly, a strong and a convincing introductory part actually sets the entire tone of the presentation and allows the speaker to achieve persuasion. Indeed, Vico compares the opening part of a discourse to a vestibule in an architecture plan, where it should be thoroughly and carefully organized “so that the buildings will be attractive and will invite entrance” (1996: 71).

The introduction of a discourse usually opens the speech and provides preparatory comments that are designed to achieve two things. To start with, by one's introduction the speaker aims to prepare the audience generally, perhaps by introducing oneself, greeting the listeners, thanking them or announcing the significance of the event. Indeed, it is obvious that people become more at ease and thus open for persuasion, when the person addressing them is being polite and/or values their time and presence. Accordingly, paying attention to the audience in the first place will most probably please them and make it possible for the speaker to lead them in the right direction of persuasion. As a matter of fact, Elliot claims that in order for a piece of discourse to be persuasive, its introduction should be built on the basis of a formula, i.e. include the formulation of the salutation, the thanksgiving clause, and "the disclosure that serves as a transition to the body itself" (Elliott, 2007: 70-71). The analysis of the speeches delivered by business leaders revealed that only 6 presentations included all of the mentioned ingredients, either in a more general or specific way:

Good evening and thank you for your kind welcome. It's an enormous privilege to speak to you tonight (Whitman, 2008).

Good morning! It is an honor to be here with you today in this grand hall, room that represents what is possible when people of different backgrounds, histories, and philosophies come together to build something bigger than themselves. I am deeply grateful to our hosts. I want to recognize Ventsislav Karadjov for his service and leadership. And it is a true privilege to be introduced by his co-host, a statesman that I admire greatly, Giovanni Butarelli (Cook, 2018).

Good afternoon everyone and thank you for joining us today (Adelson, 2018).

Well, good afternoon. [...]. Mayors Koch and Dinkins, thank you very much for being here; and also let me welcome our new Public Advocate and [Comptroller], Bill de Blasio and John Liu; Speaker Quinn and the City Council, especially its 12 incoming members and 12 outgoing members; our burrow presidents and district attorneys; and I also want to give a special thanks to two colleagues who have devoted their time and talents to our city over the past eight years – [Comptroller] Bill Thompson and Public Advocate Betsy Gotbaum; and, as we look at our flags still flying at half-staff, let us join in honoring and thanking a true civil rights pioneer, and a legendary public servant, and a great New Yorker: Percy Sutton (Bloomberg, 2010).

3 of 50 speeches had only salutation followed by immediate narration:

Good afternoon, all (Tillerson, 2018).

Good evening (Gore, 2000).

It is, by my watch, one minute before noon, but I will still say, good afternoon (Bloomberg, 2010).

20 speeches had only the thanksgiving clause, where speakers provided recognition to specific individuals or the audience in general:

Chairman Burr, Vice Chairman Warner, and Members of the Select Committee: Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak with you today (Sandberg, 2018).

Once again I would like to welcome all of you to our Annual Meeting. Thanks for coming, and thanks in particular to our Richmond share owners for their gracious hospitality to our Board of Directors (Welch, 2000).

Dr. Wong, Dr. Keough, Mrs. Novogroski, Ms. Curran, members of the board of education, family and friends of the graduates, ladies and gentlemen of the Wellesley High School class of 2012, for the privilege of speaking to you this afternoon, I'm honored and grateful. Thank you (McCullough, 2012).

Thank you very much. Thank you. I would like to begin by addressing the terrorist attack in Manila (Trump, 2017).

There were 4 speeches where the authors only addressed individuals, as if thanking or greeting them without expressing gratitude directly and immediately moving to matter at hand:

Class of 2009! First I'd like you to get up, wave and cheer your supportive family and friends! Show your love! (Page, 2009).

Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, Honorable members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Excellencies, Ladies and gentlemen: I have a purpose here today. (Gore, 2007).

Chairman Grassley, Chairman Thune, Ranking Member Feinstein, Ranking Member Nelson, and Members of the Committee: We face a number of important issues around privacy, safety, and democracy (Zuckerberg, 2018).

President Faust, Board of Overseers, faculty, alumni, friends, proud parents, members of the ad board, and graduates of the greatest university in the world (Zuckerberg, 2017).

Another element, not included in the formula, but mentioned by Martin, the self-introduction of the speaker in the introductory part is of great importance and “rhetorical in the fullest sense of the word because introductions necessarily attempt to create persuasive relationships” (Elliott, 2007: 70). Accordingly, given the circumstances, when speakers are usually announced and presented by other people, there was only 1 speech, where the businessman had to introduce himself:

I'm Jack Welch, Chairman of the Board of GE. Here with me are Keith Sherin, Senior Vice President and GE's Chief Financial Officer and Ben Heineman, our Senior Vice President, General Counsel, and Secretary (Welch, 2001).

As a matter of fact, in order to be persuasive, it is essential for the speaker to build a personal bridge and establish an initial relationship with the audience, i.e. one must refer to *ethos* that would bring the mind of the listeners into a proper condition to receive the rest of the speech and allow the audience to “believe that the speaker is someone to whom they want to listen” (Frederick, 2011: 19). Accordingly, before presenting one’s view of the issue in question, one’s competence, expertise and knowledge, the speaker has to alleviate the tension and make the audience feel more comfortable. The orator has to open one’s speech in such a way so that the listener is prepared for listening “so that he will listen sympathetically, so that he will listen attentively, and so that he will listen receptively” (Vico, 1996: 71). For the following reason, 5 speakers have included a joke or a humorous expressions as part of their introductions:

Now as I thought about what I wanted to say today, I was reminded of a philosophy professor who asked his students “What would they do if they had just one hour to live?” One young woman said she would spend her last hour in the professors class. He was flattered of course and sued the professor why and she said “Because every hour in your class feels like an eternity.” (Barra, 2014).

Testing: One million \$, two million \$....three million \$ (Buffett, 2006).

G’ morning – Introductions are pretty funny... They paid me sixty dollars so I wore a tie (Jobs, 1983).

The other purpose of the introductory part is to inform the audience and provide some insights into the topic that is going to be discussed. The orator might involve variety of means, including “directly stat[e] the conclusion of the argument and set out how it will be reached”, or simply start with a quotation, famous saying, idiom, proverb, pose a question or “state a paradox or some observation” that will capture the attention of the audience and prepare them for the argument (Martin, 2014: 66):

I have three subjects to cover in this 10-minute report (Welch, 1981).

Well, thank you very much, everybody. Please, sit down. Very important day. And we’re gathered this morning at the White House to honor our solemn duty to America’s best, bravest, and finest, who I know so well. In a few moments, I will sign a bipartisan bill to fully reauthorize the 9/11 Victims Compensation Fund. So, the 9/11 Victims Compensation Fund is something you’ve all worked on very hard, and the day has come (Trump, 2019).

Today I would like to talk with you about a subject that always gets certain journalists going: the future of newspapers, and it’s a subject that has a relevance far beyond the feverish, sometimes insecure collection of egos and energy that is the journalistic profession (Murdoch, 2008).

Imagine we had a time machine and you could fast forward 20 years from now. It's 2038, we've got hoverboards, tourist trips to the moon, 3D printed food.... Life is tremendously exciting (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).

Finally, despite the above mentioned information, the relevance of the introductory part is actually put at doubt. Cockcroft & Cockcroft note that the introduction is one of the three obligatory elements of a written or oral discourse, and in whatever genre the persuasion appears, there must always be some sort of an opening or an initiating statement, which will be a “lexico-grammatical realization of the persuasive purpose of the text” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 143-144). Nevertheless, the following opinion is supported not by all researchers, as some believe that “getting straight to the point” is more desirable, especially in cases when the orator or the general purpose of the presentation or speech is widely understood (Martin, 2014: 65). Roberts also claims that there are instances when introductions are not indispensable and preparatory remarks are unnecessary, can be wholly omitted or rendered very brief when the purpose of the event is already clear and the speaker is “assured of the good-will, attention, and docility of the persons to whom he addresses himself” (Roberts, 1820: 14). Accordingly, the analysis of the speeches delivered by various business leaders revealed that actually not all spokesmen started their presentations with greetings, thanking one's audience, or giving reference to the importance of the event. 12 out of 50 speakers chose to immediately move on to matters, i.e. to the narrative part of the speech:

The financial world is a mess, both in the United States and abroad. Its problems, moreover, have been leaking into the general economy, and the leaks are now turning into a gusher. In the near term, unemployment will rise, business activity will falter and headlines will continue to be scary (Buffett, 2008).

Public education is the single greatest instrument for equal opportunity in America. That is why Melinda and I focus on public schools. And that is why we support a change that can trigger big gains for our students: the Common Core State Standards (Gates, 2014).

The United War Work campaign, which is asking the American people to contribute not less than \$170,500,000, is the greatest voluntary altruistic endeavor the world has ever known. For the first time in history, people of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant faith are standing side by side and working in closest cooperation for a great common cause (Rockefeller, 1917).

In conclusion, introductions to a speech help the speaker to become favourable disposed to the audience, interest them, remove tension and build intimate relationships, which help to achieve a certain level of persuasion and accordingly one's goal. Introduction should be strong enough for the listeners to remember most vividly what has been heard at the beginning of a speech. The research revealed that

authors believe that it is necessary to start a speech by introducing oneself, greeting and thanking the audience, or marking the importance of the event. Nevertheless, depending on the occasions of the speech, almost one fifth of the authors and speaker tended to move directly to the point of the matter and either rendered very briefly or omitted introductory parts at all, immediately starting from the narrative part of the speech, believing that the following parts and further information is of greater importance for the achievement of persuasion.

2.2.Narration (*Narratio*)

The body of the speech or the narration (Lat. *narratio*) is related to the enunciation of the issue under discussion and its explanation, or in other words, the establishment and statement of facts. Despite the fact that Greek rhetoricians treated *narratio* rather superficial and passingly, nowadays there is a lot of debate concerning the “virtues and characteristics of this element of discourse” (Enos, 1996: 453). Indeed, Enos claims that narration now functions as the “fountainhead from which the whole remainder of speech flows” and becomes a crucial part of discourse because of its capacity for “applying principles to situations” (ibid.). Narration focuses on the content and aim of the speech; it is the stage of acceptance and assessment of materials, where speakers present their stories or other information that may persuade the audience and influence their beliefs or feelings.

Having modernized the three types of narration offered by Cicero, Enos claims that a narration could be either a “straightforward offering of facts or a story in which facts were interwoven within the entire speech or a presentation that was essentially unconnected with the case” (1996: 639). It is obvious that the choice of the following type of narration is not actually linguistic, but mostly depends on the communicative criteria: intention of the speaker, function of one’s discourse, and persuasive aims. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there is no strict regulation as to the speaker must apply only one type of narration, as claimed by Koženiauskienė, the models of expression of thoughts are usually of mixed nature, intertwined with argumentation, form various combinations with rhetorical figures of thought that determine not only the individuality of the narrative, but also the individuality of the whole composition (2001: 122).

The first type of narrative offered by Enos is related to the immediate presentation of information and data. As a matter of fact, Aristotle claimed that any persuasive speech has but two necessary parts, when the speaker must state one’s case, and then prove it (Aristotle, 2010: 144). The following type of narration was also mentioned by Cicero, who claimed that it is a kind of *narratio* “in which the cause itself and the whole principle of the dispute is contained” (*The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, 1871: 262-263).

Accordingly, the analysis of the speeches presented by business leaders revealed that 17 speakers have constructed the narrative part of their discourse by focusing on the case and the reason for dispute.

The application of the following type of narration has its benefits, as the listeners are not actually distracted by the presentation of additional accounts or stories, but are immediately brought up to date, as in the following examples:

Our Macao operations produced its best quarter since quarter three 2014 with adjusted EBITDA reaching \$731 million. Hold-normalized EBITDA came in at \$758 million representing growth of 30% over the prior year. Macao's mass market growth accelerated during the quarter from 9% in quarter three to an estimated 18% in quarter four. We again outperformed the market in mass gaming growth as we have throughout 2017. Our non-rolling table grew by 18% over the prior year while our non-rolling win grew by 27%; this outperformed its mass revenue growth rate throughout significant margin expansion. Our whole normalized EBITDA margin reached 35.1% through the quarter, an increase of 320 basis points compared with the prior year (Adelson, 2018).

The audience are at once filled in on the situation and presented with statistical data and factual information that increases the credibility of the speaker and makes them aware of the circumstances taking place.

In December, we announced that GM would build its next-generation autonomous test vehicle here at Orion. Production of those vehicles began in January, making GM the first and – to this day – the only automotive company to assemble self-driving vehicles in a mass-production facility (Barra, 2017).

By employing the straightforward offering of facts, the speaker has once again increased one's credibility by showing off to be a reliable and trustworthy person. Nevertheless, as noted by Martin, narration is “never simply a matter of neutrally setting out agreed facts”, as those agreed facts must be “always bound up with interpretations” (Martin, 2014: 67). Moreover, the author continues, if the mentioned facts “supply a good part of the empirical premises of inductive forms of reasoning”, such as facts about what other people, especially in higher positions, said or did, facts about the economy, environment, government, etc., or facts in the form of statistics, the ability to define and describe them correctly and thoroughly is an essential part of securing and guaranteeing persuasion (Martin, 2014: 67). The following may be observed in the latter part of the examples provided below:

Both our company and our foundations try to advance the understanding and application of market-oriented policies for the same reasons that Adam Smith and our Founding Fathers were dedicated to a free society; our belief that these policies provide the best opportunities for advancing the well-being of society (Koch, 1994).

The United War Work campaign, which is asking the American people to contribute not less than \$170,500,000, is the greatest voluntary altruistic endeavor the world has ever known. For the first time in history, people of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant faith are standing side by side and working in closest cooperation for a great common cause (Rockefeller, 1917).

On the other hand, depending on the occasion of the speech and the audience, such directness and even candour in the discourse of business leaders can actually be seen as a drawback, exactly because they appeal only to logic and present factual information and data that do not allow to build an emotional bridge with the listeners. It should not be forgotten that any piece of discourse, whether oral or written, that seeks persuasion, should consist of “an interaction or dialectic between persuader and audience” and “the more the persuader understands the audience and anticipates their response”, the greater their personal relationship, and therefore, the possibility of persuading them will be (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 135).

The second type of narration suggested by Enos is related to *a story*, where the speaker consistently and comprehensively gives an account of events or situations that are associated with the context and content of one’s speech. Accordingly, Cicero claimed that this type of narration interposes some “digression, unconnected with the immediate argument”, but closely related to the entire speech in general (*The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, 1871: 262). The main function of this narrative type was to attack somebody or something, institute a comparison, provoke “some mirth not altogether unsuitable to the business under discussion”, or “for the sake of amplification” (*The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, 1871: 262). In other words, it was used to inform the listeners by providing more knowledge and information about the case in question that would influence their emotional stance and become more open for persuasion. For example, in a speech delivered by A. Gore, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for the attempts and efforts to disseminate knowledge about the man-made climate change and the measures that have been taken, the speaker mentions the creator of the Nobel Prize and tells a story about him that is thought to provoke certain emotions in the audience:

Sometimes, without warning, the future knocks on our door with a precious and painful vision of what might be. One hundred and nineteen years ago, a wealthy inventor read his own obituary, mistakenly published years before his death. Wrongly believing the inventor had just died, a newspaper printed a harsh judgment of his life’s work, unfairly labeling him “The Merchant of Death” because of his invention – dynamite. Shaken by this condemnation, the inventor made a fateful choice to serve the cause of peace. Seven years later, Alfred Nobel created this prize and the others that bear his name (Gore, 2007).

The research revealed that the following type of narration has been used and employed by the majority of business leaders (24 speakers), who were delivering their speeches on various occasions. As a matter of fact, Cockcroft & Cockcroft claim that story-type of *narratio* can be easily identified by its “describing narrative structure” that has three basic units that are linked and serve as the building blocks: *and* (signifying number, relationship), *then* (signifying temporality) and *cause* (signifying cause/effect) (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 137). One of the examples is presented below:

We’ve just finished a summer of big-ticket commemorations, celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Apollo landing and of Woodstock. 1969 was also a good year to be a kid in New York – with Joe Namath calling the Super Bowl, and the Knicks’ season that ended up with the legendary Willis Reed in Game 7. I grew up a long fly ball from Shea Stadium and soaked up every minute of the Miracle Mets’ season. Maybe that’s why I tend to believe in miracles.

But perhaps the most momentous birthday from that famous summer of 1969 – in its way, a miracle – went by just a couple of weeks ago with little mention. Just over 40 years ago, a handful of engineers in a UCLA lab connected two computers with a 15-foot gray cable and transferred little pieces of data back and forth. It was the first successful test of the ARPANET, the U.S. government-funded project that became the Internet – the most transformational communications breakthrough since the printing press.

Today, we can’t imagine what our lives would be like without the Internet – any more than we can imagine life without running water or the light bulb. Millions of us depend upon it every day – at home, at work, in school, everywhere in between. The Internet has unleashed the creative genius of countless entrepreneurs and has enabled the creation of jobs and the launch of small businesses and the expansion of large ones all across America.

That’s why Congress and the President have charged the FCC with developing a National Broadband Plan to ensure that every American has access to open and robust broadband. The fact is that we face great challenges as a nation right now: health care, education, energy, public safety. While broadband Internet alone won’t provide a complete solution to any of those problems, it can and must play a critical role in solving each one (Genachowski, 2009).

The three paragraphs of the speech correspond to the structure suggested by Cockcroft & Cockcroft, where the first and second sections has been constructed on the basis of the *and* relationship, i.e. general information on events that have taken place in the year of 1969 have been consolidated with the emergence of the Internet in the same year in the latter section. The block of *then*, which is related to the state of the existence of Internet can be observed in the authors statements concerning life in the modern society, where millions of people depend on the network. Finally, the *cause* is presented in the last

paragraph, which presents the cause and effect of the discovery that result in the discussion of the matter at hand.

The following type of narration not only conveys statements or facts, i.e. appeals to the logical side of the audience, but also “furnish[es] either background information or context for the case being argued” that arrays and adorns the discourse, thus offering the audience to liken themselves with the speaker or the circumstances mentioned (Enos, 1996: 453). The presentation of information in one’s speech in a way that enables the listeners to relate and share that experience has a strong impact and appeals to the emotions and feelings of the audience, thereby doubling the possibility of persuasion.

The third kind of narrative compared to the already mentioned “serves a different end” (Enos, 1996: 453). Despite the fact that in the narrative part of one’s discourse, the orator is thought of being required to provide information or facts that are closely related to the issue at hand and “must not only take care to say nothing but what is true”, “carefully avoid mentioning anything that may hurt his cause”, and “throw as much as possible into the background”, the analysis of speeches revealed that there were 9 speakers who have constructed their narration to present particulars that were essentially unconnected with the case (Roberts, 1820: 14-15). According to Cicero, the third kind of narration “is uttered or written for the sake of entertainment, combined with its giving practice” and was mainly conversant about events or persons (*The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, 1871: 262). Moreover, the rhetorician identified three subtypes of narration concerning events: *fabula*, *historia*, and *argumentum*, where *fabula*, as claimed by Cicero, uses fictional events, in which “statements are expressed which are neither true nor probable”; *historia* refers to the “account of exploits which have been performed, removed from the recollection of our own age”; and *argumentum* is a narrative based upon fictional events that could happen (*The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, 1871: 262-263). Accordingly, having analysed the speeches delivered by business leaders, it was determined that no speakers used the *fabula* subtype of narration, whereas the *historia* and *argumentum* subtypes were employed:

Before we discuss the Paris Accord, I’d like to begin with an update on our tremendous – absolutely tremendous – economic progress since Election Day on November 8th. The economy is starting to come back, and very, very rapidly. We’ve added \$3.3 trillion in stock market value to our economy, and more than a million private sector jobs.

I have just returned from a trip overseas where we concluded nearly \$350 billion of military and economic development for the United States, creating hundreds of thousands of jobs. It was a very, very successful trip, believe me. Thank you. Thank you (Trump, 2017).

So here we are, commencement, life's great forward-looking ceremony. And don't say, "What about weddings?" Weddings are one-sided and insufficiently effective. Weddings are bride-centric pageantry. Other than conceding to a list of unreasonable demands, the groom just stands there – no stately, hey-everybody-look-at-me procession; no being given away; no identity-changing pronouncement.

And can you imagine a television show dedicated to watching guys try on tuxedos? Their fathers sitting there misty-eyed with joy and disbelief; their brothers lurking in the corner muttering with envy. Left to men, weddings would be, after limits-testing procrastination, spontaneous, almost inadvertent – during halftime, on the way to the refrigerator. And then there's the frequency of failure: statistics tell us half of you will get divorced. A winning percentage like that'll get you last place in the American League East. The Baltimore Orioles do better than weddings (McCullough, 2012).

Taking into account that the first extract was from a speech delivered by Trump on the Paris Accord, while the second extract was from the commencement speech delivered by McCullough, it becomes obvious that the information provided is not directly related to the matter of issue.

The type of narration which is conversant about persons is “of such a sort that in it not only the facts themselves, but also the conversations of the persons concerned and their very minds can be thoroughly seen” (*The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, 1871: 263). The following may be observed in the passage below:

As a kid, I spent my summers with my grandparents on their ranch in Texas. I helped fix windmills, vaccinate cattle, and do other chores. We also watched soap operas every afternoon, especially “Days of our Lives.” My grandparents belonged to a Caravan Club, a group of Airstream trailer owners who travel together around the U.S. and Canada. And every few summers, we'd join the caravan. We'd hitch up the Airstream trailer to my grandfather's car, and off we'd go, in a line with 300 other Airstream adventurers. I loved and worshipped my grandparents and I really looked forward to these trips. On one particular trip, I was about 10 years old. I was rolling around in the big bench seat in the back of the car. My grandfather was driving. And my grandmother had the passenger seat. She smoked throughout these trips, and I hated the smell.

At that age, I'd take any excuse to make estimates and do minor arithmetic. I'd calculate our gas mileage – figure out useless statistics on things like grocery spending. I'd been hearing an ad campaign about smoking. I can't remember the details, but basically the ad said, every puff of a cigarette takes some number of minutes off of your life: I think it might have been two minutes per puff. At any rate, I decided to do the math for my grandmother. I estimated the number of cigarettes per days, estimated the number of puffs per cigarette and so on. When I was satisfied that I'd come up with a reasonable number,

I poked my head into the front of the car, tapped my grandmother on the shoulder, and proudly proclaimed, “At two minutes per puff, you’ve taken nine years off your life!” (Bezos, 2010).

Given the information, the following type should not be considered altogether useless or employed for not so serious reasons, as by presenting information concerning certain events or persons, as well as personal experiences, it allowed the orators to build an interrelationship with the audience, prove that they see the world and situations from their angle. Nonetheless, the most important point is that the speaker’s “own preferred interpretation should not seem to be uppermost in the speech”, as the description of the world, situations, and/or circumstances simply as one prefers, “will appear absurdly prejudiced and crudely manipulative” and the *narratio* should represent objective descriptions “that other can agree is true” (Martin, 2014: 67).

Regardless of a specific type of narration or a combination of the three types that the speaker would choose, Cicero and later Quintilian identified the most significant and crucial features that an effective narrative should have: brevity, clarity, and plausibility. Roberts also notes that the narration must be clear, distinct, complete, and yet concise, as “a fact, or a single circumstance, omitted or left in obscurity, may destroy the effect of all the arguments and reasoning afterwards employed” (Roberts, 1820: 15). Indeed, the following characteristics of the narrative part increase the sense of awareness of the audience, because the use of examples, facts or ideas that are “too extensive, obscure, or incredible lest the audience become alienated” and decrease the persuasive impact of the orator (Enos, 1996: 453).

To sum everything up, speakers can choose between certain types of narrative that they can employ in their speeches. The analysis of speeches revealed that the most common kind of narrative used is that, which presents a story about specific events, circumstances or persons, and is, nonetheless, closely related to the matter of issue. The construction of the body of one’s speech in a story-mode that includes an additional account and sharing of information, allows the speaker not only to prepare the audience for what is to come, i.e. relate to their logical side, but also appeal to their emotional stance, thus increasing the persuasive impact. On the other hand, the choice of the narrative structure depends not only on the speaker, but also on the occasion of the speech, one’s audience and persuasive aims, though in all cases it should be clear, brief, and concise to meet the expectations and desires of the listeners.

2.3. Proof (*Confirmatio*)

Any speech or other piece of discourse, either oral or written, is likely to have an argument. Accordingly, *confirmatio* is “a third obligatory element in the persuasive ordering and function” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 144); it is the part of a discourse which presents “a distinct conclusion or point of view of which the audience is to be persuaded” (Martin, 2014: 52); it is the “portion of an oration

in which the speaker presents arguments and supporting materials to establish a fact or proposition in the minds of the audience” (Enos, 1996: 138). By all accounts, *confirmatio* is the argumentative part of discourse that is devoted to the provision of closely related materials and evidence, and the organization of arguments and proofs that the speaker will use to convince and persuade the audience and that would lend credit, authority, and support to the case delivered:

The STEM movement is an urgent priority for two reasons: First, it can resurrect the democratic promise of our school system – that it prepares all young people to succeed. And second, STEM can resurrect the spirit of innovation and economic vitality that has been so important to our prosperity for more than a century (Raikes, 2010).

The argumentative part of the discourse required the speaker not only to invent and present evidence, but also included “consideration of the types of proof” to be applied, as well as the “forms of argument and the status, or bases, upon which those arguments were built” (Enos, 1996: 138). Whereas Aristotle divided proof into two types, i.e. artistic (appeals to the feelings of the audience) and inartistic (appeals to the fact of the matter), nowadays rhetoricians and researchers distinguish between the “small number of general models of argument, and the much larger range of specific models”, which can be selected, matched and adjusted to the expectations and desires of a specific audience and the speakers’ persuasive aims (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 82). Accordingly, Cockcroft & Cockcroft note that the audience and the occasion of the speech determine the choice and development of persuasive proof, and suggest that there are no less than nine types or models of argument that the speaker can select and employ:

- Definition model of argument:

Integrity means always abiding by the law, both the letter and the spirit. But it’s not just about laws; it’s at the core of every relationship we have (Welch, 2001).

Don’t be trapped by dogma – which is living with the results of other people’s thinking (Jobs, 2005).

With all of our colleagues around the world watching today, I want it known that this recall issue isn’t merely an engineering or manufacturing or legal problem, it represents a fundamental failure to meet the basic needs of these customers (Barra, 2014).

- Cause and effect model of argument:

You see, if everyone is special, then no one is.

If everyone gets a trophy, trophies become meaningless (McCullough, 2012).

It was all complex, and of course, things did not always go to plan. But it was also exhilarating. The result was that we brought readers across Australia a better product, and helped transform Australian journalism (Murdoch, 2008).

- Similarity model of argument:

And enough wind power blows through the Midwest corridor every day to also meet 100 percent of US electricity demand. Geothermal energy, similarly, is capable of providing enormous supplies of electricity for America (Gore, 2007).

While the foundation's resources may seem large, we are all too aware that they are no more than a drop in the bucket compared to the huge challenges facing governments and civil society to deliver sanitation services (Burwell, 2011).

- Oppositional model of argument:

John McCain doesn't want to tax success and achievement; he wants to encourage it. He doesn't want to redistribute our national wealth; he wants to increase it. He doesn't want more big government; he wants much more self-government (Whitman, 2008).

Last year I told you I believed e-Business was neither "old economy" nor "new economy," but simply new technology (Welch, 2001).

So relocating these monuments is not about taking something away from someone else. This is not about politics. It's not about blame. It's not about retaliation. This is not about a naïve quest to solve all of our problems at once (Landrieu, 2017).

- Degree model of argument:

Because no city on earth has been more rewarded by immigrant labor, more renewed by immigrant ideas, more revitalized by immigrant culture, than the City of New York (Bloomberg, 2010).

If we keep going back to the same policies that have never ever worked in the past and have served only to produce the highest gasoline prices in history alongside the greatest oil company profits in history, nobody should be surprised if we get the same result over and over again (Gore, 2007).

- Testimony model of argument:

In the news, almost every day, we bear witness to the harmful, even deadly, effects of these narrowed world views (Cook, 2018).

The shelters are fully stocked. We've got volunteers, a lot of teachers who have been there overnight. I visited one yesterday, they have shelter. They have cots, they have blankets, they have food, they have sanitary facilities, and they can even take your pets (Bloomberg, 2012).

The whole world witnessed the might and resilience of our nation in the extraordinary men and women of the New York Fire Department and the New York Police Department, selfless patriots of unmatched character and devotion (Trump, 2019).

- Genus/species model of argument:

Our role is to serve as a catalyst of good ideas, driven by the same guiding principle we started with: all students – but especially low-income students and students of color – must have equal access to a great public education that prepares them for adulthood (Gates, 2017).

I noted earlier how the Millennial Generation is the largest and richest and most technological generation in American history (Barra, 2014).

Our early and strong defense of open and free exchange has enabled Twitter to be *the* platform for activists, marginalized communities, whistleblowers, journalists, governments, and the most influential people around the world (Dorsey, 2018).

- Part/whole model of argument:

All Americans, whether first generation or tenth generation, are bound together in love and loyalty, friendship and affection (Trump, 2019).

As the 2016 report indicates, many governments around the world use discriminatory laws to deny their citizens freedom of religion or belief (Tillerson, 2017).

When churches start demonstrating on debt, governments listened – and acted (Hewson, 2006).

- Associational model of argument:

No, commencement is life's great ceremonial beginning, with its own attendant and highly appropriate symbolism. Fitting, for example, this – for this auspicious rite of passage, is where we find ourselves this afternoon, the venue. Normally, I avoid clichés like the plague, wouldn't touch them with a ten-foot pole, but here we are on a literal level playing field (McCullough, 2012).

I've seen America in this campaign, and I like what I see. It's worth fighting for and that's a fight I'll never stop. As for the battle that ends tonight, I do believe, as my father once said, that "No matter how hard the loss, defeat might serve as well as victory to shape the soul and let the glory out." (Gore, 2000).

We've all started lifelong friendships here, and some of us even families. That's why I'm so grateful to this place. Thanks, Harvard (Zuckerberg, 2017).

The analysis of the speeches delivered by business leaders revealed that depending on the occasion of the presentation, speakers tend to employ the mentioned models of arguments separately and combining them within their speeches, thus increasing their persuasive opportunities. In the context of persuasion, speakers define, examine, qualify, assert, compare, oppose, and associate their arguments in order to focus the awareness of the audience and make them believe that the evidence presented are true and worthy of attention and action.

In different types of speech events, argumentation “will have a greater or lesser role to play”, but what concerns business, the proof is most often “the centerpiece of the event” (Martin, 2014: 67). It is obvious

that proof requires the speaker to put a lot of effort and attention, if one wants to convince the audience, as, first of all, the “discovery of the right argument” or reasoning is the “essence of the speaker’s task” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 81). What is more, matters of greater contention or controversy usually demand several proofs or a combination of argumentative appeals; thus, the speaker must decide which arguments are the most important and essential to the issue at hand and thoroughly think through the order of presenting them. As a matter of fact, rhetoricians and researchers mainly agree on the positioning of various arguments in a speech and recommend to adhere to certain rules of presenting one’s proofs for the purpose of reaching persuasion. The speaker must begin with the weakest and most feeble arguments and then “proceed gradually by way of climax to that which is the strongest” (Roberts, 1820: 16-17). Martin also claims that in order to stay in the memory of the audience, “the most important, or ‘clinching’, arguments will come last, while the lesser proofs will be presented first” (Martin, 2014: 67).

So, what does this mean for our work with you and others?

First, although we will no longer invest directly in new initiatives based on teacher evaluations and ratings, we will continue to gather data on the impact of these systems and encourage the use of these systems to improve instruction at the local level. Second, we will focus on locally-driven solutions identified by networks of schools, and support their efforts to use data-driven continuous learning and evidence-based interventions to improve student achievement. Third, we are increasing our commitment to develop curricula and professional development aligned to state standards. Fourth, we will continue to support the development of high-quality charter schools. [...] Finally, we will expand investments in innovative research to accelerate progress for underserved students (Gates, 2017).

We already had important capabilities for serving the existing industrial markets of this country. For years, General Electric has led in the automation of major industries like steel and paper. We developed the ability to automate job shop operations with such innovations as numerical controls for machine tools and programmable controls for assembly operations, and our factories served as major laboratories for trying out a great variety of new manufacturing techniques and equipment. GE's Information Services Company offers a comprehensive package of software and consulting services that can coordinate the whole flow of events involved in running a business - from order entry to factory scheduling to customer billing (Welch, 1981).

The positioning of the weaker confirmation at the beginning, attracts the listeners’ attention and focus to an issue that will be made clear gradually, thus increasing the persuasive power of the speech in general.

Moreover, while weak and feeble arguments need to be combined, strong and trenchant ones are to be singled out and treated apart, but in cases when they seem to be “doubtful or presumptive”, the speaker must “let them be thrown together in a crowd, that they may mutually serve to strengthen each other” (Roberts, 1820: 16-17). On the other hand, Enos claims that the “placing of certain portions of the speech earlier or later than rule suggested” is also possible, as the order is mostly based upon the needs of particular circumstances and demands of the situation (Enos, 1996: 139). Therefore, before blindly following the provided structure of placing arguments, the speaker needs to assess the context and the nature of the speech event, as in cases where the speaker is given freedom to present one’s proof, it will be necessary to assess the proper time for the central and most important argument to be made. If a speaker is given enough time for one’s presentation, “a number of minor proofs might be made, premises developed and conclusions elaborately defended”, but when the orator has limited amount of time available, “minor proofs may be set aside in order to deliver the clinching argument” (Martin, 2014:68).

Argumentative part, similar to the narrative, is directly related to Aristotle’s means of persuasion – *logos*. There is no doubt that the speaker will increase one’s possibility to achieve a persuasive goal and receive a positive response from the audience, if the argument has a logical element to it. Peter Frederick also notes that “if readers are given a reason, they are more likely to respond in the way you want them to” (2011: 20). However, not all arguments will appeal to *logos* only, as “*ethos* and *pathos* are also part of the proof” and the speaker should reflect upon and calculate the moment to employ them to provide the “optimum effect” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 81). Accordingly, the following may be observed in the speech delivered by M. Landrieu concerning the decision to remove four Confederate monuments, where the speaker in addition to the logical arguments, appeals to the emotions of the audience and employs pathos-based evidence:

These statues are not just stone and metal. They’re not just innocent remembrances of a benign history. These monuments celebrate a fictional, sanitized Confederacy: ignoring the death, ignoring the enslavement, ignoring the terror that it actually stood for. And after the Civil War, these monuments were part of that terrorism as much as burning cross on someone’s lawn. They were erected purposefully to send a strong message to all who walked in their shadows about who was still in charge in this city (Landrieu, 2017).

To sum everything up, in order to convince and persuade the audience, the speaker is not only required to provide proof and related materials, but also properly assemble arguments and evidence into the order of presentation to deliver their full force and allow the speech to reach its persuasive end. Orators may employ various types of arguments, as well as combinations of them, depending on the context and

content of the speech and their own persuasive aims. Nevertheless, it is worth keeping in mind that the audience may notice the fallacy and flaws of arguments or simply not become convinced, if those arguments are not built on the solid formation or are too weak. Therefore, under certain circumstances it is preferable to include several brief, well-chosen and most solid arguments with a greater weight of persuasion, than a profusion of feeble and extended ones that would fail to achieve one's aims.

2.4. Refutation (*Refutio*)

Another part of a persuasive oration, refutation (Lat. *Refutio*), is related to the “recognition of faults and flaws in the proofs offered by one's opponents” (Enos, 1996: 639). Having encountered contradicting points of view on the matter being discussed, the speaker used refutation to prove that what has been presented is completely wrong or not true. The proper use of refutation allowed the speaker to establish one's trustworthiness and reliability by “answer[ing] all adversary's arguments, or obvious objection”, impairing and weakening the confirmation or proof in the speeches of one's opponents “by shewing them to be absurd, false, or inconsistent” (Roberts, 1820: 17).

It is obvious that “[e]very persuasive argument must attract a counter argument, every generalisation a particularisation or exception”; nevertheless, the following is valid, applicable, and greatly depends on the event or occasion, where those arguments or generalisations have been provided (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 81). Therefore, reverting back to the ancient times, when there were mainly three occasions for a persuasive oration (legal, political, and public), it becomes clear that *Refutio* was an essential and even an obligatory part of a piece of discourse. The ability to prove someone's point of view being wrong and negate the opposing arguments by presenting evidence, had provided the speaker with an opportunity to become (even more) credible in the eyes of the audience and enhance a persuasive impact on them.

Nowadays, with regard to the occasion of the delivery of a speech, refutation has actually lost its obligatory power and is mostly considered to be an optional part. It is still employed during legal trials and political debates, where two or more speakers have to present their own views on the matter and counter alternative arguments of their opponents. On the other hand, taking into account the above mentioned information, in order to make one's speech even more persuasive, modern speakers sometimes do employ refutation in other cases as well, even if there are no actual opponents, whose deliberately different arguments they need to reject. Accordingly, there were only 3 instances where the speakers did use *refutio* in their oral discourse:

Contrary to what your U9 soccer trophy suggests, your – your glowing 7th grade report card, despite every assurance of a certain corpulent purple dinosaur, that nice Mister Rogers and your batty Aunt

Sylvia, no matter how often your maternal caped crusader has swooped in to save you – you’re nothing special. [...] So think about this: Even if you’re one in a million, on a planet of 6.8 billion that means there are nearly 7,000 people just like you. Imagine standing somewhere over there on Washington Street on Marathon Monday watching 6800 “yous” go running by (McCullough, 2012).

Now, there are many people who would prefer I hadn’t said all that. Some oppose any form of privacy legislation. Others will endorse reform in public, and then resist and undermine it behind closed doors. They may say to you, “Our companies will never achieve technology’s true potential if they are constrained with privacy regulation.”

But this notion isn’t just wrong – it is destructive. Technology’s potential is, and always must be, rooted in the faith people have in it: in the optimism and the creativity that it stirs in the hearts of individuals; in its promise and capacity to make the world a better place. It’s time to face facts. We will never achieve technology’s true potential without the full faith and confidence of the people who use it. (Cook, 2018).

After 9/11, we were told America would have no time for the world’s poor. We were told America would be taken up with its own problems of safety. And it’s true these are dangerous times, but America has not drawn the blinds and double-locked the doors.

In fact, you have doubled aid to Africa. You have tripled funding for the global health – for global health. And Mr. President, your emergency plan for AIDS relief and support of the Global Fund – you and Congress – has put 700,000 people onto life-saving anti-retroviral drugs and provided eight million bed nets to protect children from malaria. Outstanding human achievements. (Hewson, 2006).

Due to the fact that the speeches analysed in the following thesis were not variances or an exchange of views and opinions on particular issues, but personal presentation on the matters at hand, refutation employed in the speeches by business leaders were actually not an opposition of “distinct claims by specified individuals”, but rather the “rejection of anonymous claims” (Martin, 2014: 68). The speakers’ decision to incorporate the device of refutation and counter claims provided by some unknown persons did increase the level of persuasion of their oral discourse, as they revealed discrepancies in the facts that have been suggested and used evidence and logic to prove their own arguments. By criticizing the other’s premises and conclusions by highlighting the faulty reasoning of the arguments, the speakers provided the audience with credible evidence and “with a stark contrast” between one’s own proper and reliable argument and “another that is deemed inappropriate” (Martin, 2014: 68-69).

In conclusion, the application of the device of refutation mainly depends on the occasion of the speech and is employed when the speaker is contending with a controversial topic to disprove the opposing

arguments. It is important for the speaker, thus, to take great care that “no material argument of [the] adversary, or strong objection, be passed over without any or even with a slight notice” (Roberts, 1820: 17), as the ability to assert and prove one’s arguments, at the same time negating the arguments, opinions, or theories of one’s opponents by means of contradicting evidence will inevitably establish the credibility of the speaker or author with the listeners and would certainly result in the persuasion of the audience.

2.5. Conclusion (*Peroratio*)

The audience tend to put a lot of emphasis on the final impressions of a speaker and one’s piece of discourse. *Peroratio* is the section of discourse that is now commonly referred to as the conclusion, or according to Enos, the “segment of a classically arranged discourse charged with summing up the arguments and appealing to the audience” (1996: 504). With regard to the definition provided, at first sight, the ending of a speech might seem to be not so complicated compared to the previous parts of the discourse, as the speaker simply needs to repeat the main points presented in the speech. Indeed, researchers agree that *peroratio* should “recapitulate or sum up the strongest and best of those arguments” to be left on the mind of the listeners (Roberts, 1820: 18). The analysis of speeches revealed that only 4 speakers chose to adhere to the recommendations of the authors and provide a summary of their discourse in the concluding part:

In short, we must commit ourselves to examining every policy and our every action from the standpoint of their effect on the pillars of a free society, and then to dedicate our efforts to market-based programs that provide real solutions to society’s problems (Koch, 1994).

Even if it will never persuade some people, it’s important to repeat the facts. The states designed the standards, not the federal government. The standards are goals, not methods. They say what should be learned, not how it must be taught (Gates, 2014).

So, to conclude, I’d like to remind you once more that there is very little, if anything, new in management today and that this “new economy” and “old economy” which we hear about incessantly are just labels invented by pundits (Welch, 2000).

So before we part let us again state clearly for all to hear: The Confederacy was on the wrong side of history and humanity. It sought to tear apart our nation and subjugate our fellow Americans to slavery. This is a history we should never forget and one that we should never, ever again put on a pedestal to be revered (Landrieu, 2017).

In spite of the fact that *peroratio* “clearly has a recapitulative function” (Elliott, 2007: 91), there are authors, who suggest that there are other ways to end one’s speech. Accordingly, to finish one’s

presentation with impact and enhance the conclusion of the persuasive speech, it can be “expressed either as a question, a statement or a command” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 144):

Do you want to see the flower of the manhood of this country, which has brought everlasting glory to our nation, neglected in the hour of its greatest need, and afraid to face temptation? Then withhold your contribution to this fund.

Or do you want to see a chapter of moral victory and prowess as superb and as glorious as that of the victories of arms which have already been achieved, added to the annals of the history of this country, and high standards of morality maintained and perpetuated by our sons and brothers in the days to come?

Then give of your abundance, give of your poverty, but give without stint to this great fund which should be not less than \$250,000,000 (Rockefeller, 1917).

Climb the mountain not to plant your flag, but to embrace the challenge, enjoy the air and behold the view. Climb it so you can see the world, not so the world can see you. Go to Paris to be in Paris, not to cross it off your list and congratulate yourself for being worldly. Exercise free will and creative, independent thought, not for the satisfactions they will bring you, but for the good they will do others, the rest of the 6.8 billion – and those who will follow them.

Congratulations.

Good luck.

Make for yourselves, please, for your sake and for ours, extraordinary lives (McCullough, 2012).

Your time is limited, so don't waste it living someone else's life. Don't be trapped by dogma – which is living with the results of other people's thinking. Don't let the noise of others' opinions drown out your own inner voice. And most important, have the courage to follow your heart and intuition. They somehow already know what you truly want to become. Everything else is secondary (Jobs, 2005).

Moreover, the *peroratio* is an important moment when a “final frame is placed on the speech and the place where its essential qualities may be invested” (Martin, 2014: 69). Therefore, the speaker might return to some issue (or saying, quotation, proverb, etc.) provided at the start, tell a joke or anecdote, present powerful statistics, or make some gesture that would embody a sentiment for the audience:

Now I'm going to sign this bill into law. And I don't know if the stage will hold it, but if it doesn't, we're not falling very far. But I'd like to ask the families and I'd also like to ask the first responders to come up, and we'll give – we'll give this stage a shot. Let's see how well built. Made in America. Let's see how well built it is. Okay? Come on up (Trump, July 2019).

Now the political struggle is over and we turn again to the unending struggle for the common good of all Americans and for those multitudes around the world who look to us for leadership in the cause of freedom. In the words of our great hymn, "America, America": "Let us crown thy good with brotherhood, from sea to shining sea." (Gore, 2000).

Many of us are fortunate enough to be here with family. Some of us have dear friends and family to go home to. And who knows, perhaps some of you, like Lucy and I, are dreaming about future families of your own. Just like me, your families brought you here, and you brought them here. Please keep them close and remember: they are what really matters in life (Page, 2009).

Taking into account that conclusion is also an appeal to the audience and is mainly associated with emotions, feelings and acts of will, it is obvious that it is attributable to the third kind of persuasion – *pathos*. It induces a motivational power of sentiments and in cases when the speaker is able to wisely play with the audience's emotions, one "can get some very powerful results" (Frederick, 2011: 20).

In order for the speech to be persuasive and present in the mind of the audience, the orator needs to conclude the speech in an effective way that would create a desired emotion that the audience will go through and take with them after the presentation. Indeed, the appeal and incorporation of the power of *pathos* in one's speech, allow the speaker to leave a "powerful impression in the audience's memory and a strong stimulus to their wills" (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 136). Accordingly, one of the topics that stirs up strong feeling and emotions is religion and faith and there were 9 speeches, where the orators made reference to God and faith in the concluding part:

God bless you all (Trump, July 2019).

God bless you all.

God bless New Orleans.

Before you walk out those gates one last time, as we sit in front of Memorial Church, I am reminded of a prayer, Mi Shebeirach, that I say whenever I face a challenge, that I sing to my daughter thinking about her future when I tuck her into bed. It goes: "May the source of strength, who blessed the ones before us, help us find the courage to make our lives a blessing." (Zuckerberg, 2017).

And in that spirit, let us give thanks to the divine "Author of Liberty." And together, let us pray that this land may always be blessed, "with freedom's holy light." (Romney, 2007).

The unknown is always quite frightening and/or fascinating; therefore, there were speakers, who decided to revolve around the topic of the future, make a prediction, and give the listener something to think and ponder about:

Graduates, there are those on the field who make progress happen, and those on the sidelines who ask: what happened?

It's 2038, which one are you? (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).

I will hazard a prediction. When you are 80 years old, and in a quiet moment of reflection narrating for only yourself the most personal version of your life story, the telling that will be most compact and meaningful will be the series of choices you have made. In the end, we are our choices. Build yourself a great story (Bezos, 2010).

As many of you know, 2018 will be the "Year of Zayed" in the UAE. What better time to build on Sheikh Zayed's legacy of philanthropy? Imagine what is possible if we continue working together to give everyone the opportunity to live a healthy and productive life (Gates, 2017).

Finally, the speech should be concluded effectively enough for the audience not to be left in expectation of more information to be provided or unaware why the speaker has left. Regardless of the genre of the discourse, it is essentially necessary to know the precise moment when to finish one's presentation, because if the speakers "continue to hover round and round the conclusion", the former part of the discourse will deprive its persuasive power and strength and the listeners will "grow heartily tired" and "lose every favourable impression they may before have received" (Roberts, 1820: 19). Thus, a conclusion should provide an ending that "releases the listener's attention by bringing the speech to a final point" (Martin, 2014: 68). The following was achieved by employing concluding statements, and there were 35 instances where the speakers appreciated the presence and attention of their audience and thanked them:

I close by thanking all for the privilege of serving beside you for the last 14 months. Importantly, to the 300-plus million Americans: Thank you for your devotion to a free and open society, to acts of kindness towards one another, to honesty and the quiet hard work that you do every day to support this government with your tax dollars (Tillerson, 2018).

Thank you for listening (Murdoch, November 23, 2008).

Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much (Trump, 2017).

One of the businessmen has actually constructed the entire concluding part by thanking specific individuals and the listeners in general:

I thank my many colleagues at the Department and overseas who contributed to this report, and specifically the Office of International Religious Freedom, including Senior Advisor on Global Justice Issues Pam Pryor, Special Advisor for Religious Minorities Knox Thames, and the previous ambassador-at-large, David Saperstein.

We look forward to working with Congress, and the Administration, to continue America's indispensable role as a champion of religious freedom the world over. Thank you very much (Tillerson, August 2017).

In the concluding statements, one speaker suggested that there might be other occasion where one will speak to the audience:

We'll be talking again. Thank you (Tillerson, May 2017).

Three speakers invited the audience to provide questions:

So what do you wanna talk about? (Jobs, 1983)

Thank you for joining us on the call today. And now, we'll take questions (Adelson, 2018).

Thank you for having me here today, and I'm ready to take your questions (Zuckerberg, 2018).

To sum everything up, there are a number of ways to finish one's speech, but the speakers need to be aware that the concluding part is actually their last opportunity to encourage or motivate the audience to act or choose a desired way of thinking. For the conclusion to be persuasive, the final statements should reinforce the message of the orator, give the speech unity and closure, influence the behaviour and beliefs of the listeners, and awaken certain emotions in them, so that they could make necessary and/or positive changes. Finally, if after the delivery of a speech, the audience start to reflect on what has been told and are in tune with the speaker, it is possible to claim that the speech was actually persuasive.

III. RHETORICAL ELOCUTION AND PERSUASIVE STYLE

Whereas disposition is related to the arrangement and form of the speech, elocution or style is associated with the aesthetics and concerns the use of language and what makes a speech distinctive and memorable. Indeed, as noted by Roberts, elocution is the “art of expressing your thoughts and feelings with precision, force, and elegance”, as well as “heightening the impressions of reason by the colourings of imagination” (1820: 19). Moreover, the peculiar effect of elocution can often help the speech to become exceptional, memorable, and even repeatable by other people. Various rhetorical devices and instruments are used to adorn and furnish the speech, place emphasis, highlight and stress points, help the audience better understand information provided, and most importantly help the speaker to win favour, convince and persuade, and thus achieve one’s goal.

3.1. Lexical Choice

Greek and Roman rhetoricians had a precise system of styles, in which the audience and occasion of the presentation of a speech dictated the rules for figurative ornament and lexical choice. It has been emphasized that the high style consisted of a “smooth and ornate arrangement of impressive words”, the middle style was characterized by “lower, yet not of the lowest and most colloquial class of words”, while the plain style was “brought down even to the most current idiom of standard speech” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 162). Despite the fact that some particular recommendations and guidelines for the language of business communication are proposed, Getchell and Lentz claim that nowadays it is much more important to pay attention to what a speaker or an orator is trying to do with one’s message “rather than pay attention to rules” (2019). Moreover, Frederick asserts that “if following a rule makes [one’s speech or] writing less persuasive, break it” (2011: 73).

Johnstone states that logic is usually considered to be “superior to other ways of persuading” and therefore deems that “carefully crafted arguments in public forums often draw on the language and structure of formal reasoning” (2008: 245). Beebe & Beebe also agree that public speaking is more formal than colloquial, but go even further into the matter and ascertain that the size of one’s audience “directly affects speaking style”, noting that “as a general rule, the larger the audience, the more likely they are to expect a formal style” (2014: 118). Taking into account that American business leaders delivered their speeches for the audience of not less than thirty people, it is not surprising, therefore, that it is possible to encounter formal words and phrases:

*Too many journalists seem to take a perverse pleasure in **ruminating** on their **pending demise*** (Murdoch, 2008).

*And that's why it's **incumbent** upon all of us to do all we can to protect our democratic process* (Sandberg, 2018).

There is no doubt that formal words or expressions can strengthen the impression of the speaker or an orator as being an erudite, a highly educated, well-read and a reliable person. On the other hand, Glaz, Kowalewski, and Weremczuk note that “as people relax, so does language” and the use of colloquial and conversational words and phrases “appear to be justified even in formal discourses” (2012: 97). Indeed, while the use of official and formal language establishes remoteness and distance and creates a barrier between the speaker and one’s audience, the use of colloquial and conversational style of presentation, when orators use various everyday words and expressions, helps to form a bridge between the speaker and the audience, brings a business person closer to one’s listeners, and makes him or her “one of us” (ibid.):

*Our motto has always been “she’ll be right” – but she’ll be right **mate** only if we make it right* (Murdoch, 2008).

*What I’m also trying to tell you is that I know exactly what it feels like to be sitting in your seat, listening to some old **gasbag** give a long-winded commencement speech* (Page, 2009).

Accordingly, the analysis of the speeches delivered by business leaders revealed that speakers not only tend to use informal words, but employ a substantial number of colloquial and conversational expressions:

*Will you **bluff it out** when you’re wrong, or will you apologize?* (Bezos, 2010).

*It doesn’t really matter because people just **suck this stuff up** so fast that they’re going to do it no matter what it looks like* (Jobs, 1983).

Despite the fact that business discourse is thought to be objective, contribute to the “formality of information” and employ “the most generalized form of expression” (Жуковська, 2010: 146), Toye claims that the words chosen by the speaker “can never be neutral”, but “can be likened to the choice of weaponry” (Toye, 2013: 116). Accordingly, it is not surprising that in order to enhance and strengthen the meaning and power of one’s speech, it is possible to find emotional lexis and personal accounts of the speakers:

*[...] for the competitive advantage it always brings and for the **sheer excitement** and **fun** it imparts to every aspect of business* (Welch, 2000).

*Our company delivered another great quarter and **I’m very pleased** that we ended 2017 with such strong financial results* (Adelson, 2018).

*I was **deeply saddened and disturbed** as I read the report* (Barra, 2014).

Indeed, Frederick also claims that the listeners' response to particular statements or the speech in general depends on the speaker's ability to manipulate the emotional side of the audience, when persuasion can be achieved "by creating positive or negative emotions" and by "trigger[ing] the appropriate positive or negative feelings" in the audience (2011: 68). Accordingly, the speaker can use specific positive words to inspire the audience to action:

*[...], and we are **guaranteed** the free exercise of our religion* (Romney, 2007).

*We're on the threshold of medical **breakthroughs** [...]* (Weiner, 2018).

*[...] helping us transform personal mobility and deliver new transportation solutions that are **safer**, more **sustainable** and **better** than ever* (Barra, 2017).

or specific negative words to scare the audience to action:

*Six and a half thousand Africans are still **dying** every day of preventable, treatable **disease**, for **lack** of drugs we can buy at any drug store* (Hewson, 2006).

*A lot of banks and insurance companies have **suffered** earnings **disasters** after relying on that rationale* (Buffet, 2006).

*Our workers cannot stand 10 more years of **job losses** and **outsourcing of factories*** (Gore, 2007).

Taking into account that business language is to be "accurate, concrete, concise and clear" (Жуковська, 2010: 155) indicating no vagueness or imprecision, Cockcroft & Cockcroft emphasize the fact that in public oratory speakers do tend to use abstract concept with highly positive or negative connotations that "reflect communal experience, common values and common aspiration" and when employed skilfully and in an appropriate context, "will arouse powerful emotions" in the listeners and thus help to achieve persuasion (2005: 62):

*This is about **Justice** and **Equality*** (Hewson, 2006).

*We face no greater danger today than theocratic **tyranny**, and the boundless **suffering** these states and groups could inflict if given the chance* (Romney, 2007).

Finally, Darics and Koller note that the use of "emotional lexis and even pseudo-spiritual vocabulary" is not something unusual (2018: 135), as the appeal to the feelings and emotions of the listeners help the speaker to achieve a profound persuasive effect. It was revealed that speakers tend to employ biblical vocabulary and pseudo-spiritual phrases, which are even more intensified by means of comparatives and are believed to arise certain emotions in the audience:

*Without a sense of **higher purpose**, this was the startup dream come true* (Zuckerberg, 2017).

*We want **something deeper** than that: excellence as a **faithfully** held commitment by everyone associated with General Electric; [...]* (Welch, 1981).

To sum everything up, the choice of words for one's speech or presentation has considerable weight for the persuasion of one's audience. The analysis of speeches delivered by American business leaders on various occasions and for various audience revealed that the spoken business discourse is actually a combination of formal and informal words, general and abstract notions, colloquial and stilted phrases, as well as emotional and impersonal expressions. The choice of appropriate words or phrases allow the speaker not only to appear as showing a lot of knowledge and understanding of the subject of matter, but also to reduce tension of the audience, make them relate to oneself, and therefore relate to what is being expressed, as when the audience feel at ease with the speaker, they tend to pay the utmost attention and thus become easily persuaded.

3.2. Sound Patterning

In order to make a greater impact on the audience and impel them to react in a certain way, the speaker must maintain harmony between the sense and sound of one's piece of discourse. Cockcroft & Cockcroft emphasize that spoken and written language in general, and persuasive language in particular, "make substantial use of sound patterning to create and enhance meaning" (2005: 165). The following may be conveyed by using particular patterns of intonation, but also by employing stylistic devices such as alliteration, assonance, consonance, and rhyme.

The general definition of the word *alliteration* provided by many authors and linguists is related to the repetition of initial consonants or consonantal sounds in two or more words (Zhang, 2005: 91; Enos, 1996: 271). Жуковська also notes that alliteration is the repetition of the "same (or similar) sounds or sound clusters" found in "neighbouring words or at short intervals within a line or passage", but does not limit the following device only to consonants (2010: 219). Taking the following into account, the analysis of the speeches provided by business leaders revealed that in total there were 494 cases of alliteration, of which 427 cases were repetition of consonants and 67 cases were repetition of vowels at word beginnings:

*It's already **hovering** at **historic highs** and threatens to get even worse as new technologies potentially displace millions of people from their jobs* (Weiner, 2018).

*We must protect our ability to be that **voice** of our **values** [...]* (Tillerson, May 2017).

*This has been an **extraordinary election*** (Gore, 2010).

*Be **open** to **opportunities** when they **occur** [...]* (Barra, May 2014).

The ability of the speaker to select and combine sounds in one's presentation, makes the speech more expressive and pleasant to the ear. On the other hand, the following stylistic device is used not only for the "achievement of the special musical effect", but also for placing "significant emphasis" (Zhang, 2005: 91) and making the "idea impressed deeply on the audience and thus easier for them to remember"

(Zhang, 2005: 93). As a matter of fact, Cockcroft & Cockcroft claim that alliteration in general is a kind of “functional persuasion” that urges the audience to follow a specific course of action or accept a specific idea (2005: 165). Moreover, Gutekunst and Gillett note that the repetition of certain letter-sounds at the start of words produce a certain effect on the audience. The analysis of speeches delivered by business leaders revealed that of all cases of alliteration the most utilized letter-sounds were C(75), P(72), and S(66). Accordingly, Gutekunst and Gillett suggest that the repetition of the hard C sound “provide a sense of abruptness of authority” and “can reinforce the action” (2014: 355):

*The more serious challenge is the **complacency** and **condescension** that festers at the heart of some newsrooms* (Murdoch, 2008).

*Our **customers** have to know they **can count** on our **cars** [...]* (Barra, June 2014).

*Create the right **culture**, and you **create** a **competitive** advantage* (Weiner, 2018).

The P sound, similar to the hard C sound, was used to “provide a sense of abruptness of authority” (ibid.):

*We don’t consider **political** viewpoints, **perspectives**, or **party** affiliation in any of our **policies** or **enforcement** decisions* (Dorsey, 2018).

*In a way, the desire to **put profits** over **privacy** is nothing new* (Cook, 2018).

*[...] and, second, that we accept responsibility for our mistakes and commit to doing everything within our **power** to **prevent** this **problem** from ever happening again* (Barra, June 2014).

Finally, the S sound is used to “create a hushed reverential tone” and “reinforce the meaning of the line”, but also “suggests smoothness, slyness” (ibid.):

*This intimate knowledge has enabled us to make **successful strategic** investments in over 250 companies* (Welch, 2000).

*[...] we will continue to **strongly support** the community* (Adelson, 2018).

*This approach [...] is a promising approach to **stimulating** demand for **safe sanitation services** and **ending open defecation*** (Burwell, 2011).

Another stylistic device, *assonance*, is the repetition of similar vowel sounds often used to “create a musical rhythm for a particular effect of euphony” (Zhang, 2005: 93). Moreover, assonance is also used to lay emphasis and connect important words together to “help the reader notice meaning-connection between them” (Жуковська, 2010: 36). Despite the fact that Cockcroft & Cockcroft note that the following stylistic device is mainly used for “religious persuasion (emotive use of theological concept)” (2005: 165), the analysis of speeches revealed that business leaders do tend to employ assonance in their oral presentations:

*Even though I **fear** my words cannot match this moment, I pray what I am feeling in my **heart** will be communicated **clearly** enough that those who **hear** me will say [...]* (Gore, December 10, 2007).

*We all want to **see** them **succeed*** (Gates, 2014).

While assonance is the repetition of vowel sounds, *consonance* refers to the repetition of “identical consonants in medial or final position” and is mainly used for “moralizing persuasion” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 166). Nonetheless, the employment of consonance makes a speech “more rhythmic and more appealing” (Zhang, 2005: 96), and there is no doubt that when the speech is more appealing and engaging, one’s audience is also more likely and apt to pay attention and remain engaged with the words of the speaker:

*For most people, **adapting** to the **changes** that are **coming** will require **moving** out of comfort zones* (Murdoch, 2008).

The first responders from across the country rushed to New York and worked endless days and sleepless nights (Trump, July 2019).

*This has made America’s story the **greatest** and **proudest** and **most** hopeful of any in history* (Whitman, 2008).

Finally, another device that was found in the speeches of business leaders, *rhyme*, is the “correspondence of two or more words with similar-sounding final syllables placed so as to echo one another” (Жуковська, 2010: 229). In spite of the fact that rhyme is used “to assist in the actual structure of verse” (Жуковська, 2010: 29) and according to Cockcroft & Cockcroft is mainly employed in “commercial persuasion” (2005: 166), the research revealed that there were 9 instances when speakers employed the following stylistic device:

*A person should not be **elected** because of his faith nor should he be **rejected** because of his faith* (Romney, 2007).

Self-pity** is never **pretty (Murdoch, 2008).

*Our whole nation **prays** and **pays** tribute to the incredible life and legacy of Detective Alvarez [...]* (Trump, July 2019).

*[...] at a time when many are delivering **earnings** **warnings*** (Welch, 2001).

In conclusion, it is obvious that the listeners are more likely to become persuaded and react in a certain way, if they like what they hear. Accordingly, taking into account that the speakers attempted to influence the attitude and behaviour of the audience by the spoken speeches, in addition to particular patterns of intonation, which unfortunately are not evident in the transcribed versions of their presentations, orators also tended to furnish their spoken pieces of discourse with stylistic devices related to sound patterning.

Business leaders employed alliteration, dissonance, assonance, and rhyme not merely for aesthetic pleasure and beauty, but to capture the attention of the audience, emphasize certain ideas and notions, and make those ideas and notions, as well as the whole speech more memorable.

3.3. Figurative Language

3.3.1. Metaphor

Metaphor has a long history of existence and its study can be traced back to Aristotle, who claimed metaphor to be a rhetorical phenomenon, a literary device that was understood in its simplest form as a “transference of a term from one thing to another: whether from genus to species, species to genus, species to species, or by analogy” that allowed a person to “best get hold of something fresh” (Aristotle, 2010: 135). Kheovichai notices that the development of cognitive science and most importantly the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) by Lakoff and Johnson, who are considered to be the pioneers of the “cognitive approach to metaphor”, created “a paradigm shift” (2015: 95) and became a turning point in the study of the following device, where the primarily role of metaphor as being mainly a linguistic “decorative and ornamental” figure of language was taken to a new level (Dalalau, 2009: 1195). Lakoff and Johnson believed that metaphor is “pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action” and that the ordinary conceptual system of a person “in terms of which [one] both think[s] and act[s]”, is “fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980: 3). Accordingly, the authors claimed that metaphor is not only textual embellishment or “just a matter of language” and “mere words”, but a powerful cognitive tool that helps people conceptualize the surrounding world (1980: 3). Indeed, metaphors involve “understanding and experiencing something abstract in terms of something more concrete” (Partington, Taylor, 2018: 126) and it is not surprising, therefore, that the analysis of speeches presented by American business leaders revealed that all persons presenting their spoken discourse tended to employ metaphors and in total there were 654 sentences when the following device was used.

Nowadays, metaphor is generally considered to be one of the most significant figures in rhetorical analysis, a powerful cognitive device and an essence of figurative language that plays an important role in business communication (Martin, 2014; Partington, Taylor, 2018; Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005; Kheovichai, 2015, Dalalau, 2009; Langer, 2015; etc.). In regard of the functions of metaphors in business discourse, as well as taking into account all the information provided about metaphors, Kheovichai generalizes that the following figurative device performs three functions in business presentations, the first and most obvious being the textual decoration (2015: 107). Indeed, Jendrych also notes that today metaphors are widely used in business discourse, as they “add variety, imagery, spice and colour to the

language” and allow persons related to the world of entrepreneurship to “express their views, feelings and opinions in a stronger, and sometimes more emotional or persuasive way” (2017: 40):

*Don't let the noise of others' opinions **drown out your own inner voice*** (Jobs, 2005).

*So if you **wait for the robins, spring will be over*** (Buffett, 2008).

*As a State Department, we are **bound together by that oath*** (Tillerson, 2018).

The second function that metaphors perform in business discourse as noted by Kheovichai, is organizing and structuring the oral or written discourse, thus “providing cohesion, highlighting important information and making text more memorable” (2015: 97). Moreover, Jendrych argues that metaphors allow speakers to adhere to the principle of language economy, when the employment of metaphors allows to achieve the maximum result (including persuasion) by putting the minimum amount of effort (2017: 49):

*Thank you for your devotion to a free and open society, [...] and the **quiet hard work** that you do every day [...]* (Tillerson, 2018). Compare: *[...] and the **great deal of effort that you put or the actions that you perform without telling or boasting to anyone** [...]*.

*As I **weighed my opportunity** to work in Uganda [...]* (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018). Compare: *As I **considered and assessed all the positive and negative arguments for or against** [...]*.

*The **market hit bottom** in April 1942 [...]* (Buffett, 2008). Compare: *The **market has reached the lowest or worst point of a decline** in April 1942 [...]*.

Kheovichai states that the last, but the most important function of metaphor in the business discourse is to provide understanding, where the following device is considered to be an essential tool for persuasion as it is widely used to conceptualise business ideas and “represents a novel way of viewing the world that offers some fresh insights” (2015: 96). Accordingly, due to the fact that metaphor “implies an identity between otherwise different things” (Martin, 2014: 78) and allows one to understand one conceptual domain in terms of another, the analysis of the speeches delivered by American businessman revealed a tendency when various abstract notions are associated and presented in terms of more specific ones. The following allowed to systemize some metaphorical expressions found in the business discourse and group them in accordance with particular source domains, such as: *METAPHORS OF LIVING ORGANISMS*, *METAPHORS OF WAR*, *METAPHORS OF LIQUID*, and *METAPHORS OF MONEY AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS*.

The largest group of conceptual metaphorical expressions is the group of *METAPHORS OF LIVING ORGANISMS* (79 cases). It has been revealed that business leaders tend to speak about particular concepts and perceive them as plants:

*GE employees have already **sunk their roots into** the community and begun volunteer efforts* (Welch, 2001).

*But even those who **reap the profits** of the carbon age have to recognize the inevitability of its demise* (Gore, December 14, 2007).

Business itself and particular aspects related to it (as well as not related) tend to grow:

*We have an obligation to ensure that the Internet is an enduring engine for U.S. **economic growth**, and a foundation for democracy in the 21st century* (Genachowski, 2009).

*We worked hard, and in 10 years **Apple had grown** from just the two of us in a garage into a two billion dollar company with over 4000 employees* (Jobs, 2005).

*We'll deliver **earnings growth** at a time when many are delivering earnings warnings* (Welch, 2001).

Speakers tend to incorporate animate metaphors to conceptualise the economy, business, and other concepts in terms of health or being a patient:

*[...] and moved into **businesses that were immune to this assault while we restructured the Company*** (Welch, 2000).

*These **businesses will indeed suffer earnings hiccups**, as they always have* (Buffett, 2008).

*Our **democracy has become sclerotic** at a time when these crises require boldness* (Gore, December 14, 2007).

Another group of metaphorical expressions with the use of words *battle*, *force*, *attack*, *siege*, etc. “constitute a physical conflict metaphor” that conceptualises particular things or notions as being in a fight or war (Kheovichai, 2015: 94). Accordingly, there were 48 instances when the speakers tended to structure their thoughts and statements on the basis of the *METAPHOR OF WAR*:

*As for the **battle [ELECTIONS] that ends** tonight, I do believe, [...]* (Gore, 2000).

*All this was excellent **preparation for the next big fight we had**: the opening of our new presses at Wapping in England* (Murdoch, 2008).

The element of the concept of war was employed by the speakers to give rise to particular emotions of the audience, intensify fear, provide understanding, and describe the challenges that are being encountered:

*[...] men and women are **battling cancer and other illnesses** due to 9/11* (Trump, July 2019).

or in order to imply that something needs to engage in war with something or someone else in order to survive, defend something, achieve a certain aim, or become the best:

*I am **fighting every day** for the great people of this country* (Trump, 2017).

*But if you're **fighting only for wages, hours and working conditions**, then it's just **teachers fighting for teachers*** (Gates, 2010).

*[...] Americans rise to the occasion, willing to risk their very lives **to defend freedom** and preserve our nation* (Romney, 2007).

*[...] and some pretty phenomenal men, **fighting hard to make sure that they become the leaders** who take us to the time when nobody ever has to say "Me too" again* (Winfrey, 2018).

The abundant number of metaphorical scenarios formed on the basis of the domain of WAR reveal that the persons related to the world of business tend to comprehend the experiences that take place in the world as a fight between good and evil. Accordingly, by describing particular threats and emphasizing the urgency and requirement for taking immediate action, business speakers imply the necessity to consider every possible mean to achieve particular aims and goals.

The analysis of speeches delivered by business leaders made it possible to distinguish a separate group, where metaphorical expressions are related to *LIQUID*. There is no doubt that water is an element that is directly associated with life and an essential substance that symbolizes the *prima materia* of the whole universe. Water can change forms, transform itself, acting as a material from which all other things are created. Accordingly, the analysis of the speeches revealed that business leaders tend to understand particular notions in relation to water (28 cases), i.e. of being of significant importance:

Traditional sources of revenue [...] are drying up [...] (Murdoch, 2008).

***Forces for the flow of knowledge, trade and immigration** against those who would slow them down* (Zuckerberg, 2017).

*The "Arab spring" is all about a **thirst for freedom and democratic rule*** (Burns, 2011).

The widely used expression "cash flow" allows to make an even more specific conceptualization, where money is associated with water, meaning that in order to survive people must have finances, which as a matter of fact, is greatly characteristic of the modern world:

In conclusion, our ***cash flow generation*** continues to be strong and predictable (Adelson, 2018).

*[...] the traditional sales, net and **cash flow** measurements will follow, as will our relative stock market performance* (Welch, 2000).

Finally, the conceptual group of metaphorical expressions of *MONEY AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS* where particular concepts or things are viewed and associated with finances is comprised of 25 cases. According to Vasiloaia, Gaisoa, and Vergara, the metaphors of money or economic transactions began to be used at the time "when people started to be paid for work by the amount of time they worked" and the following gave rise to the formation of the experiential basis of

this kind of metaphors (2011: 234). Indeed, time plays an important role and is a “valuable commodity” in the life of ordinary people, in general, and business people, in particular (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980: 8); therefore, the conceptualization of time as money enabled the orators to speak of time being spent, invested, or wasted:

*In an environment like that, **you’ll spend most of your time** navigating corporate politics, [...]* (Weiner, 2018).

*The concept of reverse auctions was right in the GE sweet spot and we **wasted no time** in spreading the new technology across our businesses* (Welch, 2001).

Nonetheless, some speakers tended to view other concepts, such as integrity, trust and loyalty, efforts, curiosity and intuition, and talent in terms of money:

*And remember that your **integrity is priceless when unquestioned... but worthless**, or worse, when it isn’t* (Barra, May 2014).

*In return, you would be **rewarded with trust and loyalty you could take to the bank*** (Murdoch, 2008).

In conclusion, all three functions that metaphors are believed to perform in both written and oral discourse (embellish, organize and structure the text, provide understanding of the information presented) are greatly interrelated and allow to claim that metaphors in general maintain the audience’s attention and have a strong emotional effect on them, enables to see various things, ideas or concepts from a different angle, have an essential force and memorable qualities that remain in the thoughts of the hearers, make them ponder about the information or arguments provided by the speaker long time after the speech was actually delivered, thus making them accept the point of view of the orator and become persuaded.

3.3.2. Personification

Personification is a rhetorical figure that is used to ascribe some features, qualities or characteristics of a human being to lifeless concepts and “entails that inanimate objects, nonhuman entities, and abstract concept become humanized” (Glaz, Kowalewski, Weremczuk, 2012: 91). Despite the fact that in ancient times personification was highly valued and considered to be “one of the boldest and finest figures of Rhetoric” (Roberts, 1820: 54), the majority of modern authors and linguists prefer and tend to view personification only as the most obvious type of an ontological metaphor (Burke, 2014; Glaz, Kowalewski, Weremczuk, 2012; Lakoff, Johnson, 1980). Nonetheless, the essential power or expressions of the following device and its ability to be a major source of persuasion are also taken into account (Koženiauskienė, 2001; Kovecses, 2010; Delbaere, McQuarrie, Phillips, 2011).

The analysis of speeches delivered by American business leaders revealed that the orators employed personification in their spoken presentation and there were 157 sentences when speakers tended to make things, ideas or abstract concepts appear humanized:

For Artificial Intelligence, to be truly smart, it must respect human values [...] (Cook, 2018).

Cockcroft & Cockcroft claim that personification is the “attribution of a personality to material object, plant, animal, or abstract idea” (2005: 229), while Delbaere, McQuarrie and Phillips go deeper into details and specify that personality includes “any aspect or element of intelligent, animated beings, like beliefs, desires, intentions, goals, plans, psychological states, powers, and will” (Delbaere, McQuarrie, Phillips, 2011: 121). Indeed, the employment of personification and portrayal of non-human objects or ideas in human terms can be understood “an artful deviation from the expectation” (ibid.) that makes the audience feel and start to believe that these things are alive, and as human beings can perform certain actions, provide help, or make promises:

Inconsistent standards punish students (Gates, 2014).

Platforms and algorithms that promised to improve our lives can actually magnify our worst human tendencies (Cook, 2018).

have an appearance:

If prices keep looking attractive, my non-Berkshire net worth will soon be 100 percent in United States equities (Buffett, 2008).

have mental capacities:

But we will leave it up to each network to decide what approaches they believe will work best to address their biggest challenges. They might decide, for example, to focus on student interventions in middle school . . . or adapting new and more rigorous curricula . . . or improving support for certain groups of students in the transition from high school to college (Gates, October 2017).

have and express certain feelings:

Again, in the early 1980s, the time to buy stocks was when inflation raged and the economy was in the tank (Buffett, 2008).

or even a whole range of feelings and emotions:

Bureaucracy hates change, could care less about the customer, loves complexity, is afraid of speed and incapable of it, and inspires no one (Welch, 2001).

While Dodson claims that the primary purposes of personification are the following: 1) to decorate or amplify; 2) to educate or clarify; 3) to motivate or manipulate; 4) to expose the cause of something; 5) to provide new insights; and 6) to deflect attention away from difficult topics (2008: 41), Zhang notes that

the following device “can be produced by the use of verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs and pronouns” (Zhang, 2005: 185). Accordingly, the research revealed that there were no cases of personification produced by adverbs and pronouns, while speakers mostly tend to make objects or concepts humanized by making them seem to be able to perform some particular actions, i.e. by the use of verbs (143 cases):

*Technology is capable of doing great things. But it **doesn't want to do** great things. It **doesn't want anything*** (Cook, 2018).

other forms that were found were adjectives (10) and nouns (4):

*Third thing about computers, they're really **dumb*** (Jobs, 1983) (adjective)

*It's annoying but **justice and equality are mates**, aren't they?* (Hewson, 2006) (noun)

Finally, due to the fact that people have a propensity to understand and assess various concepts, phenomenon or things on the basis of their own characteristics, experiences, or actions, personification “makes use of one of the best source domains we have” – the person oneself, when the personification of nonhumans as humans allows people to “understand them a little better” (Kovecses, 2010: 39). Moreover, as noted by Lakoff and Johnson, not only does personification give “a very specific way of thinking about something”, but also “a way of acting toward it” (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980: 34). Even when a listener has no experience or understanding of an abstract notion or a concept that is mentioned or presented by the speaker or simply holds a neutral position towards it, the words that surround and are directly related to that notion or concept allow one to establish a personal more deeper assessment of it. Therefore, when a speaker personifies abstract ideas or things by forming phraseological units, in which those abstract ideas or things are used in combination with certain dynamic verbs that have positive or negative connotational meanings, it allows the audience to comprehend information being provided, understand the positive or destructive influence those mentioned references may have, and thus become persuaded and choose the way of action desired by the speaker:

That program encouraged me to pursue a crazy idea at the time: I wanted to build a personal rapid transit system on campus to replace the buses (Page, 2009).

*And the **Internet is helping enable smart grid technologies, which promise to reduce carbon dioxide emissions** by hundreds of millions of metric tons* (Genachowski, 2009).

In conclusion, the employment of personification and ascription of human qualities to objects, things, or ideas, allow the speaker to relate those objects, things, or ideas to oneself and most importantly to the audience. Properly employed personification, when inanimate objects, ideas or concepts embody particular qualities or perform particular actions, allow the audience to comprehend and make sense of a wide variety of complex phenomena and experiences taking place in the world in human terms.

Accordingly, personification can be viewed as a “tacit and implicit attempt at persuasion” (Delbaere, McQuarrie, Phillips, 2011: 123), when the audience do not need to be told what to do or how to behave; by presenting one’s information by means of personification, the speaker gives rise to certain emotions, positive and/or negative, that influence the evaluative criteria and conditioning of the audience making them become more easily convinced.

3.3.3. Metonymy

Metonymy is a stylistic figure which “reveals a quite unexpected substitution” of one thing, idea, or concept for another on the “ground of some kind of association” (Жуковська, 2010: 94). Nowadays, metonymy not only has been generally considered to be a “master trope”, but also a fundamental cognitive and linguistic phenomenon (Enos, 1996, Panther, Radden, 1999; Nerlich, Clarke, 2001). Lakoff and Johnson emphasize that metonymic concepts “structure not just our language, but our thoughts, attitudes, and actions” and are grounded in the experience of a person (1980: 39). Moreover, metonymy is not simply substituting one thing, idea or concept for another, but “interrelate[ing] them to form a new, complex meaning” (Panther, Radden, 1999: 19). Therefore, the application of the following device means that the listeners have to go through a cognitive process and mentally assess and comprehend the ideas or concepts being provided by the speaker. The following enables the speaker to employ covert persuasion, while the audience believe that they have not been persuaded to do something, but that they made their own inferences and it was their own decision to act or behave in that particular way:

*This is, however, about showing the **whole world** that we as a city, that we as a people are able to acknowledge, to understand, to reconcile, and more importantly, choose a better future for ourselves, making straight what has been crooked and making right what was wrong* (Landrieu, 2017).

Authors note that metonymy is “quite diverse and exhibits itself in a variety of forms in language” (Panther, Radden, 1999: 63), but taking into account that the present research thesis is related to the stylistic devices and their forms found in the speeches of American business leaders, only those forms of metonymy that have been identified in the spoken discourse will be analysed.

Partington and Taylor note that toponymical metonyms are highly “important and productive” for the persuasive effect in the business discourse (2018: 139). Though, if the mentioned authors tend to combine all metonyms related to location under one heading “toponymical”, other authors present a more specific classification. Accordingly, Kovecses distinguishes the place-for-institution group of metonymic substitutions (2010: 172) and the research of the speeches delivered by American business leaders reveals that in total there were 45 instances when the orators mentioned specific or more general locations to refer to governmental, industrial, medical or other institutions:

When **Europe experienced** doldrums and dislocations in the early '90s, we moved quickly to partner with European firms whose future we believed in (Welch, 2000) (reference to economic institutions).

It will help prepare all our students for college and career – and that's the best idea **our country has for giving every child an equal chance** (Gates, 2014) (reference to educational institutions).

At least in science, **Australia has a pretty strong tradition** (Murdoch, 2008) (reference to research institutions).

In the examples provided above, the substitute names not only endow more status and “give political authority and its decisions a distinct sense of place” (Martin, 2014: 79), but also enable the speakers to save words, say things more quickly and therefore achieve brevity. Accordingly, as noted by Nerlich and Clarke, the following type of metonymy is a “universal strategy of cost-effective communication” (Nerlich, Clarke, 2001: 256).

Another location-based group of metonymic substitutions is the place-for-inhabitants. Littlemore notes that the following type of metonymy is “rarely neutral” and “often ha[s] a strong hyperbolic feel to it” (2015: 33). The research of speeches revealed that speakers employed the place-for-inhabitants form of metonymy 9 times:

*These projects didn't just provide purpose for the people doing those jobs, they gave our **whole country** a sense of pride that we could do great things* (Zuckerberg, 2017).

*The **whole world** witnessed the might and resilience of our nation in the extraordinary men and women of the New York Fire Department and the New York Police Department, selfless patriots of unmatched character and devotion* (Trump, July 2019).

It is obvious that it is entirely impossible for every resident of a country or even the world to correspond to the description provided by the speakers. On the other hand, in such cases metonymy generates a strong emotive element; it is effectively employed to reveal the “intangible human qualities that characterize an individual or social group” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 170) and emphasizes the fact that people are united and stand side-by-side.

Institution-for-people-responsible is another toponymical form of metonymies distinguished by Lakoff and Johnson. Accordingly, there were 80 instances where business speakers used the names of various companies, organizations and foundations or general notions to provide information about the decisions or actions made by specific people working in those particular institutions:

*This **Company** is committed to keeping itself as **bureaucracy-free** as any big institution that has ever existed* (Welch, 2001).

*In the years since 2005, the Internet has continued to evolve and the **FCC has issued a number of important decisions involving openness*** (Genachowski, 2009).

The National Safety Council estimates as many as 40,000 people died in motor vehicles crashes [...] (Barra, 2017).

“Vagueness” and “lack of precision of the reference” can be useful for the speaker as the name of the place enhances more meaning to the statement and thus “seems more powerful and persuasive” (Partington, Taylor, 2018: 139). Moreover, as noted by Kheovichai, the application of metonymy in the following cases can “construct a positive corporate identity” and convince all workers and staff members to “identify themselves with the brand image” of the organization or a company (2015: 113).

Despite the fact that metonymy is mainly considered to be a referential figure of speech, i.e. the one which allows to use one entity to stand for another, Lakoff and Johnson claim that metonymy is “not merely a referential device”, as it “also serves the function of providing understanding” (1980: 36). Partington and Taylor note that in some cases the mentioning of some entity is alluded to some other entity, which is not only “connected or associated with it”, but is “actually part of it” (2018: 138). Indeed, similar to synecdoche (see Section 3.3.4.), metonymy can be found in sentences when there is mentioning of some faculty of the body. Nonetheless, in the following cases metonymy is not used to mean the specific part of a person, but rather to name the concept that is related to that particular part:

*Even as we face difficult fiscal realities, we will **budget not only with our heads but with our hearts*** (Bloomberg, January 2010).

*[...] his powerful testimony in Congress **touched the heart** of our nation* (Trump, July 2019).

*But then my cynicism got another **helping hand*** (Hewson, 2006).

*And we will always **have that on our shoulder** everywhere we go* (Tillerson, May 2017).

The words that are related to the body of a person are actually employed to refer to abstract notions that are associated with the following words and are used metonymically to depict the container/containment relationship between the instrument and its association. Accordingly, in the sentences provided above the word “heart” substitutes for emotions and feelings, “head” is correlated to reasoning and rationality, “hand” stands for support and cooperation, while “shoulder” is used to refer to the sense of one’s conscience.

Finally, the use of metonymy can be also employed for a number of symbolic comparisons. Indeed, Lakoff and Johnson also note that “national and religious symbolism” are especially used in metonymy (1980: 40). Accordingly, some speakers metonymically mentioned God or one’s attributes:

*They had the audacity to renew the Lord's call and were joined by Pope John Paul II, who [...] may have had a little more of a direct line to the **Almighty*** (Hewson, 2006).

*[...] defined a revolutionary vision of liberty, grounded on self-evident truths about the equality of all, and the inalienable rights with which each is endowed by his **Creator*** (Romney, 2007).

One speaker mentioned the American flag, which is actually a national symbol and a reference to the country it represents:

*We are one team and one people, proudly saluting one great **American flag*** (Trump, January 2019).

In the above-mentioned examples metonymy gives more profound and deeper meanings to otherwise common ideas and objects, thus allowing to achieve a rhetorical effect and draw the attention of the audience.

In conclusions, after getting acquainted with the definition of the following literary device, it becomes obvious that metonymy is a significant part of our everyday experience and people tend to think and speak metonymically sometimes not even noticing it. What is more important is that metonyms are powerful persuasive devices that help to stylistically form both the tone and the content of an argument, as they “permit speakers to redescribe situations, objects, agents or experiences in selective ways that subtly shape how judgments about them are to be made” (Martin, 2014: 80), as well as have the power and ability to present an alternative description of the situation.

3.3.4. Synecdoche

Another key element in the persuasive repertoire, *synecdoche* is a “conceptual transfer phenomenon based on the semantic inclusion between a more comprehensive and a less comprehensive category” (Panther, Radden, 1999: 92). As a matter of fact, there has been a lot of debate whether synecdoche should be considered “a subtype of metonymy or a figure on its own” (Glaz, Kowalewski, Weremczuk, 2012: 93). Lakoff and Johnson classify synecdoche as “a special case of metonymy” (1980:36), Martin also claims that it is “type of metonym” (2010:79), whereas Panther and Radden argue that “synecdoche should be independent of metonymy” (1999: 92) and as noted by Enos synecdoche is the “basic figure of speech” while metonymy is “merely a special application of synecdoche” (1996: 712). Taking into account the provided opinions, McGuigan generalizes that the line between metonymy and synecdoche is “blurry at best” and suggests that it is “probably easiest to think of them as different versions of the same form” (2008: 175). On the other hand, Cockcroft & Cockcroft argue that there is a distinctive feature that allows to distinguish between the two figures, as synecdoche “works on the mathematical principle of dividing a whole into its parts” (or vice versa), whereas metonymy “works on the associational

principles of relation or inherence” (2005: 172). Accordingly, it is possible to identify several types of synecdoche that have been used by business persons in the speeches they delivered.

To start with, due to the fact that synecdoche is considered to be a figure of substitution that takes two inverse forms, either substituting the part for the whole or the whole for the part, Cockcroft & Cockcroft recognize the *part-whole/whole-part* type of synecdoche (2005: 172). The research of speeches revealed that there were 17 instances when the speakers mentioned America in their spoken discourse, but actually referred only to its part – The United States of America:

*And I say to our fellow members of the world community, let no one see this contest as a sign of **American weakness**. The **strength of American democracy** is shown most clearly through the difficulties it can overcome* (Gore, 2010).

*My job as President is to do everything within my power to give **America** a level playing field and to create the economic, regulatory and tax structures that make **America** the most prosperous and productive country on Earth, and with the highest standard of living and the highest standard of environmental protection* (Trump, 2017).

Accordingly, there were 13 instances, where the speakers employed the part/whole type of synecdoche and referred to the United States or simply states that are a part of America:

*The lack of border control provides a gateway [...] for criminals and gang members to enter **the United States** [...]* (Trump, January 2019).

*In order to foster international cooperation, it is also essential that **the United States** rejoin the global community and lead efforts to secure [...]* (Gore, December 14, 2007).

Another example of the part-whole type of synecdoche may be observed in the sentences when speakers refer to people by simply mentioning certain parts of their body or other qualities:

*Amid these many diverse and **competing voices**, readers want what they’ve always wanted: a source they can trust* (Murdoch, 2008).

*Shortly after launching our **head of social impact**, and someone deeply committed to our vision and values [...]* (Weiner, 2018).

The part-whole type of synecdoche may be seen as having “a strong depersonalising effect”, because the speaker tends to mention other people by reducing them to their most relevant features (Littlemore, 2015: 24). On the other hand, the following use of synecdoche provides brevity to the discourse and allows the listener to see the issue from an unexpected angle.

Another common use of the device of synecdoche is when the speaker or orator refers to the whole group or community by distinguishing its one feature. When the element of group identity is defined as

the “unifying trait” of that particular group, the use of synecdoche in such cases provides a “recognizable shorthand that can be either narrowly reductive or helpfully clear, depending on how they are employed” (Martin, 2014: 80). Accordingly, there were 17 instances when the speakers referred to a group of people by their nationality:

*Make no mistake – **Americans** today face tough challenges* (Whitman, 2008).

On the other hand, Partington and Taylor note that the following use of synecdoche can have its deficiencies, as without providing quantifiers and not specifying whether *some*, *all*, *a few* or *many* is referred to, can “at the very least project an unjustified collective responsibility” or “at worst, be the precursor to racist stereotyping” (2018: 140):

***Americans** were unable to accommodate their commitment to their own faith with an appreciation for the convictions of others to different faiths* (Romney, 2007).

*These **radical Islamists** do their preaching not by reason or example, but in the coercion of minds and the shedding of blood* (Romney, 2007).

According to Cockcroft & Cockcroft, another form of synecdoche, “though less common than the part-whole variety”, is the genus-species/species-genus type (2005: 172). The following type of synecdoche was recognized in the speeches of business leaders 10 times and provided distinct color and brevity to the statements, when the speakers did not have to introduce referents

*I confidently believe that the American people will stand solidly behind the **men in uniform**, and that they will regard it a privilege to contribute to the limit* (Rockefeller, 1917).

*If you discuss the future with **newspapermen**, you will find that too many think that our business is only physical newspapers* (Murdoch, 2008).

Nonetheless, as indicated by Zhang, the following type of this persuasive literary device can cause certain problems, because the “movement from more specific to more general [...] can result in vagueness and loss of information” (2005: 180):

*The innovators who will devise a new way to harness the sun’s energy **for pennies** or invent an engine that’s carbon negative may live in Lagos or Mumbai or Montevideo* (Gore, December 10, 2007).

Synecdoche can be employed in *generalization* or *specialization* (Panther, Radden, 1999: 118) or to reveal the abstract-concrete/concrete-abstract relationship (Zhang, 2005: 179). Accordingly, the analysis of speeches revealed that the following type of synecdoche was the most frequently employed by the speakers (90 instances):

*They certainly are one reason why, just two months ago, **Fortune Magazine** named GE “America’s Most Admired Company” for the third year in a row* (Welch, 2000).

*And together, let us pray that **this land** may always be blessed, “with freedom’s holy light.”* (Romney, 2007).

*Let me assure you that no **authorities** of my church, or of any other church for that matter, will ever **exert influence** on presidential decisions* (Romney, 2007).

In the examples indicated above the abstract concepts refer to concrete ones: to specific members, employees, or officials, as well as individual subjects and even country. The following type of synecdoche can be an essential “ideological weapon” by means of which people, issues or ideas “can be effectively marginalized by omitting to mention them” (Martin, 2014: 172). Nonetheless, Panther and Radden indicate that it is not always necessary “to specify the details of things”, as when it is possible and “the situation permits”, a tendency might be observed to use “words with more general meanings that require less effort” (1999: 115).

Finally, two more types of synecdoche offered are the “trade name for general product” (Enos, 1996: 712) and the “name of the material for the thing made” (Whitsitt, 2013: 37):

*And then there are the couples whose marriages are in turmoil because the executive sleeps with a buzzing **Blackberry** by the bedside [...]* (Murdoch, 2008).

*At a time when new printing technology was making other **papers** around the world more efficient, newspapers in Britain were forced to rely on a technology [...]* (Murdoch, 2008).

The following forms of the literary device allow the speaker to “surprise and delight” the audience and “invite them to consider a familiar idea from a new angle” (McGuigan, 2008:175).

In conclusion, the application of synecdoche is considered to be a controversial issue, as the reduction of things, ideas or people to only one aspect of their many features diminishes the importance of others; though, if used properly the following literary device can have a powerful effect, because it “defines the qualities of a thing by eliminating all complexity and magnifying one trait over others” (Martin, 2014: 80). Accordingly, the analysis of the speeches delivered by business leaders revealed that in total there were 165 cases when speakers used various types of synecdoche. The most widely used form was the abstract for concrete synecdoche. Nonetheless, in spite of the form of the following device that the speaker uses, the result is the reinforcement of a deeper meaning and the compulsion of the listener to reflect and consider a larger viewpoint than is offered by a particular statement.

3.4. Schematic Language

3.4.1. Antithesis

Antithesis is a “structure containing two parts which are parallel in structure but at the same time somehow opposed in meaning” (Partington, Taylor, 2018: 103) and a literary device that is “much

favoured by many speakers when persuading” (Zhang, 2005: 133). Indeed, it is much easier for the audience to understand the message of the text and become convinced, if they are presented with two sides of the issue, as the placement of the contrasting ideas side by side provide the listeners with “a sharp and forceful way of measuring difference” (ibid.) and the possibility of choosing what is good, bad, and best for them. Accordingly, having analysed the speeches delivered by persons related to the world of business, it was established that there were 68 instances of using antithesis by the speakers:

*The **heaviness** of being **successful** was replaced by the **lightness** of being a **beginner** again, less sure about everything* (Jobs, 2005).

*Rather than **inspire and lift people up**, it was a good way **to shut people down*** (Weiner, 2018).

According to Cockcroft & Cockcroft, antithesis is an important schematic device that occurs “in its simplest form when two words are opposed in a contrary relationship”, but in spite whether it occurs deliberately or accidentally, the “lexical opposition of contrary meanings will be of prime importance” (2005: 176). As a matter of fact, McGuigan suggests that antithesis can be constructed on three levels and the choice of the level depends on the purpose and intentions of the speakers. First of all, the easiest and most common way of contrasting is by “keep[ing] the structure of the sentence identical, but use two opposing words” (McGuigan, 2008:22):

*Then give of your **abundance**, give of your **poverty** but give without stint to this great fund which should be not less than \$250,000,000* (Rockefeller, 1917).

*Never underestimate the effect that you can have on others... in actions **large and small*** (Barra, May 2014).

The second level involves the change in the “entire clauses to contrast with one another” (ibid.):

*If we **don’t develop the talent of our teachers**, we’re going to **waste the talent of our students*** (Gates, 2010).

*That is why we reclaim these spaces for the United States of America, because we are **one nation, not two**; indivisible with liberty and justice **for all, not some*** (Landrieu, 2017).

One business speaker managed to combine the two above-mentioned levels in one sentence, which resulted in the even greater, more powerful and evocative effect of the statement:

*We are in an era of unprecedented **creative destruction**, but there is far more being **created** than there is being **destroyed*** (Murdoch, 2008).

Finally, a speaker may wish to have “whole sentences oppose one another throughout the course of a paragraph” and the following level of contrasting will have a very powerful effect (ibid.):

*The pivotal impact of the teacher does not mean that parents, principals, and administrators **have fewer obligations**. It means they **have greater obligations** – to support better teaching (Gates, 2010).*

*And **it's not just the number of degrees**. It's the skills of the students getting the degrees (Raikes, 2010).*

By making contrasts and highlighting differences between one idea, principle, concept or thing and another, antithesis allows to examine the pros and cons of a particular issue under discussion or a subject of the matter and produce and elicit judgment and discernment on that particular issue or subject. Accordingly, Martin claims that the use of antithesis is clearly central to business and political debate, where “arguments typically aim to differentiate themselves from and declare their superiority over each other” and such cases of antithesis “can be found in unbridgeable dichotomies, such as them/us, not(this)/but(that), either/or” (Martin, 2014: 76). Zhang also notes that from the syntactic point of view, the contrasting pairs can be connected by connectives “but”, “and”, “or”, and semi-colon “;” or include “although”, “in the contrary”, “by comparison”, “more ... less”, “not ... but”, “as well as”, which all serve as “explicit markers of antithesis” (Zhang, 2005: 135):

***For me, personally**, it has been a learning experience. **And for us, collectively**, the journey is just beginning (Murdoch, 2008).*

*This agreement is **less about** the climate and **more about** other countries gaining a financial advantage over the United States (Trump, 2017).*

*John McCain **doesn't want to tax** success and achievement; **he wants to encourage** it. **He doesn't want to** redistribute our national wealth; **he wants to increase** it. **He doesn't want** more big government; **he wants much more** self-government (Whitman, 2008).*

Finally, Жуковська notes that since antithesis “stresses the contrast and organizes the utterance rhythmically”, it is often used in combination with other stylistic figures such as anaphoric or epiphoric repetition, parallelism, and chiasmus (Жуковська, 2010: 119). The analysis of speeches by business persons revealed that the speakers indeed tend to combine antithesis with the mentioned devices:

***You're it or you're not** (McCullough, 2012) (anaphora)*

*The only way to deal with new technology that up-ends your job or your business model **is to get out in front of it**. **Otherwise it will get out in front of you** (Murdoch, 2008) (chiasmus)*

But it's important to explain to people that this is different – that the common core standards ***don't limit freedom; they promote freedom*** (Gates, 2014) (epiphora).

Moreover, the sound of a sentence built on antithesis is thought of being able to provide a greater effect to the statement, as the attempt of the authors to alliterate or collocate the first letters or sounds of the contrasting pair “can help highlight the opposition” (McGuigan, 2008: 22):

*To take on the impossible challenge is **our City’s burden – and our City’s blessing*** (Bloomberg, January 2010).

In conclusion, the stylistic device of antithesis is used to stress the contrast and emphasize the amazing differences between two concepts, ideas, or things. Not only does antithesis add vividness, provide rhythmic harmony and linguistic brevity to the piece of the spoken discourse, but also gives force and intensifies the message, appeals to the emotions of the listeners, creates a stronger impression in their minds, and provides a possibility for them to choose the way of resolving a conflict between the ideas or concepts expressed by the speaker.

3.4.2. Repetition

Repetition is the “reiteration of the same word or phrase to lay an emphatic stress on certain parts of the sentence” (Жуковська, 2010: 132). By repeating the same element or elements, which the speaker considers to be the most important, one not only attracts the listeners’ attention and makes the composition coherent and orderly, but also persuades the audience to accept one’s ideas and the concepts being discussed. What is more, together with metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche, repetition is not only considered to be a key element in the persuasive repertoire, but also the “major resource of schematic rhetoric and the one with closest affinity to the spontaneous expression of emotion” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 182). Indeed, Zhang also notes that repetition is often used for the expressiveness of emotions and to “generate emotional force” (2005: 116). Being under the stress of strong emotions, the speakers tend to employ repetition as if to show the excited state of their minds:

*We have an **obligation**, and it’s a sacred **obligation**, to the families and first responders of 9/11* (Trump, July 2019).

***We must** secure the nation. **We must protect our** people. **We must protect our** borders. **We must protect our** ability to be that voice of our values now and forevermore* (Tillerson, May 2017).

What is worth attention, is that various linguists and authors agree that repetition can be divided into certain types (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 182, Zhang, 2005: 118-128, Enos: 1996). Accordingly, having analyzed the speeches delivered by business leaders, it was determined that the following device was widely employed and in total there were 579 instances of repetition and its different types are presented below.

The most frequently used type of repetition was *intermittent or random repetition (plocche)*, which refers to the piecemeal repetition of important words or phrases at points of emphasis in a sentence or paragraph. It was established that the following type was used 214 times:

*We now serve more than two billion **people** around the world, and every day **people** use our services to stay connected with the **people** that matter to them most* (Zuckerberg, 2018).

*The lives of hundreds of thousands of America's sons and daughters were laid down during the last century to preserve **freedom**, for us and for **freedom** loving people throughout the world* (Romney, 2007).

Second type of repetition most frequently employed was *initial repetition (anaphora)*, which is the recurrence of words or phrases at the beginning of each one of a series of sentences or clauses. The analysis revealed that there were 181 cases when anaphora was identified in the speeches of American business leaders:

***It doesn't tell** anyone what to think; **it doesn't tell** you what to read; **it doesn't tell** you how to teach* (Gates, 2014).

***You will** face difficult choices. **You will** be challenged and tested* (Burns, 2011).

Жуковська indicates that the main stylistic function of anaphora is not so much to emphasize the repeated unit as to “create the background for the nonrepeated unit, which, through its novelty, becomes foregrounded” (2010: 132):

***We will find innovative new ways to** create jobs in the industries of the future, from bioscience and arts and culture, to green technology that fights global warming and local asthma at the same time. **We'll find innovative new ways to** offer all children – in all communities – the first-rate education that they deserve and that is so crucial to building a strong middle class. **We'll find innovative new ways to** protect our city from terrorism and drive crime to record lows, with a renewed focus on a key group: young people who are troubled and at-risk* (Bloomberg, January 2010).

Moreover, Enos states that analysts in the modern fields of discourse analysis relate the use of anaphora in both spoken and written texts to the “enactment of socially constituted power and to the exercise of dominance” (1996: 10):

***No matter** where you live and work, **no matter** what your race or roots, **no matter who you** love, **who you** worship, or **who you** voted for, I pledge to be your Mayor* (Bloomberg, January 2010).

Epiphora, being the opposite of anaphora, is the repetition of the same words or phrases at the end of successive line, clauses or sentences. The analysis of speeches revealed that the following type of repetition was used by business speakers 46 times:

*In the 21st century, people are hungrier for **information than ever before**. And they have more sources of **information than ever before*** (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).

*City school-based afterschool programs **are closed**. Senior centers **are closed**. Public libraries **are closed*** (Bloomberg, 2012).

While Enos notes that *epiphora* can create “an emphatic rhythm that acquires a special emotional charge” (1996: 232), Zhang claims that the following type of repetition is in general “an extremely emphatic device” (2005: 125) as the repeated words or phrases are used to conclude the sentence or passage:

*We didn't take a broad enough view of our responsibility, and that was a big **mistake**. And it was my **mistake*** (Zuckerberg, 2018).

*This plan solves the immediate **crisis** – and it is a horrible **crisis*** (Trump, January 2019).

In order to double the emphatic impact, some speakers tended to use repetition at both the beginning and the end of clauses or sentences, i.e. employed the type of repetition called *symploce*. In total, there were 9 instances when the following type of repetition was used:

When churches** start demonstrating on debt, **governments listened – and acted**. **When churches** started organizing, petitioning, and even that most unholy of acts today, God forbid, lobbying on AIDS and global health, **governments listened – and acted (Hewson, 2006).

Anadiplosis, a type of repetition in which the last word or phrase of one clause, sentence, or line is repeated at the beginning of the next, was used by various business persons 22 times not only for the aesthetic function, but also to provide a sense of logical progression of ideas:

*Your planet, I'll remind you, **is not the center of its solar system**; your **solar system is not the center of its galaxy**; your **galaxy is not the center of the universe*** (McCullough, 2012).

Another type of repetition that is worth attention is *antimetabole*. It is the switch-around type of repetition, where “words or phrases repeated, often with variation, in transposed or inverse order” (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 182). Enos states that *antimetabole* is an “elegant means” and a “striking way to contrast ideas while sharpening their sense”, which allows the sentence to become a “self-contained expression of memorable thought” (1996: 12). Accordingly, there were 4 instances when the following type of repetition was employed:

Be fearful when others are greedy, and be greedy when others are fearful (Buffett, 2008).

Freedom requires religion just as religion requires freedom (Romney, 2007).

To sum everything up, repetition is a stylistic device that has been widely used in the speeches of various American business leaders. The following device and various its types were employed in the

spoken pieces of discourse of businesspersons not only to interlace the ideas and thoughts of the speakers, enhance the rhythmical aspect of the utterance, and reveal the emotional attitude of the speakers themselves concerning the issues being discussed, but also to place great emphasis on the most important points or notions that would shape the audience's process of reasoning and thus persuade them to choose a desired way of behavior or action.

3.4.3. Syntactic Devices

Syntactic devices belong to the category of schematic language and mainly carry a textual function, i.e. "to make the text cohere and be comprehensible" (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 178). On the other hand, syntactic figures should not be considered only as ornaments or embellishment of the text or speech, as skilfully and properly chosen syntactic structures "can be instruments of thought and feeling", as well as "add persuasive strength" (ibid.). According to Bernotiene, syntactic devices "presuppose a distinct meaningful modification in stylistic effect and focus of emphasis" (Bernotiene, 2017: 28). Indeed, to make one's speech more effective, speakers tend to employ various schematic techniques aimed at engaging the audience and "creat[ing] regular bursts of applause by prompting them to anticipate resolutions" that have been further provided by the speaker (Martin 2014: 77).

One of the syntactic devices that is employed to stress particular ideas or thoughts and place emphasis on particular arguments or statements, is chiasmus. According to Partington and Taylor, chiasmus is a "special form of contrasting pairs where the elements of the first part are switched around in the second" (2018: 105). The artistic effect of the following syntactic device can not be given a miss, though, as noted by Zhang, chiasmus can "serve different purposed in different contexts" (2005: 146). Accordingly, it was revealed that in general the syntactic device of chiasmus was used by 7 different business speakers 9 times:

*There has been a lot of **research done about the impact of effective teaching**, but little **research has been done on what makes teaching effective*** (Gates, 2010).

*"We do not **ride on the railroad**," he said. "**It rides upon us**."* (Cook, 2018).

Not only does chiasmus allow to balance the sentence structure and create a sense of connection, but McGuigan claims that the application of the following device "means that the writer thinks the statement is worthy of closer attention" (2008: 111). Indeed, in spite of the purpose of the employment chiasmus, it always "achieves aphoristic effect" (Zhang, 2005: 146) and lends "some extra impact to [the] statement" (McGuigan, 2008: 107):

*Remember: **hard work beats talent... if talent doesn't work hard*** (Barra, May 2014).

*That has always been the **role of great newspapers** in the past. And that **role** will make **newspapers great** in the future* (Murdoch, 2008).

According to Cockcroft & Cockcroft, *listings* (or *heapings-up*) is an important persuasive syntactic structure that consists of enumerating words within a sentence that “replicat[e] a sense of emotional, intellectual or sensory pressure in the audience” (2005: 181). Moreover, the author suggests that listings can be used in four ways: 1) using single “staccato” words; 2) using short phrases of differing structure; 3) using multiple conjunctions; and 4) creating an abrupt effect by omitting all conjunctions (2005: 182). Accordingly, the analysis of speeches delivered by American business leaders revealed that in order to strengthen their position and argument, the speakers do employ the following syntactic device and in total there were 44 sentences where listings were found:

*Instead, the Internet’s open architecture pushes decision-making and intelligence to the edge of the network – **to end users, to the cloud, to businesses of every size and in every sector of the economy, to creators and speakers across the country and across the globe*** (Genachowski, 2009).

*During these days and weeks and months of comparative **idleness, relaxation, inactivity, and waiting**, they will need as never since the day they **entered the service the friendship, inspiration, occupation, amusement, and strength** which these **organizations alone can provide*** (Rockefeller, 1917).

Moreover, it was noticed that listings were usually employed together with repetition that allowed the audience to relate to the stated information and rise in them even stronger expression of emotions:

*We radiate beauty and grace – **in our food, in our music, in our architecture, in our joy of life, in our celebration of death; in everything that we do*** (Landrieu, 2017).

As a matter of fact, the two last ways of listings suggested by Cockcroft & Cockcroft actually have specific names, where the omission of all conjunctions between clauses “to create a continuous flow” is called *asyndeton* (Martin, 2014: 76), while the reverse technique when conjunctions are repeated in close succession “to connect sentences, clauses, or words and make the utterance more rhythmical” is called *polysyndeton* (Жуковська, 2010: 133). Enos notes that the employment of *asyndeton* “can speed up the sentence” and/or “suggest the essential unity of the items” and/or “evoke a sense of disorder” (1996: 41), while *polysyndeton* is generally considered to be a “means of rhythmical organization of the utterance” that “makes for underlining the most important part of information” (Yefimov, Yasinetskaya, 2011: 80). Accordingly, the analysis of speeches delivered by American business leaders revealed that the two above-mentioned devices were employed and used by the speakers 13 and 15 times respectively:

*No one should believe a solution will be found **without effort, without cost, without change*** (Gore, December 10, 2007).

Do what's right – *for* your family, *for* your friends, *for* your customers, *for* your clients, *for* your co-workers, *for* yourself (Barra, 2014).

Finally, another syntactic device that is similar to listings – enumeration – was widely employed by American business leaders. According to Yefimov and Yasinetskaya, enumeration is a syntactic device of “naming objects so that there appears a chain of homogenous parts of the sentence”, where the chain of the enumerated words allows to create “the effect of great quantity of objects”, which “raises the expressiveness” of the oral discourse, makes it dynamic and informative (2011: 78). The analysis of speeches delivered by American business leaders revealed that in total there were 210 cases of enumeration:

Let me begin today not in the present, but in the past. I'd like to bring you back more than 200 years to 1775. In America, George Washington was leading [...]. In Europe, [...] Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was composing his first violin concertos. In London, a talented Scottish mathematician and watchmaker named Alexander Cummings was turning [...] sanitation (Burwell, 2011).

Cases of enumeration were evident by the use of “such as”, “including”, “in terms of”, etc.:

The Venetian introduced large scale, non-gaming amenities to Macao such as retail malls, MICE, live entertainment and arenas (Adelson, 2018).

[...] has amassed more than 35 awards from independent third-parties, including 2017 North American Car of the Year... 2017 Motor Trend Car of the Year... and Green Car Journal's 2017 Green Car of The Year (Barra, 2017).

[...] leaving American workers – who I love – and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories, and vastly diminished economic production (Trump, 2017).

The employment of enumeration allows the speaker to place emphasis on particular ideas or concepts in order to further elaborate them. Moreover, enumeration is a great way of providing more than one argument that would strengthen the position of the speaker:

We regard it as a privilege to contribute to Macao's success in realizing its objectives of diversifying its economy, supporting the growth of local businesses and providing meaningful career development opportunities [...], and reaching its full potential as Asia's leading business and leisure tourism destination (Adelson, 2018).

In conclusions, the employment of syntactic devices in one's speech enables the orator to present one's information or arguments in a concise form, provide understanding of the information presented, as well as stress the most important parts, thus attracting the listeners' attention. Syntactic devices are widely employed in the spoken discourse “to build up emphasis, subjectivity and emotionalism”

(Bernotienė, 2017: 35), which altogether result in the audience paying more attention to the expressed information and becoming persuaded that the information expressed is worthy to be taken into consideration.

3.4.4. Tricks and Ploys

Thomas Watson, an American businessman and the chairman and CEO of IBM, once said that “Doing business is a game, the greatest game in the world if you know how to play it”³. It is not surprising, therefore, that in order to win and achieve one’s aim, business leaders tend to employ various tricks and ploys. As a matter of fact, Gladstone claims that language tricks and ploys is a “component of all argumentative and persuasive interactions” (2006: 61), in which the employment of particular syntactic devices enables the speaker to “create a rationalization trap”, which is the “effective culmination of the tactic” (ibid.).

One of the tricks that have a “substantial persuasive potential” is *aposiopesis* or the breaking-off of a sentence (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 186). According to Жуковська, *aposiopesis* represents the speaker’s “deliberate failure to complete a sentence”, when the audience are expected to complete that sentence by themselves or become agog, waiting for the further explanation to be provided (2010: 131). The following device is used to give rise to “the audience’s curiosity, prompt their collusion, or impress them” in a way that would persuade them to accept the point of view of the speaker (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005: 187). Accordingly, the research revealed that there were 3 speakers, who employed the following schematic tactic:

The scale and range of our hotel suite inventory, the diversity of our non-gaming offering, especially in retail and entertainment and the unique benefit of inter-connectivity between our Cotai properties (Adelson, 2018).

If you really experience an emergency, 911 (Bloomberg, 2012).

Another language ploy that involves “deliberate deviation from a familiar arrangement” is *anastrophe*, i.e. “the inversion of normal word order” (Martin, 2014: 76). The purpose of the following device is to draw the attention of the audience to and “emphasize the words that have been reversed” (Enos, 1996:11). The analysis of speeches revealed that there were 9 instances of the employment of the following device:

That I will not do (Romney, 2007).

And professionals they are (Trump, January 2019).

³ Quotation: <http://quozio.com/quote/deaa83ff#!t=1003>

Finally, another way of persuading the audience concerning a particular issue or argument, is to make them involved in the discussion and become part of the matter. Interaction between the speaker and one's audience allows to build a personal bridge and provides an opportunity to forge a relationship, where the audience come to believe that their opinion and attitude is of high importance. As a matter of fact, the audience is of high importance, because as stated by Beebe & Beebe, public speaking, in general, and business discourse, in particular, is interactive and "without an audience to hear and provide feedback, public speaking serves little purpose" (2014: 7). Accordingly, when presenting a speech, various speakers usually make use of "phrases that either explicitly or implicitly elicit a response" (Martin, 2014: 77) and the most well-known of these is the rhetorical question.

In spite of being called a question, Yefimov and Yasinetskaya note that rhetoric questions "are not questions but affirmative or negative statements put into the interrogative shape" (2011: 83), where no answer is actually needed, as it is by implication obvious. Nonetheless, the following device is of great importance, as it serves the "purpose of laying an emphasis", focuses and intensifies the interest of the audience, makes them become more involved in the matter being discussed (Zhang, 2005: 153), as well as makes the "sequential sentences sound persuasive and significant" (Yefimov, Yasinetskaya, 2011: 83). The analysis of speeches presented by business leaders revealed that there were 12 instances when the speakers addressed their audience and employed rhetorical questions:

Our mission is to organize the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful. How can that not get you excited? (Page, 2009).

Am I the only one who finds it strange that our government so often adopts a so-called solution that has absolutely nothing to do with the problem it is supposed to address? (Gore, December 14, 2007).

In addition to rhetorical questions, Cockcroft & Cockcroft indicate that there are other kinds of questions that can be used to achieve an impressive persuasive effect and significantly enhance the meaning of the speech, including the open question and question and answer (2005: 236). According to the authors, both kinds of questions work on the principle of interaction, where the question and answer "signal a mutual effort to shed light on a murky situation" and the open question "might be a way into genuinely open, dialogic rhetoric" (ibid.). Research revealed that speakers employed the open question and question and answer 13 and 22 times respectively:

Do you want to see the flower of the manhood of this country, which has brought everlasting glory to our nation, neglected in the hour of its greatest need, and afraid to face temptation? Then withhold your contribution to this fund (Rockefeller, 1917).

If great teaching is the most powerful point of leverage – how are we going to help more teachers become great? (Gates, 2010).

Finally, the speaker is not obliged to limit oneself and can employ “a barrage of questions” (ibid.). The analysis of speeches showed that there were 9 speakers who used multiple questions, where the number of questions employed ranged from 2 to 12:

But what about you? Where are you? What are you doing? Why don't you close your eyes for just a moment and think about that? Did anyone imagine themselves being the Commencement speaker receiving an honorary doctorate from The Ohio State University? (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).

In conclusions, language tricks and ploys have an impressive persuasive effect, because any violation of certain syntactic rules draws the listeners' attention and places great emphasis on what has been already or is to be mentioned. The so-called “puzzle-solution formats” tend to deliberately pose problems, thus “inviting the audience to anticipate a solution that the speaker then gives” (Martin, 2014: 77). Moreover, the employment of the following tricks and ploys implies that there is a kind of interaction between the speaker and one's audience and allows the audience to believe that their role is much more greater than simply listen to what is being said.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the materials on the linguistic means of persuasion and theoretical assumptions verified in the practical part of the thesis allow to make the following conclusions:

1. The competence to communicate is an essential feature and a prerequisite of a successful businessman and leader. Taking into account that persuasion is an integral part of the world of entrepreneurship and a speech is the dominant medium of persuasion in human societies, it becomes obvious that in order to influence the thoughts and opinions of people and induce them to behave or act in the manner desired by the speaker, business persons tend to deliver various speeches by employing and resorting to rhetorical techniques and methods.

2. The analysis of 50 speeches delivered by business leaders in terms of rhetorical disposition revealed that the arrangement of a speech is of great importance, as patterns of structural arrangement help the orator to construct one's speech, allocate emphasis, and outline what is to be said in each part. Accordingly it was established that oral business discourse is mainly structured and arranged on the basis of the five-part system (*introduction, narration, proof, refutation, and conclusion*), each part having its own persuasive effect. On the other hand, depending on the content of the speech, occasion and the audience, the disposition of the spoken discourse can be considered to be contingent rather than fixed, thus providing the speaker with a possibility to improvise, i.e. develop some parts at greater length, in a different order, or even omit.

2.1. The opening of a speech is considered to be by far the most important part in the discourse, as, not only does it establish credibility (*ethos*) of the orator, but also sets the entire tone of the presentation and allows the speaker to make the initiatory step towards persuasion. Nonetheless, it was revealed that some speakers tend to render very briefly or even omit the following part of arrangement, believing that the following parts and further information is of greater importance for the achievement of persuasion.

2.2. Aristotle claimed that any persuasive speech has but two necessary parts, when the speaker must state one's case and then prove it. Accordingly, narration and proof were revealed to be compulsory parts of a speech, in which speakers enunciate the issue under discussion and its explanation, establish and provide confirmation, facts and arguments, thus employing the logical appeal of persuasion (*logos*).

2.3. Due to the fact that the speeches analysed in the following thesis were not variances or an exchange of views and opinions on particular issues, but personal presentation on the matters at hand, refutation proved to be an optional part of the arrangement of a speech. On the other hand, in order to strengthen one's arguments and make one's speech even more persuasive, some speakers tended to employ refutation to reject anonymous claims made by unspecified individuals.

2.4. Conclusion, generally considered to be a segment of a classically arranged discourse charged with summing up the arguments and appealing to the audience, revealed that only a small number of speakers tended to repeat the main points presented in the speech, while others chose more elaborate and sophisticated ways of ending one's presentation, such as: provision of a question, statement or a command, presentation of powerful statistics, jokes or anecdotes, or making of some gestures that embody a sentiment for the audience. All things considered, business speakers tended to conclude their spoken discourses by appealing and incorporating the power of *pathos*, which allowed the speaker to leave a powerful impression in the audience's memory and a strong stimulus to their wills.

3. Analysis of rhetorical elocution in the speeches of business leaders revealed that when delivering their speeches, various business persons tend to combine formal and informal style, general and abstract concepts, colloquial and stilted phrases, as well as emotional and impersonal expressions. The following allowed the speaker to remove tensions, relate and establish a bridge between oneself and one's audience. Moreover, in order to add rhythm, musical effect and enhance the pleasure of listening to the speech, various speakers widely employed alliteration (427 cases).

3.1. Rhetorical elocution has been also examined from the point of view and by taking into account the figurative and schematic figures of expression, and showed how often and in what way different linguistic-stylistic means and techniques are used in the spoken discourse and become powerful tools of persuasion. Moreover, the examination of the style of speeches allowed to determine general principles and tendencies existing and functioning in business presentations. It was established that the most widely employed figure of language that hold the predominating position in the spoken business discourse is metaphor (654 cases). Various speakers tend to conceptualize metaphors in terms of: living organisms (79), war (48), liquid (28), and money and economic transactions (25). Stylistic figures of substitution, synecdoche and metonymy, were employed by the business persons 165 and 150 times respectively. Personification, being an ontological types of metaphor, was found in 157 sentences.

3.2. The analysis of schematic figures found revealed that the most employed device was repetition (579 cases) and its different kinds (*random repetition*, *anaphora*, *epiphora*, etc.). The figure of opposition, antithesis, was used by the speakers 68 times. In order to attract the listeners' attention other syntactic devices (enumeration, asyndeton, syndeton, chiasmus, questions, etc.) were incorporated.

All in all, various devices of the figurative and syntactic figures of expression were used to furnish the speech, add vividness and liveliness, attract the attention, remove tensions between the orator and one's listeners, lay emphasis on the presented statements or arguments, stimulate imagination and

manipulate the emotions of the audience, which all in all resulted in the successful achievement of the speakers' persuasive intention and/or aim.

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14. **Desmond-Hellmann, Sue.** *From "Me" to "Us".* The Ohio State University Commencement. Delivered May 6, 2018.
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18. **Gates, Bill.** Teaching & Learning Conference 2014. Delivered March 14, 2014.
19. **Gates, Bill.** Speech to the American Federation of Teachers. Delivered July 10, 2010.
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21. **Gore, Albert Arnold.** *Political Will Is A Renewable Resource.* Address to the United Nations Bali Climate Change Conference. Delivered December 14, 2007.
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24. **Hewson, Paul David (Bono).** Address at the 54th National Prayer Breakfast. Delivered February 2, 2006.
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29. **McCullough, David Jr.** Wellesley High School Commencement Speech. Delivered June 1, 2012.
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46. **Welch, John Francis (Jack).** Key Annual Speech to Shareholders. Delivered 1981.
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Appendix 2. Speeches by American Business Leaders

Adelson, Sheldon. Las Vegas Sands Fourth Quarter 2017 Earnings Conference Call. Delivered January 24, 2018.

Good afternoon everyone and thank you for joining us today. Our company delivered another great quarter and I'm very pleased that we ended 2017 with such strong financial results. Company-wide adjusted EBITDA reached \$1.34 billion, an increase of 20% over the prior year driven by outstanding growth in Macao and Singapore. This has given me a hint that I should change my middle initial meaning Gary to growth as I've done before; so it's now Sheldon Growth Adelson.

Our Macao operations produced its best quarter since quarter three 2014 with adjusted EBITDA reaching \$731 million. Hold-normalized EBITDA came in at \$758 million representing growth of 30% over the prior year. Macao's mass market growth accelerated during the quarter from 9% in quarter three to an estimated 18% in quarter four. We again outperformed the market in mass gaming growth as we have throughout 2017. Our non-rolling table grew by 18% over the prior year while our non-rolling win grew by 27%; this outperformed its mass revenue growth rate throughout significant margin expansion. Our whole normalized EBITDA margin reached 35.1% through the quarter, an increase of 320 basis points compared with the prior year.

The structural advantages that enabled us to drive mass non-gaming growth were fully evident during the quarter. The scale and range of our hotel suite inventory, the diversity of our non-gaming offering, especially in retail and entertainment and the unique benefit of inter-connectivity between our Cotai properties. These advantages allow us to attract more overnight visitors than any other operator, as well as increase their length of stay. As a result, we grew by an exceptional 52% in premiums mass when compared to the prior year. We achieved hotel occupancy of 94% in the fourth quarter despite having added approximately 3,000 rooms to our inventory just over a year ago with the opening in The Parisian. At over 1 million occupier room nights in the fourth quarter, this was an on-time quarterly record for our Macao hotels. Our MICE business has gone from strength to strength growing by 44% year-on-year to just under 290,000 room nights in 2017.

Our strategy to build integrated results with scale and diversity is clearly paying dividends as Macao's mass and tourism growth accelerates. The opening of the Venetian Macao 10 years ago marked the first step in my vision to create the Cotai Strip. The Venetian introduced large scale, non-gaming amenities to Macao such as retail malls, MICE, live entertainment and arenas. These attractions are now well established in Macao and will continue to flourish and grow. I cannot be more proud of the fact that today after receiving more than 290 million visitors, The Venetian Macao stands as the most visited integrated resort in Asia, if not the world.

We have also successfully established The Parisian Macao as a new landmark must see destination resort. The Parisian Macao achieved EBITDA of \$412 million in its first 12-year of operation and welcomed over 15 million visitors to the property. The rapid development of digital and social media marketing in China has been instrumental in establishing The Parisian Macao with its iconic Eiffel Tower as a marquee attraction for Chinese travelers visiting Macao. The brand recognition we have generated for The Parisian Macao on these platforms has simply been incredible with over 5.2 billion impressions as of December 31. The addition of The Parisian to our Cotai Strip portfolio has taken our critical mass and diversity of offering to another level.

The Parisian together with The Venetian, Four Seasons, and Sands Cotai Central, all interconnected, is the only MICE space integrated resort complex of this scale. I'm truly grateful to the Macao government and the local community for their great support over the years in enabling us to implement this vision and strategy. It is in that same spirit of deep commitment to Macao's future development that we announced last October that we would be reinvesting over \$1.1 billion over the next two years in expanding, renovating and reframing Sands Cotai Central into the Londoner, as well as adding approximately 650 in [ph] hotel rooms by completing the two towers at the Four Seasons in the same bridges.

The Londoner have tremendous potential as the third landmark must-see destination. The scale of the current SCC assets are unmatched in Macao, including over 6,000 hotel keys, a 400,000-square-foot retail mall, a 1,700-seat theater and over 300,000 square feet of developed MICE space. The Londoner renovation and expansion will completely re-envision the property, developing another 1.7 million square feet of space, expanding and enhancing all our offerings, hotel suites, retail mall, F&B, entertainment, and MICE. The fourth quarter results at SCC demonstrate the earnings power of this building with quarterly EBITDA above the target [ph] anchored by its strong position in premium end segment and a scaling range of hotel suite inventory. But the full potential this property in care doing to every segment of the market is yet to be realized and that is why it's exciting for us to embark on The Londoner project.

Upon its completion, The Londoner will accommodate more overnight guests than The Venetian and The Parisian combined. The Londoner will offer great potential for visitation and growth as a stand-alone integrated resort, but will also provide synergies with The Venetian Macao and The Parisian. Having three iconic must-see European-themed destination resorts with a broad range of amenities will strengthen our marketing and customer service capabilities and position us to grow faster than the Macao market in every segment on both, the top line and the bottom line in the years ahead.

Sands China is a company rooted in Macao and we will continue to strongly support the community. Following the pledge of 65 million MOP by Sands China and the Adelson Family Foundation to assist with the rebuilding efforts and the aftermath of Typhoon Hato we are working hard to provide financial assistance to the individuals, institutions and charities that have been

significantly influencing. This long-term support of Macao will continue in the coming months and years. At the same time, we remain as committed as ever to playing the pioneering role in Macao's transformation into Asia's leading business and leisure tourism destination. Our decision to reinvest and develop The Londoner Macao reflects at long-term commitment to Macao and our confidence in its future.

We regard it as a privilege to contribute to Macao's success in realizing its objectives of diversifying its economy, supporting the growth of local businesses and providing meaningful career development opportunities for its citizens, including through our Sands Academy, and reaching its full potential as Asia's leading business and leisure tourism destination.

Now, moving on to Marina Bay Sands in Singapore. We deliver another excellent quarter at Marina Bay Sands with EBITDA of \$456 million, an increase of 25% over the prior year. The quarter was marked by a strong VIP and slot revenue growth. Normalized EBITDA margins increased by 190 basis points versus the prior year reaching 52.5% for the fourth quarter supported by solid cost controls and efficiency gains. Our retail mall also continues to outperform the broader Singapore retail market with strong tenant sales growth of 10% year-on-year in 2017. It is worth noting that for 2017 the total operating profit from our malls in Singapore and Macao exceeded \$570 million.

2017 was a record year for Marina Bay Sands and adjusted property EBITDA when measured in Singapore dollars. Because of its business in leisure tourism deals and strong positive impact on the local economy, Marina Bay Sands continues to serve as a powerful reference site to emerging jurisdictions that are considering large-scale integrated resort developments.

Now let's move on to my favorite subject, the return of capital to shareholders, yay dividends and yay buybacks. Our recurring dividend remains the cornerstone of our program to return capital to shareholders. Last October the Las Vegas Sands Board of Directors approved an increase in our recurring dividend for the 2018 calendar year to \$3 per share for the year, or \$0.75 per quarter. After establishing our recurring dividend program in 2012, this marks the sixth consecutive year that we have increased our recurring dividends to our shareholders. We remain deeply committed to our recurring dividend program to both, Las Vegas Sands and Sands China, and we look forward to increasing those recurring dividends in the future as our cash flows grow.

At the same time, we will remain opportunistic in returning excess capital via share repurchase program. We repurchased \$75 million of stock during the quarter, we look forward to continuing to utilize the stock repurchase program to return excess capital to shareholders and to enhance long-term shareholder returns in the future.

Our leverage or debt-to-EBITDA ratio remains low at 2.0 times on a gross basis and only 1.5 times on a net basis. My view of our leverage levels has not changed. We're comfortable with a debt-to-EBITDA ratio of between 2.0 times and 3.0 times on a gross basis, before any additional debt related to development opportunities in new markets. In conclusion, our cash flow generation continues to be strong and predictable. The structural advantage from our scale, critical mass and product diversity remains evident in our strong financial results. The resurgence of growth in the Macao market has continued during the quarter with mass market growth accelerating. It feels like we have now returned to 2014 and the period prior to that. I'm very excited about the growth that we're experiencing in Macao.

We have grown faster than the market in mass, in both the fourth quarter and in 2017 as a whole. We will continue to make significant investments in Macao because we have a long-term and unwavering commitment to Macao.

The substantial redevelopment of Sands Cotai Central into The Londoner Macao will add a third iconic must-see destination to our Cotai Strip development. The full scale utilization of the [indiscernible] and hotel towers comes in an opportune time as we look to take advantage of the structural growth in Macao in coming years and stay ahead of the competition in terms of the quality and scale of our product and amenities. We look to the future with confidence. We have a strong organic growth outlook, we are strategically reinvesting in our existing assets while also pursuing new development opportunities and we have both, the intent and the financial strength to continue to return excess capital to shareholders.

Thank you for joining us on the call today. And now, we'll take questions.

Barra, Mary. General Motors to the Orion Assembly Autonomous Vehicle Announcement. Delivered June 13, 2017.

Thanks, Jim... thanks, Jason.

Let me add my thanks to everyone who has helped achieve today's important milestone... especially the Orion Assembly Plant team... the men and women of UAW Local 5960... the management team... and our government partners at the federal, state and local levels.

In December, we announced that GM would build its next-generation autonomous test vehicle here at Orion. Production of those vehicles began in January, making GM the first and – to this day – the only automotive company to assemble self-driving vehicles in a mass-production facility.

The autonomous Bolt EVs you see here today are purpose built self-driving test vehicles.

The level of integration in these test vehicles is on par with any of our production vehicles, and that is a great advantage for us. In fact, no other company today has the unique and necessary combination of technology, engineering and manufacturing ability to build autonomous vehicles at scale.

As a result, these self-driving Bolt EV test vehicles leave this factory as state-of-the-art autonomous vehicles.

To date, we have completed production of 130 Chevrolet Bolt EVs equipped with our next generation self-driving technology. These vehicles will soon join the more-than-50 first-generation self-driving Bolt EVs we have already deployed in test fleets in San Francisco, Scottsdale, and Southeast Michigan.

Today, new technologies and changing customer needs are helping us transform personal mobility and deliver new transportation solutions that are safer, more sustainable and better than ever. We believe one of the best ways to deliver these solutions is through greater access to self-driving electric vehicles deployed in sharing networks.

To get to this future, we at GM are pursuing both an evolutionary path – with technologies such as automatic emergency braking and Super Cruise – and a revolutionary path, and the clearest evidence is the state-of-the-art autonomous vehicles you see here today.

Before getting into further details, let me point out that Orion Assembly also builds the Chevrolet Sonic and the Chevrolet Bolt EV, which has amassed more than 35 awards from independent third-parties, including 2017 North American Car of the Year... 2017 *Motor Trend* Car of the Year... and *Green Car Journal's* 2017 Green Car of The Year.

Bolt EV is the world's first electric vehicle to combine long range with affordable pricing – an EPA-estimated 238 miles per charge at a price below \$30,000 after government incentives.

It is a zero-emissions car that is a technology platform, is fun to drive and puts our commitment to sustainability in our customers' hands.

It builds on our electrification leadership that began with the Chevrolet Volt in 2010, and whose owners have now logged more than 2.5 billion electric miles.

When it comes to the Bolt EV, we now have thousands of customers proving every day that an affordable, long-range electric crossover can not only meet their needs, but also exceed their expectations.

The Bolt EV is now available at Chevrolet dealerships in 16 states, and will be available nationwide by September.

But the Bolt EV is more than just an "EV for Everyone." It is also a window into the future. It has the onboard power capacity to operate the complex computing systems necessary for self-driving vehicles. And it provides clear benefits for the urban environments where autonomous vehicles are most likely to be introduced – including zero emissions and quiet operation.

And we continue to advance the technology.

The best person to explain the capability of these test vehicles is Kyle Vogt, CEO of our Cruise Automation team in San Francisco. Kyle was unable to be here in person today, but he is joining us by video. Please take a look.

As you all know, GM acquired Cruise Automation early last year. What Kyle didn't say is that Cruise is a leading Silicon Valley startup in autonomous technology that specializes in developing the software that drives our autonomous vehicles.

Cruise is moving fast, operating within GM like the startup company it is. It is joined at the hip with another outstanding team – GM's autonomous technology and vehicle execution team led by Doug Parks, who is with us today. Both teams operate with the flexibility and talent they need to innovate and iterate at the speed of today's leading tech companies.

The array of equipment that Kyle mentioned – the LIDAR, cameras, sensors and other hardware – represents a substantial leap forward in autonomous technology and capability. It will provide GM engineers with more data and faster processing speeds to adapt and problem solve in real time.

Our approach over the last year has been to test in challenging, urban, real-world driving environments, and this next-generation vehicle will allow us to increase that testing and really accelerate our development of safe, reliable, fully autonomous vehicles.

At GM, the highest priority in our vehicle development process is always safety, and of course that priority extends to our development and testing of these autonomous vehicles.

Expansion of our real-world test fleet will help ensure that our self-driving vehicles meet the same strict standards for safety and quality that we build into all our vehicles.

And not only are we committed to building safe and reliable autonomous vehicles, we are also committed to the belief that autonomous vehicles will provide great benefits to society in terms of safety, convenience and quality of life.

The National Safety Council estimates as many as 40,000 people died in motor vehicles crashes in the U.S. last year, a 6-percent increase over 2015. We also know that more than 90 percent of crashes are attributable to human error, and that is something that autonomous vehicles have the potential to eliminate.

Going forward, we will first introduce our autonomous technology to customers in ridesharing fleets in major U.S. cities. We believe this has the potential to significantly reduce the cost-per-mile of ridesharing services and really move us beyond the tipping point where "Transportation as a Service" becomes a very important business opportunity for us.

At the end of the day, we believe the societal benefits and business opportunities of autonomous vehicles will be significant... and we intend for GM to be a leader in their development and deployment. Today's production milestone brings us one step closer to making our vision of personal mobility a reality.

Thanks again to everyone who has made today's announcements possible.

Special thanks to everyone who has traveled here this morning for this event. Please drive safely on your way home.

Thank you.

Barra, Mara. Commencement speech to University of Michigan students. Delivered May 3, 2014.

Thank you. President Coleman... members of the Board of Regents... distinguished faculty and administration... honored guests... parents, families, friends... and most importantly, members of the class of 2014!

Thank you for having me here this morning. I am truly honored to be a part of your commencement exercises.

President Coleman – on the eve of your retirement, I would like to thank you for the tremendous contributions that you have made to the University, to Ann Arbor, and to the state of Michigan.

In 12 years, you have more than doubled the University's foundation, overseen the launch of 49 new degree programs and literally helped change the skyline of this city.

I know I speak for many when I say congratulations and thank you for everything that you have done.

Now as I thought about what I wanted to say today, I was reminded of a philosophy professor who asked his students "What would they do if they had just one hour to live?" One young woman said she would spend her last hour in the professor's class.

He was flattered of course and sued the professor why and she said "Because every hour in your class feels like an eternity."

I promise I won't speak that long.

Actually it sometimes seems like an eternity since I was a student myself. I recall very well the joy of graduation. And I recall the promise and excitement I felt about leaving school and starting my career in earnest.

The world has changed significantly since then. Fast forward to today and you, as members of the Class of 2014, you are also members of the "Millennial Generation."

Demographers like to talk about you as if you were one monolithic mass of humanity. Well, I have two teenagers at home – one just a year away from starting college himself. So, despite the fact that your generation is 80 million strong – making you the largest age grouping in American history – I'm well aware that none of you alike.

For example, not all of you are attached to your cell phones 24/7. About one in five of you actually manages to sleep without it.

And not all of you grew up with high-speed Internet. Apparently, some of your parents still have dial-up.

And this may come as a shock, but not all of you are millionaires. Not yet. But you are the richest generation in history, with collective spending power and influence of almost 1 trillion dollars.

Not all of you have short attention spans.

Let me repeat that. Not all of you have short attention spans. In fact, some of you haven't sent a text or tweet in the entire three minutes I've been speaking.

Not all of you speak "acronym." HBU IDK FTW.

For the parents in the audience, that's "How About You?... I Don't Know... For the Win!"

In fact, some of you still use your cell phones to actually make phone calls. OMG!

Finally, not all of you believe you will be famous. But thanks to Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube, some of you already are.

Of course, not everything has changed since I was a student.

The skills you have learned here at Michigan – critical thinking, problem solving, communications, analysis, teamwork – they are just as essential for success today as they were 30 years ago.

But as I'm sure you know very well, these skills are just the start of what you need for success in today's challenging and fast-paced world. They are the price of admission to today's fast-paced, ever-changing, increasingly global economy.

To stand out... to really make a difference... you will also need the kind of skills and qualities that most of us learn from experience and over time. Allow me to offer you half a dozen lessons that I have learned since my graduation... lessons that have been important to me... and hopefully will be to you.

First, no matter what you choose to do in life, pursue it with passion and hard work.

In my experience... in school and career, at work and at play... there are lots of very talented people out there. But talent alone isn't enough.

You need something more. One thing that distinguishes those who really make a difference in life, those who really contribute, is passion and hard work.

Remember: hard work beats talent... if talent doesn't work hard.

So, don't be content to work around the edges of your profession. Don't wait to be invited to important meetings, or asked to work on crucial assignments.

Instead, do whatever it takes to ensure that you work in the middle of your business. Speak up. Volunteer. Show your enthusiasm. Knock on doors.

As an employee, your enthusiasm will make your job more interesting, and also get you noticed. And as a manager, your passion will inspire others to join your team and work as hard as you to accomplish great things.

Two, conduct yourself with integrity at all times.

In every aspect of your life, be honest. Be fair. Keep your promises. Do what's right – for your family, for your friends, for your customers, for your clients, for your co-workers, for yourself.

Remember how you get things done is just as important as getting them done.

And remember that your integrity is priceless when unquestioned... but worthless, or worse, when it isn't.

Your integrity is one of the most valuable possessions you have. Protect it. Cultivate it. Wear it with pride. This is a lesson the University of Michigan has taught for nearly 200 years. And we all do well to remember it every day.

Three, build relationships.

Everything we know about the Class of 2014 tells us you are one of the most talented and accomplished classes in this school's history. I have no doubt that many of you will go on to do great things. But remember no one does great things alone.

Success is always a team effort. And as tomorrow's team leaders, you must earn the respect and trust of the people you lead. That means being open, seeking solutions, often listening more than talking. Because people don't care what you know, until they know that you care.

To quote Bo Schembechler: "If you do not like people, you will not take the time to get to know them, and if you don't get to know them, you will have no idea what scares them, what motivates them, what inspires them."

Remember, too, that you can't build a relationship only when you need it. Like so many important things in life, strong relationships are built gradually and steadily over time. And there's no better time to start than now.

Four, address challenges head on.

I'm reminded of the plant manager who asked his lead engineer to explain her hiring process.

She said, "We fill a bathtub with water and offer the applicant a teaspoon, a teacup, and a bucket. Then we ask him or her to empty the tub."

"I get it," the manager said. "A go-getter will use the bucket."

"No," the engineer said. "A go-getter will pull the drain plug."

If you have an issue in your life – at work or at home – pull the drain plug! Address it head on, and with everything you have address it right away.

In my experience, it is much better to get the right people together, make a plan, and address that challenge.

Remember that hope is not a strategy. And problems don't go away when you ignore them – they tend to get bigger.

Five, give something back.

As tomorrow's leaders, you have a great opportunity to use your knowledge and passion to build fulfilling lives for yourselves. But do more than that. Use your talents to help build better lives for others, as well.

I imagine we have a few of you that are "Spiderman" fan in the crowd.

Remember that "with great power comes great responsibility." Never underestimate the effect that you can have on others... in actions large and small.

I noted earlier how the Millennial Generation is the largest and richest and most technological generation in American history. What I didn't say is you're also the most inclusive and the most optimistic.

Use these traits... along with the unprecedented access to information and global communications that we have today... to challenge convention.

More than any generation in history, you have the power to expose and correct injustice, to rethink outdated assumptions, to truly make a difference.

And remember that while there's certainly a lot wrong in the world today, there's also a lot right. Not everything needs changing. Some things need protecting – and that can be just as important, challenging, and rewarding as changing the world. I hope that each you will find something that you feel strongly about supporting... that you will make it an important part of your life. In that way, you truly can make the world a better place.

Finally, the last thing I want to mention on this special day is to remember your friends, family, and faith.

Keep your friends and family close. I just can't tell you how important they are. They make your life journey truly rewarding. During the good times, you'll have someone to celebrate with... like today. And during the tough times, you'll have someone to turn to for advice, comfort, and love.

Remember that this day is almost as important for your parents and loved ones as it is for you. I can say as a mom it might even be more important!

Be sure to thank them... and tell them how much their support and sacrifice has meant to you.

And remember your faith, whatever it may be.

Faith doesn't make things easy... but it can make things possible.

So, a lot has changed in the 29 years since I sat in your chair. And a lot has stayed the same.

It may feel like you have your life mapped out, but I can assure you – things will happen that you simply cannot imagine as you sit here today.

Be open to opportunities when they occur – especially in the early part of your career. Each new experience will broaden your skills and perspectives. Embrace them. Enjoy them. And overcome them. But they are the experiences that will make you unique... the milestones that define your life.

Again, my sincere thanks for the opportunity to speak to you today.

Most of all, congratulations to each and everyone of this year's graduates.

This is your life... and I am so excited for each and every one of you!

Thank you.

Barra, Mary. Remarks to employees at a town hall meeting. Delivered June 5, 2014.

Thank you and welcome to our Global Town Hall meeting. I have a lot to cover today, so let's get started.

On Monday, former U.S. Attorney Anton Valukas presented the findings of his investigation into our ignition switch recall to the Board of Directors. As promised, we have shared the report with the appropriate government officials. This morning, I want to discuss it with you. I also want to update you on the company's commitment to create a compensation program for victims.

Before addressing the Valukas report, I first want to take this opportunity to again express my deepest sympathies to the families that lost loved ones and to those who were injured.

I realize there are no words of mine that can ease their grief and pain. But as I lead GM through this crisis, I want everyone to know that I am guided by two clear principles: First, that we do the right thing for those who were harmed; and, second, that we accept responsibility for our mistakes and commit to doing everything within our power to prevent this problem from ever happening again.

With respect to the Valukas report, you should know that he and his team had complete independence in their activities. The investigation covered more than 350 interviews with over 230 individuals and more than 41 million documents.

Mr. Valukas has confirmed that he and his investigators were provided with unlimited access to interview any GM employee and every request for an interview of a GM employee was granted. A number of former GM employees and third parties were also interviewed as part of the investigation.

I will share my perspective and announce some actions in response to the report. My understanding is NHTSA, our regulator, will post the full report on their website, which is available for anyone to review.

I can tell you the report is extremely thorough, brutally tough and deeply troubling. For those of us who have dedicated our lives to this company, it is enormously painful to have our shortcomings laid out so vividly. I was deeply saddened and disturbed as I read the report.

But this isn't about our feelings or our egos. This is about our responsibility to act with integrity, honor and a commitment to excellence.

With all of our colleagues around the world watching today, I want it known that this recall issue isn't merely an engineering or manufacturing or legal problem, it represents a fundamental failure to meet the basic needs of these customers.

Our job is clear: To build high quality, safe vehicles. In this case with these vehicles, we didn't do our job. We failed these customers. We must face up to it and learn from it. To that end, on behalf of GM, we pledge that we will use the findings and recommendations from this report as a template for strengthening our company.

What the Valukas investigation uncovered – in this situation – is a pattern of incompetence and neglect.

Repeatedly, individuals failed to disclose critical pieces of information that could have fundamentally changed the lives of those impacted by a faulty ignition switch. If this information had been disclosed, I believe in my heart the company would have dealt with this matter appropriately.

Furthermore, numerous individuals did not accept any responsibility to drive our organization to understand what was truly happening. The report highlights a company that operated in silos, with a number of individuals seemingly looking for reasons not to act, instead of finding ways to protect our customers.

Let me be clear: This should never have happened. It is unacceptable. Our customers have to know they can count on our cars, our trucks and our word. Because of the actions of a few people, and the willingness of others in the company to condone bureaucratic processes that avoided accountability, we let these customers down.

To give you a sense of the thoroughness and forcefulness of the investigation, I want to paraphrase a few of the key conclusions:

GM personnel's inability to address the ignition switch problem, which persisted for more than 11 years, represents a history of failures.

While everybody who was engaged on the ignition switch issue had the responsibility to fix it, nobody took responsibility.

Throughout the entire 11-year history, there was no demonstrated sense of urgency, right to the very end.

The ignition switch issue was touched by numerous parties at GM – engineers, investigators, lawyers – but nobody raised the problem to the highest levels of the company.

Overall, the report concludes that from start to finish the Cobalt saga was riddled with failures, which led to tragic results for many.

I hate sharing this with you as much as you hate hearing it. But I want you to hear it. In fact, I never want you to forget it. This is not just another business crisis for GM. We aren't simply going to fix this and move on. We are going to fix the failures in our system – that I promise. In fact, many are already fixed. And we are going to do the right thing for the affected parties. But I never want to put this behind us. I want to keep this painful experience permanently in our collective memories. I don't want to forget what happened because I – and I know you – never want this to happen again.

You should know that Mr. Valukas' report revealed no conspiracy by the corporation to cover up the facts. In addition, the investigators found no evidence that any employee made a trade-off between safety and cost.

The problem in this case is more complicated and more nuanced. What Valukas found was a pattern of management deficiencies and misjudgments – often based on incomplete data – that were passed off at the time as business as usual. Unfortunately, the report found, these seemingly benign actions led to devastating consequences. In short, we misdiagnosed the problem from the beginning.

Experienced engineers, with responsibility for safety, didn't understand that the airbags would not deploy if the ignition switch changed position.

I know many of you are saying to yourselves that this problem isn't a fair reflection of the company as a whole. I know it's not. We are better than this. But we own this problem, and we have to have the courage to deal with it in the right way.

As we have learned more about this situation over the last few months, we have acted aggressively to uncover the facts, correct the problems and restructure the internal systems that allowed this problem to develop in the first place. I mentioned earlier that we are posting a summary of all our actions on the website, but I want to highlight five of the most critical steps we have undertaken:

1) We named Jeff Boyer Vice President of Safety for the company, elevating and integrating our safety processes under a single leader. Jeff reports directly to Mark Reuss, and Jeff and I meet regularly.

2) We added 35 safety investigators that will allow us to identify and address issues much more quickly. And we have already seen the positive results of their work.

3) We instituted our Speak Up for Safety program encouraging employees to report potential safety issues quickly. And we are going to recognize them for doing so.

4) We announced the creation of, and have implemented, a new Global Product Integrity organization that will enhance our overall safety and quality performance.

5) Finally – and this is an incredibly important one – we restructured the safety decision-making process to raise it to the highest levels of the company. Senior management is now going to be at the center of these issues.

The Valukas report makes a series of recommendations in eight major areas. I am committing the company to act on all of these recommendations. In each of the major areas, we have already taken action. There is much more to do, of course. But we are going to move forcefully to complete the recommendations on an expedited timetable.

Evidence of our work is already apparent. As I'm sure you know, we are taking an aggressive approach on recalls. And we are bringing greater rigor and discipline to our analysis and decision-making process regarding recalls and other potential safety-related matters. This is the new norm.

We are redoubling our efforts and believe they will be substantially completed by the end of the second quarter. In the near term, you might expect to see a few more recall announcements.

We have also made a number of personnel decisions. Some of these are tough calls, as you can well appreciate, and we held off making moves until this investigation was complete. But with the facts before us, we felt it was important to make a number of changes, and we have already done so.

Fifteen individuals, who we determined to have acted inappropriately, are no longer with the company. Some were removed because of what we consider misconduct or incompetence. Others have been relieved because they simply didn't do enough: They didn't take responsibility; didn't act with any sense of urgency.

Disciplinary actions have been taken against five additional people as well. With these moves, I feel we have addressed the personnel issues in this matter.

Consistent with our priority to do the right thing for those that were harmed, we will be implementing a compensation program for those who have lost loved ones or who have suffered serious physical injuries as a result of an ignition switch failure.

To that end, we engaged noted expert Ken Feinberg to review options and ultimately to administer the compensation program. Again, with all the changes we have implemented and are now undertaking, the job of correcting our mistakes is only beginning. Strengthening our systems and adding resources are critically important steps in improving our company. But as positive as these steps are, they still aren't enough. To excel – to truly build the best auto company for customers – we have to change our behavior as well.

We have to personalize this challenge. Quality and safety aren't someone else's responsibilities. They are mine. They are yours. We all must feel a personal responsibility to see that this company excels at every level.

Together, we have to understand that the attitudes and practices that allowed this failure to occur will not be tolerated. Also, if we think that cleaning up this problem and making a few process changes will be enough, we are badly mistaken.

Our job is not just to fix the problem. Our job must be to set a new industry standard for safety, quality and excellence. To settle for anything less would be a profound error.

So if you are aware of a potential problem affecting safety or quality and you don't speak up, you are a part of the problem. And that is not acceptable. If you see a problem that you don't believe is being handled properly, bring it to the attention of your supervisor. If you still don't believe it's being handled properly, contact me directly.

I want an environment at GM where the customer is at the center of every action and every decision. After all, we exist to serve their needs, not the other way around. We jointly own our successes and our failures. We have to hold each other accountable.

Every day, 220,000 GM employees get up and go to work with a sincere commitment to do their best. You and I both know that the vast majority of our colleagues care deeply about safety and quality and have the highest integrity. The simple truth is each one of us has the power to make GM a better, more customer-focused company. It's time we unleash the full power of this great company.

When I started at GM, I certainly never expected to be CEO. And I certainly didn't expect to be in a situation like this. But I'm here and you are here, and we have to be committed to lead in a way that brings honor and respect to this company.

Even on a day as tough as this I am proud and honored to work for General Motors. I know we have a dedicated and talented team of loyal, honest employees.

I know, because of your efforts, our current vehicles are winning in the marketplace on safety, quality and design. I know our dealers are proud to sell our vehicles, and they care deeply about providing excellent service to our customers. I know our suppliers work hard to provide the best components for our vehicles. And, most important of all, I know, as you do, that our products enhance the lives of millions of people all over the world every day.

As I prepared for today, I thought long and hard about the very tough message I would be delivering. I knew full well how difficult this experience would be for all of us. But I also knew the only course was to be direct and totally honest.

This is a test of our character and our values. In the end, I'm not afraid of the truth, and I know you aren't either. I want it known that we will face up to our mistakes and take them head on.

The fact is I believe in this company and I believe in you. I want GM to be the world's best automotive company – for customers. Whatever it takes to do that is what we are going to do.

Thank you.

Bezos, Jeff. *We are What We Choose.* Commencement speech to Princeton's Class of 2010. Delivered May 30, 2010.

As a kid, I spent my summers with my grandparents on their ranch in Texas. I helped fix windmills, vaccinate cattle, and do other chores. We also watched soap operas every afternoon, especially "Days of our Lives." My grandparents belonged to a Caravan Club, a group of Airstream trailer owners who travel together around the U.S. and Canada. And every few summers, we'd join the caravan. We'd hitch up the Airstream trailer to my grandfather's car, and off we'd go, in a line with 300 other Airstream adventurers. I loved and worshipped my grandparents and I really looked forward to these trips. On one particular trip, I was about 10 years old. I was rolling around in the big bench seat in the back of the car. My grandfather was driving. And my grandmother had the passenger seat. She smoked throughout these trips, and I hated the smell.

At that age, I'd take any excuse to make estimates and do minor arithmetic. I'd calculate our gas mileage – figure out useless statistics on things like grocery spending. I'd been hearing an ad campaign about smoking. I can't remember the details, but basically the ad said, every puff of a cigarette takes some number of minutes off of your life: I think it might have been two minutes per puff. At any rate, I decided to do the math for my grandmother. I estimated the number of cigarettes per days, estimated the number of puffs per cigarette and so on. When I was satisfied that I'd come up with a reasonable number, I poked my head into the front of the car, tapped my grandmother on the shoulder, and proudly proclaimed, "At two minutes per puff, you've taken nine years off your life!"

I have a vivid memory of what happened, and it was not what I expected. I expected to be applauded for my cleverness and arithmetic skills. "Jeff, you're so smart. You had to have made some tricky estimates, figure out the number of minutes in a year and do some division." That's not what happened. Instead, my grandmother burst into tears. I sat in the backseat and did not know what to do. While my grandmother sat crying, my grandfather, who had been driving in silence, pulled over onto the shoulder of the highway. He got out of the car and came around and opened my door and waited for me to follow. Was I in trouble? My grandfather was a highly intelligent, quiet man. He had never said a harsh word to me, and maybe this was to be the first time? Or maybe he would ask that I get back in the car and apologize to my grandmother. I had no experience in this realm with my grandparents and no way to gauge what the consequences might be. We stopped beside the trailer. My grandfather looked at me, and after a bit of silence, he gently and calmly said, "Jeff, one day you'll understand that it's harder to be kind than clever."

What I want to talk to you about today is the difference between gifts and choices. Cleverness is a gift, kindness is a choice. Gifts are easy – they're given after all. Choices can be hard. You can seduce yourself with your gifts if you're not careful, and if you do, it'll probably be to the detriment of your choices.

This is a group with many gifts. I'm sure one of your gifts is the gift of a smart and capable brain. I'm confident that's the case because admission is competitive and if there weren't some signs that you're clever, the dean of admission wouldn't have let you in.

Your smarts will come in handy because you will travel in a land of marvels. We humans – plodding as we are – will astonish ourselves. We'll invent ways to generate clean energy and a lot of it. Atom by atom, we'll assemble tiny machines that will enter cell walls and make repairs. This month comes the extraordinary but also inevitable news that we've synthesized life. In the coming years, we'll not only synthesize it, but we'll engineer it to specifications. I believe you'll even see us understand the human brain. Jules Verne, Mark Twain, Galileo, Newton – all the curious from the ages would have wanted to be alive

most of all right now. As a civilization, we will have so many gifts, just as you as individuals have so many individual gifts as you sit before me.

How will you use these gifts? And will you take pride in your gifts or pride in your choices?

I got the idea to start Amazon 16 years ago. I came across the fact that Web usage was growing at 2,300 percent per year. I'd never seen or heard of anything that grew that fast, and the idea of building an online bookstore with millions of titles – something that simply couldn't exist in the physical world – was very exciting to me. I had just turned 30 years old, and I'd been married for a year. I told my wife MacKenzie that I wanted to quit my job and go do this crazy thing that probably wouldn't work since most startups don't, and I wasn't sure what would happen after that. MacKenzie (also a Princeton grad and sitting here in the second row) told me I should go for it. As a young boy, I'd been a garage inventor. I'd invented an automatic gate closer out of cement-filled tires, a solar cooker that didn't work very well out of an umbrella and tinfoil, baking-pan alarms to entrap my siblings. I'd always wanted to be an inventor, and she wanted me to follow my passion.

I was working at a financial firm in New York City with a bunch of very smart people, and I had a brilliant boss that I much admired. I went to my boss and told him I wanted to start a company selling books on the Internet. He took me on a long walk in Central Park, listened carefully to me, and finally said, "That sounds like a really good idea, but it would be an even better idea for someone who didn't already have a good job." That logic made some sense to me, and he convinced me to think about it for 48 hours before making a final decision. Seen in that light, it really was a difficult choice, but ultimately, I decided I had to give it a shot. I didn't think I'd regret trying and failing. And I suspected I would always be haunted by a decision to not try at all. After much consideration, I took the less safe path to follow my passion, and I'm proud of that choice.

Tomorrow, in a very real sense, your life – the life you author from scratch on your own – begins.

How will you use your gifts? What choices will you make?

Will inertia be your guide, or will you follow your passions?

Will you follow dogma, or will you be original?

Will you choose a life of ease, or a life of service and adventure?

Will you wilt under criticism, or will you follow your convictions?

Will you bluff it out when you're wrong, or will you apologize?

Will you guard your heart against rejection, or will you act when you fall in love?

Will you play it safe, or will you be a little bit swashbuckling?

When it's tough, will you give up, or will you be relentless?

Will you be a cynic, or will you be a builder?

Will you be clever at the expense of others, or will you be kind?

I will hazard a prediction. When you are 80 years old, and in a quiet moment of reflection narrating for only yourself the most personal version of your life story, the telling that will be most compact and meaningful will be the series of choices you have made. In the end, we are our choices. Build yourself a great story. Thank you and good luck!

Bloomberg, Michael. Press Update on Hurricane Sandy. Delivered October 29, 2012.

Good morning, and we're joined here today by Senator Charles Schumer and Council Speaker Christine Quinn, and our key City commissioners. And I wanted to once again thank Linda Calise for her signing.

Let me begin today by updating everyone on the current weather conditions and what we can expect from Hurricane Sandy over the next two days. We continue to remain in touch with Governor Cuomo and State officials in coordinating our response to this storm. I also am announcing right now that we have ordered city public schools to remain closed tomorrow. There's no chance that mass transit will be back in time to serve people, and always worried about cleanup even though the storm should abate dramatically as we get into Tuesday.

The current track provided by the National Hurricane Center shows Sandy making landfall just south of Atlantic City this evening. That keeps New York City well within the danger zone of this storm, and it's why, as of now, we are under a coastal flood warning from now through 3 pm on Tuesday and high-wind warning through 6 pm tomorrow.

This is a massive storm; hurricane-force winds extend some 175 miles in every direction of the center. The storm may strengthen as it meets the cold front approaching from the northwest, and that's when it changes from a tropical storm to a nor'easter, which has very big implications for those areas to the west of us and to the north of us.

As we've emphasized all along, the greatest danger posed by Sandy is the coastal storm surge it will produce. We've already had as much flooding, for example, along the FDR which is fundamentally closed at the moment, as we did in Hurricane Irene.

Now when we close a road, we close it when the water comes up, and if the water recedes, for example as you go from a high-tide to a low-tide period, we would reopen that. But at any moment any of these roads, if it becomes unsafe we close it, and we have lots of people watching.

The flooding that could occur later today is why we ordered our evacuation from Zone A areas yesterday. Last night there was a high-tide, tonight there's a much bigger one, tomorrow another one

Water levels along our coast and in our waterways have begun rising and are expected to remain at higher-than-normal levels for the next 24 hours. The surge will be roughly at 8 o'clock tonight, 8:15, plus or minus a couple of hours. But remember, if you are in the South Bronx, the surge that you're getting is surge that enters Long Island Sound from out around Montauk, and it takes about four hours to get down here. So the surge that you would experience there is much later than the surge that you'd experience if the water is coming up the East River and the Hudson River.

There has already been some flooding already in the Battery, as well as the FDR and some of the Rockaways. We expect surge levels of 6 to 11 feet. A surge of 9 to 10 feet is possible along Coney Island and the Rockaways. And a surge of 11 to 12 feet may occur at the Battery Monday evening. Maximum surge impact in these areas expected to be at some period plus or minus two hours around 8:15, so say 6 to 10:30. The peak surge will hit areas along Long Island Sound between 10 and 2 am, as I said four hours later.

Now, if you live on a coastline you have to add to that breaking waves, waves of 15 to 20 feet along the ocean facing shoreline will result in severe beach erosion, but also it drives some water right over the roads and inland more.

Because of the heavy rains that we do expect, which will come in later tonight, after- first we'll see higher winds, then we'll see the surge, then we'll see more rain. Tomorrow morning we expect to be very wet.

A high wind warning is now in effect. The heaviest winds will occur this afternoon, this evening. Sustained winds of 40 to 55 miles an hour with gusts of 70 to 80 are what's forecast at the moment.

Motorists should exercise extreme caution. We will monitor conditions on the bridges. Governor Cuomo has announced that at 2 pm today, the Hugh Carey Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel and Holland Tunnel will be closed to traffic.

The Bronx River Parkway and the westbound lanes of the Goethals Bridge have been closed. And more bridge and tunnel closings throughout the city are very possible.

Yesterday, I ordered an evacuation of residents and businesses in the areas designated as Zone A in our Coastal Flood Plan. So let me reiterate what I said yesterday just for everybody's safety, and it's also for the safety of the city's first responders who might have to rescue people who remain in Zone A, and whose own lives could be put at risk because of that.

If you are still in Zone A and can find a way to leave, leave immediately. Conditions are deteriorating very rapidly, and the window for you getting out safely is closing.

As the winds start building this afternoon, it gets more and more dangerous to go outside. And so you're sort of caught between a rock and a hard place. You should have left, but it's also getting to be too late to leave. If you really experience an emergency, 911. We will send our first responders in, although we'd love very much not to have to put their lives at risk, and you can control that by getting out now.

You can look outside and say, 'Oh, this is not bad.' That's correct, but it is going to be. Forecasts are reasonably accurate this close to when we're predicting something and it's going to be very high winds, going to be a lot of road closures. You know mass transit's not working, and driving when you have big gusts like that is dangerous.

Overnight, City EMS crews transported 13 homebound elderly from Zone A residences. Plans were also put in effect to transport residents of City homeless shelters in Zone A. And an increased effort is being made to reach homeless on the streets with a focus on those in Zone A. Manhattan Veterans Affairs Hospital and New York Downtown Hospital have been fully evacuated, incidentally.

Some 45,000 of the 375,000 New Yorkers who live in Zone A are residents of city public housing developments. We continue to make enormous efforts to reach them with the message that they need to leave for their own safety. If you are in one of these 26 affected developments, the City is running buses for the next hour or so but that's going to stop because it just becomes too dangerous to run the buses.

If you are still in a public housing development, you should go downstairs. The buses are in the same locations that they were yesterday.

"We placed flyers in all 26 of the affected developments starting last Friday. We had meetings with residents last Saturday. We started knocking on doors of residents in the affected developments Friday and Saturday. That continued yesterday. We have knocked on every door in the affected developments. We made phone calls to apartments in every development. If we couldn't reach people, we put flyers under their doors.

Sunday, police officers were at the developments telling people through loudspeakers to evacuate. We provided school buses to transport people to shelters, and that is still going on. We're especially going to residents we know are on respirators, or other life-saving equipment dependent on electricity, and telling them to leave and helping them do so.

"I did want to commend the elected officials who worked with NYCHA this weekend in going door-to-door with the message to evacuate, particularly to John Rhea and all this staff at NYCHA. I don't think anybody could have done more to give people the notice and advice how to protect themselves.

We've stressed all along that for people living in Zone A, the first option should be finding a safe place to stay with relatives or friends. However, we have also opened 76 emergency shelters in City public schools for those who did not have that option. They are still accepting people. All of these shelters have at least one entrance usable for wheelchairs.

"If you require further information, you can call 311 or visit the OEM website through nyc.gov, or the website of the Mayor's Office for People with Disabilities, which will provide information about accessibility.

We have done everything I think that we can to give you the information that you need. The shelters are fully stocked. We've got volunteers, a lot of teachers who have been there overnight. I visited one yesterday, they have shelter. They have cots, they have blankets, they have food, they have sanitary facilities, and they can even take your pets.

"So far we've had about 3,000 people come into the shelters and if the press wants to know the number of pets, I think it was in the low 70s – 73 pets. But don't leave your pet at home because you don't know when you can get back. So take your pet with you.

For the past several days, we've been stressing what precautionary steps New Yorkers should take. Our message to all New Yorkers is pretty much the same today: the storm is here, and will be here the rest of today and well into tomorrow. Now you should concentrate on keeping yourselves and your families safe.

To the extent possible, remain in your homes while this storm is in progress. If you live in buildings served by elevators, avoid using them during the storm. There's always the possibility of power outages, and you might get caught between floors.

Stay away from picture windows or lobbies where glass could be shattered by wind-borne objects. Most of the glass is able to stand up to the gusts, but if something is blown into them then they could easily shatter and you could be hit with the glass or the object that caused the accident in the beginning.

We have worked very hard to make sure all cranes and construction sites are battered down, and we've had so far no indication of any debris blowing off a construction site. But as the winds get worse, our precautions get tested more, and you never know. There's no reason to jeopardize your lives. It's just dangerous to be out on the streets when the wind is this high. If you have to be, you can do it, but take precautions. You just- stay away from windows when you're inside, outside keep your eyes and ears open. Get your business done and get back inside as quickly as you can. And remember that on the high floors of high-rise buildings, the wind is much stronger, so the further up you live, the more reason you should close your drapes and just stay away from windows.

With regard to City employees: As I have said, City government is open for business today. That's what we're here to do, to serve New Yorkers. When others need help, we've got to be there. To all City workers with operational duties related to Hurricane Sandy: You know what your assignments are and you should be executing them and thank you for your dedication. That's why you go to work for New York City, to help others. We've asked a number of City school teachers to volunteer at the evacuation centers.

However, conditions are dangerous and in light of the predicted impact of the storm to people's ability to get home tonight, I have instructed commissioners that they are to use their judgment to determine if employees not involved in response or shelter operations and have gotten done the stuff that had to get done today, then there's no reason why you can't- Commissioners can make their own decisions, but they could send them- let them leave work early to get home.

But let me be clear: City government is open and these are the times when New Yorkers need us the most. We do want to have everyone to safe and not inconvenience anybody more than necessary. But we understand why we're here.

To give you some examples of what City workers are doing today: Sanitation workers have already picked up thousands of tons of refuse this morning. They will be on 12-hour shifts tomorrow to pick up refuse where possible and also to help removing debris created by the storms.

Park employees are handling calls about, for example, hanging limbs and downed trees.

Employees with the Department of Environmental Protection are cleaning catch basins and staffing wastewater treatment plants, dealing with instances of highway flooding, and repairing water main breaks.

The City Human Resources Administration has opened all its facilities located outside Zone A.

All public hospital emergency rooms are open and will remain open throughout the storm.

But also remember some things have been sensibly closed. City school-based afterschool programs are closed. Senior centers are closed. Public libraries are closed.

All City parks have been closed since 5 pm and will remain closed until further notice. For your safety, now that we are experiencing dangerous winds, please stay out of the parks.

Broadway is closed tonight. If you wanted to go out, it's probably- restaurants want the business and movie theaters and everybody else, but just remember it is dangerous out there and it may be a good time to just stay hunkered in to your home and have a sandwich out of the fridge and sit back and watch television.

We have an effective plan in place we think, and if we follow it and all exercise common sense we're going to get through this storm just fine.

So now let me say number thank you to Chuck Schumer for the help that the Federal government gives us. I was on a conference call with the President yesterday, and he had a bunch of Governors and Mayors, offering any help that he could give us. Craig Fugate from FEMA the day before. And the Governor's Office and my office have talked today. I've talked to the Governor a number of times during this. Everybody's helping everybody and working together, and that's the way it should be.

Bloomberg, Michael. Address in Support of Religious Tolerance and New York City Mosque. Delivered August 3, 2010.

It is, by my watch, one minute before noon, but I will still say, good afternoon.

We've come here to Governors Island to stand where the earliest settlers first set foot in New Amsterdam, and where the seeds of religious tolerance were first planted. We've come here to see the inspiring symbol of liberty that, more than 250 years later, would greet millions of immigrants in the – this harbor, and we come here to state as strongly as ever: This is the freest City in the world. That's what makes New York special and different and strong.

Our doors are open to everyone – everyone with a dream and a willingness to work hard and play by the rules. New York City was built by immigrants, and it's sustained by immigrants – by people from more than a hundred different countries speaking more than two hundred different languages and professing every faith. And whether your parents were born here, or you came yesterday, you are a New Yorker.

We may not always agree with every one of our neighbors. That's life and it's part of living in such a diverse and dense city. But we also recognize that part of being a New Yorker is living with your neighbors in mutual respect and tolerance.

It was exactly that spirit of openness and acceptance that was attacked on 9/11, 2001. On that day, 3,000 people were killed because some murderous fanatics didn't want us to enjoy the freedoms to profess our own faiths, to speak our own minds, to follow our own dreams, and to live our own lives.

Of all our precious freedoms, the most important may be the freedom to worship as we wish. And it is a freedom that, even here in a City that is rooted in Dutch tolerance, was hard-won over many years. In the mid-1650s, the small Jewish community living in Lower Manhattan petitioned Dutch Governor Peter Stuyvesant for the right to build a synagogue – and they were turned down.

In 1657, when Stuyvesant also prohibited Quakers from holding meetings, a group of non-Quakers in Queens signed the *Flushing Remonstrance*, a petition in defense of the right of Quakers and others to freely practice their religion. It was perhaps the first formal, political petition for religious freedom in the American colonies, and the organizer was thrown in jail and then banished from New Amsterdam.

In the 19 – In the 1700s, even as religious freedom took hold in America, Catholics in New York were effectively prohibited from practicing their religion – and priests could be arrested. Largely as a result, the first Catholic parish in New York City was not established until the 1780's – St. Peter's on Barclay Street, which still stands just one block north of the World Trade Center site and one block south of the proposed mosque and community center.

This morning, the City's Landmark Preservation Commission unanimously voted to extend – not to extend landmark status to the building on Park Place where the mosque and community center are planned. The decision was based solely on the fact that there was little architectural significance to the building. But with or without landmark designation, there is nothing in the law that would prevent the owners from opening a mosque within the existing building. The simple fact is this building is private property, and the owners have a right to use the building as a house of worship. And the government has no right whatsoever to deny that right, and if it were tried, the courts would almost certainly strike it down as a violation of the U.S. Constitution.

Whatever you may think of the proposed mosque and community center, lost in the heat of the debate has been a basic question: Should government attempt to deny private citizens the right to build a house of worship on private property based on their particular religion? That may happen in other countries, but we should never allow it to happen here. This nation was founded on the principle that the government must never choose between religions, or favor one over another.

The World Trade Center Site will forever hold a special place in our City, in our hearts. But we would be untrue to the best part of ourselves, and who we are as New Yorkers and Americans, if we said "no" to a mosque in Lower Manhattan.

Let us not forget that Muslims were among those murdered on 9/11 and that our Muslim neighbors grieved with us as New Yorkers – and as Americans. We would betray our values and play into our enemies' hands if we were to treat Muslims differently than anyone else. In fact, to cave to popular sentiment would be to hand a victory to the terrorists – and we should not stand for that.

For that reason, I believe that this is an important test of the separation of church and state as we may see in our lifetimes – as important a test – and it is critically important that we get it right.

On September 11th, 2001, thousands of first responders heroically rushed to the scene and saved tens of thousands of lives. More than 400 of those first responders did not make it out alive. In rushing into those burning buildings, not one of them asked, "What God do you pray to?" "What beliefs do you hold?" The attack was an act of war, and our first responders defended not only our City but our country and our Constitution. We do not honor their lives by denying the very Constitutional rights they died protecting. We honor their lives by defending those rights, and the freedoms that the terrorists attacked.

Of course, it is fair to ask the organizers of the mosque to show some special sensitivity to the situation – and in fact, their plan envisions reaching beyond their walls and building an interfaith community. B[y] doing so, it is my hope that the mosque will help to bring our City even closer together and help repudiate the false and repugnant idea that the attacks of 9/11 were in any ways consistent with Islam. Muslims are as much a part of our City and our country as the people of any faith and they

are as welcome to worship in Lower Manhattan as any other group. In fact, they have been worshipping at the site for better – the better part of a year, as is their right.

The local community board in Lower Manhattan voted overwhelming to support the proposal and if it moves forward, I expect the community center and mosque will add to the life and vitality of the neighborhood and the entire City.

Political controversies come and go, but our values and our traditions endure – and there is no neighborhood in this City that is off limits to God's love and mercy, as the religious leaders here with us can attest.

Bloomberg, Michael. Third Mayoral Inaugural Address. Delivered January 1, 2010.

Well, good afternoon. Happy New Year. Feliz año nuevo.

Mayors Koch and Dinkins, thank you very much for being here; and also let me welcome our new Public Advocate and [Comptroller], Bill de Blasio and John Liu; Speaker Quinn and the City Council, especially its 12 incoming members and 12 outgoing members; our borough presidents and district attorneys; and I also want to give a special thanks to two colleagues who have devoted their time and talents to our city over the past eight years – [Comptroller] Bill Thompson and Public Advocate Betsy Gotbaum; and, as we look at our flags still flying at half-staff, let us join in honoring and thanking a true civil rights pioneer, and a legendary public servant, and a great New Yorker: Percy Sutton.

Last night, the final moments of 2009 passed into history. And as they did, Americans from across the country looked to New York to ring in a new year, a new decade, and a new beginning. And that's only right, because our city has always led the nation not just in celebrating holidays, but in pioneering the most innovative and ambitious new ideas. That's true in the arts, in science, in business. And more and more, we've made it true of city government in so many areas. Whatever happens, happens here first. New York is, as Mayor Koch once famously said: "Where the future comes to audition."

But as we consider the bright promise of our future, we cannot ignore the hard times that exist around us. Many New Yorkers are struggling to pay the rent or the mortgage, to find a job, to feed their families. The road ahead will not be easy, but the journey we have taken together over the past decade fills me with optimism for the one that now lies ahead.

We have experienced financial crisis and economic recession and weathered them better than most. We have suffered devastating attacks and rebounded faster than anyone thought possible, and we've refused to be terrorized. We have faced down controversies that once divided us and we have remained united. Working together, we have created a city that all New Yorkers can be proud of.

We have made the safest big city in the nation even safer. We have adopted bold education reforms that President Obama's Administration has hailed as a national model. We have built the country's largest affordable housing program and adopted its most sweeping public health agenda.

We have pursued the boldest sustainability agenda on the planet. And we have made the greatest City in the world even greater!

As I stand here today, I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to serve New Yorkers for four more years – and to be the first independent to have the honor of taking the oath. I recognize – I understand – that this term is a special opportunity, one that comes with extraordinary responsibilities.

I realize too that the building behind me is yours – and the job in front of me is to listen and to lead. I will not shirk from the hard decisions that lie ahead. And by continuing to reach out to every community, by tackling the toughest issues with renewed energy, and without fear of failure, we will deliver innovations that improve New Yorkers' lives and strengthen our communities. By taking this approach, there are no limits to what we can accomplish in the future. And for confirmation, simply look at our past.

Four years ago on this day, I stood before you and pledged that we would wage a new campaign against an old problem that takes a terrible toll on our communities: Illegal guns. The skeptics said: "That's a national problem. What can one mayor do about it?" But since then, we have built a bi-partisan coalition of 500 mayors who have won victories in city halls, state houses, and yes – even Congress.

Now, we'll set our sights on another national issue that affects New Yorkers in profoundly personal ways: Immigration reform. With leaders from across the country, we will assemble a bi-partisan coalition to support President Obama's call for comprehensive immigration reform that honors our history, upholds our values, and promotes our economy. No city on Earth – no city – should hold these principles higher aloft than this city of immigrants. Because no city on earth has been more rewarded by immigrant labor, more renewed by immigrant ideas, more revitalized by immigrant culture, than the City of New York.

And when I listen to the outstanding students we've had here today from the Newcomers School, I feel more strongly than ever that the future of our city, and our country, depends on newcomers like them, and on whether we honor the ideals that have lit the lamp of liberty in our harbor for more than a century, and that continue to inspire the world!

Immigrants helped make New York City the world capital of opportunity and entrepreneurship, and now we will make City government a global leader in supporting and encouraging entrepreneurs. Just as 311 made it far easier for New Yorkers to interact with City government, we'll now help small businesses get the answers and services they need – all in one place.

Working closely with Speaker Quinn and the City Council, we'll transform the relationship between business and government making it possible for entrepreneurs to open their doors more quickly – and build their futures more successfully. I've been there. I know how tough it is. I also know government can do more and we will. In business and in government, I've seen how innovation occurs when people look with fresh eyes at old problems, and then work together to solve them.

As we begin this new decade, we will take a fresh look at everything with fresh thinking and fresh energy, and we will put more emphasis than ever on collaboration. We'll start with an exercise that, as far as we know, no government has ever done. Back when I was running my company, we temporarily re-assigned senior managers to new areas. It was an eye-opening experience that improved teamwork, generated new ideas, and launched the company to greater heights.

Beginning in about a week, we'll conduct a similar exercise within City government. For three weeks, every First Deputy Commissioner will become a deputy at another agency – one they regularly work with, and they will work directly with that agency's commissioner – side by side, 24/7. We intend to break down the bureaucratic barriers that too often impede innovation, compromise customer service, and cost taxpayers money.

Each Deputy Commissioner will report directly back to me with recommendations for ways their own agencies – and the agencies they've been assigned to for these three weeks – can work more closely together to improve their performance.

Commissioners: This is not someone looking over your shoulder, but a member of our team – your team – who can be an invaluable resource in finding new ways to do the job better. And Deputy Commissioners out there: This is not a game of musical chairs. This is a management challenge, and a unique opportunity for collaboration and innovation. This is also a test for you – and a chance to demonstrate your skills and abilities. And as I tell everyone I hire: "Don't screw it up."

Conventional wisdom holds that by a third term, mayors run out of energy and ideas. But we have proved the conventional wisdom wrong time and again, and I promise you, we will do it once more.

Even as we face difficult fiscal realities, we will budget not only with our heads but with our hearts. We will find innovative new ways to create jobs in the industries of the future, from bioscience and arts and culture, to green technology that fights global warming and local asthma at the same time. We'll find innovative new ways to offer all children – in all communities – the first-rate education that they deserve and that is so crucial to building a strong middle class. We'll find innovative new ways to protect our city from terrorism and drive crime to record lows, with a renewed focus on a key group: young people who are troubled and at-risk. We'll do this and much more – together, as New Yorkers.

This morning, as part of our NYC Service initiative, I worked with community volunteers and members of our Civic Corps at a soup kitchen run by the Franciscan sisters in Brooklyn. And this afternoon, I'll be joining more New Yorkers for service projects in the Bronx, Queens, and Staten Island. On this new day, I can't think of a better way than giving back to demonstrate who we are, and what we must do. The future starts here. It starts now. And it starts with us.

When I raised my right hand, I took a formal oath to uphold the laws of our City. But now, I want to make a personal commitment to you – and to every New Yorker. No matter where you live and work, no matter what your race or roots, no matter who you love, who you worship, or who you voted for, I pledge to be your Mayor. And I will not stop working for you – I will not rest – until every job seeker finds work, every high school student graduates, every child is safe from illegal guns, every family has an affordable home, and every New Yorker with a dream finds it within reach.

To take on the impossible challenge is our City's burden – and our City's blessing. As the timeless quote from the E.B. White – from the great E.B. White reminds us:

New York is to the nation what the white church spire is to the village – the visible symbol of aspiration and faith, the white plume saying the way is up.

Eight years ago, I stood on this spot and dark, ugly plumes of smoke were still rising just a few blocks south from here. But today we see visible symbols of our aspiration and faith rising from that same site. And I believe with all my heart that on this – the first day of the year, the first day of the decade, and the first day of the future of this great city – the way is still up.

God bless you, and God bless New York City.

Buffett, Warren. *Buy American. I Am.* Delivered 2008.

The financial world is a mess, both in the United States and abroad. Its problems, moreover, have been leaking into the general economy, and the leaks are now turning into a gusher. In the near term, unemployment will rise, business activity will falter and headlines will continue to be scary.

So ... I've been buying American stocks. This is my personal account I'm talking about, in which I previously owned nothing but United States government bonds. (This description leaves aside my Berkshire Hathaway holdings, which are all committed to philanthropy.) If prices keep looking attractive, my non-Berkshire net worth will soon be 100 percent in United States equities.

Why?

A simple rule dictates my buying: Be fearful when others are greedy, and be greedy when others are fearful. And most certainly, fear is now widespread, gripping even seasoned investors. To be sure, investors are right to be wary of highly leveraged entities or businesses in weak competitive positions. But fears regarding the long-term prosperity of the nation's

many sound companies make no sense. These businesses will indeed suffer earnings hiccups, as they always have. But most major companies will be setting new profit records 5, 10 and 20 years from now.

Let me be clear on one point: I can't predict the short-term movements of the stock market. I haven't the faintest idea as to whether stocks will be higher or lower a month — or a year — from now. What is likely, however, is that the market will move higher, perhaps substantially so, well before either sentiment or the economy turns up. So if you wait for the robins, spring will be over.

A little history here: During the Depression, the Dow hit its low, 41, on July 8, 1932. Economic conditions, though, kept deteriorating until Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in March 1933. By that time, the market had already advanced 30 percent. Or think back to the early days of World War II, when things were going badly for the United States in Europe and the Pacific. The market hit bottom in April 1942, well before Allied fortunes turned. Again, in the early 1980s, the time to buy stocks was when inflation raged and the economy was in the tank. In short, bad news is an investor's best friend. It lets you buy a slice of America's future at a marked-down price.

Over the long term, the stock market news will be good. In the 20th century, the United States endured two world wars and other traumatic and expensive military conflicts; the Depression; a dozen or so recessions and financial panics; oil shocks; a flu epidemic; and the resignation of a disgraced president. Yet the Dow rose from 66 to 11,497.

You might think it would have been impossible for an investor to lose money during a century marked by such an extraordinary gain. But some investors did. The hapless ones bought stocks only when they felt comfort in doing so and then proceeded to sell when the headlines made them queasy.

Today people who hold cash equivalents feel comfortable. They shouldn't. They have opted for a terrible long-term asset, one that pays virtually nothing and is certain to depreciate in value. Indeed, the policies that government will follow in its efforts to alleviate the current crisis will probably prove inflationary and therefore accelerate declines in the real value of cash accounts.

Equities will almost certainly outperform cash over the next decade, probably by a substantial degree. Those investors who cling now to cash are betting they can efficiently time their move away from it later. In waiting for the comfort of good news, they are ignoring Wayne Gretzky's advice: "I skate to where the puck is going to be, not to where it has been."

I don't like to opine on the stock market, and again I emphasize that I have no idea what the market will do in the short term. Nevertheless, I'll follow the lead of a restaurant that opened in an empty bank building and then advertised: "Put your mouth where your money was." Today my money and my mouth both say equities.

Buffett, Warren. *Memo to All Stars.* Delivered September 27, 2006.

Testing: One million \$, two million \$....three million \$.

The five most dangerous words in business may be "Everybody else is doing it." A lot of banks and insurance companies have suffered earnings disasters after relying on that rationale.

Even worse have been the consequences from using that phrase to justify the morality of proposed actions. More than 100 companies so far have been drawn into the stock option backdating scandal and the number is sure to go higher. My guess is that a great many of the people involved would not have behaved in the manner they did except for the fact that they felt others were doing so as well. The same goes for all of the accounting gimmicks to manipulate earnings — and deceive investors — that has taken place in recent years.

You would have been happy to have as an executor of your will or your son-in-law most of the people who engaged in these ill-conceived activities. But somewhere along the line they picked up the notion — perhaps suggested to them by their auditor or consultant — that a number of well-respected managers were engaging in such practices and therefore it must be OK to do so. It's a seductive argument.

But it couldn't be more wrong. In fact, every time you hear the phrase "Everybody else is doing it" it should raise a huge red flag. Why would somebody offer such a rationale for an act if there were a good reason available? Clearly the advocate harbors at least a small doubt about the act if he utilizes this verbal crutch.

So, at Berkshire, let's start with what is legal, but always go on to what we would feel comfortable about being printed on the front page of our local paper, and never proceed forward simply on the basis of the fact that other people are doing it.

A final note: Somebody is doing something today at Berkshire that you and I would be unhappy about if we knew of it. That's inevitable: We now employ well over 200,000 people and the chances of that number getting through the day without any bad behavior occurring is nil. But we can have a huge effect in minimizing such activities by jumping on anything immediately when there is the slightest odor of impropriety. Your attitude on such matters, expressed by behavior as well as words, will be the most important factor in how the culture of your business develops. And culture, more than rule books, determines how an organization behaves.

Thanks for your help on this. Berkshire's reputation is in your hands.

Burns, Ursula M. Commencement address for MIT's 145th Commencement. Delivered June 3, 2011.

President Hockfield ... fellow Trustees of MIT ... members of the faculty ... graduates, families and friends ... thank you so much for this honor, for your warm reception and for the privilege of delivering the university's 145th commencement address.

This is a very special day for our family. Our son Malcolm is among the undergraduates receiving his Bachelor's degree today.

Malcolm will hate me for this, but I can't begin to tell you how proud we are of him. Like many of you, Lloyd and I sent one of our two most precious possessions — the other precious possession is Melissa who is also with us today — off to MIT four years ago.

We entrusted this wonderful institution with the education of Malcolm at a pivotal moment in his life. While here, he began to quench his thirst for knowledge ... to shape his dreams and begin to turn them into reality ... to form relationships that will last a lifetime.

I know that the parents and families who are here today are nodding their heads in agreement. What MIT has done with our children has been spectacular. So before I go any further, will the parents, families and friends join me in sharing our appreciation to President Hockfield and the talented faculty and staff she leads for all they have give to the graduating class of 2011.

When I thought of what I might say, I couldn't help thinking about what advice I would give my own children so I talked with them. Their advice to me can be boiled down into seven words:

“Keep it real and short!”

So with that in mind, let me give you a little bit of simple advice.

You are about to enter a pretty messy world. The words Charles Dickens used to describe 18th century London are eerily apt: “It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness.”

As the British would say, that strikes me as “spot-on.” We live in a world of both sobering challenges and awesome opportunities.

As you leave this serene campus, our nation is engaged in wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya. We are mired in debt and recovering at a painfully slow pace from the deepest recession in 80 years. Our political system at times seems incapable of action and our political rhetoric seems largely devoid of civility. There is a gross mismatch between the skills we need to build a 21st century economy and the product our public education system is producing.

And yet, for all our shortcomings:

- Our system of government is still the envy of the world. The “Arab spring” is all about a thirst for freedom and democratic rule.
- Our universities at their best are also the envy of the world. I dare say that the graduates here today are among the best and brightest that have been produced at any time and in any place in the long history of mankind.
- Our economy is sputtering and yet our ability to innovate continues to lead the world and create new industries.

So my first piece of advice to you is to not be discouraged. In the words of an old Johnny Mercer song that your parents will remember:

“You’ve got to accentuate the positive

Eliminate the negative

Latch on to the affirmative

And don’t mess with Mister In-Between.”

Yes, we have problems. But we also have great opportunities. Despite the tremendous challenges you face, I implore you to embrace them. The truth is the world needs you as perhaps never before. We need your passion, creativity and drive. We need the spirit of exploration and the thirst for knowledge that you embraced here. We’re finding that some of our old assumptions and ideas don’t work anymore, and we can use people who are willing to ask “why do we do it that way?” and “how can we do it differently and better?”

Yes, it’s a challenge, but it’s also an opportunity. That is precisely what is rolled up in your diplomas. It’s all yours. You earned it. You deserve it. And, no one can take it away.

At the same time, I hope none of you will think of your diploma as an end-point. This event is called a commencement, not a curtain call. You’ve been given a wonderful academic foundation — an invitation to begin a journey of lifelong learning. No less an authority than Albert Einstein wrote that “learning is not a product of schooling but the lifelong attempt to acquire it.” Well, for openers, I would encourage all of you to follow the example of MIT and embrace change and learning willingly and with a sense of excitement and wonder. Think about that. The University is celebrating its 150th anniversary. It has survived and excelled for a century and a half because it has evolved and changed.

The only thing I can predict about your lives with any certainty is that change will be a constant in your lives as well. Back in 1980 when I sat where you are sitting today, there were no cell phones. The Internet, let alone the iPad, was not even the stuff of dreams. Chinese capitalism and the fall of the Soviet Union were unimaginable. Kabul and Islamabad conjured up only the

vaguest recognition of places in some distant corner of the world. Genetics was in its infancy. Even as recently as a few years ago, the thought of a global economic melt-down was beyond comprehension.

I can't pretend to know how your world will change — but I know it will and at a pace that will continue to increase exponentially. You can't stop it. In many ways, you are the cause of it. Learn to love it. Make it your ally.

You should also have fun. Enjoy life. Choose a career that gives you pleasure and fulfillment. Surround yourselves with people who make you laugh. People you love and people who are good.

I know that people are more likely to be successful if they have a passion for what they do. Make yourself a promise today. If down the road, you find that your career, your life, is not fun, revert to my first piece of advice — change!

Change, but be true to yourself in the process. Your family ... MIT ... your church or synagogue or mosque or mountaintop ... have given you a set of core values — a moral compass. Hang on to it.

I have a great sign that hangs on the wall of my office:

“Don't do anything that wouldn't make your Mom proud!”

Your life's journey will include some turbulent waters. You will face difficult choices. You will be challenged and tested. The values you have developed through family and MIT will hold you in good stead. They are your roots, but you have also been given wings — the ability to dare to dream the impossible and then make that dream a reality.

Set your sights on changing the world — in leaving this planet a little better than you found it. That need not be as grandiose as it sounds. It can take the form of getting involved with one of the big ideas of our time ... or working for an organization that creates decent jobs for its workers ... or raising a family that will carry good values into the future.

Believe in something larger than yourself. Make a difference. Live your life so that at the end of your journey, you will know that your time here was well spent, that you left behind more than you took away.

The Bible teaches us that “to whom much has been given, much is expected.” You sit here today a privileged few having received a great education from a great university. Now it's time to begin giving back.

I hope you will take a few moments today to reflect on how fortunate you are and how much support the University has given you. And I hope that in the distant future you will remember how you feel this day:

- Proud that an important phase of your life's journey is ending and anxious about the one that is just beginning.
- Proud of the friendships you've made here and hopeful that some of them will endure far into the future.
- Proud that you've earned a degree and cognizant of how much more you still have to learn.
- Proud that you have achieved an important milestone but aware that you have much to do and miles to go before you rest.

Allow yourself to bask in the glory of what you've accomplished. And pledge to yourself that you will cherish what you have learned here — and use it as a foundation to build a wonderful life. Most of the chapters of your life are still to be written. Most of the pages are blank. In that sense, too, these are “the best of times.”

My congratulations to all of you. You've worked long and hard to arrive at this weekend. And my congratulations also to all the parents, grandparents, spouses, family members and faculty that helped push you across the finish line. All of you should feel very, very proud.

I wish you all the very best. May all your dreams come true.

Burwell, Sylvia Mathews. *Reinventing the Toilet*. Delivered July 19, 2011.

Thank you for that kind introduction.

President Molewa, honorable ministers, partners, colleagues, and distinguished guests – thank you for inviting me to speak with you this afternoon.

It's a privilege to be in Kigali for this important conference organized by the African Ministers' Council on Water. I'm inspired to look out on this room and see so many government leaders, scientists, and other professionals all joined around the common cause of improving access to sanitation across the continent.

The third AfricaSan conference, the largest gathering of sanitation experts and practitioners to date, is testimony to Africa's continued commitment to making a better life for all of Africa's people through improved sanitation.

I'd like to congratulate Rwanda for recently exceeding the UN Millennium Development Goal on sanitation, providing more than 50 percent of Rwandans with adequate sanitation.

I hope we can all use this gathering to learn from Rwanda's success as well as from the progress that's being made against this key development challenge across Africa and the world.

Let me begin today not in the present, but in the past. I'd like to bring you back more than 200 years to 1775.

In America, George Washington was leading the Continental Army in the first battles of the Revolutionary War.

In Europe, a precocious young composer named Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was composing his first violin concertos.

In London, a talented Scottish mathematician and watchmaker named Alexander Cummings was turning his energies to solving a major crisis of his time: improving sanitation.

He believed there was a better way to handle waste than the chamber pot and open trenches of his day.

In 1775, thanks to his ingenuity, Cummings became the first person to patent a “water closet” or what we know as the flush toilet.

His invention helped spark a sanitary revolution of waterborne sewage systems that have saved hundreds of millions of lives by keeping communities safe from diseases.

More than 200 years have passed since Cummings’s invention. And a lot has changed.

Innovation has touched nearly every part of our lives.

What was once seemingly impossible is now possible.

Automobiles and airplanes.

Electric lights and television.

Smart phones and smarter computers.

We’ve developed life-saving vaccines.

Looked inside the smallest molecules.

Glimpsed at the farthest stars.

But more 200 years later, one thing hasn’t really changed:

The toilet.

The sanitation solution that Cummings helped invent—water closets connected to sewer systems – is effectively what we still have today.

And we’ve paid the price for this neglect.

More than 2.6 billion people – 40 percent of the world’s population – don’t have access to these basic sanitation services that many of us take for granted.

This includes more than 1 billion people who still defecate out in the open.

It also includes over a billion people, many of them in rural areas, who use latrines that are dangerous to their communities and the environment.

Another 2 billion people who live in cities and towns use sanitation services in which waste is not disposed of safely and ends up back in their communities.

The result is tragic.

The second largest killer of children under five is diarrheal disease, which is responsible for the deaths of more than 1 million children every year, more than AIDS and malaria combined. Most of these deaths could be prevented with proper sanitation, combined with safe drinking water and better hygiene.

Let me repeat that. More than 1 million children die each year for lack of a basic technology which is now more than 200 years old.

Hundreds of millions more suffer from sanitation-related illnesses which have a negative impact on the developing world’s health sectors and economies. At any one time, half of all hospital beds in developing countries are filled with people suffering from water and sanitation-related diseases, and some 443 million school days are lost each year due to associated illnesses.

No innovation in the past 200 years has done more to save lives and improve health than the sanitation revolution triggered by invention of the toilet. But it did not go far enough. It only reached one-third of the world.

And yet, this is a problem that no one wants to talk about. Though common to everyone, bodily waste is a great unmentionable, a four-letter word discussed in whispers if at all.

Prince Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands, chair of the United Nations Advisory Board on Water and Sanitation, maybe captured it best when he said, “The lack of sanitation endured by 2.6 billion people is a hidden international scandal.”

It should come as no surprise that of the eight UN Millennium Development Goals sanitation is the most overlooked and forgotten. An “orphan” goal, as Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf has called it. At current rates of progress, the world will miss the MDG sanitation target – to halve the number of people without access to basic sanitation – by almost 1 billion people.

So why can’t we solve this problem?

At the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, asking tough questions like these are at the heart of our work.

We are guided by the values of the Gates family, who believe that every life has equal worth. We believe that a child’s birthplace shouldn’t pre-determine whether they will have access to health and opportunity. To that end, the foundation is involved in a range of health efforts in Africa, from vaccines, AIDS, and malaria to mother and child health. And in our development program, which I lead, we focus on areas with the potential for high-impact, sustainable solutions like farming, financial services and improved sanitation that can help hundreds of millions of people pull themselves out of poverty and hunger.

Billions of dollars have been poured into constructing toilets, sewers, and wastewater treatment facilities in the developing world. Still, due to rapid population growth in sub-Saharan Africa, there are now more people without access to improved sanitation in this region than ever before.

What’s clear to us is that existing sanitation solutions – ones based on 200-year-old ideas –are not meeting the challenges we face.

Not only is using the world's precious water resources to flush and transport human waste not a smart or sustainable solution, it has simply proven to be too expensive for much of the world.

What we need are new approaches.

New ideas.

In short, we need to "Reinvent the Toilet".

It should be a toilet for the 21st century – a toilet for the billions whose needs are not being met.

It should be a toilet that is pleasant to use and makes safe sanitation available simply and cheaply to people everywhere. It should save children's lives by controlling disease. It should eradicate the worst job in the world, that of the latrine emptier. It should bring safety and dignity to all people, especially to women and children.

And most importantly, it must be a toilet created in partnership with the people who will use it.

This will not be easy. It will demand innovation. Not just new technologies, but new ways of thinking.

In this case, it will require turning an age-old problem on its head. We all view human waste as, well, "waste" and nothing more – something to be flushed away, kept in the dark, not talked about – a taboo. But human waste actually contains valuable and recyclable materials such as water, energy, urea, salts, and minerals.

What if we viewed waste as a valuable resource to be tapped?

What if human waste powered lights and homes?

What if it helped farmers grow more crops?

What if it generated potable water?

This is not just a dream. It's happening today.

In February, we invited more than 20 leading universities worldwide to submit their ideas of how to realize our vision of a Reinvented Toilet.

There were a few ground rules. We asked that they develop a stand-alone facility without piped-in water, a sewerage connection, or outside electricity. Finally, it must have a total cost (including capital, operation, and maintenance) of just a few pennies per day per person.

A tough challenge. But we received many impressive proposals for how to achieve this goal.

Today I'm pleased to announce that the foundation will be funding eight teams in the first year of the challenge to Re-invent the Toilet for a total of \$3 million.

Many of their ideas are revolutionary. Let me share a few of them.

The University of Toronto is developing a toilet that turns human waste into ash through rapid dehydration and smoldering and also produces potable water.

Stanford University, Berkeley and MIT, in collaboration with start-up NGO Sanergy, are designing a toilet that converts human waste into soil-improving biochar. It will soon be tested in Nairobi's slums.

Delft University of Technology is proposing to zap human waste into synthetic gas with micro waves.

This is just the beginning. We're also funding research into systems that use wind, algae, and anaerobic micro-digesters to consume human waste and generate biodiesel, electricity, heat, methane, fertilizer, and water for homes and entire villages.

In all, we are announcing more than \$41 million in grants to spark new innovations in sanitation.

At the same time, we know that there are no silver bullets.

To address the needs of the 2.6 billion people who don't have access to safe sanitation, we not only must reinvent the toilet, we also must find safe, affordable and sustainable ways to capture, treat, and recycle human waste. Most importantly, we must work closely with the local communities we aim to serve to develop lasting sanitation solutions that best meet their needs.

That's why a large part of the foundation's work will continue to support efforts to raise awareness in poor communities of the consequences of inadequate sanitation – and empower them to take charge of their own solutions using existing technologies. This approach, known widely as "Community Led Total Sanitation," is a promising approach to stimulating demand for safe sanitation services and ending open defecation. But we must find ways – and we are engaging with a range of existing and prospective partners to do this – to bring this approach to scale while achieving 100 percent open defecation-free communities that last, all at an affordable cost to households, communities and governments.

Success is not reaching hundreds of thousands of people. It's reaching hundreds of millions of people.

But we don't have the answers yet to reach this goal.

And, more importantly, we cannot do it alone.

While the foundation's resources may seem large, we are all too aware that they are no more than a drop in the bucket compared to the huge challenges facing governments and civil society to deliver sanitation services.

What we are pledging today is to be your partner in achieving the goals of the UN's new 5 Year Drive to Sustainable Sanitation that is being launched on the African continent this week.

We are ready to offer our support, our funding, the energy and ideas of our staff, and the creativity and innovation that exist here in Africa to help Reinvent a Toilet and scale up existing sanitation technologies both in Africa and beyond.

Africa was able to leapfrog landlines and go straight to using mobile phones, jumpstarting mobile banking and other innovations that are often more advanced than what's available in the United States or Europe. Now Africa is poised to leapfrog traditional sewage systems and reinvent the toilet in ways that will revolutionize sanitation across the planet. Working together, we firmly believe that reinventing a long-lasting, safe, and sustainable answer to the world's sanitation needs is not just necessary, but within reach.

I started this talk by bringing you back 200 years to the story of first inventor of the toilet. Let me leave you today with a story of some present-day inventors to explain why I'm so optimistic about the future of sanitation.

In e-Thekwini, South Africa, a growing metro area with more than 3.6 million people, many strides have been made in delivering sanitation services to the poor townships outside the city. But a significant number of people, about 15 percent of the population, still don't have access to adequate sanitation.

Building a modern sewage system would require lots of expensive infrastructure and use a lot of water – both resources that are in short supply. But the University of Kwazulu Natal is leading an effort to find cheaper, more environmentally-sound solutions to deliver sanitation to this community. The enterprising team of researchers and students has already helped scientists around the world develop a better understanding of the chemical, physical and mechanical properties of human waste and how it might be recovered and recycled. Now this team, one of the eight recipients of the Reinvent the Toilet grants, is working with their local municipality to design a community toilet that can turn waste into clean water and energy. It's an inspiring story. Not simply because of the team's creativity and innovation, but also because the team is driven by an age-old desire to imagine a better world – a world where no child dies needlessly from sanitation-related diseases and where all people can live healthy and dignified lives.

It's this vision of the future that brought us all to Kigali today. Let us act together now to make it reality.

Thank you.

Cook, Tim. Address at the 40th International Conference of Data Protection and Privacy Commissioners. Delivered October 24, 2018.

Good morning! It is an honor to be here with you today in this grand hall, room that represents what is possible when people of different backgrounds, histories, and philosophies come together to build something bigger than themselves.

I am deeply grateful to our hosts. I want to recognize Ventsislav Karadjov for his service and leadership. And it is a true privilege to be introduced by his co-host, a statesman that I admire greatly, Giovanni Butarelli.

Now, Italy has produced more than its fair share of great leaders and public servants. Machiavelli taught us how leaders get away with evil deeds; and Dante showed us what happens when they get caught. But Giovanni has done something very different. Through his values, his dedication, his thoughtful work, Giovanni, his predecessor Peter Hustinx, and all of you have set an example for the world. We are deeply grateful.

We need you to keep making progress – now more than ever, because these are transformative times. Around the world, from Copenhagen to Chennai to Cupertino, new technologies are driving breakthroughs in humanity's greatest common projects – from preventing and fighting disease, to curbing the effects of climate change, to ensuring every person has access to information and economic opportunity.

At the same time, we see vividly, painfully, how technology can harm rather than help. Platforms and algorithms that promised to improve our lives can actually magnify our worst human tendencies. Rogue actors and even governments have taken advantage of user trust to deepen divisions, incite violence, and even undermine our shared sense of what is true and what is false.

This crisis is real. It is not imagined or exaggerated or “crazy.” And those of us who believe in technology's potential for good must not shrink from this moment. Now, more than ever – as leaders of governments, as decision-makers in business, and as citizens – we must ask ourselves a fundamental question: *What kind of world do we want to live in?*

I'm here today because we hope to work with you as partners in answering this question. At Apple, we are optimistic about technology's awesome potential for good. But we know that it won't happen on its own. Every day, we work to infuse the devices we make with the humanity that makes us. As I've said before, “Technology is capable of doing great things. But it doesn't want to do great things. It doesn't want anything. That part takes all of us.”

That's why I believe that our missions are so closely aligned. As Giovanni puts it, “We must act to ensure that technology is designed and developed to serve humankind, and not the other way around.” We at Apple believe that privacy is a fundamental human right. But we also recognize that not everyone sees it that way.

In a way, the desire to put profits over privacy is nothing new. As far back as 1890, future Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis published an article in the Harvard Law Review, making the case for a “Right to Privacy” in the United States. He warned: “Gossip is no longer the resource of the idle and of the vicious, but has become a trade.”

Today that trade has exploded into a *Data-Industrial Complex*. Our own information, from the everyday to the deeply personal, is being weaponized against us with military efficiency. Every day, billions of dollars change hands and countless decisions are made on the basis of our likes and dislikes, our friends and families, our relationships and conversations, our

wishes and fears, our hopes and dreams. These scraps of data, each one harmless enough on its own, are carefully assembled, synthesized, traded, and sold.

Taken to its extreme, this process creates an enduring digital profile and lets companies know you better than you may know yourself. Your profile is then run through algorithms that serve up increasingly extreme content, pounding our harmless preferences into hardened convictions. If green is your favorite color, you may find yourself reading a lot of articles or watching a lot of videos about the insidious threat from people who like orange.

In the news, almost every day, we bear witness to the harmful, even deadly, effects of these narrowed world views. We shouldn't sugarcoat the consequences. This. Is. Surveillance. And these stockpiles of personal data serve only to enrich the companies that collect them. This should make us very uncomfortable. It should unsettle us. And it illustrates the importance of our shared work and the challenges still ahead of us.

Fortunately, this year, you've shown the world that good policy and political will can come together to protect the rights of everyone. We should celebrate the transformative work of the European institutions tasked with the successful implementation of the GDPR [General Data Protection Regulation]. We also celebrate the new steps taken, not only here in Europe, but around the world. In Singapore, Japan, Brazil, New Zealand, and many more nations, regulators are asking tough questions and crafting effective reforms.

It is time for the rest of the world, including my home country, to follow your lead. We at Apple are in full support of a comprehensive federal privacy law in the United States.

There, and everywhere, it should be rooted in four essential rights:

First, the right to have personal data minimized. Companies should challenge themselves to de-identify customer data – or not to collect it in the first place.

Second, the right to knowledge. Users should always know what data is being collected and what it is being collected for. This is the only way to empower users to decide what collection is legitimate and what isn't. Anything less is a sham.

Third, the right to access. Companies should recognize that data belongs to users, and we should all make it easy for users to get a copy of, correct, and delete their personal data.

And fourth, the right to security. Security is foundational to trust – and all other privacy rights.

Now, there are many people who would prefer I hadn't said all that. Some oppose any form of privacy legislation. Others will endorse reform in public, and then resist and undermine it behind closed doors. They may say to you, "Our companies will never achieve technology's true potential if they are constrained with privacy regulation."

But this notion isn't just wrong – it is destructive. Technology's potential is, and always must be, rooted in the faith people have in it: in the optimism and the creativity that it stirs in the hearts of individuals; in its promise and capacity to make the world a better place. It's time to face facts. We will never achieve technology's true potential without the full faith and confidence of the people who use it.

At Apple, respect for privacy – and a healthy suspicion of authority – have always been in our bloodstream. Our first computers were built by misfits, tinkerers, and rebels – not in a laboratory or a board room, but in a suburban garage.

We introduced the Macintosh with a famous TV ad channeling George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* – a warning of what can happen when technology becomes a tool of power and loses touch with humanity. And way back in 2010, Steve Jobs said in no uncertain terms: "Privacy means people know what they're signing up for, in plain language, and repeatedly."

It's worth remembering the foresight and the courage it took to make that statement.

When we designed this device we knew it could put more personal data in your pocket than most of us keep in our homes. And there was enormous pressure on Steve and Apple to bend our values and to freely share the information. But we refused to compromise. In fact, we've only deepened our commitment in the decade since. From hardware breakthroughs that encrypt fingerprints and faces securely – and only – on your device, to simple and powerful notifications that make clear to every user precisely what they're sharing and when they are sharing it.

We aren't absolutist, and we don't claim to have all the answers. Instead, we always try to return to that simple question: *What kind of world do we want to live in?*

At every stage of the creative process, then and now, we engage in open, honest, and robust ethical debate about the products we make and the impact they will have. That's just a part of our culture. We don't do it because we have to. We do it because we *ought* to. The values behind our products are [as] important to us as any feature.

We understand the dangers are real – from cyber-criminals to rogue nation-states. We're not willing to leave our users to fend for themselves. And we've shown we will defend them – we will defend our principles when challenged.

Those values, that commitment to thoughtful debate and transparency, they're only going to get more important. As progress speeds up, these things should continue to ground us and connect us – first and foremost to the people we serve.

Artificial Intelligence is one area I think a lot about. And clearly it's on the minds of many of my peers as well. At its core, this technology promises to learn from people individually to benefit us all. Yet, advancing AI by collecting huge personal profiles is laziness, not efficiency. For Artificial Intelligence, to be truly *smart*, it must respect human values, including privacy.

If we get this wrong, the dangers are profound. We can achieve both great Artificial Intelligence and great privacy standards. It is not only a possibility – it is a responsibility. In the pursuit of artificial intelligence, we should not sacrifice the humanity, creativity, ingenuity that defined our human intelligence.

And at Apple, we never will.

In the mid-19th Century, the great American writer Henry David Thoreau found himself so fed up with the pace and change of Industrial society that he moved to a cabin in the woods by Walden Pond. Call it the first digital cleanse. Yet even there, where he hoped to find a bit of peace, he could hear a distant clatter and whistle of a steam engine passing by. “We do not ride on the railroad,” he said. “It rides upon us.”

Those of us who are fortunate enough to work in technology have an enormous responsibility. It is not to please every grumpy Thoreau out there. That’s an unreasonable standard, and we’ll never meet it. We are responsible, however, for recognizing the devices we make and the platforms we build have real, lasting, even permanent effects on the individuals and communities who use them.

We must never stop asking ourselves: *What kind of world do we want to live in?*

The answer to that question must not be an afterthought. It should be our primary concern. We at Apple can – and do – provide the very best to our users while treating their personal data like the precious cargo that it is. And if we can do it, then everyone can do it.

Fortunately, we have your example before us.

Thank you for your work, for your commitment to the possibility of human-centered technology, and for your firm belief that our best days are still ahead of us.

Thank you very much.

Desmond-Hellmann, Sue. *From “Me” to “Us”*. The Ohio State University Commencement. Delivered May 6, 2018.

Imagine we had a time machine and you could fast forward 20 years from now.

It’s 2038, we’ve got hoverboards, tourist trips to the moon, 3D printed food.... Life is tremendously exciting.

But what about you? Where are you? What are you doing?

Why don’t you close your eyes for just a moment and think about that?

Did anyone imagine themselves being the Commencement speaker receiving an honorary doctorate from The Ohio State University?

Neither would I if someone had asked me that same question when I sat where you are right now.

Because that was before I went from life being all about “me”, to it being all about “us”.

From worrying about my grades, my CV, my career, and thinking instead about what I could do for our world, and our pursuit of human progress.

Graduates, as you think about what comes next, move your thoughts from thinking about “me” to thinking about “us”.

Here’s how I got there.

I am second of seven kids, born in what was then the farming community of Napa in California, who moved to the tiny town of Reno, Nevada, when the population was about 50,000 and there were sagebrush-laden fields everywhere.

There, my pharmacist Dad and his friend opened a family-owned drug store.

Growing up, I attended small Catholic schools with my brothers and sisters.

I loved school. I loved math and science.

In our family, it was, “Do you like subjects like Mom?” – who was an English teacher – or, “Do you like subjects like Dad?”

I was like my Dad.

I would walk around as a kid with his white coat and a plastic stethoscope giving orders to my sisters who played nurse and receptionist.

I participated in every sport. Literally every sport. If they had a girls’ team, I was in.

In track the longest distance was 800 yards, because, you know... we were girls.

From the age of age 15, I worked every summer saving money for college, but I wasn’t suffering; the last summer job I had was lifeguard at Lake Tahoe.

When I was a freshman at University of Nevada, Reno, my youngest sister Jen was born.

I raced through my undergrad in 3 years, helping out my Mom and living at home, eager to get to Medical School.

I was in the second graduating class at University of Nevada Medical School and by the fourth year I was eager to get out of my small town (and my parent’s house).

And I came right here to The Ohio State, where I rented a room, spent a month on the cardiology service, experienced a Buckeye’s football game.

I loved every minute – just as I’m sure you have.

But here’s the point: I was 24 years old, from a small town in Nevada, and Columbus was the furthest east I had ever been.

So, when I think about the kind of life I imagined myself living back then there is no way it would have resembled any part of my life as it has been.

I felt and acted like an underdog, seeing other people experience a lifestyle and opportunities that seemed foreign to me.

As a result, I was constantly striving to demonstrate my worth – showing that I could keep up.

And when I was accepted as a Medicine resident at University of California, San Francisco – the first resident from Nevada ever – that feeling grew even stronger.

I remember the first day so well.

We were all sat around a big table – the 25 new residents – and as we went around, everyone introducing themselves, I sank further and further into my seat.

All I could hear was “Stanford”, “Johns Hopkins”, “Harvard”, and so on.

Then it came to me and I had to say, “University of Nevada, Reno” – and I felt like adding, “Yes, it does have a medical school! And, you know, I read all the same books as you!”

Some people call that feeling “imposter syndrome”, the sense that you don’t belong, that others are somehow more ready, more worthy, more likely to succeed.

All I know is that I spent a lot of time – too much time – proving myself.

Then I had the chance to leave the United States for the first time. And that’s when everything changed.

I went to Uganda.

My years spent learning medicine, learning oncology at UCSF coincided with the terrifying AIDS epidemic that was sweeping the Bay Area.

My experience on the frontlines meant I was asked to go to Uganda to help.

I became the physician who cared for all the adult cancer patients at the Uganda Cancer Institute, while teaching and conducting research.

It was an incredibly difficult time in Uganda and the job was emotionally and physically challenging (Remember, I hadn’t been further from home than Columbus at this point).

But I was never the same again.

I realized for the first time that being smart doesn’t matter, unless you use your intelligence for a greater purpose.

I started thinking about how to serve humanity, how to make a contribution to humanity.

I went from it being all about “me” – to it being all about “us”.

For each of you, it will be a different experience that does it.

The important thing is that you have it as soon as possible.

I regret that it took me so long because proving yourself is way less important than making a contribution.

Graduates, one of the most common things we all do is underestimate ourselves, underestimate our capacity to make a difference to humanity.

But look at you.

For one thing, you’ve got a head start on that goofy kid from Reno.

Thanks to technology and social media, you’re already globally engaged, with an understanding of the world far beyond anything my generation had at your age.

And then there’s this other huge asset, which we are celebrating today.

Class of 2018, you have had the benefit of attending one of the best universities in our country.

There is no other major research university in America that is opening access and achieving success for low-income students and first-generation students as much as this one.

The Ohio State is making your stories ones of possibility, ones filled with opportunity.

The challenge for you now is to make the most of it.

So, how will you do that? How will you make your own transition from “me” to “us”?

Here are 2 lessons I learned along the journey I just told you about.

The first: question yourself.

Because good intentions are not good enough – that’s still all about “me”.

My moving to Uganda, conducting cancer research, even today as head of Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation... I find it odd that I get credit for the jobs I’ve had.

People would tell me – oh, you worked in Uganda, that’s impressive.

Do not give me credit for moving. Ask me what I got done. What was the impact of my going? How did people’s lives improve?

Here’s what I want to be able to say:

- That in Uganda, students learned medicine from my teaching that allowed them to care for others, and very sick patients had less suffering because I treated their cancer.
- Or. That as a cancer researcher, I was part of teams that developed drugs that help millions of women survive breast cancer with fewer side effects and more targeted and effective therapy

- Or. That thanks to the work we are doing at Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, more children than ever before are surviving past their 5th birthday and that we are on the cusp of wiping polio off the face of the earth.

What keeps me awake at night these days isn't the thought of failing an exam, or worrying about how people will think of me in a job interview; it is that we at Gates Foundation might not make a big impact.

Don't settle for the comfort of good intentions – get out of your echo chamber, challenge your beliefs, and change your mindset.

That's my first big lesson: question yourself.

My second big lesson is to question what other people tell you.

Because the best advice isn't always the best advice.

As I weighed my opportunity to work in Uganda, I have a very distinct memory of a senior colleague telling me that I would ruin my academic career by leaving the country.

How many of you would ignore that advice? And, by the way, it was very good advice—because he was right.

For 2 years I didn't publish or network or do all the things needed to become a tenure track faculty member.

When I returned from Uganda I was expecting the professional equivalent of a ticker-tape parade.

Instead there were no funds available for me to continue as a faculty member, and no options then for pursuing global health or cancer research as I had dreamt.

Just as my experienced colleague had warned me, my academic career had ended and I needed to find something else to do.

But here's the point: that was the best advice I never took.

Because it meant I finally switched my metrics for success from what something could do for my career, to how I would use my skills and what I'd learned in service to human progress.

Class of 2018, it's your turn now.

Through your resilience, your persistence, your brilliance, you have earned the right to seize the next exciting opportunity.

And when you move your thoughts from thinking about "me" to thinking about "us", you will be embarking on the path to a meaningful life.

A life where you don't just make a dollar, you make a difference, where you don't just settle for personal gain, you fulfill a noble purpose.

Graduates, there are those on the field who make progress happen, and those on the sidelines who ask: what happened?

It's 2038, which one are you?

Dorsey, Jack. Opening Statement to the House Energy and Commerce Committee on Twitter Transparency and Accountability. Delivered September 5, 2018.

Thank you, Chairman Walden, Ranking Member Pallone, and the Committee for the opportunity to speak on behalf of Twitter to the American people. I look forward to our conversation about our commitment to impartiality, to transparency, and to accountability.

If it's okay with all of you, I'd like to read you something I personally wrote as I thought about these issues.

And I'm also going to tweet it out – right now.

I want to start by making something very clear: We don't consider political viewpoints, perspectives, or party affiliation in any of our policies or enforcement decisions. Period.

Impartiality is our guiding principle let me explain why.

We believe many people use Twitter as a Digital Public Square. They gather from all around the world to see what's happening and have a conversation about what they see. Twitter cannot rightly serve as a public square if it's constructed around the personal opinions of its makers.

We believe a key driver of a thriving public square is the fundamental human right of freedom of opinion and expression. Our early and strong defense of open and free exchange has enabled Twitter to be *the* platform for activists, marginalized communities, whistleblowers, journalists, governments, and the most influential people around the world. Twitter will always default to open and free exchange.

A default to free expression, left unchecked, can generate risks and dangers for people. It's important Twitter distinguishes between people's opinions and their behaviors, and disarms behavior intending to silence another person or adversely interfere with their universal human rights. We build our policies and rules with a principle of impartiality: objective criteria, rather than on the basis of bias, prejudice, or preferring – or preferring the benefit to one person over another for improper reasons. If we learn we failed to create impartial outcomes, we immediately work to fix [those outcomes?].

In the spirit of accountability and transparency, recently we failed our intended impartiality. Our algorithms were unfairly filtering 600,000 accounts, including some members of Congress, from our search auto-complete and latest results.

We fixed it, but how did it happen?

Our technology was using a decision-making criteria that considers [sic] the behavior of people following these accounts. We decided that wasn't fair and we corrected it. We'll always improve our technology and algorithms to drive healthier usage and measure the impartiality of those outcomes.

Bias in algorithms is an important topic. Our responsibility is to understand, measure, and reduce accidental bias due to factors such as the quality of the data used to train our algorithms. This is an extremely complex challenge facing everyone applying artificial intelligence.

For our part, machine learning teams at Twitter are experimenting with these techniques in developing roadmaps to ensure present and future machine learning models uphold a high standard when it comes to algorithmic fairness. It's [an] important step towards ensuring impartiality.

Looking at the data, we analyzed tweets sent by all members of the House and Senate and found no statistically significant difference between the number of times a tweet by a Democrat is viewed versus a Republican – even after all of our ranking and filtering of tweets has been applied.

Also, there's a distinction we need to make clear: When people follow you, you've earned that audience. And we have a responsibility to make sure they can see your tweets. We do not have a responsibility, nor you a right, to amplify your tweets to an audience that doesn't follow you.

What our algorithms decide to show in shared spaces, like search results, is based on thousands of signals that constantly learn and evolve over time.

Some of those signals are *engagement*.

Some are the *number of abuse reports*.

We balance all of these to prevent gaming our system.

We acknowledge the growing concern people have of the power held by – by companies like Twitter. We believe it's dangerous to ask Twitter to regulate opinions or be the arbiter of truth. We'd rather be judged by the impartiality of outcomes, and criticized when we fail this principle.

In closing, when I think of our work, I think of my mom and dad in Saint Louis, a Democrat and a Republican. We had lots of frustrating and – frustrated – frustrating and heated debates. But looking back, I appreciate I was able to hear and challenge different perspectives. And I also appreciate I felt safe to do so.

We believe Twitter helps people connect to something bigger than themselves, show all the amazing things that happen – that are happening in the world, and all the things we need to acknowledge and address. We're constantly learning how to make it freer and healthier for all to participate.

Thank you all.

Gates, Bill. Speech delivered at the Reaching the Last Mile Global Health Forum. Delivered November 15, 2017.

Thank you for that introduction. It's great to be here today. I want to thank His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed for his hospitality, and for his generosity and leadership in global health.

His Highness and I began working together in 2011 to support childhood immunization and polio eradication. Since then, I have traveled to the UAE a number of times for important global health events like the Global Vaccine Summit in 2013, and the Heroes of Polio Eradication Awards in 2015.

This isn't surprising, since the UAE's commitment to global health goes back decades. The UAE's founding father, Sheikh Zayed, was among the first international leaders to join the global fight against Guinea worm disease.

Looking at the UAE now, it's easy to forget this is still a relatively young country, where diseases like malaria were endemic not too long ago. Today, healthcare outcomes in the UAE are among the best in the world. In fact, maternal and infant mortality rates here are lower than in the United States.

So, it makes sense that the global health community is meeting in Abu Dhabi once again. You heard today from experts about the kinds of innovation and collaboration that are needed to end infectious diseases around the world.

I'd like to explain why I'm optimistic about the future.

One reason is the terrific progress we've already made. People don't always realize just how much has been accomplished. But the most compelling indicator of progress is this: Since 1990, we've cut in half the number of children who die before their fifth birthday. This is a remarkable statistic, but it is also part of a larger story of advancement in global health.

More than half of all people living with HIV now have access to antiretroviral therapy. Between 2000 and 2015, malaria deaths dropped by 60 percent. Polio is on the verge of eradication. And the number of people at risk of NTDs fell by 20 percent in the last five years.

A couple of months ago, our foundation published a report called 'Goalkeepers' that highlighted much of this progress. But it also contained a warning: that future progress isn't inevitable.

If we don't double down on investments in innovation, more children will die needlessly and poor health will continue to hold back millions of people and limit the economic potential of many developing countries.

I'm confident that we can maintain a trajectory of progress. There's a lot of exciting innovation happening and I'd like to share a few examples.

Take polio. So far, this year, there have been just 14 cases of wild poliovirus globally, and all of them were in just two countries: Pakistan and Afghanistan. This is remarkable. A quarter century ago, polio paralyzed more than 350,000 people every year.

It's taken an amazing level of partnership to get to this point, including critical support from the UAE to help vaccinators get to children in hard-to-reach parts of Pakistan.

To eliminate the last vestiges of polio, we are using genetic sequencing to track the movement of polio in the few places where it is still endemic or where it occasionally resurfaces. By tracking strains of the virus, we can understand how long it has been circulating and trace its geographic movement. This tells us what kind of immunization response is needed to stamp out the virus. Conversely, if we haven't seen a specific strain in the field for an extended period, that gives us a pretty good idea that it's gone.

Like the eradication of smallpox, finishing the job on polio will prove that, together, we can succeed in ridding the world of epidemic diseases. What's more, we can draw on the knowledge, systems, and resources used to end polio to make progress against other diseases, and to reduce the risk of future pandemics.

With malaria, one of the most urgent challenges is that the mosquitos that carry malaria are becoming resistant to current insecticides used in bed nets and for indoor spraying.

Without new insecticides, malaria deaths could surge. As a short-term measure, the WHO recently began recommending the use of bed nets that include a chemical agent that breaks down the mosquitoes' resistance.

But we also need entirely new insecticides to stay ahead of resistance. The good news is that the WHO also has approved an entirely new insecticide for bed nets – the first in 30 years – and just a couple weeks ago prequalified a new insecticide for indoor residual spray as well. This is fantastic progress that will allow us to manage resistance and potentially save many thousands of lives.

You've heard a lot today about neglected tropical diseases. We are making good progress against these terrible diseases, thanks to a remarkable level of global commitment, including from pharmaceutical industry partners.

I'm particularly excited about the new triple-drug therapy for lymphatic filariasis. Field studies in four countries over the last year have shown that this new treatment is safe for widespread use and effective in suppressing transmission and curing infection in most people.

Thanks to the WHO's streamlined review and recent recommendation, we will be able to treat tens of millions of people with LF more quickly and at less cost. We look forward to working with countries and partners to get this out to communities as soon as possible.

I also recently learned about a new way to monitor cases of LF using 3D infrared sensing technology. By quickly measuring the level of swelling in a patient's limbs, this advance will allow health workers to quickly see if a patient's symptoms are getting better or worse.

It's an incredibly exciting time to be working in global health. We have the opportunity to end diseases that have plagued humanity for centuries, making life better for millions of people. But success isn't guaranteed. And this is something that should concern all of us.

The world needs countries like the UAE and others to continue leading the way in supporting global health innovation. But the fight against infectious diseases isn't only about money.

We also need high-quality data to understand the burden of disease. We need world-class experts working together on smart policies and great scientists to pursue new solutions. And we need dedicated advocates to ensure that improving health for all stays at the top of the global agenda.

With this need in mind, I am excited to announce today a new initiative in partnership with His Highness to establish a state-of-the-art institute that will work with international partners to leverage Abu Dhabi's unique talents and assets in the global effort to eliminate infectious diseases.

The institute will focus on translating research and data on the burden of disease into actionable policy across the wider region and around the world. This will serve as an exciting addition to the rapidly growing platform of global health expertise in the UAE.

As many of you know, 2018 will be the "Year of Zayed" in the UAE. What better time to build on Sheikh Zayed's legacy of philanthropy? Imagine what is possible if we continue working together to give everyone the opportunity to live a healthy and productive life.

Thank you.

Gates, Bill. Council of the Great City Schools. Delivered October 19, 2017.

Thank you for that introduction. It's great to be here today. When our foundation began working in education in 2000, we started with a few guiding principles.

Our #1 priority was – and still is – ensuring that all students get a great public education and graduate with the skills to succeed in the workplace.

We wanted to work with educators to better understand their needs and the needs of their students and communities.

And, taking their best ideas, we wanted to pilot potentially transformative solutions and understand what worked well and what didn't.

Today, I'd like to share what we have learned over the last 17 years and how those insights will change what we focus on over the next five years.

But first, I'd like to say a few words about the state of public education in the U.S. By and large, schools are still falling short on the key metrics of a quality education – math scores, English scores, international comparisons, and college completion.

While much has rightly been made of the OECD data that shows lagging performance of American students overall, the national averages mask a bigger story.

When disaggregated by race, we see two Americas. One where white students perform along the lines of the best in the world—with achievement comparable to countries like Finland and Korea. And another America, where Black and Latino students perform comparably to the students in the lowest performing OECD countries, such as Chile and Greece.

And for all students in U.S. public schools, the percentage of high school graduates who enroll in postsecondary institutions has remained essentially flat.

Without success in college or career preparation programs, students will have limited economic mobility and fewer opportunities throughout their lives. This threatens not only their economic future but the economic future and competitiveness of the United States.

There are some signs of progress. Over the past decade, in cities like Charlotte, Austin, and Fresno, high school graduation rates have gone up rapidly.

Fourth-grade reading and math scores in large city schools increased at almost double the rate of public schools nationally. And the 8th grade scores are even better.

But like many of you, we want to see faster and lasting change in student achievement – and our commitment to that goal is steadfast. In fact, given the constraints and other demands on state and local budgets, it's more important than ever that we continue to explore the best ideas for improving student achievement.

Melinda and I made public education our top priority in the U.S. because we wanted to do something about the disparity in achievement and postsecondary success for students of color and low-income students. That inequity persists today, and we are just as determined now to eliminate it as we were when we started.

When we first got involved in U.S. education, we thought smaller schools were the way to increase high school graduation and college-readiness rates. In some places and in some ways, small schools worked.

In New York City, graduation rates of students attending small schools was more than 30 percentage points higher than the schools they replaced. And almost half of the students attending small schools enrolled in postsecondary education – a more than 20 percent difference from schools with similar demographics.

Results in other places – like Los Angeles and the Rio Grande Valley in Texas –were also encouraging. Yet, over time, we saw that the overall impact of this strategy was limited—the financial and political costs of closing existing schools and replacing them with new schools was too high.

Over time, we realized that what made the most successful schools successful – large or small – was their teachers, their relationships with students, and their high expectations of student achievement.

Understanding this, we saw an opportunity to move our work closer to the classroom – to systemically support schools across the country to improve the quality of teaching and raise academic standards.

In 2007, we began investing in the Measures of Effective Teaching project. Over the last decade, it has contributed important knowledge to the field about how to gather feedback from students on their engagement and classroom learning experiences . . . and about observing teachers at their craft, assessing their performance fairly, and providing actionable feedback.

This work has helped states across the country build comprehensive evaluation systems based on multiple measures. We've seen promising results in places like Cincinnati, Chicago, New York City, and Washington DC, where research shows these systems can help identify teachers who need to improve and those who are underperforming . . . and in places like Tennessee, where three out of four teachers say the evaluation process improves their teaching.

But districts and states have varied in how they have implemented these systems because they each operate in their local context.

In addition, it became clear that teacher evaluation is one important piece of several critical elements to drive student achievement. School leadership, teacher professional development, climate, and curriculum also play critical roles in improving student achievement.

As you know, we also backed the Common Core because we believed, and still believe, that all students – no matter where they go to school – should graduate with the skills and knowledge to succeed after high school. It's exciting to see how the standards are being brought to life in schools and classrooms. But more needs to be done to fully realize their potential.

As we have reflected on our work and spoken with educators over the last few years, we have identified a few key insights that will shape our work and investments going forward.

Teachers need better curricula and professional development aligned with the Common Core. And we see that they benefit the most from professional development when they are working with colleagues to tackle the real problems confronting their students.

Schools that track indicators of student progress — like test scores, attendance, suspensions, and grades and credit accumulation — improved high school graduation and college success rates.

And last, schools are the unit of change in the effort to increase student achievement and they face common challenges — like inadequate curricular systems and insufficient support for students as they move between middle school, high school and college. And they need better strategies to develop students' social and emotional skills. But solutions to these problems will only endure if they are aligned with the unique needs of each student and the district's broader strategy for change.

So, what does this mean for our work with you and others?

First, although we will no longer invest directly in new initiatives based on teacher evaluations and ratings, we will continue to gather data on the impact of these systems and encourage the use of these systems to improve instruction at the local level.

Second, we will focus on locally-driven solutions identified by networks of schools, and support their efforts to use data-driven continuous learning and evidence-based interventions to improve student achievement.

Third, we are increasing our commitment to develop curricula and professional development aligned to state standards.

Fourth, we will continue to support the development of high-quality charter schools.

There is some great learning coming from charters, but because there is other philanthropic money going to them, we will focus more of our work with charters on developing new tools and strategies for students with special needs.

Finally, we will expand investments in innovative research to accelerate progress for underserved students.

Overall, we expect to invest close to \$1.7 billion in U.S. public education over the next five years.

We anticipate that about 60 percent of this will eventually support the development of new curricula and networks of schools that work together to identify local problems and solutions . . . and use data to drive continuous improvement.

Many states, districts, and schools now have the data they need to track student progress and achievement, and some are using it to great effect.

In Fresno, a new data system revealed that students weren't aware of their college options. So, the district created individualized college information packets for every senior who met the state's college requirements. The result was a 50 percent increase in the number of students applying to California public universities.

Summit Public Schools, which operates 11 charter schools in California and Washington, analyzed data and determined that English Learners entered school significantly behind and never caught up.

So, it identified the teachers whose EL students were doing the best, talked to them and curated their materials, and applied those best practices across all Summit schools. In less than a year, the performance gap between English Learners and others decreased by 25 percent.

In Chicago, researchers also found powerful insights in their data that are predictive of student progress and success. They determined, for example, that 9th graders who succeed on four key indicators—high attendance, course completion rates, credit accumulation, and grades — are more than 4 times more likely to graduate. And if their grades are a B+ or higher, they are much more likely to succeed in their first year of college.

Excited by insights like these, school leaders in Chicago partnered with the University of Chicago to create the Network for College Success.

This network of schools is using data to identify strategies that educators can use to solve specific problems. From 2007 to 2015, the percentage of students on track to graduate from Chicago high schools rose from 61 to 85 percent. And four-year college enrollment rates in Chicago went from 36 to 44 percent.

We believe this kind of approach — where groups of schools have the flexibility to propose the set of approaches they want — will lead to more impactful and durable systemic change that is attractive enough to be widely adopted by other schools.

We are seeing more examples of this popping up all the time. Like the CORE Districts in California — comprised of eight of the largest school districts in the state. And the LIFT Network in Tennessee, which includes educators from 12 rural and urban districts across the state.

Over the next several years, we will support about 30 of these networks, and will start initially with high needs schools and districts in 6 to 8 states. Each network will be backed by a team of education experts skilled in continuous improvement, coaching, and data collection and analysis.

There are two things these networks will share in common. A commitment to continuous improvement. And a focus on addressing common problems that are identified by using proven indicators predictive of students' learning, progress, and postsecondary success.

But we will leave it up to each network to decide what approaches they believe will work best to address their biggest challenges. They might decide, for example, to focus on student interventions in middle school . . . or adapting new and more rigorous curricula . . . or improving support for certain groups of students in the transition from high school to college.

We will work with partners to document these change efforts in schools and networks and ask them to share the lessons learned with others.

We'll also work with teacher and leader prep providers to ensure that these lessons and best practices are incorporated into local programs to further enrich and sustain this work.

We also know that high-quality curricula can improve student learning more than many costlier solutions, and it has the greatest impact with students of novice and lower performing teachers. We also know it has the greatest impact when accompanied by professional learning and coaching.

Our goal is to work with the field to ensure that five years from now, teachers at every grade level in secondary schools have access to high-quality, aligned curriculum choices in English and math, as well as science curricula based on the Next Generation Science Standards. In a few places, we also will support pilots of scalable professional development supports anchored in high quality curriculum.

Louisiana is a great example of where aligned curricula and professional development is helping teachers. 80 percent of districts have adopted fully aligned curricula in grades 3 through 8. And the state has created a marketplace of preferred professional development service providers to help schools implement these curricula effectively. Teachers report that they feel more equipped to help students meet the standards—for example, by closely reading texts for meaning.

In Washington DC, the school district has developed an innovative professional development program that is discipline-specific, curricula-aligned, and focused on improving teachers' instructional skills at the school level. Teachers meet weekly with a coach who is an expert in the subjects they teach. They also meet in small groups with colleagues who teach the same subject to talk through lesson plans, what's working, and how to adjust their instruction accordingly. While still early, 87 percent of teachers say the collaboration and feedback is improving their practice and knowledge.

We expect that about 25 percent of our funding in the next five years will focus on big bets – innovations with the potential to change the trajectory of public education over the next 10 to 15 years.

The conditions for developing and spreading new approaches in education, particularly technology-enabled ones, are better than ever. Broadband access in schools is reaching 90 percent. Students and teachers have access to more affordable and more powerful tools for learning. Educators are seeking each other out and sharing ideas in digital communities. And there are promising developments in neuroscience, cognitive psychology, and behavioral economics.

But the PreK-12 research, development and translation ecosystem is underfunded and fragmented, with less than 1 percent of total government spending in public education focused on R&D.

Math is one area where we want to generate stronger evidence about what works. What would it take, for example, to get all kids to mastery of Algebra I? What kinds of intelligent tools do teachers and students need to get there? And how might we design these in partnership with the best math teachers in the country?

We are also interested in what role we can play to prepare students for the dramatic changes underway in the workforce. We have to make work-related experiences a consistent part of high schools in ways that build student engagement and relevant skills, and that put young people on a path to credentials with labor market value in our future economy.

We anticipate that the final 15 percent of our funding in the next five years will go to the charter sector.

We will continue to help high-performing charters expand to serve more students. But our emphasis will be on efforts that improve outcomes for special needs students – especially kids with mild-to-moderate learning and behavioral disabilities. This is a critical problem across the education sector, and we believe that charters have the flexibility to help the field solve this problem.

Over the last 17 years, we have invested \$1 billion in the cities represented in the room in support of school improvement and redesign efforts. We are proud of that work and have seen some good things come out of it that make me optimistic about the future.

Education is, without a doubt, one of the most challenging areas we invest in as a foundation. But I'm excited about the shift in our work and the focus on partnering with networks of schools.

Giving schools and districts more flexibility is more likely to lead to solutions that fit the needs of local communities and are potentially replicable elsewhere.

I'm also hopeful this will attract other funders focused on particular approaches or who work in one state or community.

If there is one thing I have learned, it is that no matter how enthusiastic we might be about one approach or another, the decision to go from pilot to wide-scale usage is ultimately and always something that has to be decided by you and others the field.

Our role is to serve as a catalyst of good ideas, driven by the same guiding principle we started with: all students – but especially low-income students and students of color – must have equal access to a great public education that prepares them for adulthood. We will not stop until this has been achieved, and we look forward to continued partnership with you in this work in the years to come.

Thank you.

Gates, Bill. Teaching & Learning Conference 2014. Delivered March 14, 2014.

Public education is the single greatest instrument for equal opportunity in America. That is why Melinda and I focus on public schools. And that is why we support a change that can trigger big gains for our students: the Common Core State Standards.

After studying them, talking to teachers about them, and seeing students learn from them, we are convinced that the new standards are a platform for innovation. They will give teachers the freedom you need to be creative, the tools you need to be effective, the feedback you need to keep improving – and the rigor that our students need to become great learners.

As you know, the standards are benchmarks in math and English for what students should know and be able to do at each grade level. They emphasize critical thinking and problem-solving, and they are now being implemented in 45 states and here in the District of Columbia.

They're also inspiring heated debate. Some of the debate comes from people who want more time and support for teachers to implement the standards. Some of the debate comes from people who want to stop the standards, which would send us back to what we had before.

As someone who passionately supports the new standards, I want to offer my views today about what they are, why we need them, and what should be done to help teachers master them. I feel honored to be making these remarks to teachers who have done so much to advance the standards of the teaching profession. There are many voices in this debate, but none are more important or more trusted than yours.

Last month, we had more than a dozen teachers from across the country come talk to our team at the Foundation so we could hear more about what they're facing as they switch over to the Common Core.

One teacher told a story about the old standards that for her captured the need for the Common Core. She said: "We have kids who fail, and it's not [just] the kids who think they're going to fail." Then she talked of a student of hers she called a "success story kid." She said "I told [him he] was ready. He trusted me, and went to college and dropped out because he *wasn't* ready." Then she added: "What we were doing before was not always working, even when we thought it was.... that is why we're asking more."

Millions of students have suffered through the same story. From kindergarten through high school, they meet the standards we ask of them, but we don't ask enough. Then after years of not asking enough, we suddenly ask way too much – and they learn too late that their high school diploma didn't prepare them for college. They have to pay out of their own pockets to take remedial courses to learn what we should have already taught them. And most of them never make it through. They drop out. And they never did anything wrong.

This is a defining challenge for our schools today. There is a huge gap between what it takes to graduate from high school and what it takes to be ready for college or work. This gap is why the nation's governors joined together in 2009 to call on teachers and education experts to design new standards. The standards they developed are a direct response to our biggest challenge, and a striking advance over what we had before.

The Features of the Common Core

First, the new standards are set high to match the needs of students who want to go to college or get a job that leads to a career. If we teach to these standards, we will finally make good on the covenant between schools and students: "If you learn what we teach, you will be ready to succeed at the next stage."

Second, the standards are clear and focused. In math, the common core focuses on the essential concepts that are crucial to mastering the *next* year's concepts – from multiplying and dividing – to working with fractions – to using ratios and proportions. The common core is not a list of skills; it's a staircase. Each standard is a step toward the higher skills that will help students solve complex problems in the classroom and beyond.

In English Language Arts, research has shown that the single most important predictor of student success in college and career is the ability to read complex text. The approach of the common core to reading is simple and effective. The students should *read text* – understand it, explain it, apply it, analyze it, draw inferences from it, and cite evidence from it – at ever higher levels of complexity – with ever greater independence. When students master this, they open the door to everything.

Third, the standards are consistent from state to state. Some people who see the value of higher standards don't see the need for *shared* standards. Why can't we have 50 separate sets of standards, so long as they're higher? The answer is: Inconsistent standards punish students. When students want to go to college, they take the ACT or the SAT. When they get into college, they may take placement tests. Students who haven't been taught what's on these tests are at a huge disadvantage. Under the old standards, if you were from Kentucky, you didn't have to know the quadratic formula, but your neighbors in Tennessee did. If you were from Maryland, you didn't have to learn trigonometry, but your neighbors in Virginia did. If you didn't learn an area of math that other students did, you might find out about it for the first time on a test that helps determine your future. That's blatantly unfair to millions of students.

Advancing the Profession of Teaching

There is another crucial reason for making standards consistent from state to state: Clear, consistent standards will advance the teaching profession. The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards demonstrates even in its *title* the essential link between *standards* and a *profession*.

Consistent Standards: A Platform for Innovation.

But let's be open about this. When most of us hear that the government is going to set a new standard, the first thing we think is – 'this is going to get in my way.' Believe me; I understand this reaction. But it's important to explain to people that this is different – that the common core standards don't *limit* freedom; they *promote* freedom.

As you know, a standard means, in one sense, a 'level of performance'. But there is another meaning that is relevant here – a standard also means 'a common definition that everyone understands and accepts'.

These standards are so ubiquitous in society that we often don't see them, but they are crucial to innovation. A standard electrical outlet allows technological innovations to be used in every home. A standard computer language (TCP/IP) allows billions of people to share information on the internet. A standard shipping container lets us move goods from ships to trains to trucks. Standard units allow scientists to share data. Without consistent standards, we wouldn't be able to share information or spread innovation.

When there are 50 different interpretations of what students need to know, it's harder to make progress toward big goals because it's hard to *agree* on the goals. On the other hand, when everyone embraces consistent standards, you can define goals, test methods, and see what's effective. That's why consistent standards are so important to teaching: they provide a shared platform that allows teachers to communicate, cooperate, innovate, learn from each other and keep pushing to get better.

I've discussed this with people who say – how can standards be a platform for innovation if everyone has to teach the same standards? They're confusing standards and curriculum. They're not the same. Standards say only what your students need to learn; they don't tell you how to teach it.

Here's an illustration. This is a common core standard for high school geometry:

"Prove theorems about lines and angles."

That's it. That's not curriculum; it's a standard. No one can learn geometry without knowing it. No one can make a rational case for excluding it. And it doesn't matter in the slightest how you teach it as long as the students learn it.

There's a standard for eighth grade literature that is basically this:

First read a book, then watch the movie, then analyze and evaluate the differences.

That is a standard. It doesn't tell anyone what to think; it doesn't tell you what to read; it doesn't tell you how to teach. It just describes the kind of thinking the students need to be able to do.

That's how clear and consistent standards drive innovation. They set teachers free to try any method, compare their results, and share the ones that work best. This opens the door to insightful teacher feedback that can be tied to great professional development and customized for each teacher. Teachers can build their strengths by watching videos of their colleagues in the classroom—or studying their lesson plans.

Consistent standards give teachers access to the most valuable resource possible: each other. Teaching is suddenly not an isolated pursuit, but a shared enterprise. It lets all teachers learn from each other, and that's what drives a profession forward.

Consistent Standards: Innovation in Teaching Tools

Consistent standards will also lead to tools that help teachers reach each student. Until now, different standards in every state made it hard for innovators to design tools that a lot of teachers could use, so teachers haven't enjoyed the technology advances that benefit other professionals. Consistent standards can change that.

Imagine you're teaching the standard on analyzing the differences between a book and a film. How can you engage every student at the highest level? What if someone developed software that allowed students to choose the book and film that interest them most? That would personalize the experience and help engage each student.

Or imagine you're teaching students to "prove theorems about lines and angles." You could point them to an on-line program that demonstrates how to do the proofs and then tests their knowledge. If the student doesn't get it, the software can review the concepts, taking her as far back as she needs to go to start getting it right. Meanwhile, teachers no longer have to spend class time delivering content; they are now free to do the things that software can't do – work with students one-on-one or in small groups, motivating them and boosting their confidence.

We're just at the start of this. There is a lot of innovation happening on-line that is free and interactive. It can show students where they stand and share that information with the teacher.

I think you deserve this kind of support. Doctors don't sit alone in their offices trying to design new tools for healing. Athletes don't stay late at the stadium trying to design themselves a lighter shoe. They're supported by huge industries that are designing new tools to give them an edge. You should benefit from innovation at least as much as they do. To get innovation that advances quickly and works for all 50 states, we need the consistent standards of the common core.

Implementation

I am very enthusiastic about the Common Core, but I know that implementation has been bumpy in places. Teachers have talked to us about the challenges. One teacher said: "When I looked at the standards and started understanding them, I was

excited about the opportunities to ... develop my own materials on it. I loved that. But a lot of teachers just don't have that perspective right now."

Another teacher was having a harder time. He said: "Everybody in my school is complaining about the lack of curriculum ... now we have to jump all over the place and find extra materials to make things deeper and richer."

Progress is faster in some places than others, and the states that are doing implementation well are following a few key principles.

- They involve teachers in planning.
- They listen to teachers and make changes based on their feedback.
- They help teachers get experience with the new standards.
- They create ways for teachers to share their practices.
- And they give teachers and students time to adjust to the new standards before they face consequences for not meeting them.

No one who supports the common core wants to raise the standards just to see students fail. We all want to see them succeed. So as we raise the standards, we have to make sure that teachers get what they need to teach them well.

Fortunately, teachers across the country are mobilizing to support each other. Colorado educators have created more than 600 curriculum samples based on the standards. The Georgia State Department of Education has a library of more than a 1,000 videos of common core lessons. The NEA master teacher initiative has brought together 95 teachers to develop a year's worth of common core-aligned lessons.

These are all encouraging signs that teachers will get the new materials and support they need.

The Confusion

There is one thing that worries me, though. It's the false claims that some people keep making about the standards.

It's a federal takeover. It's a national curriculum. It's the end of innovation.

None of this is true, and the controversy it stirs up takes the focus away from helping teachers. When people are yelling about problems that aren't there, they make it harder to solve the challenges that *are* there.

Even if it will never persuade some people, it's important to repeat the facts. The states designed the standards, not the federal government. The standards are goals, not methods. They say what should be learned, not how it must be taught.

We don't have time to answer every false tweet and post. The best response to these claims is the voice of an experienced teacher talking to a concerned parent.

The teachers we heard from had a special respect for the parents who came in and complained, because it proved how much they wanted their kids to be successful. Some parents would come in and say: "You're experimenting on my kid." And the teachers' reaction was: "We're not experimenting on your kid. We're trying to help your kid be a better learner... and get into college and not live in your basement."

That's a goal that unites a lot of parents.

The transition to the new standards is hard – but it has to be. We're trying to get America's kids ready for life in a global knowledge-based economy. As one teacher put it: "The kids that are leaving my room – they're not all going to be trying to get a job in the town where I teach."

The standards shouldn't be a mark of where students came from, but a key to wherever they want to go.

I hope each one of you can be involved in this discussion and bring it back to what's real. I hope you can find time to sit down with parents in your community and tell them what the standards really are.

The Common Core isn't just another policy debate; it's a pivotal issue for the future. It will help prepare all our students for college and career – and that's the best idea our country has for giving every child an equal chance. Thank you.

Gates, Bill. Speech to the American Federation of Teachers. Delivered July 10, 2010.

Thank you, Randi, for inviting me here to speak. I want to also thank you and the AFT members for supporting historic reforms in public education. You all have surprised a lot of people lately by launching reforms with a long list of unexpected partners.

Melinda and I are proud to have our names on that list.

We have made public schools our top priority in the United States, because we believe – as you do – that nothing is more important for America's youth, and nothing means more for the future of the country.

As everyone here knows, Randi opened this year by unveiling a model for teacher development and evaluation that surprised some critics with its commitment to reform.

Since then, we have seen a year of exciting change.

In school districts and legislatures across the country, you in the AFT have been using your voice to get teachers the feedback and training they need to make a difference for students. Critics who've long complained that teachers unions don't care about student outcomes have been forced to reconsider. In Washington, D.C., New York, New Haven, Tampa, Pittsburgh, Colorado – you have taken historic steps to bury old arguments and improve student achievement.

I believe these reforms can make a huge difference for students – as long as you keep pushing – and bring all America’s teachers along with you.

It would be easy for someone to mock new enthusiasm for school reform. The United States has been struggling for decades to improve our public schools. We have tried reform after reform. We’ve poured in new investments. Since 1973, we have doubled per-pupil spending. We’ve moved from one adult for every 14 students to one adult for every eight students.

Despite these efforts, our high school scores in math and reading are flat. Our graduation rates have plunged from 2nd in the world to 16th. And our 15-year-olds now rank behind 22 countries in science and behind 31 countries in math.

There is no denying it – these are dismal results in student achievement.

Yet, I believe the conditions are ripe for dramatic improvements in our schools.

There are a growing number of public schools – including charter schools – that smash old prejudices about what low-income and minority students can achieve. They give us models to study, understand, and spread.

There is a new understanding that school reform must include teacher partnership. If reforms aren’t shaped by teachers’ knowledge and experience, they’re not going to succeed.

Most important, I believe the field of school reform is finally focused on the right strategic lever.

There is an expanding body of evidence that says the single most decisive factor in student achievement is excellent teaching. You’ve known this for a long time. We’re all learning it now.

The research shows that when each of the variables under a school’s control is correlated with student achievement, the teacher is the one that makes the biggest difference – and that difference can be dramatic.

This point shouldn’t be misconstrued. The pivotal impact of the teacher does not mean that parents, principals, and administrators have fewer obligations. It means they have greater obligations – to support better teaching. We have to make sure that teachers get the evaluations, training, standards, curriculum, assessments, and the student data they need to improve their practice. And teachers deserve our support and respect as they do this.

Great teaching is the centerpiece of a strong education; everything else revolves around it. This is the main finding of our foundation’s work in education over the past ten years.

I have to admit – that is not where we started. Our work in schools began with a focus on making high schools smaller, in the hope of improving relationships to drive down dropout rates and increase student achievement. Many of the schools we worked with made strong gains, but others were disappointing. The schools that made the biggest gains in achievement did more than make structural changes; they also improved teaching.

If great teaching is the most powerful point of leverage – how are we going to help more teachers become great?

That question is the focus of our foundation’s projects in public schools and our work with the AFT.

I’m excited about what you are doing right now to back new agreements, write new contracts, and support new laws to reward and expand great teaching.

The truly impressive reforms share the same strategic core – they all include fair and reliable measures of teacher effectiveness that are tied to gains in student achievement. Public schools have never had this before. It’s a huge change – the kind of change that could match the scale of the problem.

Of course, this is controversial. Some teachers are concerned it could be capricious. Some believe it would come with high overhead. So those of you who are backing these new measures are taking a big risk.

Why would you do it?

In 2008 and 2009, our foundation partnered with Scholastic on a national survey to learn the views of 40,000 teachers on crucial questions facing your profession.

Teachers said in huge numbers that they don’t get enough feedback. They’re not told how they can improve. They’re not given training that can address their weaknesses or help them share their strengths with others.

This has helped spark the movement for change. Teachers want to help set the expectations that they will be held accountable for. You want to be rewarded for results. You want better evaluations. You’re tired of subjective, infrequent evaluations by administrators who don’t know how to improve instruction – the people who come into your class and write “Yes” or “No” for things like: “arrives on time” and “maintains professional appearance.”

But even fair and insightful teacher evaluations are not enough to improve student gains; they have to be tied to great professional development that is customized for each teacher. After all, the goal of evaluation is not to sort teachers into groups; it’s to help every teacher get better.

This is the heart of the challenge – how do you set up a system that helps every teacher get better?

Teaching is difficult. It’s hugely complex. You have to be able to make a subject clear – and also make it interesting. You have to calm the disruptive kids, challenge the advanced kids, humor the bored kids, and reach the kids who learn at a different pace. And you’ve got to do it with 30 students in the classroom – some of whom might be tough kids who want to see you fail.

A lot of people – and I’m sure this must drive you crazy – but a lot of people who’ve never been in front of a classroom think they could just walk in one day and teach a course.

That's nonsense. I've had one brief, informal experience in teaching that was rather humbling. I tried to teach science to two kids at the same time. I couldn't do it. So I taught them one at a time. I guess that's the ultimate in class size reduction. I could make that change because they were my own children, and I was trying to supplement their regular courses.

I enjoyed it. My students did their homework. They didn't disrupt class. Parent-teacher contact was high. In other words, conditions were pretty optimal – and still it was hard. If you told me I had to teach 30 students, I don't know how I'd do it. I have watched great teachers keep thirty students riveted for an hour. That takes dazzling skill.

But what amazes me about most great teachers, is that in most cases nobody taught them how to be great. They figured it out on their own. That takes a spark of genius. But there's a problem with that method. If we leave teachers to learn it on their own, we will never make the most of their talent. If we don't develop the talent of our teachers, we're going to waste the talent of our students.

We can't afford that. We need to make sure that every teacher can learn from the best – and keep learning every year for their entire career. That's what drives a profession forward.

When I was working in software, many times I would look at the computer code someone wrote and I'd say: "Oh, wow, this guy is good. That's better than what I would have written. What process did he go through? How did he model it?" Whenever I found someone great, I would study how they worked. I looked at every factor that made that person successful.

This happens in a lot of fields.

Some of you may have read a book by Steven Jay Gould about baseball. Gould explains that in the 1920s and '30s, there was a big gap between the highest and lowest batting averages. But over time, people learned from each other, the gap narrowed – and the average hitter today is much closer to the best hitter.

That's an important mark of a profession: the difference between the average and the great becomes smaller – because everyone is eager to get better, and they're doing everything they can to learn from the best. That trend improves the entire profession. But it requires a process: you have to identify the skills of the best and transfer them to everyone else.

That hasn't been happening enough in teaching. And that gives us a big opportunity.

If we analyze the teachers whose students are making big gains, if we identify what they do, and if we find out how to transfer those skills to others – then every teacher can move closer to the top. It will elevate the whole profession. Teachers will experience the same thrill of getting better that they make possible for their students.

This is the work our foundation is trying to foster in Pittsburgh, Hillsborough County, and other communities that have agreed to be part of two projects we're funding: the Measures of Effective Teaching project, and our Intensive Partnerships for Effective Teaching.

Measure of Effective Teaching and Intensive Partnerships

The first of these projects addresses a big gap in our knowledge: There has been a lot of research done about the impact of effective teaching, but little research has been done on what makes teaching effective.

That's the research we're doing now with nearly 3,000 teachers in six school districts who have volunteered to open their classrooms to visitors, to video cameras, to new assessments, to watching themselves teach and talking about their practice. Many of these teachers are members of the AFT. I want to thank those of you who are here today for being part of this project. The chief goal is to work with teachers – using technology, data and research – to develop a system of evaluation that teachers believe is fair and will help them improve.

Project teams record student gains on two assessments – one a state multiple choice test, the other a more open-ended, problem-solving test to make sure the test scores reflect real knowledge and not just test-taking skill.

They assess the learning atmosphere in the classroom – asking students if they agree with statements such as: "If you don't understand something, my teacher explains it another way."

The teams will watch more than 13,000 videos of classes this year and 13,000 more again next year. They'll put special focus on classes that showed big student gains and try to map it backwards to identify the most effective teaching practices. They'll also look for what doesn't work. If a struggling new teacher comes to a veteran colleague and asks: "What am I doing wrong?" he should get an evidence-based answer.

The project is also launching ideas for how to use video technology to help identify and transfer best practices. Some years ago, if you wanted to watch a great teacher, you had to find one who was teaching in your building during the hour you had free. But today, every teacher should be able to watch great teachers – to see how a master in classroom management handles a disruptive student, or how a great geometry teacher makes a proof interesting. Even just watching your own class can offer huge insight. One teacher in Hillsborough County said: "It's amazing how much you can learn when you just sit and watch yourself teach."

Technology can also offer students on-line self-assessments that help them quickly see what they understand and what they don't. The clarity can be very motivating for students. If the assessments are free, easy to find, and connected to the curriculum, they can be an awesome tool for teachers and students.

When research scientists discover something new and useful, they publish it so everyone in the field can study it and build on it. Technology can help us do the same with the art and science of teaching.

The sites in our second project – the Intensive Partnerships – will draw on the teacher-designed evaluations in our first project to make teacher effectiveness the center of the whole system. Measures of excellent teaching will guide the way they recruit, evaluate, develop, assign, compensate and promote teachers.

Two of the four Intensive Partnership sites – in Pittsburgh and Hillsborough County – are represented by AFT, and it was the enthusiasm of John Tarka and Jean Clements and their supporters that made these sites so attractive to us. I want to thank them for their work.

Hillsborough made its new evaluation and development system public this May. It offers teachers a chance to have side-by-side coaching with master teachers.

In Pittsburgh, they're creating incentives for highly effective teachers to go into low-performing schools. In certain schools, if students have better-than-expected gains in learning, their teachers earn additional pay. In another program, teachers will work as a team with a group of incoming ninth graders and stay with those kids for two years. If at the end of 10th grade the kids are on track for college, the whole team will get a bonus.

Great teachers shouldn't have to leave the classroom to advance their careers.

One veteran teacher – a member of the union's executive board in Pittsburgh – was speaking to a large group of teachers before the vote last month to ratify the new contract. She said that she had been telling her college-age daughter: "I'm not sure I want you to be a teacher." But after she saw the career opportunities included in the contract, she told the audience: "I would be proud to have my daughter become a teacher – right here in Pittsburgh."

These are the kinds of changes that can renew the profession of teaching. Your commitment to this bold work is already having an impact. By partnering with school districts in key states, you bolstered the states' applications for the federal Race to the Top program. This collaboration will bring crucial new funding for schools that teach some of the nation's most underserved students.

The Challenge

The work underway today is impressive. But this is only the beginning. The aim is not just to create a few more strong schools – it's to make every school strong.

It might seem like an unrealistic hope, but it's not. You are part of a large national network of professionals who meet, talk, and share what you know. If, over the next two to four years, you teachers who are involved find that you're getting better outcomes, you should spread the word that this method works, it helps the students, and taking the risk is worth it.

If you do this, you will help good teachers become great teachers. But there is another way you can make a big difference. Many teachers say they know someone who – even after getting the support needed to improve – simply doesn't deserve to get tenure. You owe it to your profession and your students to make sure that tenure reflects more than the number of years spent in the classroom. It should reflect the quality of the work you do in the classroom – and that means student achievement should be a factor in decisions about tenure.

In the past, the AFT has served the vital purpose of protecting teachers from low wages, poor working conditions, political interference, and the arbitrary judgments of administrators. It gave voice and visibility to people who have very little power in the system.

This work is important. But if you're fighting only for wages, hours and working conditions, then it's just teachers fighting for teachers. If you're also fighting for evaluations tied to student gains and training that makes an impact in the classroom, then it's teachers fighting for students.

This is not a new idea – not for the AFT.

Twenty-five years ago, Al Shanker gave a talk at the New York State United Teachers Convention, at Niagara Falls. He told a story of the time when collective bargaining for teachers was just beginning. He would go to lunch meetings and after-school meetings and make lists of all the things that teachers wanted. Some of the items were salary increases and related issues, but many of them were things that the teachers wanted that would help kids learn.

And he was amazed by what happened next. He thought that the Boards of Education would resist salary increases, but would be open to teachers' ideas about ways to benefit both teachers and students.

But it was just the opposite. The Boards said – we'll talk to you about anything to do with salaries or working conditions; but we won't talk to you about anything that's good for children, because you're not elected to represent the children. You're not their collective bargaining agents.

So Al Shanker told members of this union 25 years ago that teachers should fight to get a voice in matters that affect students. Decisions about what works and what doesn't work should include the people who do the work.

Today, in states and districts across the country, you are helping shape new systems that create more accountability for teachers – but you're also insisting on better teacher development, more ways to grow, and a partner's role in designing the system.

You're gaining the voice Al Shanker was arguing for 25 years ago. Don't give it back. Take the risk – and keep speaking up.

Conclusion

No one can choose a world without change. We choose only whether we drive change or react to it.

You in the AFT said it well. You said: "We do not want others to drive the decisions that affect the future of our profession."

So now, you are driving the decisions to improve teaching. You are driving the changes that will accelerate student gains. No

other union is doing what you are to make this happen. But there is more risk and hard work ahead. Not every teacher is eager for change. Not every local wants reform.

If you want teachers unions to lead a revolution in American education, please remember: sometimes the most difficult act of leadership is not fighting the enemy; it's telling your friends it's time to change.

We already have the key ingredient. There are many great teachers in America. Now we need to understand what makes them great, and help all teachers learn from them. This is worth our best combined efforts – because of all the factors that affect our future, schools are the most important. And of all the work that goes on in our schools, teaching matters most.

Thank you.

Genachowski, Julius. Brookings Speech on Broadband & the Internet. Delivered September 21, 2009.

Thank you, Darrell. Thank you, Brookings, for hosting me and this discussion about the future of broadband and the Internet. We've just finished a summer of big-ticket commemorations, celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Apollo landing and of Woodstock. 1969 was also a good year to be a kid in New York – with Joe Namath calling the Super Bowl, and the Knicks' season that ended up with the legendary Willis Reed in Game 7. I grew up a long fly ball from Shea Stadium and soaked up every minute of the Miracle Mets' season. Maybe that's why I tend to believe in miracles.

But perhaps the most momentous birthday from that famous summer of 1969 – in its way, a miracle – went by just a couple of weeks ago with little mention. Just over 40 years ago, a handful of engineers in a UCLA lab connected two computers with a 15-foot gray cable and transferred little pieces of data back and forth. It was the first successful test of the ARPANET, the U.S. government-funded project that became the Internet – the most transformational communications breakthrough since the printing press.

Today, we can't imagine what our lives would be like without the Internet – any more than we can imagine life without running water or the light bulb. Millions of us depend upon it every day – at home, at work, in school, everywhere in between. The Internet has unleashed the creative genius of countless entrepreneurs and has enabled the creation of jobs and the launch of small businesses and the expansion of large ones all across America.

That's why Congress and the President have charged the FCC with developing a National Broadband Plan to ensure that every American has access to open and robust broadband. The fact is that we face great challenges as a nation right now: health care, education, energy, public safety. While broadband Internet alone won't provide a complete solution to any of those problems, it can and must play a critical role in solving each one.

Why has the Internet proved to be such a powerful engine for creativity, innovation, and economic growth? A big part of the answer traces back to one key decision by the Internet's original architects: to make the Internet an open system.

Historian John Naughton describes the Internet as an attempt to answer the following question: How do you design a network that is "future proof" – that can support the applications that today's inventors have not yet dreamed of?

The solution was to devise a network of networks that would not be biased in favor of any particular application. The Internet's creators didn't want the network architecture, or any single entity, to pick winners and losers because it might pick the wrong ones. Instead, the Internet's open architecture pushes decision-making and intelligence to the edge of the network – to end users, to the cloud, to businesses of every size and in every sector of the economy, to creators and speakers across the country and across the globe. In the words of Tim Berners-Lee, the Internet is a "blank canvas" allowing anyone to contribute and to innovate without permission.

It's easy to look at today's Internet giants – and the tremendous benefits they have supplied to our economy and our culture – and forget that many were small businesses just a few years ago, founded on little more than a good idea and a no-frills connection to the Internet. Marc Andreessen was a graduate student when he created Mosaic, which led to Netscape, the first commercially successful Web browser. Mark Zuckerberg was a college student in 2004 when he started Facebook, which just announced the addition of its 300th millionth – 300 millionth member. It's hard to say 'cause it's so big. Pierre Omidyar originally launched eBay on his own personal website. Today more than 600,000 Americans earn part of their living by operating small businesses on eBay's auction platform, bringing jobs and opportunities to Danvers, Massachusetts, Durham, North Carolina, Lincoln, Nebraska, and many communities in both rural and urban America.

This is the power of the Internet: distributed innovation and ubiquitous entrepreneurship, the potential for jobs and opportunity everywhere there is broadband.

And let us not forget that the open Internet enables much more than commerce. It is also an unprecedented platform for speech, democratic engagement, and a culture that prizes creative new ways of approaching old problems.

In 2000, Jimmy Wales started a project to create a free online encyclopedia. He originally commissioned experts to write the entries, but the project only succeeded after moving to volunteers to write them collaboratively. The result is, of course, Wikipedia, one of the top 10 most visited websites in the world today and one of the most comprehensive aggregations of human knowledge in our history. The potential of collaboration and social media continue to grow. It is changing and accelerating innovation. And we've seen new media tools like Twitter and YouTube used by democratic movements around the globe.

Even more, the Internet is beginning to transform health care, education, and energy usage for the better. Health-related applications, distributed over a widely connected Internet, can help bring down health care costs and improve medical services. Four out of five Americans who are online have accessed medical information over the Internet, and most of those say the information affected their decision-making. Nearly four million college students took at least one online course in 2007. The Internet can potentially connect kids anywhere to the best information and best teachers everywhere. And the Internet is helping enable smart grid technologies, which promise to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by hundreds of millions of metric tons.

At the same time, we've also seen great strides in the center of the network. Most Americans' early exposure to the Internet was through analog modems, which allowed a trickle of data through the phone lines to support early electronic bulletin boards and basic email. Over the last two decades, thanks to substantial investment and technological ingenuity, companies devised ways to retrofit networks initially designed for phones and one-way video to support two-way broadband data streams connecting homes and businesses across the country. And a revolution in wireless technologies – using licensed and unlicensed spectrum – and the creation of path-breaking devices like the Blackberry and the iPhone have enabled millions of us to carry the Internet in our pockets and our purses.

The lesson of each of these stories and innumerable others like them is that we cannot know what tomorrow holds on the Internet, except that it will be unexpected; that the genius of American innovators is unlimited; and that the fewer obstacles those innovators face in bringing their work to the world, the greater our opportunity as citizens and as a nation.

Now, notwithstanding its unparalleled record of success, today the free and open Internet faces emerging and substantial challenges. We've already seen some clear examples of deviations from the Internet's historic openness. We've witnessed certain broadband providers unilaterally block access to VoIP applications (phone calls delivered over data networks) and implement technical measures that degrade the performance of peer-to-peer software distributing lawful content. We have even seen at least one service provider deny users access to political content.

And as many members of the Internet community and key Congressional leaders have noted, there are compelling reasons to be concerned about the future of openness.

One reason has to do with limited competition among service providers. As American consumers make the shift from dial-up to broadband, their choice of providers has narrowed substantially. I don't intend that remark as a policy conclusion or as a criticism. It is simply a fact about today's marketplace that we must acknowledge and incorporate into our policymaking.

A second reason involves the economic incentives of broadband providers. The great majority of companies that operate our nation's broadband pipes rely upon revenue from selling phone service, cable TV subscriptions, or both. These services increasingly compete with voice and video products provided over the Internet. The net result is that broadband providers' rational bottom-line interests may diverge from the broad interests of consumers in competition and choice.

The third reason involves the explosion of traffic on the Internet. While [With] the growing popularity of high-bandwidth applications, Internet traffic is roughly doubling every two years. Technologies for managing broadband networks have become more sophisticated and widely deployed. But these technologies are just tools. They cannot by themselves determine the right answers to difficult policy questions – and they raise their own set of new questions.

In acknowledging the existence of challenging competitive, economic, and technological realities for today's Internet, I want to underscore that this debate, as I see it, isn't about white hats or black hats among companies in and around the network. Rather, there are inevitable tensions built into our system – important and difficult questions that we have an obligation to ask and to answer correctly for our country.

When I worked in the private sector I was fortunate to work with some of the greatest innovators of our time. That taught me some lessons about the importance of innovation and investment. It also taught me the importance of developing clear goals and then being focused and practical in achieving them, making sure to have the best input and ideas from the broadest group possible.

I am convinced that there are few goals more essential in the communications landscape than preserving and maintaining an open and robust Internet. I also know that achieving this goal will take an approach that is smart about technology, smart about markets, smart about law and policy, smart about the experiences of ordinary consumers, and smart about the lessons of history.

The rise of serious challenges to the free and open Internet puts us at a crossroads. We could see the Internet's doors shut to entrepreneurs, the spirit of innovation stifled, a full and free flow of information compromised. Or we could take steps to preserve Internet openness, helping ensure a future of opportunity, innovation, and a vibrant marketplace of ideas.

I understand the Internet is a dynamic network and that technology continues to grow and evolve. I recognize that if we were to create unduly detailed rules that attempt to address every possible assault on openness, such rules would become outdated quickly. But the fact that the Internet is evolving rapidly does not mean we can, or should, abandon the underlying values fostered by an open network, or the important goal of setting rules of the road to protect the free and open Internet.

Saying nothing and doing nothing would impose its own form of unacceptable cost. It would deprive innovators, investors, and the public of confidence that a free and open Internet we depend upon today will still be here tomorrow. It would deny the benefits of predictable rules of the road to all players in the Internet ecosystem. And it would be a dangerous retreat from

the core principle of openness – the freedom to innovate without permission – that has been a hallmark of the Internet since its inception, and has made it so stunningly successful as a platform for innovation, opportunity, and prosperity.

In view of these challenges and opportunities, and because it is vital that the Internet continue to be an engine of innovation, economic growth, competition, and democratic engagement, I believe the Federal Communications Commission must be a smart cop on the beat preserving a free and open Internet.

This is how I propose we move forward: To date, the FCC has addressed these issues by announcing four Internet principles that guide our case-by-case enforcement of the communications laws. These principles can be summarized as:

Network operators cannot prevent users from accessing the lawful Internet content, applications, and services of their choice, nor can they prohibit users from attaching non-harmful devices to the network. These principles were initially articulated by Chairman Michael Powell in 2004 as the “Four Freedoms,” based on work that was done under Chairman Reid Hundt in the late 1990s, and later endorsed in a unanimous 2005 policy statement issued by the Commission under Chairman Kevin Martin and with the forceful support of Commissioner Michael Copps, who of course remains on the Commission today. In the years since 2005, the Internet has continued to evolve and the FCC has issued a number of important decisions involving openness. Today, I propose that the FCC adopt the existing principles as Commission rules, along with two additional principles that reflect the evolution of the Internet and that are essential to ensuring its continued openness.

The fifth principle is one of non-discrimination – stating that broadband providers cannot discriminate against particular Internet content or applications. This means they cannot block or degrade lawful traffic over their networks, or pick winners by favoring some content or applications over others in the connection to subscribers’ homes. Nor can they disfavor an Internet service just because it competes with a similar service offered by that broadband provider. The Internet must continue to allow users to decide what content and what applications succeed.

This principle will not prevent broadband providers from reasonably managing their networks. During periods of network congestion, for example, it may be appropriate for providers to ensure that very heavy users do not crowd out everyone else. And this principle will not constrain efforts to ensure a safe, secure, and spam-free Internet experience, or to enforce the law. It is vital that illegal – that illegal conduct be curtailed on the Internet. As I said in my Senate confirmation hearing, open Internet principles apply only to lawful content, services, and applications – not to activities like unlawful distribution of copyrighted works, which has serious economic consequences. The enforcement of copyright and other laws and the obligations of network openness can and must co-exist.

I also recognize that there may be benefits to innovation and investment of broadband providers offering managed services in limited circumstances. These services are different from traditional broadband Internet access, and some have argued they should be analyzed under a different framework. I believe such services can supplement, but must not supplant, free and open Internet access, and that we must ensure that ample bandwidth exists for all Internet users and innovators. In the rulemaking process I will discuss in a moment, we will carefully consider how to approach the question of – of managed services in a way that maximizes the innovation and investment necessary for a robust and thriving Internet.

I will propose that the FCC evaluate alleged violations of the non-discrimination principle as they arise, on a case-by-case basis, recognizing that the Internet is an extraordinarily complex and dynamic system. This approach, within the framework I am proposing today, will allow the Commission to make reasoned, fact-based determinations based on the Internet before it, not based on the Internet of years past or guesses about how the Internet will evolve.

The sixth principle is a transparency principle – stating that providers of Internet access must be transparent about their network management practices. Why does the FCC need to adopt this principle? The Internet evolved through open standards. It was conceived as a tool whose user manual be – would be free and available to all. But new network management practices and technologies challenge this original understanding. Today, broadband providers have the technical ability to change how the Internet works for millions of users – with profound consequences for those users and content, application, and service providers around the world.

To take one example, last year the FCC ruled on the blocking of peer-to-peer transmissions by a cable broadband provider. The blocking was initially implemented with no notice to subscribers or the public. It was discovered only after an engineer and hobbyist living in Oregon realized that his attempts to share public domain recordings of old barbershop quartet songs over a home Internet connection were being frustrated. It was not until he brought the problem to the attention of the media and Internet community, which then brought it to the attention of the FCC, that the improper network management practice became known and was stopped.

We cannot afford to rely on happenstance for consumers, businesses, and policymakers to learn about changes to the basic functioning of the Internet. Greater transparency will give consumers the confidence of knowing that they’re getting the service they’ve paid for, enable innovators to make their offerings work effectively over the Internet, and allow policymakers to ensure that broadband providers are preserving the Internet as a level playing field. It will also help facilitate discussion among all the participants in the Internet ecosystem, which can reduce the need for government involvement in network management disagreements.

To be clear, the transparency principle will not require broadband providers to disclose personal information about subscribers or information that might compromise the security of the network, and there will be a mechanism to protect competitively sensitive data.

In considering the openness of the Internet, it is also important to recognize that our choice of technologies and devices for accessing the Internet continues to expand at a dizzying pace. New mobile and satellite broadband networks are getting faster every day, and extraordinary devices like smartphones and wireless data cards are making it easier to stay connected while on the go. And I note the beginnings of a trend towards openness among several participants in the mobile marketplace.

Even though each form of Internet access has unique technical characteristics, they are all different roads to the same place. It is essential that the Internet itself remain open, however users reach it. The principles I've been speaking about apply to the Internet however accessed, and I will ask my fellow Commissioners at the FCC to join me in confirming this.

Of course, how the principles apply may differ depending on the access platform or technology. The rulemaking process will enable the Commission to analyze fully the implications of the principles for our mobile network architectures and practices – and how, as a practical matter, they can be fairly and appropriately implemented. As we tackle these complex questions involving different technologies used for Internet access, let me be clear that we – we will be focused on formulating policies that will maximize innovation and investment, consumer choice, and greater competition.

I've talked about what we need to do. Now I'd like to talk about how we should do it.

I will soon circulate to my fellow Commissioners proposed rules prepared by Commission staff embodying the principles I've discussed, and I will ask for their support in issuing a notice of proposed rulemaking. This notice will provide the public with a detailed explanation of what we propose to do and why.

Equally importantly, the notice will ask for input and feedback on the proposed rules and their application, such as how to determine whether network management practices are reasonable, and what information broadband providers should disclose about their network management practices and in what form. And, as I indicated earlier, it will pose a series of detailed questions on how the Internet openness principles should apply to mobile broadband.

While my goals are clear – to ensure the Internet remain a free and open platform that promotes innovation, investment, competition, and user interests – our path to implementing them is not pre-determined. I will ensure that the rulemaking process will be fair, transparent, fact-based, data-driven. Anyone will be able to participate in this process, and I hope everyone will. We will hold a number of public workshops and, of course, use the Internet and other new media tools to facilitate participation. Today we've launched a new website, www.openinternet.gov, to kick off discussion of the issues I've been talking about. We encourage everyone to visit the site and contribute to the process.

Some have argued that the FCC should not take affirmative steps to protect the Internet's openness. Let me be clear about what this is about, and what it isn't. The fundamental goal of what I've outlined today is preserving the openness and freedom of the Internet. We have an obligation to ensure that the Internet is an enduring engine for U.S. economic growth, and a foundation for democracy in the 21st century. We have an obligation to ensure that the Internet remains a vast landscape of innovation and opportunity.

This is not about government regulation of the Internet. It's about fair rules of the road for companies that control access to the Internet. We will do as much as we need to do, and no more, to ensure that the Internet remains an unfettered platform for competition, creativity, and entrepreneurial activity.

This is not about protecting the Internet against imaginary dangers. We're seeing the breaks and cracks emerge, and they threaten to change the Internet's fundamental architecture of openness. This would shrink opportunities for innovators, content creators, and small businesses around the country, and limit the full and free expression the Internet promises. This is about preserving and maintaining something profoundly successful and ensuring that it's not distorted or undermined. If we wait too long to preserve a free and open Internet, it will be too late.

Some will seek to invoke innovation and investment as reasons not to adopt open Internet rules. But history's lesson is clear: Ensuring a robust and open Internet is the best thing we can do to promote innovation and investment. And while there are some who see every policy decision as either pro-business or pro-consumer, I reject that approach. It's not the right way to see technology's role in America.

An open Internet will benefit both consumers and businesses. The principles that will protect the open Internet are an essential step to maximizing investment and innovation in the network – on the edge of it, in the cloud – by establishing rules of the road that incentivize competition, empower entrepreneurs, and grow the economic pie to the benefit of all.

I believe we share a common purpose: We want the Internet to continue flourishing as a platform for innovation and communication, with continued investment and increasing deployment of broadband to all Americans. I believe my fellow Commissioners share this purpose, and I look forward to working collaboratively with them in this endeavor.

In closing, we are here because 40 years ago a bunch of researchers in a lab changed the way computers interact and, as a result, changed the world. We are here because those Internet pioneers had unique insights about the power of open networks to transform lives for the better, and they did something about it. Our work now is to preserve the brilliance of what they contributed to our country and the world. It's to make sure that, in the 21st century, the garage, the basement, and the dorm room remain places where innovators can not only dream but bring their dreams to life. And that's something none of us can be neutral about.

Thank you.

Gore, Albert Arnold. *Political Will Is A Renewable Resource.* Address to the United Nations Bali Climate Change Conference. Delivered December 14, 2007.

There are times in the history of our nation when our very way of life depends upon dispelling illusions and awakening to the challenge of a present danger. In such moments, we are called upon to move quickly and boldly to shake off complacency, throw aside old habits and rise, clear-eyed and alert, to the necessity of big changes. Those who, for whatever reason, refuse to do their part must either be persuaded to join the effort or asked to step aside. This is such a moment. The survival of the United States of America as we know it is at risk. And even more – if more should be required – the future of human civilization is at stake.

I don't remember a time in our country when so many things seemed to be going so wrong simultaneously. Our economy is in terrible shape and getting worse, gasoline prices are increasing dramatically, and so are electricity rates. Jobs are being outsourced. Home mortgages are in trouble. Banks, automobile companies and other institutions we depend upon are under growing pressure. Distinguished senior business leaders are telling us that this is just the beginning unless we find the courage to make some major changes quickly.

The climate crisis, in particular, is getting a lot worse – much more quickly than predicted. Scientists with access to data from Navy submarines traversing underneath the North polar ice cap have warned that there is now a 75 percent chance that within five years the entire ice cap will completely disappear during the summer months. This will further increase the melting pressure on Greenland. According to experts, the Jakobshavn glacier, one of Greenland's largest, is moving at a faster rate than ever before, losing 20 million tons of ice every day, equivalent to the amount of water used every year by the residents of New York City.

Two major studies from military intelligence experts have warned our leaders about the dangerous national security implications of the climate crisis, including the possibility of hundreds of millions of climate refugees destabilizing nations around the world.

Just two days ago, 27 senior statesmen and retired military leaders warned of the national security threat from an "energy tsunami" that would be triggered by a loss of our access to foreign oil. Meanwhile, the war in Iraq continues, and now the war in Afghanistan appears to be getting worse.

And by the way, our weather sure is getting strange, isn't it? There seem to be more tornadoes than in living memory, longer droughts, bigger downpours and record floods. Unprecedented fires are burning in California and elsewhere in the American West. Higher temperatures lead to drier vegetation that makes kindling for mega-fires of the kind that have been raging in Canada, Greece, Russia, China, South America, Australia and Africa. Scientists in the Department of Geophysics and Planetary Science at Tel Aviv University tell us that for every one degree increase in temperature, lightning strikes will go up another 10 percent. And it is lightning, after all, that is principally responsible for igniting the conflagration in California today.

Like a lot of people, it seems to me that all these problems are bigger than any of the solutions that have thus far been proposed for them, and that's been worrying me.

I'm convinced that one reason we've seemed paralyzed in the face of these crises is our tendency to offer old solutions to each crisis separately – without taking the others into account. And these outdated proposals have not only been ineffective – they almost always make the other crises even worse.

Yet when we look at all three of these seemingly intractable challenges at the same time, we can see the common thread running through them, deeply ironic in its simplicity: our dangerous over-reliance on carbon-based fuels is at the core of all three of these challenges - the economic, environmental and national security crises.

We're borrowing money from China to buy oil from the Persian Gulf to burn it in ways that destroy the planet. Every bit of that's got to change.

But if we grab hold of that common thread and pull it hard, all of these complex problems begin to unravel and we will find that we're holding the answer to all of them right in our hand.

The answer is to end our reliance on carbon-based fuels.

In my search for genuinely effective answers to the climate crisis, I have held a series of "solutions summits" with engineers, scientists, and CEOs. In those discussions, one thing has become abundantly clear: when you connect the dots, it turns out that the real solutions to the climate crisis are the very same measures needed to renew our economy and escape the trap of ever-rising energy prices. Moreover, they are also the very same solutions we need to guarantee our national security without having to go to war in the Persian Gulf.

What if we could use fuels that are not expensive, don't cause pollution and are abundantly available right here at home?

We have such fuels. Scientists have confirmed that enough solar energy falls on the surface of the earth every 40 minutes to meet 100 percent of the entire world's energy needs for a full year. Tapping just a small portion of this solar energy could provide all of the electricity America uses.

And enough wind power blows through the Midwest corridor every day to also meet 100 percent of US electricity demand. Geothermal energy, similarly, is capable of providing enormous supplies of electricity for America.

The quickest, cheapest and best way to start using all this renewable energy is in the production of electricity. In fact, we can start right now using solar power, wind power and geothermal power to make electricity for our homes and businesses.

But to make this exciting potential a reality, and truly solve our nation's problems, we need a new start.

That's why I'm proposing today a strategic initiative designed to free us from the crises that are holding us down and to regain control of our own destiny. It's not the only thing we need to do. But this strategic challenge is the lynchpin of a bold new strategy needed to re-power America.

Today I challenge our nation to commit to producing 100 percent of our electricity from renewable energy and truly clean carbon-free sources within 10 years.

This goal is achievable, affordable and transformative. It represents a challenge to all Americans – in every walk of life: to our political leaders, entrepreneurs, innovators, engineers, and to every citizen.

A few years ago, it would not have been possible to issue such a challenge. But here's what's changed: the sharp cost reductions now beginning to take place in solar, wind, and geothermal power – coupled with the recent dramatic price increases for oil and coal – have radically changed the economics of energy.

When I first went to Congress 32 years ago, I listened to experts testify that if oil ever got to \$35 a barrel, then renewable sources of energy would become competitive. Well, today, the price of oil is over \$135 per barrel. And sure enough, billions of dollars of new investment are flowing into the development of concentrated solar thermal, photovoltaics, windmills, geothermal plants, and a variety of ingenious new ways to improve our efficiency and conserve presently wasted energy.

And as the demand for renewable energy grows, the costs will continue to fall. Let me give you one revealing example: the price of the specialized silicon used to make solar cells was recently as high as \$300 per kilogram. But the newest contracts have prices as low as \$50 a kilogram.

You know, the same thing happened with computer chips – also made out of silicon. The price paid for the same performance came down by 50 percent every 18 months – year after year, and that's what's happened for 40 years in a row.

To those who argue that we do not yet have the technology to accomplish these results with renewable energy: I ask them to come with me to meet the entrepreneurs who will drive this revolution. I've seen what they are doing and I have no doubt that we can meet this challenge.

To those who say the costs are still too high: I ask them to consider whether the costs of oil and coal will ever stop increasing if we keep relying on quickly depleting energy sources to feed a rapidly growing demand all around the world. When demand for oil and coal increases, their price goes up. When demand for solar cells increases, the price often comes down.

When we send money to foreign countries to buy nearly 70 percent of the oil we use every day, they build new skyscrapers and we lose jobs. When we spend that money building solar arrays and windmills, we build competitive industries and gain jobs here at home.

Of course there are those who will tell us this can't be done. Some of the voices we hear are the defenders of the status quo – the ones with a vested interest in perpetuating the current system, no matter how high a price the rest of us will have to pay. But even those who reap the profits of the carbon age have to recognize the inevitability of its demise. As one OPEC oil minister observed, "The Stone Age didn't end because of a shortage of stones."

To those who say 10 years is not enough time, I respectfully ask them to consider what the world's scientists are telling us about the risks we face if we don't act in 10 years. The leading experts predict that we have less than 10 years to make dramatic changes in our global warming pollution lest we lose our ability to ever recover from this environmental crisis. When the use of oil and coal goes up, pollution goes up. When the use of solar, wind and geothermal increases, pollution comes down.

To those who say the challenge is not politically viable: I suggest they go before the American people and try to defend the status quo. Then bear witness to the people's appetite for change.

I for one do not believe our country can withstand 10 more years of the status quo. Our families cannot stand 10 more years of gas price increases. Our workers cannot stand 10 more years of job losses and outsourcing of factories. Our economy cannot stand 10 more years of sending \$2 billion every 24 hours to foreign countries for oil. And our soldiers and their families cannot take another 10 years of repeated troop deployments to dangerous regions that just happen to have large oil supplies. What could we do instead for the next 10 years? What should we do during the next 10 years? Some of our greatest accomplishments as a nation have resulted from commitments to reach a goal that fell well beyond the next election: the Marshall Plan, Social Security, the interstate highway system. But a political promise to do something 40 years from now is universally ignored because everyone knows that it's meaningless. Ten years is about the maximum time that we as a nation can hold a steady aim and hit our target.

When President John F. Kennedy challenged our nation to land a man on the moon and bring him back safely in 10 years, many people doubted we could accomplish that goal. But 8 years and 2 months later, Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin walked on the surface of the moon.

To be sure, reaching the goal of 100 percent renewable and truly clean electricity within 10 years will require us to overcome many obstacles. At present, for example, we do not have a unified national grid that is sufficiently advanced to link the areas where the sun shines and the wind blows to the cities in the East and the West that need the electricity. Our national electric grid is critical infrastructure, as vital to the health and security of our economy as our highways and telecommunication

networks. Today, our grids are antiquated, fragile, and vulnerable to cascading failure. Power outages and defects in the current grid system cost US businesses more than \$120 billion dollars a year. It has to be upgraded anyway.

We could further increase the value and efficiency of a Unified National Grid by helping our struggling auto giants switch to the manufacture of plug-in electric cars. An electric vehicle fleet would sharply reduce the cost of driving a car, reduce pollution, and increase the flexibility of our electricity grid.

At the same time, of course, we need to greatly improve our commitment to efficiency and conservation. That's the best investment we can make.

America's transition to renewable energy sources must also include adequate provisions to assist those Americans who would unfairly face hardship. For example, we must recognize those who have toiled in dangerous conditions to bring us our present energy supply. We should guarantee good jobs in the fresh air and sunshine for any coal miner displaced by impacts on the coal industry. Every single one of them.

Of course, we could and should speed up this transition by insisting that the price of carbon-based energy include the costs of the environmental damage it causes. I have long supported a sharp reduction in payroll taxes with the difference made up in CO2 taxes. We should tax what we burn, not what we earn. This is the single most important policy change we can make.

In order to foster international cooperation, it is also essential that the United States rejoin the global community and lead efforts to secure an international treaty at Copenhagen in December of next year that includes a cap on CO2 emissions and a global partnership that recognizes the necessity of addressing the threats of extreme poverty and disease as part of the world's agenda for solving the climate crisis.

Of course the greatest obstacle to meeting the challenge of 100 percent renewable electricity in 10 years may be the deep dysfunction of our politics and our self-governing system as it exists today. In recent years, our politics has tended toward incremental proposals made up of small policies designed to avoid offending special interests, alternating with occasional baby steps in the right direction. Our democracy has become sclerotic at a time when these crises require boldness.

It is only a truly dysfunctional system that would buy into the perverse logic that the short-term answer to high gasoline prices is drilling for more oil ten years from now.

Am I the only one who finds it strange that our government so often adopts a so-called solution that has absolutely nothing to do with the problem it is supposed to address? When people rightly complain about higher gasoline prices, we propose to give more money to the oil companies and pretend that they're going to bring gasoline prices down. It will do nothing of the sort, and everyone knows it. If we keep going back to the same policies that have never ever worked in the past and have served only to produce the highest gasoline prices in history alongside the greatest oil company profits in history, nobody should be surprised if we get the same result over and over again. But the Congress may be poised to move in that direction anyway because some of them are being stampeded by lobbyists for special interests that know how to make the system work for them instead of the American people.

If you want to know the truth about gasoline prices, here it is: the exploding demand for oil, especially in places like China, is overwhelming the rate of new discoveries by so much that oil prices are almost certain to continue upward over time no matter what the oil companies promise. And politicians cannot bring gasoline prices down in the short term.

However, there actually is one extremely effective way to bring the costs of driving a car way down within a few short years. The way to bring gas prices down is to end our dependence on oil and use the renewable sources that can give us the equivalent of \$1 per gallon gasoline.

Many Americans have begun to wonder whether or not we've simply lost our appetite for bold policy solutions. And folks who claim to know how our system works these days have told us we might as well forget about our political system doing anything bold, especially if it is contrary to the wishes of special interests. And I've got to admit, that sure seems to be the way things have been going. But I've begun to hear different voices in this country from people who are not only tired of baby steps and special interest politics, but are hungry for a new, different and bold approach.

We are on the eve of a presidential election. We are in the midst of an international climate treaty process that will conclude its work before the end of the first year of the new president's term. It is a great error to say that the United States must wait for others to join us in this matter. In fact, we must move first, because that is the key to getting others to follow; and because moving first is in our own national interest.

So I ask you to join with me to call on every candidate, at every level, to accept this challenge – for America to be running on 100 percent zero-carbon electricity in 10 years. It's time for us to move beyond empty rhetoric. We need to act now.

This is a generational moment. A moment when we decide our own path and our collective fate. I'm asking you – each of you – to join me and build this future. Please join the WE campaign at wecansolveit.org. We need you. And we need you now. We're committed to changing not just light bulbs, but laws. And laws will only change with leadership.

On July 16, 1969, the United States of America was finally ready to meet President Kennedy's challenge of landing Americans on the moon. I will never forget standing beside my father a few miles from the launch site, waiting for the giant Saturn 5 rocket to lift Apollo 11 into the sky. I was a young man, 21 years old, who had graduated from college a month before and was enlisting in the United States Army three weeks later.

I will never forget the inspiration of those minutes. The power and the vibration of the giant rocket's engines shook my entire body. As I watched the rocket rise, slowly at first and then with great speed, the sound was deafening. We craned our necks

to follow its path until we were looking straight up into the air. And then four days later, I watched along with hundreds of millions of others around the world as Neil Armstrong took one small step to the surface of the moon and changed the history of the human race.

We must now lift our nation to reach another goal that will change history. Our entire civilization depends upon us now embarking on a new journey of exploration and discovery. Our success depends on our willingness as a people to undertake this journey and to complete it within 10 years. Once again, we have an opportunity to take a giant leap for humankind.

Gore, Albert Arnold. Nobel Lecture. Delivered December 10, 2007.

Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, Honorable members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Excellencies, Ladies and gentlemen:

I have a purpose here today. It is a purpose I have tried to serve for many years. I have prayed that God would show me a way to accomplish it.

Sometimes, without warning, the future knocks on our door with a precious and painful vision of what might be. One hundred and nineteen years ago, a wealthy inventor read his own obituary, mistakenly published years before his death. Wrongly believing the inventor had just died, a newspaper printed a harsh judgment of his life's work, unfairly labeling him "The Merchant of Death" because of his invention – dynamite. Shaken by this condemnation, the inventor made a fateful choice to serve the cause of peace. Seven years later, Alfred Nobel created this prize and the others that bear his name.

Seven years ago tomorrow, I read my own political obituary in a judgment that seemed to me harsh and mistaken – if not premature. But that unwelcome verdict also brought a precious, if painful, gift: an opportunity to search for fresh new ways to serve my purpose. Unexpectedly, that quest has brought me here. Even though I fear my words cannot match this moment, I pray what I am feeling in my heart will be communicated clearly enough that those who hear me will say, "We must act."

The distinguished scientists with whom it is the greatest honor of my life to share this award have laid before us a choice between two different futures – a choice that to my ears echoes the words of an ancient prophet: "Life or death, blessings or curses. Therefore, choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live."¹

We, the human species, are confronting a planetary emergency – a threat to the survival of our civilization that is gathering ominous and destructive potential even as we gather here. But there is hopeful news as well: we have the ability to solve this crisis and avoid the worst – though not all – of its consequences, if we act boldly, decisively, and quickly.

However, despite a growing number of honorable exceptions, too many of the world's leaders are still best described in the words Winston Churchill applied to those who ignored Adolf Hitler's threat (and I quote): "They go on in strange paradox, decided only to be undecided, resolved to be irresolute, adamant for drift, solid for fluidity, all powerful to be impotent."

So today, we dumped another 70 million tons of global-warming pollution into the thin shell of atmosphere surrounding our planet, as if it were an open sewer. And tomorrow, we will dump a slightly larger amount, with the cumulative concentrations now trapping more and more heat from the sun.

As a result, the earth has a fever. And the fever is rising. The experts have told us it is not a passing affliction that will heal by itself. We asked for a second opinion. And a third. And a fourth. And the consistent conclusion, restated with increasing distress, is that something basic is wrong.

We are what is wrong, and we must make it right.

Last September 21st, as the Northern Hemisphere tilted away from the sun, scientists reported with unprecedented alarm that the North Polar ice cap is in their words: "falling off a cliff." One study estimated that it could be completely gone during summer in less than 22 years. Another new study, to be presented by U.S. Navy researchers later this week, warns it could happen in as little as 7 years. Seven years from now.

In the last few months, it has been harder and harder to misinterpret the signs that our world is spinning out of kilter. Major cities in North and South America, Asia and Australia, are nearly out of water due to massive droughts and melting glaciers. Desperate farmers are losing their livelihoods. Peoples in the frozen Arctic and on low-lying Pacific islands are planning evacuations of places they have long called home. Unprecedented wildfires have forced a half million people from their homes in one country and caused a national emergency that almost brought down the government in another. Climate refugees have migrated into areas already inhabited by people with different cultures, religions, and traditions – increasing the potential for conflict. Stronger storms in the Atlantic and the Pacific have threatened whole cities. Millions have been displaced by massive flooding in South Asia, Mexico, and 18 countries in Africa. As temperature extremes have increased, tens of thousands have lost their lives. We are recklessly burning and clearing our forests and driving more and more species into extinction. The very web of life on which we depend is being ripped and frayed.

We never intended to cause all this destruction, just as Alfred Nobel never intended that dynamite be used for waging war. He had hoped his invention would promote human progress. We shared that same worthy goal when we began burning massive quantities of coal, then oil and natural gas.

Even in Nobel's time, there were a few warnings of the likely consequences. One of the very first winners of the Prize in chemistry worried that – in his words – “We are evaporating our coal mines into the air.” After performing 10,000 equations by hand, Svante Arrhenius calculated that the earth's average temperature would increase by many degrees if we doubled the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere. Seventy years later, my teacher, Roger Revelle, and his colleague, Dave Keeling, began to precisely document the increasing CO₂ levels day by day. But unlike most other forms of pollution, CO₂ is invisible, tasteless, and odorless – which has helped keep the truth about what it is doing to our climate out of sight and out of mind. Moreover, the catastrophe now threatening us is unprecedented; and we often confuse the unprecedented with the improbable. We also find it hard to imagine making the massive changes that are now necessary to solve the crisis. And when large truths are genuinely inconvenient, whole societies can, at least for a time, ignore them. Yet as George Orwell reminds us: “Sooner or later a false belief bumps up against a solid reality, usually on a battlefield.”

In the years since this prize was first awarded, the entire relationship between humankind and the earth has been radically transformed. And still, we have remained largely oblivious to the impact of our cumulative actions. Indeed, without realizing it, we have begun to wage war on the earth itself. Now, we and the earth's climate are locked in a relationship familiar to war planners: “Mutually assured destruction.” More than two decades ago, scientists calculated that nuclear war could throw so much debris and smoke into the air that it would block life-giving sunlight from our atmosphere, causing a “nuclear winter.” Their eloquent warnings here in Oslo helped galvanize the world's resolve to halt the nuclear arms race.

Now science is warning us that if we do not quickly reduce the global warming pollution that is trapping so much of the heat our planet normally radiates back out of the atmosphere, we are in danger of creating a permanent “carbon summer.” As the American poet Robert Frost wrote, “Some say the world will end in fire; some say in ice.” Either, he notes, “would suffice.” But neither need be our fate. It is time to make peace with the planet.

We must quickly mobilize our civilization with the urgency and resolve that has previously been seen only when nations mobilized for war. These prior struggles for survival were won when leaders found words at the 11th hour that released a mighty surge of courage, hope, and readiness to sacrifice for a protracted and mortal struggle. These were not comforting and misleading assurances that the threat was not real, not imminent; that it would afflict others but not ourselves; that ordinary life might be lived even in the presence of ordinary – extraordinary threat; that Providence could be trusted to do for us what we would not do for ourselves. No, these were calls to come to the defense of the common future. They were calls upon the courage, generosity, and strength of entire peoples, citizens of every class and condition who were ready to stand against the threat once asked to do so. Our enemies in those times calculated that free people would not rise to the challenge; they were, of course, catastrophically wrong.

Now comes the threat of climate crisis – a threat that is real, rising, imminent, and universal. Once again, it is the 11th hour. The penalties for ignoring this challenge are immense and growing, and at some near point would be unsustainable and unrecoverable. For now, we still have the power to choose our fate, and the remaining question is only this: Have we the will to act vigorously and in time, or will we remain imprisoned by a dangerous illusion?

Mahatma Gandhi awakened the largest democracy on earth and forged a shared resolve with what he called “Satyagraha” – or “truth force.” In every land, the truth – once known – has the power to set us free. Truth also has the power to unite us and bridge the distance between “me” and “we,” creating the basis for common effort and shared responsibility.

There is an African proverb that says, “If you want to go quickly, go alone. If you want to go far, go together.” We need to go far, quickly. We must abandon the conceit that individual, isolated, private actions are the answer. They can and do help. But they will not take us far enough without collective action. At the same time, we must ensure that in mobilizing globally, we do not invite the establishment of ideological conformity and a new lock-step “ism.” That means adopting principles, values, laws, and treaties that release creativity and initiative at every level of society in multifold responses originating concurrently and spontaneously.

This new consciousness requires expanding the possibilities inherent in all humanity. The innovators who will devise a new way to harness the sun's energy for pennies or invent an engine that's carbon negative may live in Lagos or Mumbai or Montevideo. We must ensure that entrepreneurs and inventors everywhere on the globe have the chance to change the world. When we unite for a moral purpose that is manifestly good and true, the spiritual energy unleashed can transform us. The generation that defeated fascism throughout the world in the 1940s found, in rising to meet their awesome challenge, that they had gained the moral authority and long-term vision to launch the Marshall Plan, the United Nations, and a new level of global cooperation and foresight that unified Europe and facilitated the emergence of democracy Japan, Germany, Italy and much of the world. One of their visionary leaders said, “It is time we steered by the stars and not by the lights of every passing ship.” In the last year of that war, you gave the Peace Prize to a man from my hometown of 2000 people, Carthage, Tennessee, in the USA. Cordell Hull was described by Franklin Roosevelt as the “Father of the United Nations.” He was an inspiration and hero to my own father, who followed Hull in the Congress and the U.S. Senate and in his commitment to world peace and global cooperation. My parents spoke often of Hull, always in tones of reverence and admiration. Eight weeks ago, when you announced this prize, the deepest emotion I felt was when I saw the headline in my hometown paper that simply noted I had won the same prize that Cordell Hull had won. In that moment, I knew what my father and mother would have felt were they alive.

Just as Hull's generation found moral authority in rising to solve the world crisis caused by fascism, so can we find our greatest opportunity in – in rising to solve the climate crisis. In the Kanji characters used in both Chinese and Japanese, “crisis” is written with two symbols, the first meaning “danger,” the second “opportunity.” By facing and removing the danger of the climate crisis, we have the opportunity to gain the moral authority and vision to vastly increase our own capacity to solve other crises that have been too long ignored. We must understand the connections between the climate crisis and the afflictions of poverty, hunger, HIV-Aids and other pandemics. As these problems are linked, so too must be their solutions. We must begin by making the common rescue of the global environment the central organizing principle of the world community. Fifteen years ago, I made that case at the “Earth Summit” in Rio de Janeiro. Ten years ago, I presented it in Kyoto. This week, I will urge the delegates in Bali to adopt a bold mandate for a treaty that establishes a universal global cap on emissions and uses the market in emissions trading to efficiently allocate resources to the most effective opportunities for speedy reductions. This treaty should be ratified and brought into effect everywhere in the world by the beginning of 2010 – two years sooner than presently contemplated. The pace of our response must be accelerated to match the accelerating pace of the crisis itself. Heads of state should meet early next year to review what was accomplished in Bali and take personal responsibility for addressing this crisis. It is not unreasonable to ask, given the gravity of our circumstances, that these heads of state meet every three months until this treaty is completed. We also need a moratorium on the construction of any new generating facility that burns coal without the capacity to safely trap and store carbon dioxide. And most important of all, we need to put a *price* on carbon – with a CO2 tax that is then rebated back to the people, progressively, according to the laws of each nation, in ways that shift the burden of taxation from employment to pollution. This is by far the most effective and simplest way to accelerate solutions to this crisis.

The world now needs an alliance – especially of those nations that weigh heaviest in the scales where earth is in the balance. I salute Europe and Japan for the steps they've taken in recent years to meet the challenge, and the new government in Australia, which has made solving the climate crisis its first priority.

But the outcome will be decisively influenced by two nations that are now failing to do enough: the United States and China. While India is also growing fast in importance, it should be absolutely clear that it is the two largest CO2 emitters – and most of all, my own country – that will need to make the boldest moves, or stand accountable before history for their failure to act. Both countries should stop using the other's behavior as an excuse for stalemate and instead develop an agenda for mutual survival in a shared global environment.

These are the last few years of decision, but they can be the first years of a bright and hopeful future if we do what we must. No one should believe a solution will be found without effort, without cost, without change. Let us acknowledge that if we wish to redeem squandered time and speak again with moral authority, then these are the hard truths: The way ahead is difficult. The outer boundary of what we currently believe to be feasible is still far short of what we actually must do. Moreover, between here and there, across the unknown, falls the shadow. That is just another way of saying that we have to expand the boundaries of what is possible. In the words of the Spanish poet, Antonio Machado, “Pathwalker, there is no path. You must make the path as you walk.”

We are standing at the most fateful fork in that path.

So I want to end as I began, with a vision of two futures – each a palpable possibility – and with a prayer that we will see with vivid clarity the necessity of choosing between those two futures, and the urgency of making the right choice now. The great Norwegian playwright, Henrik Ibsen, wrote, “One of these days, the younger generation will come knocking at my door.” The future is knocking at our door right now.

Make no mistake, the next generation *will* ask us one of two questions. Either they will ask: “What were you thinking; why didn't you act?” Or they will ask instead: “How did you find the moral courage to rise and successfully resolve a crisis that so many said was impossible to solve?”

We have everything we need to get started, save perhaps political will, but political will is a renewable resource. So let us renew it, and let us say together:

“We have a purpose. We are many. For this purpose we will rise, and we will act.”

Gore, Albert Arnold. Concession Speech. Delivered December 13, 2000.

Good evening.

Just moments ago, I spoke with George W. Bush and congratulated him on becoming the 43rd president of the United States. And I promised him that I wouldn't call him back this time. I offered to meet with him as soon as possible so that we can start to heal the divisions of the campaign and the contest through which we've just passed.

Almost a century and a half ago, Senator Stephen Douglas told Abraham Lincoln, who had just defeated him for the presidency, "Partisan feeling must yield to patriotism. I'm with you, Mr. President, and God bless you." Well, in that same spirit, I say to President-elect Bush that what remains of partisan rancor must now be put aside, and may God bless his stewardship of this country. Neither he nor I anticipated this long and difficult road. Certainly neither of us wanted it to happen. Yet it came, and now it has ended, resolved, as it must be resolved, through the honored institutions of our democracy. Over the library of one of our great law schools is inscribed the motto, "Not under man but under God and law." That's the ruling principle of American freedom, the source of our democratic liberties. I've tried to make it my guide throughout this contest, as it has guided America's deliberations of all the complex issues of the past five weeks.

Now the U.S. Supreme Court has spoken. Let there be no doubt, while I *strongly* disagree with the court's decision, I accept it. I accept the finality of this outcome which will be ratified next Monday in the Electoral College. And tonight, for the sake of our unity as a people and the strength of our democracy, I offer my concession. I also accept my responsibility, which I will discharge unconditionally, to honor the new President-elect and do everything possible to help him bring Americans together in fulfillment of the great vision that our Declaration of Independence defines and that our Constitution affirms and defends.

Let me say how grateful I am to all those who supported me and supported the cause for which we have fought. Tipper and I feel a deep gratitude to Joe and Hadassah Lieberman, who brought passion and high purpose to our partnership and opened new doors, not just for our campaign but for our country.

This has been an extraordinary election. But in one of God's unforeseen paths, this belatedly broken impasse can point us all to a new common ground, for its very closeness can serve to remind us that we are one people with a shared history and a shared destiny. Indeed, that history gives us many examples of contests as hotly debated, as fiercely fought, with their own challenges to the popular will. Other disputes have dragged on for weeks before reaching resolution. And each time, both the victor and the vanquished have accepted the result peacefully and in a spirit of reconciliation.

So let it be with us.

I know that many of my supporters are disappointed. I am too. But our disappointment must be overcome by our love of country.

And I say to our fellow members of the world community, let no one see this contest as a sign of American weakness. The strength of American democracy is shown most clearly through the difficulties it can overcome. Some have expressed concern that the unusual nature of this election might hamper the next president in the conduct of his office. I do not believe it need be so.

President-elect Bush inherits a nation whose citizens will be ready to assist him in the conduct of his large responsibilities. I, personally, will be at his disposal, and I call on all Americans – I particularly urge all who stood with us – to unite behind our next president. This is America. Just as we fight hard when the stakes are high, we close ranks and come together when the contest is done. And while there will be time enough to debate our continuing differences, now is the time to recognize that that which unites us is greater than that which divides us. While we yet hold and do not yield our opposing beliefs, there is a higher duty than the one we owe to political party. This is America and we put country before party; we will stand together behind our new president.

As for what I'll do next, I don't know the answer to that one yet. Like many of you, I'm looking forward to spending the holidays with family and old friends. I know I'll spend time in Tennessee and mend some fences, literally and figuratively. Some have asked whether I have any regrets, and I do have one regret: that I didn't get the chance to stay and fight for the American people over the next four years, especially for those who need burdens lifted and barriers removed, especially for those who feel their voices have not been heard. I heard you. And I will not forget.

I've seen America in this campaign, and I like what I see. It's worth fighting for and that's a fight I'll never stop. As for the battle that ends tonight, I do believe, as my father once said, that "No matter how hard the loss, defeat might serve as well as victory to shape the soul and let the glory out."

So for me this campaign ends as it began: with the love of Tipper and our family; with faith in God and in the country I have been so proud to serve, from Vietnam to the vice presidency; and with gratitude to our truly tireless campaign staff and volunteers, including all those who worked so hard in Florida for the last 36 days.

Now the political struggle is over and we turn again to the unending struggle for the common good of all Americans and for those multitudes around the world who look to us for leadership in the cause of freedom.

In the words of our great hymn, "America, America": "Let us crown thy good with brotherhood, from sea to shining sea."

And now, my friends, in a phrase I once addressed to others: it's time for me to go.

Thank you, and good night, and God bless America.

Hewson, Paul David (Bono). Address at the 54th National Prayer Breakfast. Delivered February 2, 2006.

Well, thank you, thank you Mr. President, First Lady, King Abdullah of Jordan, Norm [Coleman], distinguished guests. Please join me in praying that I don't say something we'll all regret.

That was for the FCC.

If you're wondering what I'm doing here, at a prayer breakfast, well so am I. I'm certainly not here as a man of the cloth, unless that cloth is – is leather. I'm certainly not here because I'm a rock star – which leaves only one possible explanation: I've got a messianic complex. It's true. And anyone who knows me, it's hardly a revelation.

Well, I'm the first to admit that there's something unnatural, something even unseemly about rock stars mounting the pulpit and preaching at presidents – and disappearing to their villas in the South of France. Talk about a fish out of water. It was weird enough to have Jesse Helms come to a rock show. This is *really* weird.

Now, one of the things I love about this country is the separation of Church and State and although I have to say in inviting me here both Church and State have been separated from something else completely: their – their mind.

Mr. President, are you sure about this? It's very humbling, and I will try to keep my homily brief. But be warned: I am Irish. I'd like to talk about the – the laws of man, here in this city, where those laws are written. I'd like to talk about higher laws. It would be great to assume that once there's the other, that the laws of man serve these higher laws, but, of course, they don't always. I presume that, in a way, is why you're all here. I presume the reason for this gathering is that all of us are here – Muslims, Jews, Christians – are all searching our souls for how to better serve our family, our community, our nation, our God. And some of us are not very good examples, despite what Norm [Coleman] says.

I am certainly searching, and that, I suppose, is what led me here. Yes, it is odd, having a rock star at the breakfast. But maybe it's odder for me than for you, because, you see, I've avoided religious people most of my life. Maybe it's something to do with having a father who was a Protestant and a mother who was a Catholic in a country where the line between the two was, quite literally, often a battle line; where the line between Church and State was, at the very least, a little blurry and hard to see.

I – I – I remember how my mother would bring us to chapel on Sundays and my father used to wait outside. One of the things that I picked up from my father and my mother was the sense that religion often gets in the way of God; for me, at least, it got in the way – seeing what religious people, in the name of God, did to my native land. And even in this country, seeing God's second-hand car salesmen on their TV cable channels offering indulgences for cash. In fact, all over the world – seeing the self-righteous “roll down like a mighty stream,” from certain corners of the religious establishment. I must confess, I changed the channel. I wanted my MTV.

So, even though I was a believer, and – and perhaps because I was a believer, I was cynical – not about God, but about God's politics. (There you are, Jim.)

In 1997, a couple of eccentric septuagenarian Christians – British, as it happens – went and ruined my shtick, my reproachfulness. They did it by describing the Millennium, the year 2000, as a Jubilee year; described this year as an opportunity to cancel the chronic debts of the world's poorest people. They had the audacity to renew the Lord's call and were joined by Pope John Paul II, who, from Irish half-Catholic's point of view, may have had a little more of a direct line to the Almighty. But they got together to declare the Year of Jubilee.

It's a “Jubilee.” Why “Jubilee?” What was this year of Jubilee, this year of our Lord's favor? I'd – I'd always read the Scriptures, actually, even the obscure stuff. There it was in Leviticus 25:35: “If your brother becomes poor,” the Scriptures say, “and cannot maintain himself, you shall maintain him. You shall not lend him your money at interest, not give him your food for profit.”

This is such an important idea, Jubilee, that this is how Jesus begins his ministry. Jesus is a young man; he's met with the rabbis; he's impressed everybody; people are talking. The elders say, he's a clever guy, this Jesus, but – you know – he hasn't done much public speaking.

When he does, his first words are from Isaiah: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,” he says, “because He has anointed me to preach the good news to the poor.” And Jesus proclaims the year of the Lord's favor, the year of Jubilee. I think that's Luke 4[:18]. What he was really talking about was an era of grace – and we're still in it.

So fast-forward 2,000 years. That same thought, grace, is now incarnate in a movement of all kinds of people. It wasn't a bless-me club. It wasn't a holy huddle. These religious guys were willing to get out in the streets, get their boots dirty, wave the placards, follow their convictions with actions, making it really hard for people like me to keep our distance – ruining my shtick. I almost started to like these church people.

But then my cynicism got another helping hand. It was a – It was Colin Powell, a five-star general, called the greatest W.M.D. [Weapon of Mass Destruction] of them all: a tiny little virus called A.I.D.S. And the religious community, in large part, missed it. And the ones that didn't miss it could only see it as divine retribution for bad behavior – even on children, even if the fastest growing group of HIV infections were married, faithful women.

Ah, there they go. Judgmentalism is back, I thought to myself. But in truth, I was wrong again. The Church was slow but the Church got busy on this the leprosy of our age.

Love was on the move.

Mercy was on the move.

God was on the move.

Moving people of all kinds to work with others they had never met, never would have cared to meet. They had conservative church groups hanging out with spokesmen from the gay community, all singing off the same hymn sheet on AIDS. See, miracles do happen. And we had hip-hop stars and country stars.

This is what happens when God gets on the move: crazy, crazy stuff happens.

Popes were seen wearing sunglasses! Jesse Helms had a ghetto blaster now! Evidence of the Spirit moving. It was really – it was breathtaking. It literally stopped the world in its tracks.

When churches start demonstrating on debt, governments listened – and acted. When churches started organizing, petitioning, and even that most unholy of acts today, God forbid, *lobbying* on AIDS and global health, governments listened – and acted. I'm here today in all humility to say: you changed minds; you changed policy; and you changed the world. So, thank you.

Check Judaism. Check Islam. Check pretty much anyone. I mean, God may well be with us in our mansions on the hill. I hope so. He may – may well be with us in all manner of controversial stuff. Maybe, maybe not. But the one thing we can all agree – all faiths, all ideologies – is that God is with the vulnerable and poor.

God is in the slums, in the cardboard boxes where the poor play house. God is in the silence of a mother who has infected her child with a virus that will end both their lives. God is in the cries heard under the rubble of war. God is in the debris of wasted opportunity and lives, and God is with us if we are with them.

If you remove the yoke from your midst, the pointing of the finger and the speaking of wickedness, and if you give yourself to the hungry and satisfy the desire of the afflicted, then your light will rise in darkness and your gloom will become like midday and the Lord will continually guide you and satisfy your desire even in scorched places.

It's not a coincidence that in the Scriptures, poverty is mentioned more than 2,100 times. It's not an accident. That's a lot of air time. You know, the only time Jesus Christ is judgmental is on the subject of the poor. "As you have done it unto the least of these my brethren, you have done it unto me." [I] believe that's Matthew 25:40. (See, I've been doing my homework.)

As I say, good news to the poor.

Here's some good news for you, Mr. President. After 9/11, we were told America would have no time for the world's poor. We were told America would be taken up with its own problems of safety. And it's true these are dangerous times, but America has not drawn the blinds and double-locked the doors.

In fact, you have doubled aid to Africa. You have tripled funding for the global health – for global health. And Mr. President, your emergency plan for AIDS relief and support of the Global Fund – you and Congress – has put 700,000 people onto life-saving anti-retroviral drugs and provided eight million bed nets to protect children from malaria.

Outstanding human achievements. Counterintuitive, I think you'll admit, but – but – but historic. You should be very, very proud.

But here's the bad news. There's so much more to do. There is a gigantic chasm between the scale of the emergency and the scale of the response.

And finally, getting to higher levels, higher callings: This is not about charity in the end, is it? It's about justice. The good news yet to come. I just want to repeat that: This is not about charity, it's about justice. And that's too bad. Because we're good at charity. Americans, Irish people, are good at charity. We like to give, and we give a lot, even those who can't afford it.

But justice is a higher standard. Africa makes a fool of our idea of justice; it makes a farce of our idea of equality. It mocks our pieties; it doubts our concern, and it questions our commitment. Six and a half thousand Africans are still dying every day of preventable, treatable disease, for lack of drugs we can buy at any drug store. This is not about charity: This is about Justice and Equality.

Because there's no way we can look at what's happening in Africa and, if we're honest, conclude that deep down, we would let it happen anywhere else – if we really accepted that Africans are equal to us.

I say that humbled in the company of a man with an African father.

Look what happened in South East Asia with the Tsunami. 150,000 lives lost to the misnomer of all misnomers, "mother nature". Well, in Africa, 150,000 lives are lost every month – a tsunami every month. And it's a completely avoidable catastrophe.

It's annoying but justice and equality are mates, aren't they? Justice always wants to hang out with equality. And equality is a *real pain in the ass*. Seriously.

I mean you think of these Jewish sheep-herders going to meet with the Pharaoh, mud on their shoes, and the Pharaoh goes, "Equal? Equal?" And they say, "Yeah, that's what, that's what it says here in the Book, here. We're all made in the image of God, sir."

Eventually the Pharaoh says, "Look, I can accept that. I mean, I can accept the Jews – but not the blacks. I mean, not the women. Not the gays. Not the Irish. No way."

So on we go with the journey of equality.

On we go in the pursuit of justice.

We hear that call in the ONE Campaign, a growing movement of more than two million Americans – five million by the next election, I promise you – united in the belief that *where* you live should no longer determine *whether* you live.

We hear that call even more powerfully today, and we mourn the loss of Coretta Scott King – mother of a movement for equality, one that changed the world but is only really getting started, ‘cause these issues are as alive as they ever were; they just change shape and they cross the seas.

Preventing the poorest of the poor from selling their products while we sing the virtues of the free market, that’s not charity: That’s a justice issue. Holding children to ransom for the debts of their grandparents, that’s not charity: That’s a justice issue. Withholding life-saving medicines out of deference to the Office of Patents, well that’s not charity. To me, that’s a justice issue.

And while the law is what we say it is, God is not silent on the subject. That’s why I say there’s laws of the land and then there’s a higher standard. And we can hire experts to write them so they benefit us, these laws, so that they say it’s okay to protect our agriculture but it’s not okay for African farmers to protect their agriculture, to earn a living. As the laws of man are written, that’s what they say. But God will not accept that. Mine won’t. I don’t – will yours?

I close this morning on very thin – thin ice, probably. This is a dangerous idea I’ve put on the table, here: my God versus your God, their God versus our God, versus no God. It’s very easy, in these times, to see religion as a force for division rather than unity. And this is a town – Washington – that knows something of division.

But the reason I’m here, and the reason I keep coming back to Washington, is because this is a town that is proving it can come together on behalf of what the Scriptures call "the least of these." It’s not a Republican idea. It’s not a Democratic idea. It’s not even, with all due respect, an American idea; nor it is unique to any one faith.

“Do unto others as you would have them do to you.” Jesus says that.

Righteousness is this: that one should give away wealth out of love for Him to the near of kin and to the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and the beggars and for the emancipation of the captives.

The Qur’an says that.

Thus sayeth the Lord: Bring the homeless poor into the house, when you see the naked, cover him, then your light will break out – then your light will be like the dawn and your recovery will be speedily and spring forth; then the Lord will be your rear guard.

The Jewish Scripture says that. It’s Isaiah 58 again.

It’s a powerful incentive: “The Lord will watch your back.” Sounds like a good deal to me, especially right now. (Right? The Lord will watch your back. [turning to President Bush] You like that. Okay.)

Alright.

A number of years ago, I met a wise man who changed my life – in countless ways, big and small. I was always seeking the Lord’s blessing. I – I’d be saying, “Look, I’ve got a new song... Would you look out [for it]. I have a family; I’m going away on tour – please look after them. I have this crazy idea. Could I have a blessing on it.”

And this wise man asked me to stop. He said, “Stop asking God to bless what you’re doing. Get involved in what God is doing – because it’s already blessed. Well, let’s get involved in what God is doing. God, as I say, is always with the poor. That’s what God is doing. That’s what He’s calling us to do.”

I was amazed when I first got to this country and I learned how much some churchgoers tithe: up to ten percent of the family budget. I mean – I – I – How does that compare with the federal budget, the budget for the entire American family? How much of that goes to the poorest people in the world? Well, it’s less than one percent of the federal budget.

Mr. President, Congress, people of faith, people of America: I want to suggest to you today that you see the flow of effective foreign assistance as tithing; which, to be truly meaningful, will mean an additional one percent of the federal budget tithed to the poor.

And what is that one percent that we’re asking for in the ONE campaign? It’s not merely a number on a balance reader pulled out of the air. One percent is the girl in Africa who gets to go to school, thanks to you. One percent is the AIDS patient who gets her medicine, thanks to you. One percent is the African entrepreneur who can start a small family business, thanks to you. One percent is not redecorating presidential palaces. One percent must not be – or don’t give it – money down a rat hole. This one percent is digging waterholes to provide clean water...like I saw with Bill Frist, there, in – Where was it? – Uganda. Okay, that’s what we’re after, folks.

One percent is a new partnership with Africa, not paternalism towards Africa; a new partnership with Africa, where increased assistance flows toward improved governance and initiatives with proven track records and away from the boondoggles and white elephants that we’ve seen before.

America gives less than one percent now. We’re asking for an extra one percent to change the world, to transform millions of lives, but not just that – and I say this to the military men now – not just transform hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of communities, but transform the way they see us, which might be smart in these dangerous times.

One percent is national security. One percent is enlightened economic self-interest, and a better safer world rolled into one. Sounds to me that in this town of deals and compromises, one percent is the best bargain around.

Thank you very much.

Jobs, Steve. Commencement Address at Stanford University. Delivered June 12, 2005.

Thank you.

I'm honored to be with you today for your commencement from one of the finest universities in the world. Truth be told, I never graduated from college, and this is the closest I've ever gotten to a college graduation. Today, I want to tell you three stories from my life. That's it. No big deal. Just three stories.

The first story is about connecting the dots. I dropped out of Reed College after the first six months, but then stayed around as a drop-in for another 18 months or so before I really quit. So why did I drop out?

It started before I was born. My biological mother was a young, unwed graduate student, and she decided to put me up for adoption. She felt very strongly that I should be adopted by college graduates, so everything was all set for me to be adopted at birth by a lawyer and his wife – except that when I popped out they decided at the last minute that they really wanted a girl. So my parents, who were on a waiting list, got a call in the middle of the night asking, “We’ve got an unexpected baby boy; do you want him?” They said, “Of course.” My biological mother found out later that my mother had never graduated from college and that my father had never graduated from high school. She refused to sign the final adoption papers. She only relented a few months later when my parents promised that I would go to college. This was the start in my life.

And 17 years later I did go to college. But I naively chose a college that was almost as expensive as Stanford, and all of my working-class parents' savings were being spent on my college tuition. After six months, I couldn't see the value in it. I had no idea what I wanted to do with my life and no idea how college was going to help me figure it out. And here I was spending all of the money my parents had saved their entire life.

So I decided to drop out and trust that it would all work out okay. It was pretty scary at the time, but looking back it was one of the best decisions I ever made. The minute I dropped out I could stop taking the required classes that didn't interest me, and begin dropping in on the ones that looked far more interesting.

It wasn't all romantic. I didn't have a dorm room, so I slept on the floor in friends' rooms. I returned coke bottles for the five cent deposits to buy food with, and I would walk the seven miles across town every Sunday night to get one good meal a week at the Hare Krishna temple. I loved it. And much of what I stumbled into by following my curiosity and intuition turned out to be priceless later on. Let me give you one example:

Reed College at that time offered perhaps the best calligraphy instruction in the country. Throughout the campus every poster, every label on every drawer, was beautifully hand calligraphed. Because I had dropped out and didn't have to take the normal classes, I decided to take a calligraphy class to learn how to do this. I learned about serif and sans-serif typefaces, about varying the amount of space between different letter combinations, about what makes great typography great. It was beautiful, historical, artistically subtle in a way that science can't capture, and I found it fascinating.

None of this had even a hope of any practical application in my life. But ten years later, when we were designing the first Macintosh computer, it all came back to me. And we designed it all into the Mac. It was the first computer with beautiful typography. If I had never dropped in on that single course in college, the “Mac” would have never had multiple typefaces or proportionally spaced fonts. And since Windows just copied the Mac, it's likely that no personal computer would have them. If I had never dropped out, I would have never dropped in on that calligraphy class, and personal computers might not have the wonderful typography that they do. Of course it was impossible to connect the dots looking forward when I was in college. But it was very, very clear looking backwards 10 years later.

Again, you can't connect the dots looking forward; you can only connect them looking backwards. So you have to trust that the dots will somehow connect in your future. You have to trust in something – your gut, destiny, life, karma, whatever – because believing that the dots will connect down the road will give you the confidence to follow your heart, even when it leads you off the well-worn path, and that will make all the difference.

My second story is about love and loss.

I was lucky – I found what I loved to do early in life. Woz and I started Apple in my parents' garage when I was 20. We worked hard, and in 10 years Apple had grown from just the two of us in a garage into a two billion dollar company with over 4000 employees. We'd just released our finest creation – the Macintosh – a year earlier, and I had just turned 30.

And then I got fired. How can you get fired from a company you started? Well, as Apple grew we hired someone who I thought was very talented to run the company with me, and for the first year or so things went well. But then our visions of the future began to diverge and eventually we had a falling out. When we did, our Board of Directors sided with him. And so at 30, I was out. And very publicly out. What had been the focus of my entire adult life was gone, and it was devastating.

I really didn't know what to do for a few months. I felt that I had let the previous generation of entrepreneurs down – that I had dropped the baton as it was being passed to me. I met with David Packard and Bob Noyce and tried to apologize for screwing up so badly. I was a very public failure, and I even thought about running away from the valley. But something slowly began to dawn on me: I still loved what I did. The turn of events at Apple had not changed that one bit. I had been rejected, but I was still in love. And so I decided to start over.

I didn't see it then, but it turned out that getting fired from Apple was the best thing that could have ever happened to me. The heaviness of being successful was replaced by the lightness of being a beginner again, less sure about everything. It freed me to enter one of the most creative periods of my life.

During the next five years, I started a company named NeXT, another company named Pixar, and fell in love with an amazing woman who would become my wife. Pixar went on to create the world's first computer-animated feature film, Toy Story, and is now the most successful animation studio in the world. In a remarkable turn of events, Apple bought NeXT, and I returned to Apple, and the technology we developed at NeXT is at the heart of Apple's current renaissance. And Laurene and I have a wonderful family together.

I'm pretty sure none of this would have happened if I hadn't been fired from Apple. It was awful tasting medicine, but I guess the patient needed it. Sometime life – Sometimes life's going to hit you in the head with a brick. Don't lose faith. I'm convinced that the only thing that kept me going was that I loved what I did. You've got to find what you love.

And that is as true for work as it is for your lovers. Your work is going to fill a large part of your life, and the only way to be truly satisfied is to do what you believe is great work. And the only way to do great work is to love what you do. If you haven't found it yet, keep looking – and don't settle. As with all matters of the heart, you'll know when you find it. And like any great relationship, it just gets better and better as the years roll on. So keep looking – don't settle.

My third story is about death.

When I was 17, I read a quote that went something like: "If you live each day as if it was your last, someday you'll most certainly be right." It made an impression on me, and since then, for the past 33 years, I've looked in the mirror every morning and asked myself: "If today were the last day of my life, would I want to do what I am about to do today?" And whenever the answer has been "No" for too many days in a row, I know I need to change something.

Remembering that I'll be dead soon is the most important tool I've ever encountered to help me make the big choices in life. Because almost everything – all external expectations, all pride, all fear of embarrassment or failure – these things just fall away in the face of death, leaving only what is truly important. Remembering that you are going to die is the best way I know to avoid the trap of thinking you have something to lose. You are already naked. There is no reason not to follow your heart.

About a year ago I was diagnosed with cancer. I had a scan at 7:30 in the morning, and it clearly showed a tumor on my pancreas. I didn't even know what a pancreas was. The doctors told me this was almost certainly a type of cancer that is incurable, and that I should expect to live no longer than three to six months. My doctor advised me to go home and get my affairs in order, which is doctor's code for "prepare to die." It means to try and tell your kids everything you thought you'd have the next 10 years to tell them in just a few months. It means to make sure everything is buttoned up so that it will be as easy as possible for your family. It means to say your goodbyes.

I lived with that diagnosis all day. Later that evening I had a biopsy, where they stuck an endoscope down my throat, through my stomach into my intestines, put a needle into my pancreas and got a few cells from the tumor. I was sedated, but my wife, who was there, told me that when they viewed the cells under a microscope the doctors started crying because it turned out to be a very rare form of pancreatic cancer that is curable with surgery. I had the surgery and, thankfully, I'm fine now.

This was the closest I've been to facing death, and I hope it's the closest I get for a few more decades. Having lived through it, I can now say this to you with a bit more certainty than when death was a useful but purely intellectual concept: No one wants to die.

Even people who want to go to heaven don't want to die to get there. And yet death is the destination we all share. No one has ever escaped it. And that is as it should be, because Death is very likely the single best invention of Life. It's Life's change agent. It clears out the old to make way for the new. Right now the new is you, but someday not too long from now, you will gradually become the old and be cleared away. Sorry to be so dramatic, but it's quite true.

Your time is limited, so don't waste it living someone else's life. Don't be trapped by dogma – which is living with the results of other people's thinking. Don't let the noise of others' opinions drown out your own inner voice. And most important, have the courage to follow your heart and intuition. They somehow already know what you truly want to become. Everything else is secondary.

When I was young, there was an amazing publication called The Whole Earth Catalog, which was one of the "bibles" of my generation. It was created by a fellow named Stewart Brand not far from here in Menlo Park, and he brought it to life with his poetic touch. This was in the late 60s, before personal computers and desktop publishing, so it was all made with typewriters, scissors, and Polaroid cameras. It was sort of like Google in paperback form, 35 years before Google came along. It was idealistic, overflowing with neat tools and great notions.

Stewart and his team put out several issues of The Whole Earth Catalog, and then when it had run its course, they put out a final issue. It was the mid-1970s, and I was your age. On the back cover of their final issue was a photograph of an early morning country road, the kind you might find yourself hitchhiking on if you were so adventurous. Beneath it were the words: "Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish." It was their farewell message as they signed off. Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish.

And I've always wished that for myself. And now, as you graduate to begin anew, I wish that for you: Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish.

Thank you all very much.

Jobs, Steve. From the International Design Conference in Aspen in 1983. Delivered June 15, 1983.

G' morning— Introductions are pretty funny.. They paid me sixty dollars so I wore a tie. (Audience Laughter)

Um, how many people.. how many of you are 36 years... older than 36 years old? Yeah, you were born pre-computer. The computer is 36 years old. And there's something sort of, I think that that, there's going to be a little slice in the timeline of history as we look back. A pretty meaningful slice right there.

Uhm, a lot of you are products of the television generation. I'm pretty much a product of the television generation. But to some extent, starting to become a product of the computer generation and the kids grown up now are definitely products of the computer generation.

And uh, in their lifetime, the computer will become the predominant medium.. of communication just as the television took over from the radio uh took over from even the book.

Um, well I'll talk about anything you want to talk about today, I've got about 15 to 20 minutes of stuff that I just wanted to cover really quickly and then, whatever you want to talk about, we can talk about. How's that? Ok?

How many of you own an Apple? Or just any personal, computer? Uh oh. (Audience Laughter)

How many of you have used one or seen one? Anything.. like that? Good! Ok!

Let's start off with what is a computer. What is a computer.

It's really simple. It's just a simple machine. But it's a new type of machine. Uh, The gears, the pistons have been replaced with electrons.

How many of you have ever seen an electron? *That's* the problem with computers. Is that you can't get your hands on the actual things that are moving around, you can't see them, so they.. tend to be very intimidating because in a very small space, there's billions of electrons running around and we can't really get a hold on-on exactly what they look like. Computers are very adaptive, it's a very adaptive machine. We can move the electrons around differently to different places. Depending upon the current state of affairs. The result of the last time we moved the electrons around.

So if you were here last night, and you heard about the brain and how it's very adaptive computers are in the same way, very very adaptive. Second thing about a computer, it's very new. It was invented 36 years ago in 1947. The world's first degree in computer science, offered by a university which was the university of California at Berkeley and it was a masters degree. Was offered in 1968 which means uh the oldest person that has a degree in computer science is 39 years old. and the average age of professionals at Apple is under 30. So it's a field that's dominated by fairly young people.

Third thing about computers, they're really dumb. They're exceptionally simple but they're really fast. The raw instructions that we have to feed these little microprocessors, even the raw instructions that we have to feed these big giant Cray-1 supercomputers, are the most trivial of instructions. They're: get some data from here. Get a number from here. Fetch a number. Add two numbers together. Test to see if it's bigger than 0, go put it over there. The most mundane thing you could ever imagine.

But. The key thing about it is, let's say I could move 100 times faster than anyone here. In the blink of your eye, I could run up there, and I could grab a bouquet of fresh spring flowers or something and I could run back in here and I could snap my fingers and you would all think I was a magician.. or something. And yet I was basically doing a series of really simple instructions, I was moving, running out there grabbing some flowers and running back snapping my fingers but I could just do them so fast that you would think that *there was something magical going on*.

It's the exact same way as the computer, this is the 'grab these numbers, add them together and throw them over here at a rate of about a million instructions per second.

And so we tend to think that there's something magical going on when in reality there's just a series of these simple instructions—now. What we do, is we take these very very simple instructions and we by building a collection of these things, build, a higher level instruction. So instead of saying "turn right" left-foot-right-foot- left-foot-right-foot, extend hand, grab flowers, run back— I'd say: "Could you go get some flowers?" Could you pour a cup of coffee.

We have started in the last 20 years to deal with computers in higher and higher levels of abstraction but ultimately these levels of abstraction get translated down into these stupid instructions that run really fast. Look at the brief history of computers. The best way to understand it is probably an analogy.

The electric motor was first invented in the late 1800's and when it was first invented it was only possible to build a very very large one. Which meant that it could only be cost justified for very large applications. And therefore, electric motors did not proliferate very fast at all. But the next breakthrough, was when somebody took one of these large electric motors and they ran a shaft through the middle of the factory and through a series of belts and pulleys, brought, shared the horsepower of this one electric motor to 15 to 20 medium sized workstations. Thereby allowing one electric motor to be cost justified on some medium scale tasks. And electric motors proliferated even further then.

But the real breakthrough was the invention of the fractional horsepower electric motor. We could then bring the horsepower directly to where it was needed and cost justify it on a totally individual application and I think there's about 55 or so fractional horsepower motors now in every household. If we look at the development of computers, we see a real parallel. The first computer is called the ENIAC in 1947. It was

developed particularly for ballistic, for military calculations. It was giant. Hardly anyone got a chance to use it. The real breakthrough, the next real breakthrough was in the 60's. With the invention of what we call 'time sharing' and what we do is we took one of these very large computers and we shared it, since it could execute so many instructions so quickly. We'd run some on Fred's job over here, then we'd run some on Sally's job, then we'd run some on Don's job then we'd run on Susie's job. And we'd share this thing and it was so fast that everyone would think they had the whole computer to themselves. Time sharing is what really started to proliferate computers in 60's and most of you could use computer terminals connected with some kind of umbilical cord to some large computer somewhere else. That's time sharing. That's what got computers on college campuses in large numbers. The reason Apple exists, is because we stumbled on to fractional horsepower computing 5 years before anybody else. That's the reason we exist. We took these microprocessor chips, which is sort of a computer on a chip, and we surrounded it with all the other stuff you need to interact with a computer and we made a computer that was about 13 pounds. And people would look at it and say "Well, where's the computer, that's just the terminal" and we'd say "that IS the computer". And after about 5 minutes of repeating this, finally a light bulb would come on in their minds and they decided if they didn't like it they could throw it out the window or run over it with their car. But this was the entire computer.

That's why we exist. Fractional horsepower computing.

Fractional horsepower computing, has created a revolution. It was invented in 1976, the first personal computer. This year in 1983, the industry is going to ship over 3 million of the little buggers. 3 million. By 1986 we're going to ship more computers than automobiles in this country. And let me digress for a minute.

One of the reasons I'm here, is because I need your help. If you look at computers, they look like garbage. All the great, product designers are off designing automobiles or off designing buildings but hardly any of them are designing computers. And if we take a look, uhm, we're going those 3 million computers this year! We're going to sell those 10 million computers in 86. Whether they look like a piece a shit or they look great.

It doesn't really matter because people just suck this stuff up so fast that they're going to do it no matter what it looks like. And it doesn't cost any more money to make it look great.

They're going to be these objects, these new objects that are going to be in everyone's working environment. And is going to be in everyone's educational environment. And is going to be in everyone's home environment. And we have a shot at putting a GREAT object there. Or if we don't, we're going to put one more piece of junk object there. By nine... 86-87, pick a year, people are going to be spending more time interacting with these machines than they do interacting with their big automobile machines

today.

People are going to be spending, two, three hours a day sometimes interacting with these machines. Longer than they spend in a car.

And so, industrial design, the software design and how people interact with these things certainly must be given the consideration that we give automobiles today if not a lot more. And if you take a look, what we've got, we've got a situation where most of the automobiles are not being designed in the United States— Europe, Japan. Televisions, audio electronics, watches, cameras, bicycles, calculators— you name it. Most of the objects of our life are not designed in America.

We've blown it.

We've blown it from an industrial point of view because we've lost the market from the point of competitors. We've lost from the design point of view. And I think we have a chance, focusing on this new computing technology. Meeting people in the 80's.

The fact that computers and society are out on a *first date* in the 80's. We have a chance to make these thing beautiful, and we have a chance to communicate something. Through the design of the objects themselves. In addition to that, we're going to spend over 100 million dollars in the next 12 months on media advertising.

Apple alone. IBM will spend at least an equivalent amount. And we generate 10's of millions of dollars worth of brochures and posters. More than the auto industry, again, and in comparison. And this stuff can either be great or it can be lousy. And we *need help*.

We really really need your help.

Ok let's go back to this revolution, what is happening? What's happening is the personal computer is a medium— of communication. One of the medium. So what's a medium? It's a technology communication. A book is a medium. Telephone. Radio. Television. These are mediums of communication. And each medium has pitfalls to it, it has shortcomings, has boundaries which you can't cross. But it also, generally, has some new unique opportunities.

The neat thing, is that each medium shapes not only the communication that goes through it but it shapes the process of the communication. Perfect example: if you compare the telephone with what we're seeing if you link a bunch of computers together and we can send messages to an electronic mailbox, which people can then receive— at their leisure.

We see that, indeed, in one sense we're sending voice through these wires and in one sense we're sending 1's and 0's through these wires so the *content* that's traveling through the medium is certainly different. The most interesting thing that's different.. is the process of communication. When I talk on a telephone with anyone, we both have to be on the phone at the same time. When I'm working, or when I want to send something to somebody with a computer terminal. I want to do a drawing and zip

it over and put it in their mailbox. They don't need to be there. They can retrieve it at 12 AM in the morning, they can retrieve it 3 days later. They can be in New York and retrieve it.

One of these days when we have portable computers with radio links they can be walking around aspen and retrieve it. And so the process of communication itself changes, as the mediums evolve. So what I'm claiming is that computers are a medium and if personal computers are a new and different medium from large computers.

What happens when a new medium enters the scene, is that we tend to fall back into old media habits. And let's look at a few transitions. From one medium to another.

From radio to television, television to this incredible new interactive medium of the video disc. If you go back and you look at our first television shows, they were basically radio shows with a television camera pointed at them. And it took us the better part of the 50's to really understand how television was going to come into its own as its own medium and I really think the first time that a lot of people were shook into realizing that television had come into age was the JFK funeral. The nation, a lot of the world experienced the JFK funeral in their living room and at a level of intensity that wouldn't have been possible with radio.

And another, more upbeat example was the Apollo landing. That experience was not possible with the previous medium and yet it took us the better part of 20 years for that one to really evolve.

Let's look at the next transition, we have this optical video disc, which can store 55,000 images on one side. Or an hour of video, randomly accessible. What are we using it for? *Movies.*

We're dropping back into the old media habits. There's a few experiments that are starting to happen and you start to believe that 5 year, 10 years from now it's going to come into its own. A neat experiment happened right here in Aspen. MIT came out to Aspen about 4-5.. I think about 4 years ago. And they had this *truck* with this camera on it. And they went down *every* single street, and photographed every single intersection. And every single street in Aspen. And they photographed all the buildings. And they got this computer and this video disc hooked together and on the screen you see yourself looking down a street. And you touch the screen and there are some arrows on the screen.. and you touch 'walk forward'.

And all the sudden, it's just like you're walking forward in the street. And you get to an intersection and you get to stop. And you can look right, and you can look straight and you can look left. And you can decide which way you want to go. You can even go in some of the shops!

It's an electronic map, that gives you the feeling that you're walking through Aspen.

Then there's 4 little buttons in the corner, because they came back, and they did exactly the same thing in all four seasons. So you can be looking down a street, hit 'winter' and all of the sudden, you get the same street with 3 feet of snow on it.

It's really amazing! That's not *incredibly* useful! But it poin... (crowd laughter) it points to some of the interactive nature of this new medium which is just starting to break out from movies it's just going to take another 5 to 10 years to evolve.

OK let's go back to computers.

We're in the *I Love Lucy* stage right now in our medium development. What we did was microcomputers, personal computers, first one on the scene. What do we do? We fall back into old media habits, we run these languages like Cobol and business accounting on them. That's the kind of stuff we have been doing on them historically. It took us about 4 years before we started breaking out of that. And we're just starting to break out of it now.

When you look at Lisa, Lisa enables a person like me— I'm not an artist in the sense that many of you are— but I can sit down and I can draw artistic pictures with that thing. Because there's a program called Lisa Draw. And if I don't like what I've just drawn, I can erase it, I can move it, I can shrink it, I can grow it, I can change its texture. There's a little airbrush and the more I scrub the darker it gets. I can put soft edges on things, hard edges on things. And so I— I have no talent at drawing at all, can make me draw. Then I can cut 'em out and paste them into my documents so that I can combine pictures and words. Then I can send it on the electronic mailbox on to somebody else that's living here in Aspen.. can dial up a phone number and get their mail and see this drawing that I made.

So we're starting to break out.. And you can just see it now. *And it's really exciting.*

So where we are, is that the personal computer is a new medium. And that society and computers are really meeting for the first time in the 80's. In 15 years, it's going to be all over.. In terms of this first phase. Getting these tools out into society in large numbers. But during this 15 years if we really— we have an opportunity to do it *great* or to do it so-so. And uh, what a lot of us at Apple are working on, is trying to do it *great*.

I want to look at one last thing, then we can talk about whatever you guys want to talk about. What is a computer program. Do you know what a computer program is? Anybody? No? Sorta? Sorta. It's an odd thing. It's really an odd thing. You can't— you've never seen an electron but computer programs have no physical manifestation at all. They're simply ideas, expressed on paper. Computer programs are archetypal, what do I mean by that.

Let's compare computer programming to television programming.

Again, if you go back and you look at the tapes of the JFK funeral in 1963 (something muffled), you'll start to cry. You will *feel* a lot of the same feelings you felt when you were watching that 20 years ago. Why? Because through the art of television programming, we are *very good* at capturing a set of experiences. AN experience. 2 experiences. 20 experiences. And being able to recreate them. We're very good at that. It takes a lot of money, and it's somewhat it's somewhat limited but we can do a pretty good job of that. You can really feel the *excitement* of Neil Armstrong landing on the moon.

Computer programming does something a little different. What computer programming does, is it captures the underlying principles of an experience. Not the experience its self but the underlying principals of the experience. And those principals, can enable *thousands* of different experiences that all follow those laws if you will.

And the perfect example is the video game. What does a video game do?

It follows the laws of gravity, of angular momentum, and it sets up this stupid little Pong game! But the ball, ALWAYS follows these laws. No two Pong games are ever the same. And yet every single Pong game follows these underlying principals.

Give you another example. The neat program called Hammurabi. And Hammurabi, there's 7 year old kids playing this. And it's a game and you – it comes up on the screen goes – and you're King Hammurabi– it goes. Oh King Hammurabi! You get to be old King Hammurabi of the ancient kingdom of [unintelligible] for 10 years. Old King Hammurabi, this is year 1. You have a 1000 bushels of wheat in storage, you have 100 people, you have 100 acres of land. Land is trading at 24 bushels an acre. Would you like to sell any land? No. Would you like to buy any land? No. How much would you like to plant– or feed– how much would you like to plant? And it turns out, that if you don't plant enough, some of your people will starve in the next year. And if you plant a lot, then people will come from the surrounding villages cause you've got a hot village to live in, you'd feed them right. So you plant– you plant a certain amount. But you ea – then it says uhm – how much? I'm sorry. So you feed your people a certain amount then it asks you: how much would you like to plant? And you have to plant so much as well, in order to get the grain the next year. But you can't plant more acres, than you have people to plant the acres. *So if you go on a land buying spree at the beginning and you don't feed your people well 'cause you spent all your grain buying land, then you don't have the people to plant the land so it doesn't do you any good. If you don't plant the land, and you feed your people a ton, all these other people come from the surrounding villages, but they starve the next year.*

And there are these 7 year olds– then it goes on– year two, year three and every once in a while, it throws some rats eat some of the grain and you're in deep trouble what are you going to do. *Kill some people, or sell some land or whatever.* And it's crude, but basically there are these 7 year old kids playing with this macro-economic model. And you can argue about the-the context of the model, but one thing you can't argue about. *they will* sit there for *hours* and play that and learn.

And we've gotta get our models better and more sophisticated but that is an interactive world of learning that none of us ever had when were growing up. And again. *Thousands* of individual experiences but all based on that one set of underlying principals.

When I was um, going to school– I had a few great teachers and a lot of mediocre teachers. And the thing that probably kept me out of jail was books. Because I could go and read what Aristotle wrote or what Plato wrote. Ok? And I didn't have to have an intermediary in the way. And a book was a phenomenal thing. It got right from the source to the destination without anything in the middle.

The problem was, you can't as Aristotle questions.

When I think, as we look to the next 50-100 years, if we really can come up with these machines that can capture an underlying spirit or an underlying set of principals or an underlying way of looking at the world.. *then when the next Aristotle comes around... what if he carries one of these machines around with him his whole life. His or her whole life. And types in all his stuff.*

Maybe some day after the persons dead and gone... we can ask this machine: Hey, what would Aristotle have said? What about this? And maybe we won't get the right answer.

But maybe we will.

And that's really exciting to me. And that's one of the reasons that I'm doing what I'm doing.

So what do you wanna talk about?

Koch, Charles G. Adam Smith Free Enterprise Award. Delivered 1994.

I'm personally extremely honored to receive the Adam Smith Award from ALEC, especially since it comes from an organization that's committed to curing social and economic problems with market-based solutions.

Together, I think we share the belief that market-oriented policies offer our states the best opportunity to correct problems that have been aggravated by the command-and-control policies of the past.

Both our company and our foundations try to advance the understanding and application of market-oriented policies for the same reasons that Adam Smith and our Founding Fathers were dedicated to a free society; our belief that these policies provide the best opportunities for advancing the well-being of society.

Let me give you a contemporary example that I hope provides context for my remarks. As Ron Scheberle, Chairman of ALECs Private Enterprise Board, indicated, we sponsor programs for an organization called the National Foundation for Teaching Entrepreneurship, known as NFTE, in three metropolitan areas — Wichita, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Washington, D.C.

The goal of these programs is to help at-risk students understand markets and learn how to advance themselves by satisfying the needs of others; to help them learn that they can control their own destiny, rather than rely on the well-intentioned but crippling trap of the welfare system as we know it.

Listen to the testimony of April Shelton, a student in the NFTE program in Wichita. These are her words: “NFTE has given me a new outlook, has built up my self-esteem. When I was younger, I had some people tell me there were certain things I couldn’t do because I already had three strikes against me: I was black, I was female, and I didn’t have any money.

I don’t believe that anymore. And because of all I’ve been able to do through NFTE, I don’t think they do either. Now I know that I can become financially independent if I apply the entrepreneurial concepts I’ve learned and if I work hard. NFTE has given me the confidence to know that I can stand on my own.”

April’s experience is not exceptional. History has shown that when barriers are removed and people are free to use their potential, they advance not only themselves but the well-being of all, and that people can fully develop and use their potential only in an environment of freedom and accountability.

A free society derives its power to release its potential from three sources — three pillars, pillars that are lacking in a command-and-control environment. Those pillars are: Use of dispersed knowledge, beneficial incentives, and rules of just conduct — that is, of beneficial culture.

I’d like to take a moment to describe each of these pillars as I understand them, because I believe each should be carefully considered every time policy-makers debate new legislation.

“Dispersed knowledge” refers to the knowledge of the particulars of time and place, of people and what they value, of local conditions — knowledge that enables everyone to contribute because we all possess unique information that can be helpful to others.

For us to use our dispersed knowledge, it requires that we be free to make choices, choices such as where to work and what to buy. And that includes schools and health care.

This freedom results not in the elimination of planning, but in people planning for themselves. Unfortunately, command-and-control legislation takes that freedom away.

“Beneficial incentives” refer to those that reward people for contributing to the general welfare; incentives that enable people to do well by doing good.

For incentives to be beneficial requires that property rights and other laws be structured so that people can only profit by efficiently satisfying the needs of others. This is known as the economic means of making profits. Profits made in this way are a direct measure of a person’s or firm’s contribution to the well-being of society.

Our third pillar, the “rules of just conduct”, refers to the generalized rules or values that enable us to best live and work together. These values create a civil society; because values, more than anything else, determine behavior.

They include such qualities as: integrity and respect for the rights and property of others; a work ethic; self-discipline; the desire to make a contribution; tolerance or treating others as you would have them treat you; taking responsibility for your own behavior; and taking the long view — being willing to make the sacrifices or investments today that help bring a better future.

Together, these pillars allow people to live and work in harmony, so that each benefits by contributing to the well-being of others. They represent the powerful process referred to by Adam Smith as “the invisible hand.”

Conversely, when dispersed knowledge, beneficial incentives, and rules of just conduct are ignored, society itself begins to decline.

One source of this erosion seems to be taking prosperity for granted. It’s the attitude that we’re prosperous so we can rearrange society however we choose without affecting that prosperity. We quickly forget or have failed to learn the desperate lessons of the failure of command-and-control societies. We forget that 99 percent of the history of the world has been one of dire abject poverty. And we forget that when society has moved forward, it has been due to the use of dispersed knowledge, beneficial incentives, and the rules of just conduct.

As legislators, you recognize the consequences of failing to reinforce and build on these pillars — consequences that include economic stagnation; higher deficits and taxes; increased poverty and crime; politicized, less-productive businesses; failed education; class warfare, and deteriorating rules of just conduct. A society that destroys rather than creates wealth, leaving a smaller pie to meet much greater needs. So, what can we do together, communities, businesses, and legislators, to support the pillars of a free society?

To begin, we would do well to remind ourselves of the Hippocratic oath, “First, do no harm”. The failure to exercise this restraint stems from what Hayek called “the fatal conceit,” the belief that leaders or technical experts know what is best for everyone, while ignoring the depth and diversity of what people in society know and value. The consequences are disastrous, because no person or committee, no matter how brilliant, can have all the constantly changing knowledge needed to plan a complex society.

Then, we should focus on improving understanding of how to mobilize this dispersed knowledge. We need to develop the methodology for analyzing how each program, policy, law and regulation affects the use of dispersed knowledge. To me, the benefits would surpass even that which the discipline of law and economics, when used, has had on judicial decisions.

A current example is the health care debate. Reform proposals should be analyzed as to whether they do a better or worse job of allowing people to use their individual knowledge, knowledge of their own health needs, of what they value, and of the trade-offs they must make.

We should review all our policies to ensure that the incentives encourage people to increase the size of the pie, rather than to merely grab for a bigger piece.

This requires that we restrict legislation to determining what the formal rules of just conduct are, not dictating how they're to be met. And it includes creating sustainable jobs that truly contribute to satisfying people's needs, rather than make-work jobs based on subsidies and counterproductive legislation that destroy real jobs.

And most importantly, we should determine which actions of government, business, and the media build and which erode our rules of just conduct. Central to this effort would be designing policies that require business to profit only by the economic means of wealth creation, not by the political means of wealth redistribution.

In short, we must commit ourselves to examining every policy and our every action from the standpoint of their effect on the pillars of a free society, and then to dedicate our efforts to market-based programs that provide real solutions to society's problems.

I have faith that we can get there, that we will get there, because of the exemplary work of organizations such as ALEC.

I am proud of what you have accomplished, and I look forward to working with you to meeting the challenges ahead.

Thank you very much.

Landrieu, Mitch. On Confederate Monuments Removal in NOLA. Delivered May 19, 2017.

Good afternoon, everybody. Thank you all for joining me today.

To my lovely wife, my first lady – couple of days, we're going to be married 30 years.

To the City Council members; to Sergeant Kimera Woods – that was a beautiful rendition, didn't you think? Really nice.

Representing the men and women of the New Orleans Police Department, Homeland Security, EMS – all of the individuals who have done really hard work over the last month under very difficult circumstances, and so Chief Harrison and Tim McConnell, and our entire team at City Hall who are here today; and particularly Glenda and Mary, who are sitting at the front desk of City Hall that has received all the warm blessings. I think they're watching right now but before I came over here I asked Mary how we were doing. She said, "Well chief," she said, "they called you everything but a child of God."

To Matt Bailey and to U.S. Marine Corps retired Lieutenant Colonel Richard Westmoreland, who have been there every step of the way on behalf of the United States of America. Thank you for being strong.

Pastor Anglim, and to all the ministers who prayed and gave us strength.

To Keith Plessy, from the Plessy family, who brings a history from where it was to where it is today, and along with the Ferguson family who are not here but have demonstrated what reconciliation really looks like.

The descendants of Georgetown slaves.

And to the New Orleans Freedom Riders – Diane Nash couldn't make it today, but Claude Reese is here, who was – give him a round of applause.

I thank you all for coming today.

The soul of our beloved city is rooted in a history that has evolved over thousands of years; rooted in a diverse people who have been here together every step of the way through good and through bad.

It is the history, our history, that holds in its heart the stories of Native Americans – the Choctaw, the Nation, the Chitimacha; Hernando de Soto, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, the Acadians, the Islenos, the enslaved people of Senegambia, free people of color, the Haitians, the Germans, both empires of France and Spain; the Italian[s], the Irish, the Cubans, the south and central Americans, the Vietnamese, and so many more.

You see, New Orleans is truly a city of many nations, a melting pot, a bubbling cauldron of many cultures. There is no other place quite like it in the world that so eloquently exemplifies the uniquely American motto: E pluribus unum – Out of many we are one.

But there are also other truths about our city that we must confront. New Orleans was one of America's largest slave markets, a port where hundreds of thousands of souls were bought, sold, and shipped up the Mississippi River to lives of forced labor, of misery, of rape, and of torture.

America was a place where nearly 4,000 of our fellow American citizens were lynched, 540 in Louisiana alone; where our courts enshrined "separate but equal," where Freedom Riders were beaten to a bloody pulp.

So when people say to me that the monuments in question are history, well what I just described to you is our history as well, and it is a searing truth. And it immediately begs the question, why there are no slave ship monuments, no prominent markers on public land to remember the lynchings or the slave blocks; nothing to remember this long chapter of our lives of the pain, of sacrifice, of shame – all of it happening on the soil of New Orleans.

So for those self-appointed defenders of history and the monuments, they are eerily silent on what amounts to historical malfeasance, a lie by omission. There is a difference, you see, between remembrance of history and the reverence of it. For

America [and] New Orleans, it has been a long and winding road, marked by tragedy and triumph. But we cannot be afraid of the truth. As President George W. Bush said at the – at the dedication ceremony for the National Museum of African American History and Culture (and I quote): “A great nation does not hide its history. It faces its flaws and” it “corrects them.” So today I want to speak about why we chose to remove these four monuments to the Lost Cause of the Confederacy, but also how and why this process can move us towards healing and understanding each other.

So, let’s start with the facts.

The historic record is clear: Robert E. Lee, Jeff[erson] Davis, P.G.T. Beauregard statu[es] were not erected to just honor these men, but as part of the movement which became known as The Cult of the Lost Cause. This “cult” had one goal and one goal only: through monuments and through other means to rewrite history, to hide the truth, which is that the Confederacy was on the wrong side of humanity. First erected 166 years after the founding of our city, 19 years after the Civil War, these monuments that we took down were meant to rebrand the history of our city and the ideals of the Confederacy.

It is self-evident that these men did not fight for the United States of America; they fought against it. They may have been warriors, but in this cause they were not patriots.

These statu[es] are not just stone and metal. They’re not just innocent remembrances of a benign history. These monuments celebrate a fictional, sanitized Confederacy: ignoring the death, ignoring the enslavement, ignoring the terror that it actually stood for. And after the Civil War, these monuments were part of that terrorism as much as burning cross on someone’s lawn. They were erected purposefully to send a strong message to all who walked in their shadows about who was still in charge in this city.

Now, should you have any doubt about the true goals of the Confederacy, in the very weeks before the war broke out, the Vice President of the Confederacy, Alexander Stephens, made it very clear that the Confederate cause was about maintaining slavery and white supremacy.

In his now famous “Cornerstone speech,” he said that the Confederacy’s

corner-stone rests, upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery – subordination to a superior race – is his natural and his normal condition. This, our new government – he said, – is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.

Now, with these shocking words still ringing in your ears, I want to try to gently peel your hands from the grip on this false narrative of our history that I think weakens us and make straight a wrong turn that we made many years ago, so we can more closely connect with the integrity to the founding principles of our nation and forge a clearer, straighter path towards a better city and towards a more perfect union.

Now, last year President Barack Obama echoed these sentiments about the need to contextualize and to remember all of our history. He recalled a single piece of stone, a slave auction block engraved with a marker commemorating a single moment in 1830 when Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay stood and spoke from it.

President Obama said,

Consider what this artifact tells us about history....On a stone where day after day, for years, men and women... bound and bought and sold, and bid like cattle; on a stone worn down by the tragedy of over a thousand bare feet.

And,

For a long time the only thing we considered important, the singular thing we chose to commemorate as “history” with a plaque were the unmemorable speeches of two powerful men.

A piece of stone – one stone. Both stories, history. One story told, one story forgotten – or maybe even purposefully ignored. Now, as clear as it is for me today, for a long time, even though I grew up in one of New Orleans’ most diverse neighborhoods, even with my family’s proud history of fighting for civil rights, I must have passed by these monuments thousands of times without giving them a second thought.

So I’m not judging anybody. I am not judging people. We all take our own journey on race. I just hope people listen like I did when my dear friend Wynton Marsalis helped me see the truth. He asked me to think about all the people who have left New Orleans because of our exclusionary attitudes.

Another friend asked me to consider these four monuments from the perspective of an African American mother or father trying to explain to their fifth grade daughter why Robert E. Lee sat atop of our city. Can you do it? Can you do it? Can you look into the eyes of this young girl and convince her that Robert E. Lee is there to encourage her? Do you think she feels inspired and hopeful by that story? Do these monuments help her see her future with limitless potential? Have you ever thought, have you every thought that if her potential is limited, yours and my potential [is limited] as well?

We all know the answers to these very simple questions.

When you look into this child’s eyes is the moment when the searing truth comes into focus. This is the moment when we know what we must do, when we know what is right. We can not walk away from this truth.

Now, I knew that taking down the monuments was going to be tough, but you elected me to do the right thing, not the easy thing, and this is what that looks like. So relocating these monuments is not about taking something away from someone else. This is not about politics. It’s not about blame. It’s not about retaliation. This is not about a naïve quest to solve all of our problems at once.

This is, however, about showing the whole world that we as a city, that we as a people are able to acknowledge, to understand, to reconcile, and more importantly, choose a better future for ourselves, making straight what has been crooked and making right what was wrong. Otherwise, we will continue to pay a price with discord, with division, and yeah, violence.

To literally put the Confederacy on a pedestal in our most prominent places [of] honor is an inaccurate recitation of our full past. It is an affront to our present. And it is a bad prescription for our future.

History cannot be changed. It cannot be moved like a statue. What is done is done. The Civil War is over. The Confederacy lost – and we're better for it. Surely we are far enough removed from this dark time to acknowledge that the cause of the Confederacy was wrong. And in the second decade of the 21st century, asking African Americans – or anyone else for that matter – to drive by property that they own; occupied by reverential statu[es] of men who fought to destroy the country and deny that person's humanity seems perverse. It seems absurd. Century-old wounds are still raw because, you see, they never healed right in the first place.

So here is the essential truth: We are better together than we are apart. Indivisibility is our essence. Isn't this the gift that we, the people of New Orleans, have given to the world?

We radiate beauty and grace – in our food, in our music, in our architecture, in our joy of life, in our celebration of death; in everything that we do. We gave the world this funky thing called jazz. It is the most uniquely American art form that is developed across the ages and from different cultures. Think about second lines; think about Mardi Gras; think about maffaletta; think about the Saints; think about gumbo; think about red beans and rice. By God, just think: All we hold dear is created by throwing everything in the pot – creating, producing something better; everything, everything a product of our historic diversity.

We are proof that out of many we are one – and better for it. Out of many we are one – and we really do love it.

And yet, and yet we still seem to find so many excuses to not do the right thing. President Bush's words once again: "A great nation does not hide its history. It faces its flaws and corrects them." We forget, we deny how much we really depend on each other, how much we really need each other. We justify our silence and inaction by manufacturing noble causes that marinate in historic denial. We still find a way to say "wait, wait, wait, not so fast." Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, "wait has almost always meant never."

We can not wait any longer. We need to change. And we need to change now. No more waiting. This is not just about statu[es], this is about attitudes; and it's about behaviors as well. If we take down these statu[es] and don't change to become a more open and inclusive society, then all of this would have all been in vain.

While some have driven by these statu[es] every day and either revered their beauty or failed to see them at all, many of our neighbors and our fellow Americans see them very, very clearly. Many are painfully aware of their long shadows, their presence cast not only literally but figuratively. And they clearly receive the message that the Confederacy and the cult of the Lost Cause intended to deliver.

Earlier this week, as the cult of the Lost Cause statu[e] P.G.T. Beauregard came down, world renowned musician Terence Blanchard, who's with us, stood watch with his wife Robin and their two beautiful daughters at their side. You see, Terence went to school on the edge of City Park, at a school named after one of America's great heroes and patriots, John F. Kennedy. But to get there he had to pass by the monument to a man who fought to deny his humanity. And he said (quote): *I've never looked at them as a source of pride. It always made me feel as if they were put there by people who don't respect us. This is something I never thought I'd see in my lifetime. It's a sign that the world is changing.*

Yes, Terence, it is, and it is long overdue. Now is the time to send a new message to the next generation of New Orleanians, a message about the future, about the next 300 years and beyond: Let us not miss this opportunity New Orleans and let us help the rest of the America do the same, because now – see, now – is the time for choosing. Now is the time to actually make this city the city we should have always been had we gotten it right the first time.

But, this is a good place to stop for a moment and ask ourselves at this point in our history – after Katrina, after Rita, after Ike, after Gustav, after the national recession, after the BP oil spill catastrophe, after the tornado – if presented with an opportunity to build monuments that told our story or curate these particular spaces ... would these be the monuments that we want the world to see? Is this really our story?

You see, we have not erased history. We're becoming part of the city's history by righting the wrong image these monuments represent and crafting a better, more complete future for all of our children, and for future generations. And unlike when these Confederate monuments were erected as symbols of white supremacy, we now have a chance to create not only new symbols, but to do it together, as one people. In our blessed land, we come to the table of democracy as equals.

We have to reaffirm our commitment to a future where each citizen is guaranteed the uniquely American gifts of "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of happiness." That is what really makes America great and today it's more important than ever to hold fast to these values and together say a self-evident truth that out of many we are one. That is why we reclaim these spaces for the United States of America, because we are one nation, not two; indivisible with liberty and justice for all, not some. We all are part of one nation and pledge allegiance to one flag, the flag of the United States of America.

And here – And here's the kicker: New Orleanians are in it all of the way. It is in this union, it is in this truth that real patriotism is rooted and it flourishes. Instead of revering a four-year brief historical aberration that was called the Confederacy, we can celebrate all 300 years of our rich, diverse history as a place named New Orleans and set the tone for the next 300 years.

After decades of public debate, of anger, of anxiety, of anticipation, of humiliation and of frustration; after public hearings and approvals from three separate community boards and commissions; after two robust public hearings and a 6-1 vote by our duly-elected City Council; after review by 13 different federal and state judges: The full weight of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government has been brought to bear and that is why these monuments are coming down in accordance with the law and will be removed.

So, now is the time to come together to heal and to focus on our larger task – not only building new symbols, but making this city a beautiful manifestation of what is possible and what we as a people can become.

And so, let us remember the once-exiled, imprisoned, and universally loved now Nelson Mandela and what he said after apartheid:

If the pain has often been unbearable and the revelations shocking to all of us, it is because they indeed bring us the beginnings of a common understanding of what happened and a steady restoration of th[e] nation's humanity.

So before we part let us again state clearly for all to hear: The Confederacy was on the wrong side of history and humanity. It sought to tear apart our nation and subjugate our fellow Americans to slavery. This is a history we should never forget and one that we should never, ever again put on a pedestal to be revered.

As a community, we must recognize the significance of removing New Orleans' Confederate monuments. It is our acknowledgment that now is a time to take stock of, and then move past, a painful part of our history. Anything less would render generations of courageous struggle and soul-searching a truly lost cause. Anything less would fall short of the immortal words of our greatest President, Abraham Lincoln, who, with an open heart and a clarity of purpose, calls on us today across the ages to unite as one people when he said:

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in [the] right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds...to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

God bless you all.

God bless New Orleans.

And God bless the United States of America.

McCullough, David Jr. Wellesley High School Commencement Speech. Delivered June 1, 2012.

Dr. Wong, Dr. Keough, Mrs. Novogroski, Ms. Curran, members of the board of education, family and friends of the graduates, ladies and gentlemen of the Wellesley High School class of 2012, for the privilege of speaking to you this afternoon, I'm honored and grateful. Thank you.

So here we are, commencement, life's great forward-looking ceremony. And don't say, "What about weddings?" Weddings are one-sided and insufficiently effective. Weddings are bride-centric pageantry. Other than conceding to a list of unreasonable demands, the groom just stands there – no stately, hey-everybody-look-at-me procession; no being given away; no identity-changing pronouncement.

And can you imagine a television show dedicated to watching guys try on tuxedos? Their fathers sitting there misty-eyed with joy and disbelief; their brothers lurking in the corner muttering with envy. Left to men, weddings would be, after limits-testing procrastination, spontaneous, almost inadvertent – during halftime, on the way to the refrigerator. And then there's the frequency of failure: statistics tell us half of you will get divorced. A winning percentage like that'll get you last place in the American League East. The Baltimore Orioles do better than weddings.

But this ceremony, commencement, a commencement works every time. From this day forward, truly, in sickness and in health, through financial fiascos, through midlife crises and passably attractive sales reps at trade shows in Cincinnati (parents get that), through diminishing tolerance for annoyingness, through every difference, irreconcilable and otherwise, you will stay forever graduated from high school, you and your diploma as one, 'til death do you part.

No, commencement is life's great ceremonial beginning, with its own attendant and highly appropriate symbolism. Fitting, for example, this – for this auspicious rite of passage, is where we find ourselves this afternoon, the venue. Normally, I avoid clichés like the plague, wouldn't touch them with a ten-foot pole, but here we are on a literal level playing field. That matters. That says something. And your ceremonial costume – shapeless, uniform, one-size-fits-all. Whether male or female, tall or short, scholar or slacker, spray-tanned prom queen or intergalactic X-Box assassin, each of you is dressed, you'll notice, exactly the same; and your diploma, but for your name, exactly the same.

All of this is as it should be – because none of you is special.

You're not special. You're not exceptional.

Contrary to what your U9 soccer trophy suggests, your – your glowing 7th grade report card, despite every assurance of a certain corpulent purple dinosaur, that nice Mister Rogers and your batty Aunt Sylvia, no matter how often your maternal caped crusader has swooped in to save you – you're nothing special.

Yes, you've been pampered, cosseted, doted upon, helmeted, bubble-wrapped. Yes, capable adults with other things to do have held you, kissed you, fed you, wiped your mouth, wiped your bottom, trained you, taught you, tutored you, coached you,

listened to you, counseled you, encouraged you, consoled you, and encouraged you again. You have been nudged, cajoled, wheedled, and implored. You've been feted and fawned over and called "sweetie pie." Yes, you have. And certainly, we've been to your games, your plays, your recitals, your science fairs. Absolutely, smiles ignite when you walk into a room, and hundreds gasp with delight at your every tweet. Why, maybe you've even had your picture in the Townsman. And now you've conquered high school; and, indisputably, here we all have gathered for you, the pride and joy of this fine community, the first to emerge from that magnificent new building.

But do not get the idea you're anything special – because you're not.

The empirical evidence is everywhere, numbers even an English teacher can't ignore. Newton, Natick – I'm allowed to say Needham, yes? – that has to be 2000 high school graduates right there, give or take, and that's just the neighborhood N's.

Across the country no fewer than 3.2 million seniors are graduating about now from more than 37,000 high schools. That's 37,000 valedictorians; that's 37,000 class presidents, 92,000 harmonizing altos, 340,000 swaggering jocks, 2,185,967 pairs of Uggs.

But why limit ourselves to high school? After all, you're leaving it. So think about this: Even if you're one in a million, on a planet of 6.8 billion that means there are nearly 7,000 people just like you. Imagine standing somewhere over there on Washington Street on Marathon Monday watching 6800 "yous" go running by.

And consider for a moment the bigger picture: Your planet, I'll remind you, is not the center of its solar system; your solar system is not the center of its galaxy; your galaxy is not the center of the universe. In fact, astrophysicists assure us the universe has no center; therefore, you cannot be "it." Neither can Donald Trump, which someone should tell him, although the hair is quite a phenomenon.

"But Dave," you cry, "Walt Whitman tells me...I'm my own version of perfect." "Epictetus tells me I have the spark of Zeus." And I don't disagree. So that makes 6.8 billion examples of perfection, 6.8 billion sparks of Zeus.

You see, if everyone is special, then no one is.

If everyone gets a trophy, trophies become meaningless.

In our unspoken but not-so-subtle Darwinian competition with one another – which springs, I think, from our fear of our own insignificance, a subset of our dread of mortality – we have of late, we Americans, to our detriment, come to love accolades more than genuine achievement. We have come to see them as the point, and we're happy to compromise standards, or ignore reality, if we suspect that's the quickest way, or only way, to have something to put on the mantelpiece, something to pose with, crow about, something with which to leverage ourselves into a better spot on the social totem pole.

No longer is it how you play the game, no longer is it even whether you win or lose, or learn or grow, or enjoy yourself doing it. Now it's "So what does this get me?" As a – As a consequence, we cheapen worthy endeavors, and building a Guatemalan medical clinic becomes more about the application to Bowdoin than the well-being of Guatemalans.

It's an epidemic – and in its way, not even dear old Wellesley High is immune – one of the best of the 37,000 nationwide, Wellesley High School – where good is no longer good enough, where a B is the new C, and the mid-level curriculum is called Advanced College Placement. And I hope you caught me when I said "one of the best." I said "one of the best" so we can feel better about ourselves, so we can bask in a little easy distinction, however vague and unverifiable, and count ourselves among the elite, whoever they might be, and enjoy a perceived leg up on the perceived competition. But the phrase defies logic. By – By definition there can be only one best. You're it or you're not.

If you've learned anything in your four years I hope it's that education be for – should be for, rather than material advantage, the exhilaration of learning. You've learned, too, I hope, as Sophocles assured us, that wisdom is the chief element of happiness. Second is ice cream – just a – just an FYI. I also hope you've learned enough to recognize how little you know – how little you know now, at the moment, for today is just the beginning. It's where you go from here that matters.

As you commence, then, and before you scatter to the winds, I urge you to do whatever you do for no reason other than you love it and believe in its importance.

Don't bother with work you – work you don't believe in any more than you would a spouse you're not crazy about, lest you too find yourself on the wrong side of a Baltimore Orioles comparison. Resist the easy comforts of complacency, the specious glitter of – of materialism, the narcotic paralysis of self-satisfaction. Be worthy of your advantages.

And read. Read all the time. Read as a matter of principle, as a matter of self-respect. Read as a nourishing staple of life. Develop and protect a moral sensibility and demonstrate the character to apply it. Dream big. Work hard. Think for yourself. Love everything you love, everyone you love, with all your might. And do so, please, with a sense of urgency, for every tick of the clock subtracts from fewer and fewer – and as surely as there are commencements there are cessations, and you'll be in no condition to enjoy the ceremony attendant to that eventuality no – no matter how delightful the afternoon.

The fulfilling life, the distinctive life, the relevant life, is an achievement, not something that will fall into your lap because you're a nice person or mommy ordered it from the caterer. You'll note the founding fathers took pains to secure your inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness – quite an active verb, "pursuit" – which leaves, I should think, little time for lying around watching parrots roller skate on YouTube.

The first President Roosevelt, the old rough rider, advocated the strenuous life. Mr. Thoreau wanted to drive life into a corner, to live deep and suck out all the marrow. The poet Mary Oliver tells us to row, row into the swirl and roil. Locally, someone – I forget who – from time to time encourages young scholars to carpe the heck out of the diem. The point is the same: Get

busy; have at it. Don't wait for inspiration or passion to find you. Get up; get out. Explore. Find it yourself and grab hold with both hands.

Now, before you dash off and get your "YOLO" tattoo, let me point out the illogic of that trendy little expression, because you can and should live not merely once, but every day of your life. Rather than "You Only Live Once," it should be "You Live Only Once" – but because "[Y]LOO" doesn't have the same ring, we shrug and decide it doesn't matter. None of this day-seizing, though, this [Y]LOO-ing, should be interpreted as license for self-indulgence. Like accolades ought to be, the fulfilled life is a consequence – a gratifying byproduct. It's what happens when you're thinking about more important things. Climb the mountain not to plant your flag, but to embrace the challenge, enjoy the air and behold the view. Climb it so you can see the world, not so the world can see you. Go to Paris to be in Paris, not to cross it off your list and congratulate yourself for being worldly. Exercise free will and creative, independent thought, not for the satisfactions they will bring you, but for the good they will do others, the rest of the 6.8 billion – and those who will follow them.

And then you too will discover the great and curious truth of the human experience is that selflessness is the best thing you can do for yourself: The sweetest joys of life, them – then, come only with the recognition that you're not special – because everyone is.

Congratulations.

Good luck.

Make for yourselves, please, for your sake and for ours, extraordinary lives.

Murdoch, Rupert. *Who's afraid of New Technologies?* Delivered November 16, 2008.

Today I would like to speak to you about technological change. The word "technology" has a coldness and a distance that seems removed from human experience. There is "high technology", which sounds almost religious. And there are techies, who are sometimes a little too expert in the art of technology.

Fears about technology and the change it brings are nothing new. But in our day, these changes are accelerating. And their impact is a mix of the miraculous, the efficacious, and the disorienting. Sentimentality sometimes blocks our path to the future. And it's always tempting to romanticise the rustic.

So today I start with a simple and provocative proposition: whinging about the technology will get you nowhere. The only way to deal with new technology that up-ends your job or your business model is to get out in front of it. Otherwise it will get out in front of you.

Now, I'm not saying that we should all become card-carrying geeks. But we do need to be contemporary – and to comprehend the impact on our family and our society.

A little later, I will explain why I believe that technology – for all the disruptions it is causing – is on balance a very good thing. But before I do, I'd like to begin with a story about some of Australia's convicts. These were people who came to our country because of technological change. And I hope their story will provide a little historical perspective on the disruptions we're feeling in our own age.

The people I have in mind lived in the late 18th and very early 19th centuries. They were from the western part of England, and they worked in textiles.

In other words, they were typical English countrymen living just before the Industrial Revolution. They worked mostly out of their own homes, alongside their families. And the prices and practices for their trade were set by long-standing regulation. Then something happened that shook this tidy little world to its core. In the late 1700s, a series of labour-saving inventions turned the status quo on its head. These early machines were crude. In terms of quality, they were no match for the best cloths produced by skilled artisans.

But they had a crucial advantage: they could produce cloth that was cheap. That was because they did not require as much manpower. Another way of putting this is that the new technology allowed textile producers to be more productive. And consumers benefited because they had access to lower priced clothing and textiles.

The traditional textile workers saw this as a threat. So they organised themselves and threatened owners who used the new technology to produce lower priced goods.

These threats were issued under the name of "General Ludd" or "King Ludd". Ludd was supposedly a local folk hero who had destroyed two stocking frames in Leicestershire. And the luddites didn't just threaten. They backed up their threats with physical attacks. So fierce were these attacks, the British government made the destruction of machinery a capital crime. And it sent in thousands of British troops to put down the workers' rebellion. This unrest began around 1811. And the workers who led it were the original luddites.

In many ways their distress was understandable. The new technology turned their world upside down. It took them out of their homes, where they operated as independent contractors, and into the factory, where they were paid wages. It moved them from the countryside to the city. In the end, this new technology would help make the British textile industry a world leader. But the disruptions were real and painful.

After a while, a number of the leading luddites were arrested and brought to trial. Some were hanged. Some were thrown into prison. And some were transported here to Australia, where they became among our first settlers. They were treated very harshly. But they were truly prisoners of the past.

Today attitudes are a little different. Except for the occasional mad Frenchman who leads an assault on a local McDonald's, nowadays luddites do not go in for physical attacks. Yet in many countries, people today are facing similar disruptions driven by technology – to their business models, to their livelihoods, to their homes and communities. We are in an era of unprecedented creative destruction, but there is far more being created than there is being destroyed.

My own industry – news and entertainment – is feeling the impact too. We are in the midst of a shift from an industrial society to an information society. And the news and entertainment industry is right in the centre of the maelstrom. For me, personally, it has been a learning experience. And for us, collectively, the journey is just beginning.

Think about the Wall Street trader – at least, the one who still has a job – who now has instantaneous access to real time prices around the world. Then there is the South Korean teenager who uses MySpace to download music and chat with a German friend who shares her taste in bands. Or the research scientist in Bangalore who can tap into the expertise of the best minds from around the world to help on a project to improve crop yields in the poorest parts of India.

Yet even the beneficiaries worry that technology is more controlling than controlled. Workers fret for their jobs. Governments worry about people having access to information they no longer control. Corporate executives who once enjoyed quasi-monopolies now lose sleep – fearing that some little icon on someone's desktop is going to wipe away their entire business. And then there are the couples whose marriages are in turmoil because the executive sleeps with a buzzing Blackberry by the bedside – and compulsively answers email at the breakfast table.

As the chief executive of a global media and entertainment company, I can tell you that I feel these challenges daily. Technology is destroying the business models we have relied on for decades. That is especially true for those whose business models have been based on a one-size-fits-all approach to their customers.

Think, for example, of the giant American television networks that are finding their mass audience shrinking with every passing day. Why? Because people suddenly have a growing multitude of choices – and they are rightly exercising those choices.

Let me give you another example, which is painful for those who own and love newspapers. In the old days, a crucial source of revenue for a local newspaper was its classified advertisements. If you wanted to sell your car or rent out an apartment, the classifieds were about your only choice of matching a buyer or seller.

In little more than a decade, this model has become obsolete. The near-monopoly that newspaper classifieds once enjoyed has been overtaken by websites like Craigslist and realestate.com. For consumers, this is good news, because it's become easier and cheaper for you to buy and sell what you want. But it is costing newspapers millions in vital revenues that they used to take for granted.

In this environment, it's understandable that people on the losing end worry about where the information revolution is taking us. So it can be easy to become pessimistic about the future.

But I believe technology is ushering in a new golden age for humankind. I also believe that technology is making the human side of the business equation – skills and knowledge – more valuable than ever. And I believe that societies that want to prosper in this new age need to cultivate a spirit of learning and flexibility and achievement.

So today I would like to talk with you about three subjects. First, why technology is a good thing despite the unsettling changes it brings. Second, in business terms, how technology is putting a greater premium on what is awkwardly called “human capital”. Finally, I want to say something about what all this means for Australia's future.

Let me start with why advances in information technology are a good thing.

A moment ago I spoke of how advances in information technology are challenging the accepted ways of doing things. That means that businesses are going to have to work harder to keep their customers. That includes companies like mine, and consumers like you.

The challenge is clear. But so is history. Each improvement in information technology we have seen in the past – beginning with Gutenberg's press and continuing with radio and television – has opened up access to more news and entertainment for millions more people who previously couldn't get or afford it. There is no reason to think the trend will be different this time. Except that this time, the access will be universal – and the impact will be more profound.

History also shows that with each new advance, existing businesses are forced to become more creative and relevant to their customers. Once upon a time, the media and entertainment companies could count on the huge, up-front investments that discouraged competitors from entering the business. But, in many sectors, the barriers to entry have never been lower – and the opportunities for the energetic and the creative have never been greater.

This competition is becoming more intense every day. Because technology now allows the little guy to do what once required a huge corporation. Look at the Drudge Report. Matt Drudge doesn't really create content. Instead, he finds content that he thinks is interesting, and puts it up on one of the internet's simplest pages. Readers come because they trust his judgment. And he is showing that good news judgment is something that can add value.

Even those who don't like him – including many editors and reporters – click on to his website every day. In other words, with his single web page, Drudge has succeeded in challenging all the leading media companies of our day – including mine. And he has done it all with minimal start-up costs—a computer, a modem, and some space on a server.

When someone uses technology this way, you benefit as a consumer. And it's not just the internet. Just think of all the things that you can do now because of technology – things that would have been impossible just twenty years ago.

If you want to find out the status of a trade bill in the United States Congress, you can access it from your desktop. If you are a footy fan living in Jakarta, you can click on to the *Melbourne Herald Sun* and see how the Cats did against the Hawks. If you are in Dubai and you want to know the euro-dollar rate and make a trade a few seconds later, it's never been easier to make or to lose money.

In other words, you can do more of what you want to do – and you can do it in less time and at less cost. That makes you more efficient. When you apply these marginal improvements across an entire country, profits are increased, friends are made, and the traditionally disadvantaged have greater access to information than at any time in our shared history.

The market encourages the spread of technology, because businesses have an incentive to attract more and more customers. That's why technological breakthroughs that start out as expensive luxuries quickly become everyday necessities. This year in India and China alone 200 million cell phones will be sold.

But technology will do you no good unless you have men and women who know how to take advantage of it. That leads me to my second point: the growing importance of human capital. In other words, an educated and adaptable population.

As technology levels the playing field, the human factor becomes more important. In plain English, if you run a business, you need good people more than ever.

That's because computers will never substitute for common sense and good judgment. They will never have empathy, either. To be successful, a business needs people who see the big picture, who can think critically, and who have strong character.

Economists call these skills 'human capital'. You won't find this capital listed on a corporate balance sheet. But it is the most valuable asset a company has. If you talk to any chief executive about his number one challenge today, he will probably not say technology. It's far more likely he will say his top challenge is attracting and retaining talented people.

Back in 1992, Bill Gates talked about this in an interview with *Forbes* magazine. Here's how he put it: 'take our 20 best people away, and I tell you that Microsoft would become an unimportant company'.

In other words, what separates Microsoft from the competition is not software. It's human beings. That is why companies these days invest so heavily in helping employees develop their talents and sharpen their skills. Just as you need to refurbish plants and take care of other assets, if you want to keep your company in the lead, you need to invest in your people.

If you are a worker, you have an even greater incentive to invest in yourself. We are long past the day when you took a job at a company ... and 40 years later you retired after doing more or less the same thing every day, day-after-day. That mediocrity has been banished.

My point is this: as technology advances, the premium for educated people with talent and judgment will increase. In the future, successful workers will be those who embrace a lifetime of learning. Those who don't will be left behind.

That may sound harsh. But it is a truth we must face. And it is a great opportunity for us all.

For most people, adapting to the changes that are coming will require moving out of comfort zones.

Moving out of comfort zones begins with education.

I will say more about education in one of my next talks. But if we want to build an Australia where people are not left behind, we need to recognize that a first-class education is no longer a luxury. In our age, it is a fundamental civil right and necessity. The most important skill you will need in your careers is the ability to acquire new skills. At an absolute minimum, that means that every Australian ought to leave secondary school with a basic mastery of reading, writing, and arithmetic. They should also have a love of knowledge and a sense of their own potential. And for that cherished outcome, we need teachers who inspire – not those who conspire to thwart change.

But secondary education is only the bare minimum. At all levels, we need to set high standards—and stick to them. At least in science, Australia has a pretty strong tradition. Of the ten Nobel prizes that have been awarded to Australians since 1915, nine were for science or medicine. Two other Australian scientists have won Nobel prizes for work they did overseas. Another two Nobel winners have strong connections with Australia.

This list of Nobel laureates includes the father and son team of William and Laurence Bragg, Howard Walter Florey, Frank McFarlane Burnet, and Barry Marshall and Robin Warren. I am not a scientist, so I won't pretend to understand the research for which they won their prizes. I do know that their contributions have helped turn penicillin into a lifesaver, revolutionised treatment for gastro-duodenal ulcers, and provided the foundation for modern biotechnology and genetic engineering.

In Australia today, we have many fine scientific research centres. But we have no large, international centres of excellence. As a small nation, we will never be competitive in every sphere. But there is no excuse for failing to cultivate areas where we enjoy an advantage—and where talented people from around the world are fighting to get in. And we need to buttress it with a legal, business, and social environment designed to support a culture of excellence.

In the past few years, Australian governments have made some strides in this direction. But Australia is a small country without the cushion of a large domestic market. We need to do more than catch up. We need to lead – by example and by results.

This is where our comfort can be a formidable enemy. Sometimes the most established countries are the most vulnerable – because people in other parts of the world have more incentive to innovate. For example, mobile phone technology proliferated rapidly in places like India, China, and Africa because people were fed up with the long waits they would have for a land line. The result was that some of the less developed nations have leap-frogged over us.

For much of the past few decades, a good part of Australia's domestic debate has focused on immigration. Australia has done a reasonably good job of absorbing those who share our values and aspirations. At the same time, I believe we don't worry nearly enough about the flip side: whether Australia will build the kind of society that can and will continue to attract talented people from the outside – not to mention keeping the ones we have.

This ability will grow even more important in the future. And the reason has to do with a fact of human nature. When people are linked to the outside world, they begin to make comparisons. They travel and see what the opportunities are like elsewhere. And they begin thinking about where they want to live and work and raise their families.

Right now Australia has many advantages – a democratic government, a relatively open economy, a beautiful environment, and a fundamentally tolerant society. In contrast, many of the world's most talented and ambitious are coming from societies that are unfree, where their cities are clogged with pollution and where they enjoy few of the amenities we take for granted in Australia. But trade and technology means these countries are catching up with us – and they are catching up fast.

None of this is to deny that technology can't be abused. The same technology that puts mobile phones within reach of people with less money by making them disposable can also be used by criminals to evade the police. The same internet that allows you to order the latest bestseller online also allows sex predators to trawl for victims in relative anonymity. And the same payment systems that allow you to buy something electronically help international drug lords launder money.

These are all challenges that must be addressed. But just as we don't ban automobiles because thieves use cars to flee a crime scene, and we don't ban phones because some people use them to make obscene calls, we are not going to give up the advantages other technologies offer just because some people abuse them.

I am one of those who believe that free societies are more than capable of addressing the problems created by technology. And I have great faith that Australia can harness its potential to expand opportunity, promote freedom, and bring a better quality of life. Our motto has always been “she'll be right” – but she'll be right mate only if we make it right.

Thank you.

Murdoch, Rupert. *The Future of Newspapers: Moving Beyond Dead Trees.* Delivered November 23, 2008.

Today I would like to talk with you about a subject that always gets certain journalists going: the future of newspapers, and it's a subject that has a relevance far beyond the feverish, sometimes insecure collection of egos and energy that is the journalistic profession.

Too many journalists seem to take a perverse pleasure in ruminating on their pending demise. I know industries that are today facing stiff new competition from the internet: banks, retailers, phone companies, and so on. But these sectors also see the internet as an extraordinary opportunity. But among our journalistic friends are some misguided cynics who are too busy writing their own obituary to be excited by the opportunity.

Self-pity is never pretty. And sometimes it even starts in journalism school – some of which are perpetuating the pessimism of their tribal elders. But I have a very different view.

Unlike the doom and gloomers, I believe that newspapers will reach new heights. In the 21st century, people are hungrier for information than ever before. And they have more sources of information than ever before.

Amid these many diverse and competing voices, readers want what they've always wanted: a source they can trust. That has always been the role of great newspapers in the past. And that role will make newspapers great in the future.

If you discuss the future with newspapermen, you will find that too many think that our business is only physical newspapers. I like the look and feel of newsprint as much as anyone. But our real business isn't printing on dead trees. It's giving our readers great journalism and great judgment.

It's true that in the coming decades, the printed versions of some newspapers will lose circulation. But if papers provide readers with news they can trust, we'll see gains in circulation—on our web pages, through our RSS feeds, in emails delivering customised news and advertising, to mobile phones.

In short, we are moving from news *papers* to news *brands*. For all of my working life, I have believed that there is a social and commercial value in delivering accurate news and information in a cheap and timely way. In this coming century, the form of delivery may change, but the potential audience for our content will multiply many times over.

The news business is very personal for me. For more than a half century, newspapers have been at the heart of my business. If I am sceptical about the pessimists today, it's because of a simple reason: I have heard their morose soothsaying many times before.

The challenges are real. There will probably never be a paperless office, but young people are starting paperless homes. Traditional sources of revenue—such as classifieds—are drying up, putting pressure on the business model. And journalists face new competition from alternative sources of news and information.

So we have a steady stream of stories like *The Economist* cover declaring that ‘newspapers are now an endangered species.’ That’s quite ironic coming from a successful and growing magazine that likes to describe itself as ‘a newspaper’. My summary of the way some of the established media has responded to the internet is this: it’s not newspapers that might become obsolete. It’s some of the editors, reporters, and proprietors who are forgetting a newspaper’s most precious asset: the bond with its readers.

When I was growing up, this was the key lesson my father impressed on me. If you were an owner, the best thing you could do was to hire editors who looked out for your readers’ interests—and give these readers good honest reporting on issues that mattered most to them. In return, you would be rewarded with trust and loyalty you could take to the bank.

Over many decades in newspapers, I have been privileged to witness history being made and printed almost every night. Today I’d like to talk about what these experiences have taught me – and why they give me confidence about the future.

My intent is to use my experience to illuminate the way we need to respond to the two most serious challenges facing newspapers today. The first is the competition that is coming from new technology – especially the internet.

The more serious challenge is the complacency and condescension that festers at the heart of some newsrooms. The complacency stems from having enjoyed a monopoly – and now finding they have to compete for an audience they once took for granted.

The condescension that many show their readers is an even bigger problem. It takes no special genius to point out that if you are contemptuous of your customers, you are going to have a hard time getting them to buy your product. Newspapers are no exception.

I became an editor and owner well before I had planned. It happened when my father died, and I was called home from Oxford. That was how I found myself a newspaper proprietor at the age of 22. I was so young and so new to the business, when I pulled my car into the lot on my first day, the garage attendant admonished me, ‘Hey, sonny, you can’t park here.’

That paper was *The Adelaide News*. Its newsroom was a noisy place. But it was noise with purpose. The chattering and pounding of typewriter keys reached a crescendo in the minutes before a deadline that was stretched beyond breaking point by gun reporters determined to get the latest, freshest version of a story.

That background music created an urgency all of its own. When the presses began to run, everyone in the building felt the rumble. And when the presses were late, the journalists felt *me* rumble.

When I took over the *News*, *The Adelaide Advertiser* was the dominant paper in town. Its owners tried to get my mother to sell to them. They sent her a letter basically saying that if she didn’t accept their offer, they were going to put the *News* out of business. We responded by printing their letter on the front page of the *News*.

The result was a good old-fashioned stoush – a newspaper war. It cost a great deal. But it taught me that with good editors and a loyal readership, you can challenge better-heeled and more established rivals – and succeed. And we did.

A decade later, there was another test: creating Australia’s first national paper. That might not sound like a big deal today. But it was back in the 1960s, when the country was only barely linked by phone lines. Our plan was to start a paper in Canberra, build it, and then take it national.

If the technological challenges were not daunting enough, our competitors got wind of our plans. As soon as they did, they transformed the existing paper – *The Canberra Times* – into a pretty impressive broadsheet. By doing that, they hoped to grab readers and advertisers before we could even get off the ground. There was only one way to respond: we would have to go national almost two years ahead of schedule.

Today, of course, even the smallest Australian newspaper has a web page that you can log in to from Cairns to Caracas. But back then, we didn’t even have reliable fax lines. Instead, we had to fly the printing plates from Canberra to presses elsewhere in the country – usually late at night. We even started up our own airline to do it.

It was all complex, and of course, things did not always go to plan. But it was also exhilarating. The result was that we brought readers across Australia a better product, and helped transform Australian journalism.

All this was excellent preparation for the next big fight we had: the opening of our new presses at Wapping in England.

For those who are too young to remember those daunting days, let me give you some perspective. Back in the mid-1980s, British papers were essentially run by their unions, and these unions resisted all improvements.

These were not unions acting on behalf of the working class, but a cosy, corrupt closed shop. Some of the names that drew pay cheques didn’t even exist. Our payroll showed that cheques were being sent to people like M. Mouse and D. Duck – neither of whom paid income tax.

At a time when new printing technology was making other papers around the world more efficient, newspapers in Britain were forced to rely on a technology that had not changed much since Gutenberg’s Bible. The costs were destroying hundreds of jobs and crippling what is now the world’s most vibrant newspaper market.

This was not sustainable in the long run. The columnist Bernard Levin described Fleet Street this way: ‘Conditions which combined a protection racket with a lunatic asylum.’

We decided to change that. We bought new, state of the art presses, installed them at a site in Wapping, and found good people to run them.

In the end, it was expensive. There was terrible violence, especially against the police. Those workers who chose to fight us expected that management would roll over as so many managements had in the past. And for a few weeks, we were literally under siege by people intent on damaging our presses, hurting our people, and killing our business.

But we had planned well, and we prevailed. Our victory helped make all British newspapers more profitable. And of course this meant better wages and a brighter future for their employees.

Today the challenge we face is different. In some ways, it is a direct attack on our judgment.

It used to be that a handful of editors could decide what was news – and what was not. They acted as sort of demigods. If they ran a story, it became news. If they ignored an event, it never happened.

Today editors are losing this power. The internet, for example, provides access to thousands of new sources that cover things an editor might ignore. And if you aren't satisfied with that, you can start up your own blog and cover and comment on the news yourself.

Journalists like to think of themselves as watchdogs, but they haven't always responded well when the public calls them to account.

When Dan Rather broadcast his story suggesting President Bush had evaded service during his days in the National Guard, bloggers quickly exposed the dubious nature of his sources and documents.

Far from celebrating this citizen journalism, the establishment media reacted defensively. During an appearance on Fox News, a CBS executive attacked the bloggers in a statement that will go down in the annals of arrogance.

'60 Minutes,' he said, was a professional organisation with 'multiple layers of checks and balances.' By contrast, he dismissed the blogger as 'a guy sitting in his living room in his pajamas writing.' But eventually it was the guys sitting in their pajamas who forced Mr Rather and his producer to resign.

Mr. Rather and his defenders are not alone. A recent American study reported that many editors and reporters simply do not trust their readers to make good decisions. Let's be clear about what this means. This is a polite way of saying that these editors and reporters think their readers are too stupid to think for themselves.

By taking their audience for granted and allowing themselves to become as institutionalised as any government or company they write about, these journalists are threatening their own papers. It is simply extraordinary that so many who are privileged to sit in the front row and write the first account of history could be so immune to its obvious meaning—not to mention the consequences for their own industry.

Let me give you an example. Four years ago *The Times* of London was going through a difficult time in circulation. So we experimented with changing from a broadsheet to what we call a 'compact' version. For almost a year, we printed two versions of *The Times*—each with the same photos, the same headlines, and the same stories.

By an overwhelming margin, readers preferred the new, compact version. So we adopted that version, reversed our decline in circulation, and helped put *The Times* on a more solid footing, which of course is the key to keeping jobs. And we did it without affecting the quality of the news.

You might think our experience with *The Times* would be a good lesson about responding to what readers want, and keeping a newspaper relevant and viable. But that's not what most journalists wrote about. Instead, they offered a lot of hand-wringing about tradition – and sentimental laments for a format that most *Times* readers no longer cared for.

I see the same thing every day. Instead of finding stories that are relevant to their readers' lives, papers run stories reflecting their own interests. Instead of writing for their audience, they are writing for their fellow journalists. And instead of commissioning stories that will gain them readers, some editors commission stories whose sole purpose is the quest for a prize.

When I started out in the business, anyone who dared parade a prize for excellence would have been hooted out of the newsroom for taking himself too seriously. But today the desire for awards has become a fetish. Papers may be losing money, losing circulation, and laying off people left and right. But they will have a wall full of awards – prisoners of the past rather than enthusiasts for the future.

Readers want news as much as they ever did. Today *The Times* of London is read by a diverse global audience of 26 million people each month. That is an audience larger than the entire population of Australia – an audience whose sheer size is beyond the comprehension and ambitions of its founders in 1785. That single statistic tells you that there is a discerning audience for news.

The operative word is discerning. To compete today, you can't offer the old one-size-fits-all approach to news.

The defining digital trend in content is the increasing sophistication of search. You can already customise your news flow, whether by country, company or subject. A decade from now, the offerings will be even more sophisticated. You will be able to satisfy your unique interests and search for unique content.

After all, a female university student in Malaysia is not going to have the same interests as a 60-year-old Manhattan executive. Closer to home, your teenage son is not going to have the same interests as your mother. The challenge is to use a newspaper's brand while allowing readers to personalise the news for themselves – and then deliver it in the ways that they want.

This is what we are now trying to do at *The Wall Street Journal*. The journal has the advantage of having a very loyal readership, a brand known for quality and editors who take the readers and their interest seriously.

This helps explain why the journal continues to defy industry trends. Of the ten largest papers in the United States, the journal is the only one to have grown its paid subscriptions last year.

At the same time, we intend to make our mark on the digital frontier. The Journal is already the only US. newspaper that makes real money online. One reason for this is a growing global demand for business news and for accurate news. Integrity is not just a characteristic of our company, it is a selling point.

One way we are planning to take advantage of online opportunities is by offering three tiers of content. The first will be the news that we put online for free. The second will be available for those who subscribe to *wsj.com*. And the third will be a premium service, designed to give its customers the ability to customise high-end financial news and analysis from around the world.

In all we do, we're going to deliver it in ways that best fit our readers' preferences: on web pages they can access from home or work on still evolving inventions like Amazon's *kindle* as well as on cell phones or blackberries.

In the end, we are left with where we began: the bond of trust between readers and their paper. Much has changed since I walked into the *Adelaide News* in 1954. Presses have never been faster or more flexible. We have computers that allow you to lay out multiple pages in multiple countries. We have faster distribution. But none of it will mean anything for newspapers unless we meet our first responsibility: earning the trust and loyalty of our readers.

I do not claim to have all the answers. Given the realities of modern technology, this very radio address can be sliced and digitally diced. It can be accessed in a day or a month or a decade. And I can rightly be held to account in perpetuity for the points on which I am proven wrong – as well as mocked for my inability to see just how much more different the world had become.

But I don't think I will be proven wrong on one point. The newspaper, or a very close electronic cousin, will always be around. It may not be thrown on your front doorstep the way it is today. But the thud it makes as it lands will continue to echo around society and the world.

Thank you for listening.

Page, Larry. Commencement Address to the students of the University of Michigan. Delivered May 2, 2009.

Class of 2009! First I'd like you to get up, wave and cheer your supportive family and friends! Show your love!

It is a great honor for me to be here today.

Now wait a second. I know: that's such a cliché. You're thinking: every graduation speaker says that – It's a great honor. But, in my case, it really is so deeply true – being here is more special and more personal for me than most of you know. I'd like to tell you why.

A long time ago, in the cold September of 1962, there was a Steven's co-op at this very university. That co-op had a kitchen with a ceiling that had been cleaned by student volunteers every decade or so. Picture a college girl named Gloria, climbing up high on a ladder, struggling to clean that filthy ceiling. Standing on the floor, a young boarder named Carl was admiring the view. And that's how they met. They were my parents, so I suppose you could say I'm a direct result of that kitchen chemistry experiment, right here at Michigan. My Mom is here with us today, and we should probably go find the spot and put a plaque up on the ceiling that says: "Thanks Mom and Dad!"

Everyone in my family went to school here at Michigan: me, my brother, my Mom and Dad – all of us. My Dad actually got the quantity discount: all three and a half of his degrees are from here. His Ph.D. was in Communication Science because they thought Computers were just a passing fad. He earned it 44 years ago. He and Mom made a big sacrifice for that. They argued at times over pennies, while raising my newborn brother. Mom typed my Dad's dissertation by hand. This velvet hood I'm wearing, this was my Dad's. And this diploma, just like the one you're about to get, that was my Dad's. And my underwear, that was... oh never mind.

My father's father worked in the Chevy plant in Flint, Michigan. He was an assembly line worker. He drove his two children here to Ann Arbor, and told them: That is where you're going to go to college. Both his kids did graduate from Michigan. That was the American dream. His daughter, Beverly, is with us today. My Grandpa used to carry an "Alley Oop" hammer – a heavy iron pipe with a hunk of lead melted on the end. The workers made them during the sit-down strikes to protect themselves. When I was growing up, we used that hammer whenever we needed to pound a stake or something into the ground. It is wonderful that most people don't need to carry a heavy blunt object for protection anymore. But just in case, I have it here.

My Dad became a professor at uh... Michigan State, and I was an incredibly lucky boy. A professor's life is pretty flexible, and he was able to spend oodles of time raising me. Could there be a better upbringing than university brat?

What I'm trying to tell you is that this is WAY more than just a homecoming for me. It's not easy for me to express how proud I am to be here, with my Mom, my brother and my wife Lucy, and with all of you, at this amazing institution that is

responsible for my very existence. I am thrilled for all of you, and I'm thrilled for your families and friends, as all of us join the great, big Michigan family I feel I've been a part of all of my life.

What I'm also trying to tell you is that I know exactly what it feels like to be sitting in your seat, listening to some old gasbag give a long-winded commencement speech. Don't worry. I'll be brief.

I have a story about following dreams. Or maybe more accurately, it's a story about finding a path to make those dreams real. You know what it's like to wake up in the middle of the night with a vivid dream? And you know how, if you don't have a pencil and pad by the bed to write it down, it will be completely gone the next morning?

Well, I had one of those dreams when I was 23. When I suddenly woke up, I was thinking: what if we could download the whole web, and just keep the links and... I grabbed a pen and started writing! Sometimes it is important to wake up and stop dreaming. I spent the middle of that night scribbling out the details and convincing myself it would work. Soon after, I told my advisor, Terry Winograd, it would take a couple of weeks to download the web – he nodded knowingly, fully aware it would take much longer but wise enough to not tell me. The optimism of youth is often underrated! Amazingly, I had no thought of building a search engine. The idea wasn't even on the radar. But, much later we happened upon a better way of ranking webpages to make a really great search engine, and Google was born. When a really great dream shows up, grab it! When I was here at Michigan, I had actually been taught how to make dreams real! I know it sounds funny, but that is what I learned in a summer camp converted into a training program called Leadershape. Their slogan is to have a "healthy disregard for the impossible". That program encouraged me to pursue a crazy idea at the time: I wanted to build a personal rapid transit system on campus to replace the buses. It was a futuristic way of solving our transportation problem. I still think a lot about transportation – you never lose a dream, it just incubates as a hobby. Many things that people labor hard to do now, like cooking, cleaning, and driving will require much less human time in the future. That is, if we "have a healthy disregard for the impossible" and actually build new solutions.

I think it is often easier to make progress on mega-ambitious dreams. I know that sounds completely nuts. But, since no one else is crazy enough to do it, you have little competition. There are so few people this crazy that I feel like I know them all by first name. They all travel as if they are pack dogs and stick to each other like glue. The best people want to work the big challenges. That is what happened with Google. Our mission is to organize the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful. How can that not get you excited? But we almost didn't start Google because my co-founder Sergey and I were too worried about dropping out of our Ph.D. program. You are probably on the right track if you feel like a sidewalk worm during a rainstorm! That is about how we felt after we maxed out three credit cards buying hard disks off the back of a truck. That was the first hardware for Google. Parents and friends: more credit cards always help. What is the one sentence summary of how you change the world? Always work hard on something uncomfortably exciting!

As a Ph.D. student, I actually had three projects I wanted to work on. Thank goodness my advisor said, "why don't you work on the web for a while". He gave me some seriously good advice because the web was really growing with people and activity, even in 1995! Technology and especially the internet can really help you be lazy. Lazy? What I mean is a group of three people can write software that millions can use and enjoy. Can three people answer the phone a million times a day? Find the leverage in the world, so you can be more lazy!

Overall, I know it seems like the world is crumbling out there, but it is actually a great time in your life to get a little crazy, follow your curiosity, and be ambitious about it. Don't give up on your dreams. The world needs you all!

So here's my final story:

On a day like today, you might feel exhilarated — like you've just been shot out of a cannon at the circus — and even invincible. Don't ever forget that incredible feeling. But also: always remember that the moments we have with friends and family, the chances we have to do things that might make a big difference in the world, or even to make a small difference to someone you love — all those wonderful chances that life gives us, life also takes away. It can happen fast, and a whole lot sooner than you think.

In late March 1996, soon after I had moved to Stanford for grad school, my Dad had difficulty breathing and drove to the hospital. Two months later, he died. And that was it. I was completely devastated. Many years later, after a startup, after falling in love, and after so many of life's adventures, I found myself thinking about my Dad. Lucy and I were far away in a steaming hot village walking through narrow streets. There were wonderful friendly people everywhere, but it was a desperately poor place — people used the bathroom inside and it flowed out into the open gutter and straight into the river. We touched a boy with a limp leg, the result of paralysis from polio. Lucy and I were in rural India — one of the few places where Polio still exists. Polio is transmitted fecal to oral, usually through filthy water. Well, my Dad had Polio. He went on a trip to Tennessee in the first grade and caught it. He was hospitalized for two months and had to be transported by military DC-3 back home — his first flight. My Dad wrote, "Then, I had to stay in bed for over a year, before I started back to school". That is actually a quote from his fifth grade autobiography. My Dad had difficulty breathing his whole life, and the complications of Polio are what took him from us too soon. He would have been very upset that Polio still persists even though we have a vaccine. He would have been equally upset that back in India we had polio virus on our shoes from walking through the contaminated gutters that spread the disease. We were spreading the virus with every footstep, right under beautiful kids playing everywhere. The world is on the verge of eliminating polio, with 328 people infected so far this year. Let's get it done soon. Perhaps one of you will do that.

My Dad was valedictorian of Flint Mandeville High School 1956 class of about 90 kids. I happened across his graduating speech recently, and it blew me away. 53 years ago at his graduation my Dad said: "...we are entering a changing world, one of automation and employment change where education is an economic necessity. We will have increased periods of time to do as we wish, as our work week and retirement age continue to decline. ... We shall take part in, or witness, developments in science, medicine, and industry that we can not dream of today. ... It is said that the future of any nation can be determined by the care and preparation given to its youth. If all the youths of America were as fortunate in securing an education as we have been, then the future of the United States would be even more bright than it is today."

If my Dad was alive today, the thing I think he would be most happy about is that Lucy and I have a baby in the hopper. I think he would have been annoyed that I hadn't gotten my Ph.D. yet (thanks, Michigan!). Dad was so full of insights, of excitement about new things, that to this day, I often wonder what he would think about some new development. If he were here today – well, it would be one of the best days of his life. He'd be like a kid in a candy store. For a day, he'd be young again.

Many of us are fortunate enough to be here with family. Some of us have dear friends and family to go home to. And who knows, perhaps some of you, like Lucy and I, are dreaming about future families of your own. Just like me, your families brought you here, and you brought them here. Please keep them close and remember: they are what really matters in life.

Thanks, Mom; Thanks, Lucy.

And thank you, all, very much.

Raikes, Jeff. *Foundations of Science*. Delivered March 2, 2010.

Thank you for a very nice introduction. I am grateful to the Pacific Science Center for inviting me to speak to you this morning. One of the reasons I like coming to Seattle Center is to keep an eye on the construction across the street. We are very excited to move into our new campus next Spring. Bill, Melinda, and Bill Sr. always say that even though their work takes them to the furthest corners of the earth, it starts with the values they learned at home. That's why they insisted on building a headquarters in the heart of Seattle.

The Gates Foundation has committed more than \$3 billion to organizations located in Washington state. More than \$530 million of that has gone to help people right here in our community.

People are almost always surprised by that last figure. We get a lot of attention for our work in global health and development, and I think it sometimes overshadows the investments we make at home.

Every single one of our projects – no matter where it's located – originates from the same idea: that everyone deserves the chance at a healthy and productive life. The least prepared first grader deserves it just as much as the most prepared. The poorest children in the poorest countries deserve it just as much as your children, or mine. Bill and Melinda created the foundation because they wanted to do their part to make these principles a reality.

In the United States, we invest in education because we believe it is the key to opportunity. A good education paves the way for a rewarding career and a more rewarding life. A mediocre education stands in the way.

And one of the most powerful reform movements in education today is the STEM movement, which stands for Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math. At the Gates Foundation, STEM is an important complement to our College Ready strategy that stresses teacher effectiveness.

The STEM movement is an urgent priority for two reasons: First, it can resurrect the democratic promise of our school system – that it prepares all young people to succeed. And second, STEM can resurrect the spirit of innovation and economic vitality that has been so important to our prosperity for more than a century.

First, resurrecting our democratic promise.

We project that – every single year – there will be 1 million openings for high-paying STEM jobs that require some college. The STEM fields are where the opportunities of the future will lie.

But today, our education system simply isn't giving students the skills they need to seize those opportunities.

Let's take a close look at the numbers.

In a typical year, more than 4 million students start the ninth grade. Four years later, fewer than 3 million graduate.

Of those 3 million high school graduates, fewer than 1.5 million are prepared for college.

So, to review, we started with 4 million, and we're down to 1.5 million by the time college starts.

Out of that group, less than a quarter declares a major in a STEM field, so that takes us to about 300,000.

And just over half of the 300,000 get a degree on time.

What started as more than 4 million 14-year-olds ends up as fewer than 200,000 STEM graduates. Fewer than 10 percent of those are black or Latino students, which tells me that instead of making social divisions better, our schools are part of a system that is making them worse. A vigorous STEM movement can reverse that trend.

The second reason we're interested in STEM is that can resurrect our spirit of innovation and economic vitality.

Remember that we project 1 million STEM job openings annually, so we're looking at a shortfall of 800,000. And the negative economic impact of those unfilled jobs is immeasurable. That's because those are the jobs responsible for innovation, and innovation has always been the key to our economic fortunes.

And it's not just the number of degrees. It's the skills of the students getting the degrees. A few years ago, students in 30 nations participated in something called the Program for International Assessment. We finished 16 out of 30 in science literacy and 23 out of 30 in math literacy.

Those numbers are scary.

The raw material of American excellence – that relentless drive for innovation – is running low. Our schools are no longer producing it. We need the STEM movement if we hope to write a different story about our future.

The problem is especially stark here in Washington state. Demand for innovation is high: we rank fourth among states in the number of high-tech companies. But supply is, frankly, abysmal: we rank forty-sixth in the number of STEM graduates.

Right now, in the midst of a historic recession, there is a gap of at least 12,000 jobs in STEM fields in Washington. Double-digit unemployment, yet STEM industries have to look overseas for workers.

The state of Washington's response to this crisis has been shockingly inadequate. You may have heard about some of the things the Obama Administration is doing to encourage innovation in education. This state is well behind on every measure. I'm talking about basic things like putting rigorous standards in place and using the data we have to measure how teachers are performing.

The STEM movement is an important part of the solution. STEM does a lot more than provide a little extra help to students in science and math courses. It's much broader than making sure everyone stays on top of stoichiometry and the FOIL method. STEM brings new players into the education sector, and it brings a new kind of pedagogy into the classroom.

Let me give you one of my favorite examples. MC-Squared, a high school in Columbus, Ohio, is located at the headquarters of General Electric's Lighting Division. Just like the GE employees, the students at MC-Squared work year-round, and until 5 o'clock in the evening. You can't tell who's a research scientist and who's a teacher. You can't distinguish between a student and an intern. That's because the scientists are the teachers, and the students are the interns.

MC-Squared is home to one of the fewer-than-50 fabrication labs, or fab labs, in the entire world. A fab lab's computers run design software connected to cutting-edge production machinery – things like laser-powered etchers and robotic routers. One person called fab labs "technological sandboxes."

Students at MC-Squared have used the fab lab to make their own solar-powered phone chargers. And that process is coupled with social science and humanities lessons about global energy policy and the history of energy consumption.

It's the epitome of a hands-on curriculum. Students learn by doing. They learn that they can be bold about their talent – and audacious about what they plan to do with it. They learn to be the innovators this country needs. In short, the STEM movement resurrects a more ambitious concept of what public schooling is supposed to be about.

I've been using the word resurrect intentionally. Because the connection between STEM education and resurrection is personal for me.

I've loved science for as long as I can remember. My dad was trained as a chemical engineer, and he brought a STEM outlook to running our family farm in Nebraska. He always said that his training in engineering helped save our family farm during the Great Depression. My mother was a high school chemistry teacher and, later in her career, a junior high science teacher. Alice Raikes was tough as nails. She insisted that her students, including me, write up professional-quality lab reports, starting with our hypotheses. One of my best friends from home, Clay Anderson, is an astronaut now. He's going back to the space station in two weeks, and he gives my mom a great deal of the credit for his success.

So, you see, I was pretty good in STEM. I was pretty hopeful about my future.

Then I went to Stanford. Naturally, given my career goals, I took engineering calculus my first quarter. Everything was fine until the midterm. Before Professor Peter Winkler handed it back, I remember him announcing that the median was an 85.

So when I saw that my grade was a 47, I decided I had to drop out.

Try to imagine where I was coming from. I aced advanced math at Ashland High School in Nebraska. I won the science fair. If those things translated into being doubled up by everyone else in my first class at Stanford, then I figured it was time to go back home.

Luckily, Professor Winkler intervened. He told me that most of my classmates had gone to fancy private schools and learned everything on the midterm the year before. He promised that we'd burned through the stuff they knew, and that they'd get theirs on the final. He also taught me how to study. I thought I only needed to read the text book. He introduced me to problem sets. Lots of problem sets.

So I stuck around, I did my problems, and I proved Professor Winkler right. I got a 92 on the final exam; that time, the median was 67.

I remember those numbers so clearly because they mark what I now think of as my own personal resurrection. I ended up getting a degree in engineering economic systems and building a satisfying career in software—and now another one in philanthropy, which, I might add, is heavily science- and math-based.

I sometimes reflect on how close I came to giving up. And I was lucky. I had support from wonderful teachers and from my parents.

How many talented students don't have those advantages? How many never make it? The evidence indicates that my resurrection was the exception, not the rule. We are wasting lots and lots of talent.

But I am hopeful that all that's about to change. Because the STEM movement in this state is about to take off.

Just last year, with support from Microsoft, Boeing, and Battelle—as well as the Allen Foundation and the Gates Foundation—a group called the Partnership for Learning launched the Washington STEM Initiative. Over the next few months, it will launch a multi-million dollar STEM Center.

The Center is the big bet on STEM in Washington state.

For years, local businesses and nonprofit organizations like the Science Center have been working in the education sector. The STEM Center will unify that work, and add to it, so that the people in Washington who have an interest in education will also have a powerful vehicle for reforming it. The Center will test cutting-edge ideas in pilot sites throughout the state, and it will work with key players in Washington to make sure the best ideas get scaled up.

Let me repeat, the Center is opening right now. We are about to see if STEM's potential to deliver a much better education to many more students gets realized in Washington.

So I have to ask, What are you going to do about it? I don't mean the rhetorical you. I mean you who have come to the Foundations of Science breakfast because you care about this community and believe in the importance of STEM in society. The Center needs your support. It needs money. It needs political muscle in Olympia. Most of all, it needs your ideas. The same processes you use to solve problems in your area of expertise can solve our schools' problems. Using data creatively. Innovating on demand. These are things you can do, and they are things our schools need.

If you want to get in on the ground floor, I urge you to talk to Dean Allen, Brad Smith, or Elson Floyd, all of whom serve on the board. Dean Allen is here this morning.

You can also get in touch with the Partnership for Learning, which has been working on behalf of the Washington Roundtable to get the Center started.

If you care about the issues we've been talking about this morning, then nothing is more important than the success of the Washington STEM Center.

Every child should have an Alice Raikes, that tough as nails junior high teacher who makes them believe they can be an astronaut. Every young adult should have a Professor Winkler, who gives them the confidence and the skills they need to beat the curve. With a thriving STEM movement, we will all have our chance at resurrection. We can resurrect our students' capacity for innovation and our country's competitiveness in the 21st century global economy.

It's about our kids; it's about their education.

Thank you.

Rockefeller, John D. Jr. On Behalf of the United War Work Campaign. Delivered 1917.

The United War Work campaign, which is asking the American people to contribute not less than \$170,500,000, is the greatest voluntary altruistic endeavor the world has ever known. For the first time in history, people of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant faith are standing side by side and working in closest cooperation for a great common cause.

The seven organizations included in the campaign – namely, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Catholic War Council, the Jewish Welfare Board, the War Camp Community Service, the American Library Association, and the Salvation Army – are authorized by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to work for the soldiers and sailors in and near the camps.

Since talk of peace has been current during the past few weeks, the question has arisen in the minds of many as to whether this great fund of \$170,500,000 will be needed in the event of an early termination of the war. The answer is that the sooner the war ends, the more vital will be the need for this fund – every dollar of it, and as much more as the generosity of the American people will provide.

Our men in uniform are like the college football players. While the struggle is impending, they are observing the rules of training that they may be fit to fight, but when the game has been won the temptation to break training and make up for the restraint of the past months and years will be a mighty one.

At the best, it will take many months to bring home the men now overseas, and a still longer time to absorb into civil life this great army. During these days and weeks and months of comparative idleness, relaxation, inactivity, and waiting, they will need as never since the day they entered the service the friendship, inspiration, occupation, amusement, and strength which these organizations alone can provide.

Do you want to see the flower of the manhood of this country, which has brought everlasting glory to our nation, neglected in the hour of its greatest need, and afraid to face temptation? Then withhold your contribution to this fund.

Or do you want to see a chapter of moral victory and prowess as superb and as glorious as that of the victories of arms which have already been achieved, added to the annals of the history of this country, and high standards of morality maintained and perpetuated by our sons and brothers in the days to come?

Then give of your abundance, give of your poverty, but give without stint to this great fund which should be not less than \$250,000,000. I confidently believe that the American people will stand solidly behind the men in uniform, and that they will regard it a privilege to contribute to the limit.

Romney, Mitt. *Faith in America*. Delivered December 6, 2007.

Thank you, Mr. President for your kind introduction.

It is an honor to be here again today. This is an inspiring place because of you and the first lady and because of the film – and it's exhibited across the way in the presidential library. For those who haven't seen it, it shows the President as a young pilot, shot down during the Second World War, being rescued from his life raft by the crew of an American submarine. It's a moving reminder that when America has faced challenge and peril, Americans rise to the occasion, willing to risk their very lives to defend freedom and preserve our nation. We're in your debt, Mr. President. Thank you very, very much.

Mr. President, your generation rose to the occasion, first to defeat Fascism and then to vanquish the Soviet Union. You left us, your children, a free and strong America. It's why we call yours "The Greatest Generation." It's now my generation's turn. How we respond to today's challenges will define our generation. And it will determine what kind of America we will leave our children, and theirs.

America faces a new generation of challenges. Radical violent Islam seeks to destroy us. An emerging China endeavors to surpass our economic leadership. And we're troubled at home by government overspending, overuse of foreign oil, and the breakdown of the family.

Over the last year, we've embarked on a national debate on how best to preserve American leadership. Today, I wish to address a topic which I believe is fundamental to America's greatness: our religious liberty. I'll also offer perspectives on how my own faith would inform my presidency, if I were elected.

There are some who may feel that religion is not a matter to be seriously considered in the context of the weighty threats that face us. If so, they're at odds with the nation's Founders, for they, when our nation faced its greatest peril, sought the blessings of the Creator. And further, they discovered the essential connection between the survival of a free land and the protection of religious freedom. In John Adams' words: "We have no government armed with power capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion." "Our Constitution," he said, "was made for a moral and religious people." Freedom requires religion just as religion requires freedom. Freedom opens the windows of the soul so that man can discover his most profound beliefs and commune with God. Freedom and religion endure together, or perish alone.

Given our grand tradition of religious tolerance and liberty, some wonder whether there are any questions regarding an aspiring candidate's religion that are appropriate. I believe there are. And I'll answer them today.

Almost 50 years ago another candidate from Massachusetts explained that he was an American running for President, not a Catholic running for President. Like him, I am an American running for President. I do not define my candidacy by my religion. A person should not be elected because of his faith nor should he be rejected because of his faith. Let me assure you that no authorities of my church, or of any other church for that matter, will ever exert influence on presidential decisions. Their authority is theirs, within the province of church affairs, and it ends where the affairs of the nation begin.

As Governor, I tried to do the right as best I knew it, serving the law and answering to the Constitution. I did not confuse the particular teachings of my church with the obligations of the office and of the Constitution – and of course, I would not do so as President. I will put no doctrine of any church above the plain duties of the office and the sovereign authority of the law.

As a young man, Lincoln described what he called America's "political religion" – the commitment to defend the rule of law and the Constitution. When I place my hand on the Bible and take the Oath of Office, that oath becomes my highest promise to God. If I'm fortunate to become your President, I will serve no one religion, no one group, no one cause, and no one interest.

A President must serve only the common cause of the people of the United States.

There are some for whom these commitments are not enough. They would prefer it if I would simply distance myself from my religion, say that it's more a tradition than my personal conviction, or disavow one or another of its precepts. That I will not do. I believe in my Mormon faith and I endeavor to live by it. My faith is the faith of my fathers. I will be true to them and to my beliefs.

Some believe that such a confession of my faith will sink my candidacy. If they're right, so be it. But I think they underestimate the American people. Americans do not respect respecters – excuse me – believers of convenience. Americans tire of those who would jettison their beliefs, even to gain the world.

There is one fundamental question about which I'm often asked: What do I believe about Jesus Christ? I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God and the Savior of mankind. My church's beliefs about Christ may not all be the same as those of other faiths. Each religion has its own unique doctrines and history. These are not bases for criticism but rather a test of our tolerance. Religious tolerance would be a shallow principle indeed if it were reserved only for faiths with which we agree.

There are some who would have a presidential candidate describe and explain his church's distinctive doctrines. To do so would enable the very religious test the Founders prohibited in the Constitution. No candidate should become the spokesman for his faith. For if he becomes President he will need the prayers of the people of all faiths.

I believe that every faith I've encountered draws its adherents closer to God. And in every faith I've come to know, there are features I wish were in my own: I love the profound ceremony of the Catholic mass, the approachability of God in the prayers of the Evangelicals, the tenderness of spirit among the Pentecostals, the confident independence of the Lutherans, the ancient traditions of the Jews, unchanged through the ages, and the commitment to frequent prayer of the Muslims. As I travel across the country and see our towns and cities, I'm always moved by the many houses of worship with their steeples, all pointing to heaven, reminding us of the Source of life's blessings.

It's important to recognize that while differences in theology exist between the churches in America, we share a common creed of moral convictions. And where the affairs of our nation are concerned, it's usually a sound rule to focus on the latter – on the great moral principles that urge us all on a common course. Whether it was the cause of abolition, or civil rights, or the right to life itself, no movement of conscience can succeed in America that cannot speak to the convictions of religious people.

We separate church and state affairs in this country, and for good reason. No religion should dictate to the state nor should the state interfere with the free practice of religion. But in recent years, the notion of the separation of church and state has been taken by some well beyond its original meaning. They seek to remove from the public domain any acknowledgment of God. Religion is seen as merely a private affair with no place in public life. It's as if they're intent on establishing a new religion in America – the religion of secularism. They are wrong.

The Founders proscribed the establishment of a state religion, but they did not countenance the elimination of religion from the public square. We are a nation "under God" and in God, we do indeed trust.

We should acknowledge the Creator as did the Founders – in ceremony and word. He should remain our – on our currency, in our Pledge, in the teaching of our history. And during the holiday season, nativity scenes and menorahs should be welcome in our public places. Our greatness would not long endure without judges who respect the foundation of faith upon which our Constitution rests. I will take care to separate the affairs of government from any religion, but I will not separate us from "the God who gave us liberty."

Nor would I separate us from our religious heritage. Perhaps the most important question to ask a person of faith who seeks a political office is this: Does he share these American values: the equality of human kind, the obligation to serve one another, and a steadfast commitment to liberty? They're not unique to any one denomination. They belong to the great moral inheritance we hold in common. They're the firm ground on which Americans of different faiths meet and stand as a nation, united.

We believe that every single human being is a child of God; we're all part of the human family. The conviction of the inherent and inalienable worth of every life is still the most revolutionary political proposition ever advanced. John Adams put it that we are "thrown into the world all equal and alike."

The consequence of our common humanity is our responsibility to one another – to our fellow Americans foremost, but also to every child of God. It's an obligation which is fulfilled by Americans every day, here and across the globe, without regard to creed or race or nationality.

Americans acknowledge that liberty is a gift of God, not an indulgence of government. No people in the – No people in the history of the world have sacrificed as much for liberty. The lives of hundreds of thousands of America's sons and daughters were laid down during the last century to preserve freedom, for us and for freedom loving people throughout the world. America took nothing from that century's terrible wars – no land from Germany or Japan or Korea; no treasure; no oath of fealty. America's resolve in the defense of liberty has been tested time and again. It has not been found wanting, nor must it ever be. America must never falter in holding high the banner of freedom.

These American values, this great moral heritage, is shared and lived in my religion as it is in yours. I was taught in my home to honor God and love my neighbor. I saw my father march with Martin Luther King. I saw my parents provide compassionate care to others, in personal ways to people nearby, and in just as consequential ways in leading national volunteer movements. I am moved by the Lord's words: "for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me...."

My faith is grounded on these truths. You can witness them in Ann and my marriage and in our family. We're a long way from perfect and we've surely stumbled along the way. But our aspirations, our values, are the self-same as those from the other faiths that stand upon this common foundation. And these convictions will indeed inform my presidency.

Today's generations of Americans have always known religious liberty. Perhaps we forget the long and arduous path our nation's forbearers took to achieve it. They came here from England to seek freedom of religion. But upon finding it for themselves, they at first denied it to others. Because of their diverse beliefs, Ann Hutchinson was exiled from Massachusetts Bay, Roger Williams founded Rhode Island, and two centuries later, Brigham Young set out for the West. Americans were unable to accommodate their commitment to their own faith with an appreciation for the convictions of others to different faiths. In this, they were very much like those of the European nations they had left.

It was in Philadelphia that our Founding Fathers defined a revolutionary vision of liberty, grounded on self-evident truths about the equality of all, and the inalienable rights with which each is endowed by his Creator.

We cherish these sacred rights, and secure them in our constitutional order. Foremost do we protect religious liberty, not as a matter of policy, but as a matter of right. There will be no established Church, and we are guaranteed the free exercise of our religion.

I'm not sure that we fully appreciate the profound implications of our tradition of religious liberty. I've visited many of the magnificent cathedrals in Europe. They're so inspired, so grand, and so empty. Raised up over generations long ago, so many of the cathedrals now stand as the postcard backdrop to societies just too busy or too "enlightened" to venture inside and kneel in prayer. The establishment of state religions in Europe did no favor to Europe's churches. And though you will find many people of strong faith there, the churches themselves seem to be withering away.

Infinitely worse is the other extreme: the creed of conversion by conquest – violent Jihad, murder as martyrdom, killing Christians, Jews, and Muslims with equal indifference. These radical Islamists do their preaching not by reason or example, but in the coercion of minds and the shedding of blood. We face no greater danger today than theocratic tyranny, and the boundless suffering these states and groups could inflict if given the chance.

The diversity of our cultural expression and the vibrancy of our religious dialogue has kept America in the forefront of civilized nations, even as others regard religious freedom as something to be destroyed.

In such a world, we can be deeply thankful that we live in a land where reason and religion are friends and allies in the cause of liberty, joined against the evils and dangers of the day. And you can be – You can be certain of this: Any believer in religious freedom, any person who has knelt in prayer to the Almighty, has a friend and ally in me. And so it is for hundreds of millions of our countrymen: We do not insist on a single strain of religion; rather, we welcome our nation's symphony of faith.

Recall the early days of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, during the fall of 1774. With Boston occupied by British troops, there were rumors of imminent hostilities and fears of an impending war. In this time of peril, someone suggested that they pray. But there were objections. They were "too divided in religious sentiments," what with Episcopalians and Quakers, Anabaptists and Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Catholics.

Then Sam Adams rose, and said he would hear a prayer from anyone of piety and good character, as long as they were a patriot. And so together they prayed, and together they fought, and together, by the grace of God they founded this great nation.

And in that spirit, let us give thanks to the divine "Author of Liberty." And together, let us pray that this land may always be blessed, "with freedom's holy light."

God bless this great land, The United States of America.

Thank you.

Sandberg, Sheryl. Opening Statement to the Senate Intelligence Committee on Facebook and Foreign Influence. Delivered September 5, 2018.

Chairman Burr, Vice Chairman Warner, and Members of the Select Committee:

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak with you today. My written testimony goes into more detail about the actions we're taking to prevent election interference on Facebook, but I wanted to start by explaining how seriously we take these issues, and talk about some of the steps we're taking.

Free and fair elections are the foundation of any democracy. As Americans, they are part of our national identity. And that's why it's incumbent upon all of us to do all we can to protect our democratic process. That includes Facebook. At its best, Facebook plays a positive role in our democracy, enabling representatives to connect with their constituents, reminding people to register and to vote, and giving people a place to freely express their opinions about the issues that matter to them.

However, we've also seen what can happen when our service is abused. As a bipartisan report from this committee said: Russia used social media as part of – and I quote – "a comprehensive and multifaceted campaign," "to sow discord, undermine democratic institutions, and interfere in U.S. elections and those of our allies." We were too slow to spot this and too slow to act.

That is on us.

This interference was completely unacceptable. It violated the values of our company and of the country we love. Actions taken show how determined we are to do everything we can do to stop this from happening.

The threat we face is not new. America has always confronted attacks from determined, well-funded opponents who want to undermine our democracy. What is new is the tactics they are using. To stay ahead, we all need to work together, as Chairman Burr said – government, law enforcement, industry, and experts from civil society. And that is why I'm grateful for the work this committee is doing.

At Facebook, we're investing in security for the long-term. As our defenses improve, bad actors learn and improve too, and that's why security is never a finished job:

We have more than doubled the number of people we have working in safety and security. And we now have over 20,000 people, and we are able to view reports in 50 languages, 24 hours a day.

Better machine learning and artificial intelligence have enabled us to be more proactive in finding abuse. In the first three months of 2018 alone over 85 percent of the violent content we took down, or added warning labels to, was identified by our technology before it was reported. These are expensive investments but that will not stop us. Because we know they're critical, Our first line of defense is finding and shutting down fake accounts, the source of much of the inauthentic activity we see on Facebook. Authenticity matters because people need to trust that the content they're seeing is valid; and they need to trust the connections they make. We are now blocking millions of attempts to register false accounts each and every day.

We're making progress on *fake news*. We're getting rid of the economic incentives to create it, and we're limiting the distribution it gets on Facebook. We demote articles rated by third [party fact] checkers as "false." We warn people who have shared them or who are about to share them. And we show them related articles to give them more facts.

We've also taken strong steps to prevent abuse and increase transparency in advertising. Today on Facebook, you can go to any page and see all the ads that page is running, even if they wouldn't be shown to you. For political and issue ads, you can also s[ee] who paid for the ads, how much was spent, and the demographics of the people who saw them. We're also going to require people running large pages with large audiences in the United States to go through an authorization process and confirm their identity.

These steps won't stop everyone who's trying to game the system, but they will make it *lot* harder. As these past few weeks and months have shown, this work is starting to pay off. In July, we removed 32 pages and accounts involved in coordinated, inauthentic behavior. In August, we removed 650 pages and accounts that originated in Iran, as well as additional pages and account – accounts from Russia. And just last week, we took down 58 pages and accounts from Myanmar, many of which were posing as news organizations.

We are focused – as I know you are – on the upcoming U.S. midterms and on elections around the world. Our efforts in recent elections, from Germany to Italy to Mexico to the Alabama special Senate election, show us that the investments we are making are yielding results.

We also know, as Chairman Burr said, that we cannot stop interference by ourselves. We're working with outside experts, industry partners, and governments, including law enforcement, to share information about threats and prevent abuse. We're getting better at finding and stopping our opponents, from financially motivated troll farms to sophisticated military intelligence operations. We don't have access to the intelligence government[s] have access to, so we don't always know exactly who is behind these attacks, or their motives. And that's why we will continue working closely with law enforcement. Chairman Burr, I want to thank you for your leadership.

Vice Chairman Warner, I want to thank you for your white paper which has so many ideas on how we can work together to strengthen our defense.

Senators, let me be clear: We are more determined than our opponents, and we will keep fighting. When bad actors try to use our site, we will block them. When content violates our policies, we will take it down. And when our opponents use new techniques, we will share them so we can strengthen our collective efforts.

Everyone here today knows that this is an arms race, and that means we need to be ever more vigilant. As Chairman Burr has noted, nothing less than the integrity of our democratic institutions, processes, and ideals is at stake. We agree. And we will work with all of you to meet this challenge.

Thank you.

Tillerson, Rex. Farewell Remarks at the State Department. Delivered March 13, 2018.

Good afternoon, all.

I received a call today from the President of the United States, at a little after noon time, from Air Force One. And I've also spoken to White House Chief of Staff Kelly to ensure we have clarity as to the days ahead. What is most important is to ensure an orderly and smooth transition during a time that the country continues to face significant policy and national security challenges.

As such, effective at the end of the day, I'm delegating all responsibilities of the Office of the Secretary to Deputy Secretary of State Sullivan. My commission as Secretary of State will terminate at midnight, March the 31st. Between now and then, I will address a few administrative matters related to my departure and work towards a smooth and orderly transition for Secretary of State-designate Mike Pompeo.

I'm encouraging my policy planning team and undersecretaries and assistant secretaries, those confirmed, as well as those in acting positions, to remain at their post and continue our mission at the State Department and working with the interagency process.

I will be meeting members of my front office team and policy planning later today to thank them for their service. They have been extraordinarily dedicated to our mission, which includes promoting values that I view as being very important to the safety and security of our State Department personnel: accountability – which means treating each other with honesty and integrity; and respect for one another – most recently, in particular, to address challenges of sexual harassment within the Department.

I want to speak now to my State Department colleagues and to our interagency colleagues and partners at DOD and the Joint Chief[s] of Sta[ff], most particularly.

To my Foreign Service officers and civil service colleagues: We all took the same oath of office. Whether you're a career employee or a political appointee, we are all bound by that common commitment to support and defend the Constitution, to bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and to faithfully discharge the duties of our office. As a State Department, we are bound together by that oath. We remain steadfast here in Washington and at posts across the world, many of whom are in danger-[placed] situations without their families.

The world needs selfless leaders like these – ready to work with long-standing allies, new emerging partners and allies, who now, many are struggling as democracies, and in some cases are dealing with human tragedy, crisis of natural disasters – literally crawling themselves out of those circumstances. These are experiences that no lecture hall in a[n] academic environment, or a think tank can teach you. Only by people going to the front lines to serve can they develop this kind of talent.

To the men and women in uniform, I'm told for the first time in most people's memory the Department of State and Department of Defense have a close working relationship – where we all agree the U.S. leadership starts with diplomacy. The men and women in uniform at the Department of Defense under the leadership of Secretary Mattis and General Dunford protect us as Americans and our way of life daily, at home and abroad. As an all-volunteer military, they do it for love of country; they do it for you; and they do it for me -- and for no other reason. As Americans, we are all eternally grateful to each of them, and we honor their sacrifices.

The rewarding part of having leadership and partnerships in place is that you can actually get some things done, and I want to give recognition to the State Department and our partners for a few of their accomplishments under this Administration.

First, working with allies, we exceeded the expectations of almost everyone with the DPRK maximum pressure campaign with the announcement on my very first trip as Secretary of State to the region that the era of strategic patience was over, and we commenced the steps to dramatically increase not just the scope but the effectiveness of the sanctions.

The Department undertook a global campaign to bring partners and allies on board in every country around the world, with every embassy and mission, raising this to the highest levels. And at every meeting I've had throughout the year, this has been on the agenda: to discuss the adoption of the South Asia strategy with a conditions-based military plan as the tool to compel the Taliban to reconciliation and peace talks with the Afghan government – finally equipped our military planners with a strategy which they can execute, as opposed to a succession of 16 one-year strategies. This clear military commitment attracted the support of allies broadly and equipped our diplomats with a whole new level of certainty around how to prepare for the peace talks and achieve the final objectives.

In other areas, while progress has been made, much work remains.

In Syria, we did achieve important cease-fires and stabilizations which we know has saved thousands of lives. There's more to be done in Syria, particularly with respect to achieving the peace, as well as stabilizing Iraq, and seeing a healthy government installed, and more broadly in the entire global campaign to defeat ISIS. Nothing is possible without allies and – and partners, though.

Much work remains to establish a clear view of the nature of our future relationship with China. How should we deal with one another over the next 50 years and ensure a period of prosperity for all of our peoples, free of conflict between two very powerful nations?

And much work remains to respond to the troubling behavior and actions of -- on the part of the Russian government. Russia must assess carefully as to how its actions are in the best interest of the Russian people and of the world more broadly. Continuing on their current trajectory is likely to lead to greater isolation on their part, a situation which is not in anyone's interest.

So, my colleagues in the State Department and the interagency much remains to be done to achieve our mission on behalf of the American people, with allies and with partners.

I close by thanking all for the privilege of serving beside you for the last 14 months. Importantly, to the 300-plus million Americans: Thank you for your devotion to a free and open society, to acts of kindness towards one another, to honesty and the quiet hard work that you do every day to support this government with your tax dollars. All of us, we know, want to leave this place as a better place for the next generation.

I'll now return to private life as a private citizen, as a proud American, proud of the opportunity I've had to serve my country. God bless all of you.

God bless the American people.

God bless America.

Tillerson, Rex. Statement on the 2016 Religious Freedom Report. Delivered August 15, 2017.

Morning, all. We're releasing today the 2016 International Religious Freedom Report. This report is a requirement pursuant to the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 – legislation that upholds religious freedom as a core American value

under the Constitution's First Amendment, as well as a universal human right. This law calls for the government to (quote), "[Stand] for liberty and [stand] with the persecuted, to use and implement appropriate tools in the United States foreign policy apparatus, including diplomatic, political, commercial, charitable, educational, and cultural channels, to promote respect for religious freedom by all governments and peoples."

Almost 20 years after the law's passage, conditions in many parts of the world are far from ideal. Religious persecution and intolerance remains far too prevalent. Almost 80 percent of the global population live with restrictions on, or hostilities to limit, their freedom of religion. Where religious freedom is not protected, we know that instability, human rights abuses, and violent extremism have a greater opportunity to take root.

We cannot ignore these conditions. The Trump Administration has committed to addressing these conditions in part by advancing international religious freedom around the world. The State Department will continue to advocate on behalf of those seeking to live their lives according to their faith.

The release of the 2016 International Religious Freedom Report details the status of religious freedom in 199 countries and territories, and provides insights as to significant and growing challenges. Today I want to call out a few of the more egregious and troubling examples.

As we make progress in defeating ISIS and denying them their caliphate, their terrorist members have and continue to target multiple religions and ethnic groups for rape, kidnapping, enslavement, and even death.

To remove any ambiguity from previous statements or reports by the State Department, the crime of genocide requires three elements: specific acts with specific intent to destroy in whole or in part specific people -- members of national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups; specific act, specific intent, specific people.

Application of the law to the facts at hand leads to the conclusion ISIS is clearly responsible for genocide against Yezidis, Christians, and Shia Muslims in areas it controls or has controlled. ISIS is also responsible for crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing directed at these same groups, and in some cases against Sunni Muslims, Kurds, and other minorities. More recently, ISIS has claimed responsibility for attacks on Christian pilgrims and churches in Egypt.

The protection of these groups -- and others subject to violent extremism -- is a human rights priority for the Trump Administration. We will continue working with our regional partners to protect religious minority communities from terrorist attacks and to preserve their cultural heritage.

As the 2016 report indicates, many governments around the world use discriminatory laws to deny their citizens freedom of religion or belief.

In Iran, Baha'is, Christians, and other minorities are persecuted for their faith. Iran continues to sentence individuals to death under vague apostasy laws -- 20 individuals were executed in 2016 on charges that included (quote), "waging war against God." Members of the Baha'i community are in prison today simply for abiding by their beliefs.

We remain concerned about the state of religious freedom in Saudi Arabia. The government does not recognize the right of non-Muslims to practice their religion in public and applied criminal penalties, including prison sentences, lashings, and fines, for apostasy, atheism, blasphemy, and insulting the state's interpretation of Islam. Of particular concern are attacks targeting Shia Muslims, and the continued pattern of social prejudice and discrimination against them. We urge Saudi Arabia to embrace greater degrees of religious freedom for all of its citizens.

In Turkey, authorities continued to limit the human rights of members of some religious minority groups, and some communities continue to experience protracted property disputes. Non-Sunni Muslims, such as Alevi Muslims, do not receive the same governmental protections as those enjoyed by recognized non-Muslim minorities and have faced discrimination and violence. Additionally, the United States continues to advocate for the release of Pastor Andrew Brunson, who has been wrongfully imprisoned in Turkey.

And in Bahrain, the government continued to question, detain, and arrest Shia clerics, community members, and opposition politicians. Members of the Shia community there continue to report ongoing discrimination in government employment, education, and the justice system. Bahrain must stop discriminating against the Shia communities.

In China, the government tortures, detains, and imprisons thousands for practicing their religious beliefs. Dozens of Falun Gong members have died in detention. Police -- Policies that restrict Uighur Muslims' and Tibetan Buddhists' religious expression and practice have increased.

Religious freedom is under attack in Pakistan, where more than two dozen are on death row or serving a life imprisonment for blasphemy. The government marginalizes Ahmadiyya Muslims, and refuses to recognize them as Muslim. It is my hope that the new prime minister and his government will promote interfaith harmony and protect the rights of religious minorities. Finally, in Sudan the government arrests, detains, and intimidates clergy and church members. It denies permits for the construction of new churches and is closing or demolishing existing ones. We encourage the Government of Sudan to engage concretely on the religious freedom action plan provided by the Department last year.

Unfortunately, the list goes on.

No one should have to live in fear, worship in secret, or face discrimination because of his or her beliefs. As President Trump has said, we look forward to a day when (quote), "[good] people of all faiths, Christians and Muslims and Jewish and Hindu, can follow their hearts and worship according to their conscience," (end quote).

The State Department will continue its efforts to make that a reality. Recently nominated Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom, Governor Sam Brownback, will be the highest-ranking official ever to take up this important post. We look forward to his swift confirmation.

I thank my many colleagues at the Department and overseas who contributed to this report, and specifically the Office of International Religious Freedom, including Senior Advisor on Global Justice Issues Pam Pryor, Special Advisor for Religious Minorities Knox Thames, and the previous ambassador-at-large, David Saperstein.

We look forward to working with Congress, and the Administration, to continue America's indispensable role as a champion of religious freedom the world over.

Thank you very much.

Tillerson, Rex. Address to State Department Employees on "American First" Foreign Policy. Delivered May 3, 2017.

All right. I told them I have to walk around. My wife has always said if you tied my hands down to my side, I would be a complete mute. So I'm not great at podiums. I do know how to read a speech, but I thought today we'd just have a chat.

So I've been here about three months now, we've been working alongside one another, and so I thought it'd be worthwhile to just share a few of my perspectives with you on where I think we are and some things that are coming that I know are of interest to you.

But before I do that, I would be remiss if I did not thank all of those who have stepped into acting roles during these past three months to help me, and starting with acting Deputy Secretary Tom Shannon, who's just been stellar. But I also want to acknowledge the large number of people who are -- stepped into under secretary, assistant secretary roles, director roles, and a number of chief of missions around the world as well. Your willingness to step up and not just fill that role, but to take responsibility for the role and to lead the organization through some pretty challenging first 90 days -- it's not like we haven't had some things to work on. And so I want to express my appreciation to all of you for helping me and helping my team as we came on board. And I've just been really gratified at the work that everyone's undertaken in that regard.

So I thought we'd talk about a couple of things. I want to share my perspective as to how does this administration's policies of "America first" fit into our foreign policy and foreign affairs. And so I want to touch on that. And then I'll take a quick walk around the world. Most of you have some familiarity of what's going on around the world, but I thought just regionally I'd hit each one of them very quickly, to share with you my perspective on kind of where I feel we are, and then in some areas where we've not yet had time to devote the attention to we would like, and I don't want that to be in any way considered that we don't think those are important. It's kind of a -- what's the hottest fire that we've got to deal with?

So I want to talk about that a little bit, and then spend some time at the end talking about where we're going in the future of the department, USAID, and, as you know, we just kicked off this listening exercise.

So let's talk first about my view of how you translate "America first" into our foreign policy. And I think I approach it really that it's America first for national security and economic prosperity, and that doesn't mean it comes at the expense of others. Our partnerships and our alliances are critical to our success in both of those areas. But as we have progressed over the last 20 years -- and some of you could tie it back to the post-Cold War era as the world has changed, some of you can tie it back to the evolution of China since the post-Nixon era and China's rise as an economic power, and now as a growing military power -- that as we participated in those changes, we were promoting relations, we were promoting economic activity, we were promoting trade with a lot of these emerging economies, and we just kind of lost track of how we were doing. And as a result, things got a little bit out of balance. And I think that's -- as you hear the President talk about it, that's what he really speaks about, is: Look, things have gotten out of balance, and these are really important relationships to us and they're really important alliances, but we've got to bring them back into balance.

So whether it's our asking of NATO members to really meet their obligations, even though those were notional obligations, we understand -- and aspirational obligation, we think it's important that those become concrete. And when we deal with our trading partners -- that things have gotten a little out of bounds here, they've gotten a little off balance -- we've got to bring that back into balance because it's not serving the interests of the American people well.

So it doesn't have to come at the expense of others, but it does have to come at an engagement with others. And so as we're building our policies around those notions, that's what we want to support. But at the end of it, it is strengthening our national security and promoting economic prosperity for the American people, and we do that, again, with a lot of partners.

Now, I think it's important to also remember that guiding all of our foreign policy actions are our fundamental values: our values around freedom, human dignity, the way people are treated. Those are our values. Those are not our policies; they're values. And the reason it's important, I think, to keep that well understood is policies can change. They do change. They should change. Policies change to adapt to the -- our values never change. They're constant throughout all of this.

And so I think the real challenge many of us have as we think about constructing our policies and carrying out our policies is: How do we represent our values? And in some circumstances, if you condition our national security efforts on someone adopting our values, we probably can't achieve our national security goals or our national security interests. If we condition too heavily that others must adopt this value that we've come to over a long history of our own, it really creates obstacles to

our ability to advance our national security interests, our economic interests. It doesn't mean that we leave those values on the sidelines. It doesn't mean that we don't advocate for and aspire to freedom, human dignity, and the treatment of people the world over. We do. And we will always have that on our shoulder everywhere we go.

But I think it is – I think it's really important that all of us understand the difference between policy and values, and in some circumstances, we should and do condition our policy engagements on people adopting certain actions as to how they treat people. They should. We should demand that. But that doesn't mean that's the case in every situation. And so we really have to understand, in each country or each region of the world that we're dealing with, what are our national security interests, what are our economic prosperity interests, and then as we can advocate and advance our values, we should – but the policies can do this; the values never change.

And so I would ask you to just – to the extent you could think about that a little bit, I think it's useful, because I know this is probably, for me, it's one of the most difficult areas as I've thought about how to formulate policy to advance all of these things simultaneously. It's a real challenge. And I hear from government leaders all over the world: You just can't demand that of us, we can't move that quickly, we can't adapt that quickly, okay? So it's how do we advance our national security and economic interests on this hand, our values are constant over here.

So I give you that as kind of an overarching view of how I think about the President's approach of "America first." We must secure the nation. We must protect our people. We must protect our borders. We must protect our ability to be that voice of our values now and forevermore. And we can only do that with economic prosperity. So it's foreign policy projected with a strong ability to enforce the protection of our freedoms with a strong military. And all of you that have been at this a long time understand the value of speaking with a posture of strength – not a threatening posture, but a posture of strength. People know we can back it up.

So with that in mind, let me just quickly walk around the world and give you my assessment of where we are in some of the early stages of policy that's underway and some that's yet to be developed.

So as all of you clearly understand, when we came in to the State Department, the administration came in, was sworn in, immediately confronted with a serious situation in North Korea. Now, the prior administration, as all of you know, President Obama told President Trump this was going to be your greatest threat that you're going to have to manage, and he was right. So it was -- it's right on the doorstep. And so it got immediate attention. It was the first policy area that we began to develop in terms of what is our overarching strategic approach and how do we want to execute against that. In evaluating that, what was important to us and to me to understand was, first, where are our allies? And so engaging with our allies and ensuring that our allies and we see the situation the same -- our allies in South Korea, our allies in Japan.

And then, secondly, it was to engage with the other regional powers as to how do they see it. And so it was useful and helpful to have the Chinese and now the Russians articulate clearly that their policy is unchanged; they – their policy is a denuclearized Korean Peninsula. And of course we did our part many years ago. We took all the nuclear weapons out of South Korea. So now we have a shared objective, and that's very useful, from which you then build out your policy approaches and your strategies.

So many people are saying, well, gee, this is just the same thing we've tried over and over – we're going to put pressure on the regime in Pyongyang, they're not going to do anything, and then in the end we'll all cave. Well, the difference, I think, in our approach this time is we're going to test this assumption, and when the – when folks came in to review the situation with me, the assumption was that China has limited influence on the regime in Pyongyang, or they have a limited willingness to assert their influence. And so I told the President we've got to test that, and we're going to test it by leaning hard into them, and this is a good place to start our engagement with China.

And so that's what we've been doing, is leaning hard into China to test their willingness to use their influence, their engagement with the regime in North Korea. All of it backed up by very strong resolve on our part to have a denuclearized peninsula with a commitment to our security alliances on the peninsula and in the region to our important allies Japan and South Korea.

So it's a pressure campaign that has a knob on it. I'd say we're at about dial setting 5 or 6 right now, with a strong call of countries all over the world to fully implement the UN Security Council resolutions regarding sanctions, because no one has ever fully implemented those. So we're going to lean into people to fully implement them. We've told them we're watching what you're doing. When we see you not implementing, we see companies or we see individuals that are violating these sanctions, we're going to contact you and we're going to ask you to take care of it. If you can't take care of it or you simply don't want to take care of it for your own internal political reasons, we will. We'll sanction them through third-country sanctions.

So we are being very open and transparent about our intentions, and we're asking our partners around the world to please take actions on your own. We want you to control how that happens. We're not trying to control it for you, but we have an expectation of what you will do. So we're putting that pressure on. We are preparing additional sanctions, if it turns out North Korea's actions warrant additional sanctions. We're hopeful that the regime in North Korea will think about this and come to a conclusion that there's another way to the future. We know they have – they're – they aspire to nuclear weapons because it's the regime's belief it's the only way they can secure their future.

We are clear – we’ve been clear to them this is not about regime change, this is not about regime collapse, this is not about an accelerated reunification of the peninsula, this is not about us looking for an excuse to come north of the 38th Parallel. So we’re trying to be very, very clear and resolute in our message to them that your future security and economic prosperity can only be achieved through your following your commitments to denuclearize.

So this is where we are. We’re at – I would say we’re at about the 20 to 25 percent stage of this strategy. Thus far, our assessment is it is going like we had hoped for in terms of the response we’re getting from others, but we’ve got a lot of work left to do to keep that pressure on. And so that’s what the folks that are in the bureaus and out in the missions are doing to help us right now, is to continue this steady, resolute message and continue to talk out here to the North Koreans, but not here, yet, about what our intentions are and what we want. We are ready and prepared to engage in talks when conditions are right. But as you’ve heard me say, we are not going to negotiate our way to the negotiating table. That is what Pyongyang has done for the last 20 years, is cause us to have to negotiate to get them to sit down. We’ll sit down when they’re ready to sit down under the right terms. So that’s North Korea.

And then if I pivoted over to China, because it really took us directly to our China foreign policy, we really had to assess China’s situation, as I said, from the Nixon era up to where we find things today, and we saw a bit of an inflection point with the Sochi – with the Beijing Olympics. Those were enormously successful for China. They kind of put China on the map, and China really began to feel its oats about that time, and rightfully. They have achieved a lot. They moved 500 million Chinese people out of poverty into middle class status. They’ve still got a billion more they need to move.

So China has its own challenges, and we want to work with them and be mindful of what they’re dealing with in the context of our relationship. And our relationship has to be one of understanding that we have security interests throughout northeast Asia and security interests throughout the Pacific, and we need to work with them on how those are addressed. So that gets to the island building in the South China Sea, the militarization of those islands, and obviously, we have huge trading issues to talk with them about.

So we are using the entree of the visit in Mar-a-Lago, which was heavy on some issues with North Korea but also heavy on a broader range of issues. And what we’ve asked the Chinese to do is we’re -- we want to take a fresh look at where’s this relationship going to be 50 years from now, because I think we have an opportunity to define that. And so I know there have been a lot of dialogue areas that have been underway for the last several years with China. We have asked China to narrow the dialogue areas and elevate the participants to the decision-making level.

So we outlined four major dialogue areas with China, and we’ve asked them to bring people who report directly to the decision-maker, which is President Xi. So for the first time, we are seeking and we -- so far it appears we will get people at the politburo level and at much higher levels of the government within China to participate in these dialogues so we can reframe what we want the relationship to be and begin to deal with some of the problems and issues that have just been sitting out there kind of stuck in neutral for a while. So it is a -- it’s a much narrower -- as we make progress, those things will result in working groups where we can get after solving these things.

So we’re going to have the first meeting of the Diplomatic and Security Dialogue, which is chaired by myself and Secretary Mattis, with our counterparts here in Washington in June, and we’ve put it up as a kind of top priority. The second one is economic and trade, which is chaired by Treasury Secretary Mnuchin and Commerce Secretary Ross, and it’s well underway also.

So that’s kind of the new approach we’re taking with China, is elevate, let’s kind of revisit this relationship, and what is it going to be over the next half century. I think it’s a tremendous opportunity we have to define that, and there seems to be a great interest on the part of the Chinese leadership to do that as well. They feel we’re at a point of inflection also. So that’s China.

Obviously, throughout Asia we’ve got a lot of work to do with ASEAN nations and re-solidifying our leadership with ASEAN on a number of security issues but also trade issues and the South China Sea, strengthen relations with Australia and New Zealand – really important partners with us on a number of counterterrorism fronts. And so throughout the region those engagements are underway. And the President has committed to make the trip to Vietnam and to the Philippines for those meetings this fall, and I think that’s going to be very important that he is going, and we’ll be going in advance, obviously, to prepare for all of that.

So if we walk around to the next hot spot that we worked on, pretty quickly it was the Middle East around the campaign to defeat ISIS and instability that that’s created in, obviously, Syria, Iraq, the issues in Afghanistan. And as those of you who work that region well know, you can just kind of draw the concentric circles out all the way into North Africa, parts of Africa, all of the Middle East, parts of Central Asia, and this is really a D-ISIS and a counterterrorism effort, is what it really boils down to. And so how do we develop policies and bring regional players together to address these threats of ISIS and counterterrorism?

And we hosted I think what was a very successful coalition to defeat ISIS ministerial here at the State Department. I think there is a real renewed sense of energy and commitment to win this war against ISIS. We will; we are defeating ISIS in their caliphate in Syria and Iraq, but we know that ISIS exists more broadly than that. And so, as we said in that coalition effort, we’ve got to move beyond the battlefield, we’ve got to move into the cyberspace, we’ve got to move into the social

communications space, and get inside of the messaging that allows them to recruit people around the world to their terrorism efforts.

So there is a big effort underway with players in the region, most notably the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and working with other partners to get inside of this conversation that's going on within the Muslim community around what this is doing to the way the Muslim faith is understood by others in the world. And I would say it's a very open conversation we're having and a renewed commitment on the part of leaders in the Muslim world that want to take this on. So we're going to be leveraging on that as well.

So as you're seeing this play out in the Middle East, still a lot of hard work to do to get coalition partners together around ceasefires and peace processes in Syria. How do we advance our interest in Afghanistan to a legitimate peace process is what we're pursuing in Afghanistan, and then keeping this terrorism network confined as it wants to spread itself through North Africa and Central Africa. So a lot of work ahead of us, and many of you are directly engaged in it already; many more of you are going to become engaged in it, I think you can expect.

The next kind of area of priority is our re-engagement with Russia. Obviously, they are part of the engagement in Syria, but we have other issues with Russia, as you all well know, in Europe, and the situation in Ukraine. As I know many of you heard from my trip to Moscow, characterized to President Putin that the relationship between our two nations was the lowest it's been since the Cold War. He did not disagree. He shrugged his shoulders and nodded in agreement. And I said it's spiraling down, it's getting worse. And my comment to him was you – we cannot have, the two greatest nuclear powers in the world cannot have this kind of relationship. We have to change it.

And so we have a number of efforts underway to first stabilize the relationship. And Deputy Secretary – acting Deputy Secretary Shannon is leading a working group effort to see if we can address some of the things that are just irritating the relationship, that make it hard for us to talk to one another even in civil tones. So we're working hard on that and we're hoping to begin to solve some of that, while Foreign Minister Lavrov and I, under the direction of President Putin and now President Trump, coming out of the call yesterday are going to continue to see if we can work together on the first big area of cooperation, which would be Syria, and can we achieve a ceasefire that will hold long enough for us to get a peace process underway.

I don't want to say we're off to a great start on this, because it's very early stages. I don't know where it will go. So I've got a bilateral with Foreign Minister Lavrov in Alaska next week on the margins of the Arctic Council. Both our presidents have charged us to take this further and see where we can go with it. So obviously, close coordination with the Department of Defense, with our intelligence agencies, and importantly our allies in the region, because we want them to always know what we're doing, because we're going to need their support as well.

So a lot of work ahead of us on the Russia engagement – work some small things, can we work one big thing together. If we can find space for something we feel we can begin to rebuild some level of trust, because today there is almost no trust between us. Can we build some level of trust? We've got a long list of things to work on from our arms agreements and issues we have with our nuclear arms agreements, to obviously, getting to Ukraine, Crimea, and other places where Russia is not being particularly helpful today.

So that's what we're hoping, is that we can begin to build a way in which we can learn how to work with one another. I don't know whether we can or not. We'll – we're going to find out.

So quickly to other parts of the world that are really important to us as well -- the continent of Africa is so important from the standpoint that first, from a national security view, we cannot let Africa become the next breeding ground for a re-emergence of a caliphate for ISIS. We also cannot allow the terrorist networks that weave their way through Africa to continue unabated. You can connect the dots between countries throughout the central part of Africa and northern part of Africa where the terrorist networks are connected. We've got to get into the middle of that and disrupt that to save those countries.

But Africa is also a continent of enormous opportunity, and needs and will get and will continue to receive our attention to support stabilizing governments as they are emerging and continuing to develop their own institutional capacity, but also looking at Africa for potential economic and trading opportunities. It's a huge, I think, potential sitting out there, waiting for us to capture it, and then, obviously, a big focus of our health initiatives, because Africa still struggles with huge health challenges. And those are important to us and they're going to continue to get our attention.

So we're going to – we're working – today we have some things we're working in North Africa relative to its relationship to the Middle East challenges and our ISIS challenges. We've got to step back and take a more comprehensive look at our approach to the entire continent, and that's out in front of us as well.

And then lastly, I want to go to the Western Hemisphere. And in the Western Hemisphere, obviously, our neighbors are vitally important to us, Canada and Mexico. It's not as rocky as it looks sometimes, and I think, in fact, the relationships are quite good. Both of our neighbors understand we have to refresh some of the agreements that have governed our relationship, particularly in the areas of trade, and both countries are ready to engage in a good-faith effort with us as well.

In particular, we're investing a lot of effort into Mexico because of the transmigration issues and organized crime. And so we have an initiative underway where the senior members of the Mexican Government will be coming up here on May the 18th to participate in an interagency process with us to see if we can get at transnational organized crime and begin to break these organized crime units up. Not only are they a threat to us and to Mexico's stability and the scourge of drugs that just flow into

this country, they also are part of the integrated terrorist financing networks as well. So this is vital to us for a number of reasons and we look forward to making some progress there.

South of Mexico, we've got some initiatives underway to work with the Latin American countries, which are where a lot of the people are trying to leave to come up to the U.S., to continue economic development, security investments in Latin America, and working with the Department of Homeland Security. We're actually hosting an event in Miami to bring those leaders up so we can talk with them about how we get better organized to address these issues and how we can bring more private capital into investment opportunities in Central and Latin America.

Southern cone, we have a lot of opportunity and some challenges down there. What we want to do is step back and develop a Western Hemisphere strategy that thinks about South America in its entirety and its relationship to Central America, but Cuba and the Caribbean as well. There are terrorist financing issues. There are terrorist networks that are beginning to emerge in parts of South America that have our attention. There are governance issues in certain countries – certainly all of you are following the situation in Venezuela; a real tragedy, but we're hopeful that working with others, including interventions by others in Europe, that we may be able to gain some traction in Venezuela. So we have a number of things in front of us yet to develop clear policies on how we want to go forward.

So my view is that we want to look at these regions almost in their entirety first, because everything is interconnected. We can take a country and develop something, but if we don't have the perspective regionally, we're probably not going to be as effective. So we're trying to start out here, and then we'll bring it down to a country-by-country level so we can execute. So that's just to give you a little perspective on how we're approaching these things in policy planning, and then we try to get a big-picture view and then we bring the bureau people in, the experts in, and help us start developing, now, how do you execute something like this? How do you implement it?

So for those of you that have participated in these early efforts, thank you. I feel quite good about the one -- the pieces that have been completed and are in execution, I feel good about those. I can tell you the White House feels good about it. The National Security Council really values the work that we provide in the interagency process. And I would share with you I hear that from them all the time, that the stuff that comes over from the State Department, we've done our homework. It's a complete piece of work, it's useful, we can use it, and that's not always the case from all of the other agencies. So thank you for the efforts you're putting into that in that regard.

So let me turn now quickly to the last thing I wanted to talk about, which is the future and where we're going. And I alluded to this a little bit when I was commenting about the post-Cold War era. And during the Cold War – and I've had this conversation with some of you in this room before in our interactions – in many respects the Cold War was a lot easier. Things were pretty clear, the Soviet Union had a lot of things contained, and I had a conversation with Secretary-General Guterres at the UN. He described it as during the Cold War, we froze history. History just stopped in its tracks because so many of the dynamics that existed for centuries were contained. They were contained with heavy authoritarianism. And when the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union broke up, we took all of that off and history regained its march. And the world got a whole lot more complicated. And I think that's what we see. It has become much more complicated in terms of old conflicts have renewed themselves because they're not contained now. So that's the world as it is and that's the world we have to engage with.

And so I'm going to – I'm saying this as a preface to as we get into thinking about how we should deliver on mission is to be thinking about how the way we have been delivering was in many ways shaped and as a residual of the Cold War era. And in many respects, we've not yet transitioned ourselves to this new reality either. And I don't say that just about the State Department, I say that about institutions globally. In fact, this is the – this – I had this same conversation with Secretary Guterres about the United Nations, that there are many institutions -- and you can see when we have our conversations with NATO, another example, but there are many institutions around the world that were created during a different era. And so they were set up to deal with certain conditions and their processes and their organizations were set up, and as things have changed, we've not really fully adapted those. It's not that we've not recognized, but we've not fully adapted how we deliver on mission.

So one of the things, as we get into this opportunity to look at how we get our work done, is to think about the world as it is today and to leave behind – we've been – well, we do it this way because we've been doing it this way for the last 30 years or 40 years or 50 years, because all of that was created in a different environment. And so I think – I guess what I'm inviting all of you to do is to approach this effort that we're going to undertake with no constraints to your thinking – with none.

One of the great honors for me serving in this department, the Department of State, and all of you know, the Department of State, first cabinet created and chartered under the Constitution. Secretary of State, first cabinet position chartered and created under the Constitution. So we are part of a living history and we're going to get to carve our little piece of it, our increment, in that clock of time. We're going to carve our piece into that history.

And I think the question is how we will do that and how effectively we will do that. And history is moving around us as we just spoke. And how do we adapt to that? And so I want to ask all of you to be very free in your thinking. So the process going forward, as you know we've just kicked off this listening exercise and I really encourage all of you to please go online and participate in the survey online. This is vital to how we understand where we want to go and I think we have about 300 individuals that we've selected to sit down face-to-face and do some interviews so we have a more fulsome understanding.

We want to collect all of these – all this input and your thoughts and ideas, both here and at USAID, and that is going to guide how we approach both our organizational structure, but more importantly, our work process design: How do we actually deliver on mission? That's the real key. How do you deliver on mission?

And really, the way I have found these things to be the most successful is I understand how to deliver on mission first, I understand how the work processes work, and then I'll put the boxes around it to make all that work. Most people like to start with the boxes and then try to design it. I'm – I do it the other way around. How do we get the work done? We'll then put the organization structure in place to support that. So we need a lot of creative thinking. We need to hear from you. This is going to inform how this turns out. I want to emphasize to you we have no preconceived notions on the outcome. I didn't come with a solution in a box when I showed up. I came with a commitment to look at it and see if we can't improve it.

And I know change like this is really stressful for a lot of people. There's nothing easy about it, and I don't want to diminish in any way the challenges I know this presents for individuals, it presents to families, it presents to organizations. I'm very well aware of all of that. All I can offer you on the other side of that equation is an opportunity to shape the future way in which we will deliver on mission, and I can almost promise you – because I have never been through one of these exercises where it wasn't true – that I can promise you that when this is all done, you're going to have a much more satisfying, fulfilling career, because you're going to feel better about what you're doing because of the impact of what you are doing. You will know exactly how what you do every day contributes to our delivery on mission, and that is when I find people are most satisfied with their professional careers. And you're going to have clear line of sight about what do you want for yourself in the future.

So this is a – it's a big undertaking. This is a big department, between this and USAID, and we are including all of our missions, all of our embassies, all of our consular offices, because we all are part of how we deliver on mission. So we want to look at it in its entirety as to how we do that. So I appreciate your participating openly in this listening exercise, but importantly, I want to condition you to be ready to participate in the next phase, because that's when it'll become more challenging. But we're all on this boat, on this voyage -- I'm not going to call it a cruise; it's not – may not be that much fun. But we're on all this ship, on this voyage together. And so we're going to get on the ship and we're going to take this voyage, and when we get there, we're all going to get off the ship at wherever we arrive. But we're all going to get on and we're going to get off together. We don't intend to leave anybody out.

So I appreciate your participation. I hope you will approach this with a level of excitement as to what it may hold for this State Department first and then for you as an individual and what it means for you. So we're asking all of you to do that.

Let me lastly say that I do appreciate all of the work that you do. Believe it or not, I do read all these memos that come to me from -- all the way from missions to the various bureaus. I appreciate those of you that get them on one page, because I'm not a fast reader. But they're extraordinarily helpful to me, and so keep sending me insights as to what you're doing, how you're doing it, and in particular the perspective on how we got to where we are. It is very valuable to me.

I had the opportunity to address a group of young people yesterday -- about 700 middle school, high school people – that were here participating in the model UN conference. We were hosting it here at the State Department. One of the – there's a few fun things you get to do in this job, and talking to young people is one of them. So I had a Q&A time, and a young lady – I think she was in middle school – asked a question. She said, "What inspires you as Secretary of State when you come to work every day?" And I told her it's quite easy. I said the men and women of the State Department inspire me, my colleagues – their professionalism, their commitment, their patriotism. And I said, then our partners over at the Department of Defense, the men and women in uniform, because it's really the State Department and the Defense Department that deliver our national security. I'm inspired by you, and I thank you for that, and I'm honored to serve alongside of you.

We'll be talking again. Thank you.

Trump, Donald. 9/11 Victims Compensation Bill H.R. 1327 Signing. Delivered July 29, 2019.

Well, thank you very much, everybody. Please, sit down. Very important day. And we're gathered this morning at the White House to honor our solemn duty to America's best, bravest, and finest, who I know so well. In a few moments, I will sign a bipartisan bill to fully reauthorize the 9/11 Victims Compensation Fund. So, the 9/11 Victims Compensation Fund is something you've all worked on very hard, and the day has come.

Today, we come together as one nation to support our September 11th heroes, to care for their families, and to renew our eternal vow: Never, Ever Forget.

Before I go further, this morning we express our deepest sadness and sorrow for the families who lost a precious loved one in the horrific shooting last night in Gilroy, California. While families were spending time together at a local festival, a wicked murderer opened fire and killed three innocent citizens, including a young child. We grieve for their families and we ask that God will comfort them with his overflowing mercy and grace. We're praying for those who are recovering right now in the hospital. Some very, very serious injuries.

We thank the brave members of law enforcement – they never let us down – who swiftly killed the shooter. We reaffirm our national will to answer violence with the courage, determination, and resolve of one American family. We will continue to work together as communities and as citizens to stop evil, prevent violence, and protect the safety of all Americans.

We're joined for today's ceremony by our wonderful Vice President, Mike Pence. Thank you, Mike, very much. Thank you. Along with many distinguished guests.

I want to begin by recognizing a leader many of you know very well. On September 11th, he declared, "The city of New York and the United States of America is much stronger than any group of barbaric terrorists...our strength and our willingness to defend ourselves will ultimately prevail." And he was right. A great mayor of the city of New York – our greatest mayor, in my opinion. Now, what do I know? Rudy Giuliani. Stand up, Rudy. Great job, Rudy. Great job. Rudy has got a lot of guts.

Thanks also to Deputy Attorney General Jeffrey Rosen for being here. Thank you, Jeff. Thank you very much. Along with Senator Deb Fischer and Representatives Michael Burgess, Chris Collins, Brian Fitzpatrick, Peter King, John Joyce, Mark Meadows, and Dan Meuser. Please stand up, fellas. Please. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you, Peter.

In the wake of the September 11th attacks, courageous Americans raced into smoke, fire, and debris in lower Manhattan, the Pentagon, and a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. The whole world witnessed the might and resilience of our nation in the extraordinary men and women of the New York Fire Department and the New York Police Department, selfless patriots of unmatched character and devotion. I grew up with them so I can tell you that's absolutely true. It's always nice to really know your subject. I know that subject. These are great people.

We also commemorate the heroes of the Port Authority Police. And I want to thank you all for being here. Tremendous people. The first responders from across the country rushed to New York and worked endless days and sleepless nights. They fought to rescue every person trapped in the rubble, and then searched for months to find the remains of the fallen.

The love and loyalty of our 9/11 responders knew no bounds. Today, we are deeply honored to be in the presence of more than 60 of these exceptional heroes. They answered terror with the emotional strength of true American warriors. Would every 9/11 responder please stand up? Please, all you first responders. Wow. Great. Thank you. Thank you, fellas. Great-looking group of people you are. Great-looking group of people. Thank you very much. You inspire all of humanity, and you know that.

We're also greatly moved to have with us families of our fallen heroes. Our nation owes each of you a profound debt that no words or deeds will ever repay. But we can and we will keep our nation's promise to you.

In a few moments, I will sign the 9/11 Victims Compensation Fund. This law makes permanent the financial support for families who lost precious loved ones as a result of September 11th attacks. It also provides pensions for those who are suffering from cancer and other illnesses stemming from the toxic debris they were exposed to in the aftermath of the attacks. Many of those affected were firefighters, police officers, and other first responders. And I was down there also, but I'm not considering myself a first responder. But I was down there. I spent a lot of time down there with you.

Since September 11th, we have lost more than 2,000 first responders and survivors to 9/11-related cancers and illnesses. Currently, thousands of men and women are battling cancer and other illnesses due to 9/11. We pledge to stand by the families of those affected, today and every day. We will stand with you.

I want to thank lawmakers in both parties for working with common purpose to pass this vital and critical legislation.

Here with us for this signing ceremony are the three families whose loved ones are memorialized in the title of this bill.

New York Police Department Detective James Zadroga spent more than 450 hours serving at Ground Zero. In 2006, James died from a lung disease. To his father Joseph, and his daughter Tyler Ann, who join us: Detective Zadroga's heroism will uplift our nation forever. He won't be forgotten. We will always remember what he did for us. Please stand up. Please. Please. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Also present today is the family of East Meadow Volunteer Firefighter Ray Pfeifer. I know East Meadow very well. Great place. Great people. For eight months, Ray worked constantly at Ground Zero. In 2017, at the age of 59, he died from cancer. Here with us today is Ray's wife Caryn, his daughter Taylor, and his son Terence, now a New York City firefighter. Please, stand up. Good. Very good. Thank you. And I know Ray must be watching over you, looking down right now from heaven, on this beautiful Rose Garden. Very, very proud of you. Thank you. Thank you very much.

The third namesake of the bill is New York City Detective Luis Alvarez. Last month, his powerful testimony in Congress touched the heart of our nation. A few days later, he passed from this life into eternity. We are privileged to have with us Detective Alvarez's brother Philip and his wife Alaine, and his sons Tyler and Ben. Please, stand. Please. Please. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

I want each of you to know that America is holding you in the arms of its wonderful, wonderful heart. And we're all grieving by your side. Our whole nation prays and pays tribute to the incredible life and legacy of Detective Alvarez – how hard he worked and how much he suffered. And we really want to thank him. He was really something. People understood it very well. It's really great. Thank you.

We have an obligation, and it's a sacred obligation, to the families and first responders of 9/11.

Here with us today is Chief John Joyce, former fire chief of the Midtown Manhattan firehouse. On September 11th, 15 of his men raced into the ashes of hell and gave their lives. To this day, Chief Joyce still mentors many of their 28 children.

Chief Joyce spent seven months working at Ground Zero. In 2011, he was diagnosed with cancer. He has also endured other severe 9/11-related illnesses. But the Chief is a fighter. He is definitely a fighter. As he says, because of this bill, he does not have to fear for the families of his firehouse whose loved ones made the ultimate sacrifice. Chief Joyce, you have our everlasting gratitude. Please, Chief. Thank you. Good. Thank you, Chief. Thank you for being here. And say hello to everybody.

To every 9/11 hero, you poured out your heart, your sweat, your soul, and everything you had for your country. You ran toward the wreckage, into a ball of flames, like, frankly, nobody in this country had ever seen. You searched for survivors. You went back day after day and night after night to save lives and return the fallen to their families, to rebuild and recover, and to show the entire world that nothing will ever break America's spirit.

Over the last two decades, you have endured hardship with amazing grace and incredible grit. Through it all, you care and you work, and you love, and you will always remember all of those great families. You lift up our communities and you remind us all what it means to stand united as "one nation under God."

For your entire lives, you have gone far beyond your duty to us, and today we strive to fulfill our sacred duty to you.

We love you. We honor you. And we thank you. God bless you all. Thank you. Thank you.

Now I'm going to sign this bill into law. And I don't know if the stage will hold it, but if it doesn't, we're not falling very far. But I'd like to ask the families and I'd also like to ask the first responders to come up, and we'll give – we'll give this stage a shot. Let's see how well built. Made in America. Let's see how well built it is. Okay? Come on up.

[The bill is signed.]

Trump, Donald. Address to the Nation on Immigration Plan Compromise to End the Government Shutdown. Delivered January 19, 2019.

Just a short time ago, I had the honor of presiding over the swearing-in of five new, great American citizens. It was a beautiful ceremony and a moving reminder of our nation's proud history of welcoming legal immigrants from all over the world into our national family. I told them that the beauty and majesty of citizenship is that it draws no distinctions of race or class or faith or gender or background.

All Americans, whether first generation or tenth generation, are bound together in love and loyalty, friendship and affection. We are all equal. We are one team and one people, proudly saluting one great American flag. We believe in a safe and lawful system of immigration, one that upholds our laws, our traditions, and our most cherished values.

Unfortunately, our immigration system has been badly broken for a very long time. Over the decades, many Presidents and many lawmakers have come and gone, and no real progress has been made on immigration. We are now living with the consequences – and they are tragic – brought about by decades of political stalemate, partisan gridlock, and national neglect. There is a humanitarian and security crisis on our southern border that requires urgent action.

Thousands of children are being exploited by ruthless "coyotes" and vicious cartels and gangs.

One in three women is sexually assaulted on the dangerous journey north. In fact, many loving mothers give their young daughters birth control pills for the long journey up to the United States because they know they may be raped, or sexually accosted, or assaulted.

Nearly 50 migrants a day are being referred for urgent medical care.

Vast quantities of lethal narcotics are flooding through our border and into our communities – including meth, cocaine, heroin, and fentanyl. Drugs kill 78,000 Americans a year and cost our society in excess of 700 billion dollars. Heroin alone kills 300 Americans a week, 90 percent of which comes across our southern border. We can stop heroin.

Illegal immigration reduces wages and strains public services.

The lack of border control provides a gateway – and a very wide and open gateway – for criminals and gang members to enter the United States – including the criminal aliens who murdered a brave California police officer only a day after Christmas.

I've gotten to know and love Angel moms, dads, and family who lost loved ones to people illegally in our country. I want this to end. It's got to end now. These are not talking points. These are the heartbreaking realities that are hurting innocent, precious human beings every single day on both sides of the border.

As a candidate for President, I promised I would fix this crisis, and I intend to keep that promise one way or the other. Our immigration system should be the subject of pride, not a source of shame, as it is all over the world. Our immigration system should be the envy of the world, not a symbol of disunity and dysfunction.

The good news is, these problems can all be solved but only if we have the political courage to do what is just and what is right. Both sides in Washington must simply come together, listen to each other, put down their armor, build trust, reach across the aisle, and find solutions. It is time to reclaim our future from the extreme voices who fear compromise and demand open borders, which means drugs pouring in, human trafficking, and a lot of crime.

That is why I am here today: to break the logjam and provide Congress with a path forward to end the government shutdown and solve the crisis on the southern border. If we are successful in this effort, we will then have the best chance in a very long time at real, bipartisan immigration reform. And it won't stop here. It will keep going until we do it all.

The proposal I will outline today is based on – first and foremost – on input from our border agents and homeland security professionals. And professionals they are. They know what they’re doing. It is a compassionate response to the ongoing tragedy on our southern border.

In recent weeks, we have met with large numbers of Democrat lawmakers to hear their ideas and suggestions. By incorporating the priorities of rank-and-file Democrats in our plan, we hope they will offer their enthusiastic support. And I think many will. This is a commonsense compromise both parties should embrace. The radical left can never control our borders. I will never let it happen. Walls are not immoral. In fact, they are the opposite of immoral because they will save many lives and stop drugs from pouring into our country.

Our plan includes the following: 800 million dollars in urgent humanitarian assistance; 805 million dollars for drug detection technology to help secure our ports of entry; an additional 2,750 border agents and law enforcement professionals; 75 new immigration judge teams to reduce the court backlog of, believe it or not, almost 900,000 cases. However, the whole concept of having lengthy trials for anyone who sets one foot in our country unlawfully must be changed by Congress. It is unsustainable. It is ridiculous. Few places in the world would even consider such an impossible nightmare.

Our plan includes critical measures to protect migrant children from exploitation and abuse. This includes a new system to allow Central American minors to apply for asylum in their home countries, and reform to promote family reunification for unaccompanied children, thousands of whom wind up on our border doorstep.

To physically secure our border, the plan includes 5.7 billion dollars for a strategic deployment of physical barriers, or a wall. This is not a 2,000-mile concrete structure from sea to sea. These are steel barriers in high-priority locations. Much of the border is already protected by natural barriers such as mountains and water. We already have many miles of barrier – including 115 miles that we are currently building or under contract. It will be done quickly. Our request will add another 230 miles this year in the areas our border agents most urgently need. It will have an unbelievable impact.

If we build a powerful and fully designed see-through steel barrier on our southern border, the crime rate and drug problem in our country would be quickly and greatly reduced. Some say it could be cut in half – because these criminals, drug smugglers, gangs, and traffickers do not stop at our border; they permeate throughout our country and they end up in some places where you’d least expect them. They go all over our country. A steel barrier will help us stop illegal immigration while safely directing commerce to our lawful ports of entry.

Many of these security ideas have been proposed by Democrats themselves, and all of them have been supported by Democrats in the past, including a physical barrier, wall, or fence.

Furthermore, in order to build the trust and goodwill necessary to begin real immigration reform, there are two more elements to my plan.

Number one is three years of legislative relief for 700,000 DACA recipients brought here unlawfully by their parents at a young age many years ago. This extension will give them access to work permits, Social Security numbers, and protection from deportation, most importantly.

Secondly, our proposal provides a three-year extension of Temporary Protected Status (or TPS). This means that 300,000 immigrants whose protected status is facing expiration will now have three more years of certainty so that Congress can work on a larger immigration deal, which everybody wants – Republicans and Democrats. And our farmers and vineyards won’t be affected because lawful and regulated entry into our country will be easy and consistent.

That is our plan: border security, DACA, TPS, and many other things. Straightforward, fair, reasonable, and common sense, with lots of compromise. Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell has pledged to bring this bill to a vote this week in the United States Senate.

Our proposal is not intended to solve all of our immigration challenges. This plan solves the immediate crisis – and it is a horrible crisis. It is a humanitarian crisis like we rarely see in our country. And it provides humanitarian relief, delivers real border security, and immediately reopens our federal government.

If we are successful in this effort, then we can start the border [broader] project of remaking our immigration system for the 21st century. Once the government is open and we have made a down payment on border security, and immigration reform starts to happen, I plan to convene weekly bipartisan meetings at the White House so we can do a finished product, a great product – a product that we can all be proud of, having to do with that elusive immigration problem.

Whatever we do, I can promise you this: I will never forget that my first duty, and ultimate loyalty, is to you, the American people. Any reforms we make to our immigration system will be designed to improve your lives, make your communities safer, and make our nation more prosperous and secure for generations to come.

Thank you and God bless America. Thank you.

Trump, Donald. Paris Climate Accord Address. Delivered June 1, 2017.

Thank you very much. Thank you. I would like to begin by addressing the terrorist attack in Manila. We’re closely monitoring the situation, and I will continue to give updates [if] anything happens during this period of time. But it is really very sad as to what’s going on throughout the world with terror. Our thoughts and our prayers are with all of those affected.

Before we discuss the Paris Accord, I'd like to begin with an update on our tremendous – absolutely tremendous – economic progress since Election Day on November 8th. The economy is starting to come back, and very, very rapidly. We've added \$3.3 trillion in stock market value to our economy, and more than a million private sector jobs.

I have just returned from a trip overseas where we concluded nearly \$350 billion of military and economic development for the United States, creating hundreds of thousands of jobs. It was a very, very successful trip, believe me. Thank you. Thank you.

In my meetings at the G7, we have taken historic steps to demand fair and reciprocal trade that gives Americans a level playing field against other nations. We're also working very hard for peace in the Middle East, and perhaps even peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Our attacks on terrorism are greatly stepped up – and you see that, you see it all over – from the previous Administration, including getting many other countries to make major contributions to the fight against terror. Big, big contributions are being made by countries that weren't doing so much in the form of contribution.

One by one, we are keeping the promises I made to the American people during my campaign for President – whether it's cutting job-killing regulations; appointing and confirming a tremendous Supreme Court justice; putting in place tough new ethics rules; achieving a record reduction in illegal immigration on our southern border; or bringing jobs, plants, and factories back into the United States at numbers which no one until this point thought even possible. And believe me, we've just begun. The fruits of our labor will be seen very shortly even more so.

On these issues and so many more, we're following through on our commitments. And I don't want anything to get in our way. I am fighting every day for the great people of this country. Therefore, in order to fulfill my solemn duty to protect America and its citizens, the United States will withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord – thank you, thank you – but begin negotiations to reenter either the Paris Accord or a really entirely new transaction on terms that are fair to the United States, its businesses, its workers, its people, its taxpayers. So we're getting out. But we will start to negotiate, and we will see if we can make a deal that's fair. And if we can, that's great. And if we can't, that's fine.

As President, I can put no other consideration before the wellbeing of American citizens. The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries, leaving American workers – who I love – and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories, and vastly diminished economic production.

Thus, as of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country. This includes ending the implementation of the nationally determined contribution and, very importantly, the Green Climate Fund which is costing the United States a vast fortune.

Compliance with the terms of the Paris Accord and the onerous energy restrictions it has placed on the United States could cost America as much as 2.7 million lost jobs by 2025 according to the National Economic Research Associates. This includes 440,000 fewer manufacturing jobs – not what we need – believe me, this is not what we need – including automobile jobs, and the further decimation of vital American industries on which countless communities rely. They rely for so much, and we would be giving them so little.

According to this same study, by 2040, compliance with the commitments put into place by the previous Administration would cut production for the following sectors: paper down 12 percent; cement down 23 percent; iron and steel down 38 percent; coal – and I happen to love the coal miners – down 86 percent; natural gas down 31 percent. The cost to the economy at this time would be close to \$3 trillion in lost GDP and 6.5 million industrial jobs, while households would have \$7,000 less income and, in many cases, much worse than that.

Not only does this deal subject our citizens to harsh economic restrictions, it fails to live up to our environmental ideals. As someone who cares deeply about the environment, which I do, I cannot in good conscience support a deal that punishes the United States – which is what it does – the world's leader in environmental protection, while imposing no meaningful obligations on the world's leading polluters.

For example, under the agreement, China will be able to increase these emissions by a staggering number of years – 13. They can do whatever they want for 13 years. Not us. India makes its participation contingent on receiving billions and billions and billions of dollars in foreign aid from developed countries. There are many other examples. But the bottom line is that the Paris Accord is very unfair, at the highest level, to the United States.

Further, while the current agreement effectively blocks the development of clean coal in America – which it does, and the mines are starting to open up. We're having a big opening in two weeks. Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, so many places. A big opening of a brand-new mine. It's unheard of. For many, many years, that hasn't happened. They asked me if I'd go. I'm going to try.

China will be allowed to build hundreds of additional coal plants. So we can't build the plants, but they can, according to this agreement. India will be allowed to double its coal production by 2020. Think of it: India can double their coal production. We're supposed to get rid of ours. Even Europe is allowed to continue construction of coal plants.

In short, the agreement doesn't eliminate coal jobs, it just transfers those jobs out of America and the United States, and ships them to foreign countries.

This agreement is less about the climate and more about other countries gaining a financial advantage over the United States. The rest of the world applauded when we signed the Paris Agreement – they went wild; they were so happy – for the simple

reason that it put our country, the United States of America, which we all love, at a very, very big economic disadvantage. A cynic would say the obvious reason for economic competitors and their wish to see us remain in the agreement is so that we continue to suffer this self-inflicted major economic wound. We would find it very hard to compete with other countries from other parts of the world.

We have among the most abundant energy reserves on the planet, sufficient to lift millions of America's poorest workers out of poverty. Yet, under this agreement, we are effectively putting these reserves under lock and key, taking away the great wealth of our nation – it's great wealth, it's phenomenal wealth; not so long ago, we had no idea we had such wealth – and leaving millions and millions of families trapped in poverty and joblessness.

The agreement is a massive redistribution of United States wealth to other countries. At 1 percent growth, renewable sources of energy can meet some of our domestic demand, but at 3 or 4 percent growth, which I expect, we need all forms of available American energy, or our country will be at grave risk of brownouts and blackouts, our businesses will come to a halt in many cases, and the American family will suffer the consequences in the form of lost jobs and a very diminished quality of life.

Even if the Paris Agreement were implemented in full, with total compliance from all nations, it is estimated it would only produce a two-tenths of one degree – think of that; this much – Celsius reduction in global temperature by the year 2100. Tiny, tiny amount. In fact, 14 days of carbon emissions from China alone would wipe out the gains from America – and this is an incredible statistic – would totally wipe out the gains from America's expected reductions in the year 2030, after we have had to spend billions and billions of dollars, lost jobs, closed factories, and suffered much higher energy costs for our businesses and for our homes.

As the Wall Street Journal wrote this morning: "The reality is that withdrawing is in America's economic interest and won't matter much to the climate." The United States, under the Trump Administration, will continue to be the cleanest and most environmentally friendly country on Earth. We'll be the cleanest. We're going to have the cleanest air. We're going to have the cleanest water. We will be environmentally friendly, but we're not going to put our businesses out of work and we're not going to lose our jobs. We're going to grow; we're going to grow rapidly.

And I think you just read – it just came out minutes ago, the small business report – small businesses as of just now are booming, hiring people. One of the best reports they've seen in many years.

I'm willing to immediately work with Democratic leaders to either negotiate our way back into Paris, under the terms that are fair to the United States and its workers, or to negotiate a new deal that protects our country and its taxpayers.

So if the obstructionists want to get together with me, let's make them non-obstructionists. We will all sit down, and we will get back into the deal. And we'll make it good, and we won't be closing up our factories, and we won't be losing our jobs. And we'll sit down with the Democrats and all of the people that represent either the Paris Accord or something that we can do that's much better than the Paris Accord. And I think the people of our country will be thrilled, and I think then the people of the world will be thrilled. But until we do that, we're out of the agreement.

I will work to ensure that America remains the world's leader on environmental issues, but under a framework that is fair and where the burdens and responsibilities are equally shared among the many nations all around the world.

No responsible leader can put the workers – and the people – of their country at this debilitating and tremendous disadvantage. The fact that the Paris deal hamstring the United States, while empowering some of the world's top polluting countries, should dispel any doubt as to the real reason why foreign lobbyists wish to keep our magnificent country tied up and bound down by this agreement: It's to give their country an economic edge over the United States. That's not going to happen while I'm President. I'm sorry.

My job as President is to do everything within my power to give America a level playing field and to create the economic, regulatory and tax structures that make America the most prosperous and productive country on Earth, and with the highest standard of living and the highest standard of environmental protection.

Our tax bill is moving along in Congress, and I believe it's doing very well. I think a lot of people will be very pleasantly surprised. The Republicans are working very, very hard. We'd love to have support from the Democrats, but we may have to go it alone. But it's going very well.

The Paris Agreement handicaps the United States economy in order to win praise from the very foreign capitals and global activists that have long sought to gain wealth at our country's expense. They don't put America first. I do, and I always will.

The same nations asking us to stay in the agreement are the countries that have collectively cost America trillions of dollars through tough trade practices and, in many cases, lax contributions to our critical military alliance. You see what's happening. It's pretty obvious to those that want to keep an open mind.

At what point does America get demeaned? At what point do they start laughing at us as a country? We want fair treatment for its citizens, and we want fair treatment for our taxpayers. We don't want other leaders and other countries laughing at us anymore. And they won't be. They won't be.

I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris. I promised I would exit or renegotiate any deal which fails to serve America's interests. Many trade deals will soon be under renegotiation. Very rarely do we have a deal that works for this country, but they'll soon be under renegotiation. The process has begun from day one. But now we're down to business. Beyond the severe energy restrictions inflicted by the Paris Accord, it includes yet another scheme to redistribute wealth out of the United States through the so-called Green Climate Fund – nice name – which calls for developed countries to send

\$100 billion to developing countries all on top of America's existing and massive foreign aid payments. So we're going to be paying billions and billions and billions of dollars, and we're already way ahead of anybody else. Many of the other countries haven't spent anything, and many of them will never pay one dime.

The Green Fund would likely obligate the United States to commit potentially tens of billions of dollars of which the United States has already handed over \$1 billion – nobody else is even close; most of them haven't even paid anything – including funds raided out of America's budget for the war against terrorism. That's where they came. Believe me, they didn't come from me. They came just before I came into office. Not good. And not good the way they took the money.

In 2015, the United Nation's departing top climate officials reportedly described the \$100 billion per year as "peanuts," and stated that "the \$100 billion is the tail that wags the dog." In 2015, the Green Climate Fund's executive director reportedly stated that estimated funding needed would increase to \$450 billion per year after 2020. And nobody even knows where the money is going to. Nobody has been able to say, where is it going to?

Of course, the world's top polluters have no affirmative obligations under the Green Fund, which we terminated. America is \$20 trillion in debt. Cash-strapped cities cannot hire enough police officers or fix vital infrastructure. Millions of our citizens are out of work. And yet, under the Paris Accord, billions of dollars that ought to be invested right here in America will be sent to the very countries that have taken our factories and our jobs away from us. So think of that.

There are serious legal and constitutional issues as well. Foreign leaders in Europe, Asia, and across the world should not have more to say with respect to the U.S. economy than our own citizens and their elected representatives. Thus, our withdrawal from the agreement represents a reassertion of America's sovereignty. Our Constitution is unique among all the nations of the world, and it is my highest obligation and greatest honor to protect it. And I will.

Staying in the agreement could also pose serious obstacles for the United States as we begin the process of unlocking the restrictions on America's abundant energy reserves, which we have started very strongly. It would once have been unthinkable that an international agreement could prevent the United States from conducting its own domestic economic affairs, but this is the new reality we face if we do not leave the agreement or if we do not negotiate a far better deal.

The risks grow as historically these agreements only tend to become more and more ambitious over time. In other words, the Paris framework is a starting point – as bad as it is – not an end point. And exiting the agreement protects the United States from future intrusions on the United States' sovereignty and massive future legal liability. Believe me, we have massive legal liability if we stay in.

As President, I have one obligation, and that obligation is to the American people. The Paris Accord would undermine our economy, hamstring our workers, weaken our sovereignty, impose unacceptable legal risks, and put us at a permanent disadvantage to the other countries of the world. It is time to exit the Paris Accord and time to pursue a new deal that protects the environment, our companies, our citizens, and our country.

It is time to put Youngstown, Ohio, Detroit, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania – along with many, many other locations within our great country – before Paris, France. It is time to make America great again.

Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Weiner, Jeff. *Be Compassionate.* Commencement address at the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania Delivered May 13, 2018.

Thank you Dean Garrett, esteemed faculty, family, friends, and of course the Wharton undergraduate class of 2018. What an honor to be here. I also want to acknowledge all the parents in the audience today and give a special shout out to the moms on Mother's Day. They not only sacrificed so much for you to be here, they also gave up breakfast in bed this morning.

Students, today is a big day. That's right. Today is the day you finally...get to update your LinkedIn profile. Congratulations! By virtue of my role at LinkedIn, I get the chance to speak with students and interns starting their careers, just like you. One of the questions I'm most frequently asked is what advice would I give my 22-year-old self?

The answer is two words. More cheesesteaks. After you graduate from Wharton, you'll find that outside of Philly they rarely slice the meat thinly enough or melt the cheese the right way. Enjoy it while it lasts people.

In all seriousness, the advice I would give my 22-year old self is to be compassionate.

I wasn't very compassionate when I was your age. As a matter of fact, I wasn't particularly compassionate until the latter stage of my career. And if it weren't for learning the meaning and value of compassion, it's likely I wouldn't be on this stage today.

So that's what I'd like to talk to you about. The importance of being compassionate, and how it can change your career path, your company, and your life.

When I was 30 years old, I came across a book called *The Art of Happiness*. It's about the teachings of the Dalai Lama. That's how I first learned the difference between empathy and compassion. Empathy is feeling what another living thing feels. Compassion is putting yourself in the shoes of another person and seeing the world through their lens for the sake of alleviating their suffering.

Though most people in western society typically use the two words interchangeably, there's a fundamental difference. The Dalai Lama explains it this way: Picture yourself walking along a mountainous trail. You come across a person being crushed by a boulder on their chest. The empathetic response would be to feel the same sense of crushing suffocation, thus rendering you helpless. The compassionate response would be to recognize that that person is in pain and doing everything within your power to remove the boulder and alleviate their suffering.

Put another way, compassion is empathy plus action.

That was a pretty profound realization for me, so much so that that book has remained a fixture on my nightstand ever since. It was my introduction to the meaning of compassion. However, it wouldn't be until several years later that I had the opportunity to put it into practice.

In 2001, with the encouragement of my then boss and mentor, Terry Semel, I moved to Silicon Valley and became an executive at Yahoo. A journalist once described my management style at Yahoo as "wielding his fierce intelligence as a blunt instrument."

At least the first part was flattering.

Though I wasn't a yeller, I was pretty intense. If I saw something in a presentation that didn't make sense, I could barrage the team with questions. I'd listen with the intent to reply, and not seek to understand. I expected other people to do things the way I did and grew frustrated when they didn't. Over time, I realized how unproductive this approach was. Rather than inspire and lift people up, it was a good way to shut people down.

So I decided to change. I vowed that as long as I'd be responsible for managing other people, I would aspire to manage compassionately. That meant pausing, and being a spectator to my own thoughts, especially when getting emotional. It meant walking a mile in the other person's shoes; and understanding their hopes, their fears, their strengths and their weaknesses. And it meant doing everything within my power to set them up to be successful.

I've now been practicing this approach for well over a decade. And I can tell you with absolute conviction that managing compassionately is not just a better way to build a team, it's a better way to build a company. I'll give you three examples based on my experience at LinkedIn.

The first example is how Reid Hoffman transitioned me into the company. Reid is not only the visionary founder of LinkedIn, he's one of the most thoughtful people I know. In 2008, when I joined, we had agreed I'd start as interim president to preserve our options. The night before I began, I called Reid, and asked, "So how is this going to work? You still have the title CEO, I'm going to be interim president. Which decisions should I make and which decisions will you make?"

He said, "That's easy, it's your ball. You run with it."

I was like, "What?" He said, "Yeah. I just went through this with the previous CEO and want to avoid making the same mistakes."

But Reid went further than establishing clear lines of authority. For the first 10 or so weeks I was at LinkedIn, Reid was out of the office for at least eight of them. He scheduled conferences and travel because he understood that as the founder of the company, if he were still around, people would reflexively go to him for decisions, instead of me. So he removed himself from the situation altogether until I could build that connective tissue myself. Talk about managing compassionately.

I hope all of you meet someone equally invested in your success. It will make all the difference.

That's the first example. The second example is less a story than it is an observation.

The long-term value of a company is based on the speed and quality of its decision-making. It's hard to make better decisions, faster when people on the team lack trust in one another and are constantly questioning each other's motivations.

In an environment like that, you'll spend most of your time navigating corporate politics, rather than focusing on the task at hand. I've been there, and it's no fun. The flip side is developing a culture with a compassionate ethos. That's what our leadership team has tried to do at LinkedIn; create a culture where people take the time to understand the other person's perspective, and not assume nefarious intention; build trust; and align around a shared mission. After nearly ten years, I still celebrate the fact we can make important decisions in minutes or hours that some companies debate for months.

Create the right culture, and you create a competitive advantage.

The third example, is about how compassion has become essential in the realization of LinkedIn's vision to create economic opportunity for every member of the global workforce. Recently, we launched a product that allows members to apply to a job by asking someone in their network to provide a referral. Had you done a case study on the product, you likely would have said it had all the hallmarks of a winning strategy: It was differentiated, delivered on an essential consumer need, and moved the needle in terms of results. However, that evaluation would have been incomplete.

Shortly after launching, Meg Garlinghouse, our head of social impact, and someone deeply committed to our vision and values, asked what effect the new feature would have on the most underserved segments of our membership – people who didn't go to a four-year university, who don't have the right relationships, but who do have the skills to excel in the role. It was exactly the right question to ask.

Through working with organizations like YearUp and the Boys & Girls Club of the Peninsula, I've had the privilege to meet young adults who are in that position. They're intelligent, resilient, and committed to improving their lives and the lives of others. They have qualities forged by overcoming a lifetime of adversity that many of us couldn't begin to fathom. Having

hired people like that and watched them flourish, it's become clear they don't need handouts, they just need a hand; like all of us have needed at some point in our careers.

So we developed a Career Advice feature which lets people without experience or established networks get help from those privileged enough to have both. In just a few short months since launch, nearly one million mentors have volunteered on LinkedIn.

As the pace of innovation and technology continues to accelerate, it's more important than ever that we think through the unintended consequences of our actions, and not just remain fixated on maximizing shareholder value. As future business leaders, keep in mind, it's not just about what you're trying to accomplish, it's about how you're trying to accomplish it. We need to increasingly put ourselves in the shoes of those on the receiving end of new technologies – and those who might never benefit from them.

Everything I've discussed thus far is about compassion in the context of work. I'd now like to shift gears and talk about how essential it is to practice compassion at home.

A few years ago, I was walking to my car after a long day at the office and despite being exhausted, I was reflecting on how satisfying the day had been. However, on this particular night, the satisfaction would prove fleeting. As I opened my car door and started thinking about getting home to my wife and our two daughters, it hit me: For as hard as I worked to be compassionate at the office, I was not always as compassionate with my family.

By the time I got home on some nights, I'd be so spent that after putting the girls to bed, I had little left to give. So when my wife, who was also tired and had had a busy day, wanted to connect, or talk about important stuff, I would reflexively say it had been a long day, I was exhausted, and could we talk about it some other time. In other words, I was doing the exact opposite of being compassionate with the one person who mattered most.

My wife, Lisette, is the bedrock of our home and has built the foundation upon which my work exists. She's taught me the importance of love, and kindness, and gratitude. My team at Yahoo used to joke that there was a pre-Lisette and post-Lisette version of me. They strongly preferred the latter.

Suffice it to say, I couldn't do what I do without her.

I was making a far too common mistake: Taking the people we're closest to for granted by assuming they're the ones we don't need to make an effort with. Nothing could be further from the truth.

It's taken me a long time to realize what makes me happy: Simply put, it's looking forward to going to work in the morning, and looking forward to coming home at night. The only way I can do this is by practicing compassion in both facets of my life, and not taking anything or anyone for granted.

These are some of the most valuable lessons I've learned with regard to compassion. In some ways, they feel more relevant than ever.

One of the defining issues of our time will be socio-economic stratification, the growing divide between the haves and have-nots. It's already hovering at historic highs and threatens to get even worse as new technologies potentially displace millions of people from their jobs. When people lose access to economic opportunity, they become disenfranchised and that can have serious consequences on society.

As if that wasn't challenging enough, we're also facing the rise of tribalism. It's human nature to gravitate towards people that look and sound like we do. That sense of belonging helps keep us safe and feel protected. But there's a dark downside.

All these tribes spend too much time thinking about themselves, their own self-interests, and their own belief models. Technology facilitates the divide by making it easier than ever to connect to those who reinforce our own worldview. It's a vicious cycle: We don't spend enough time thinking about other tribes, which drives us even further apart.

But we can reverse these trends.

By breaking free of our own tribes, even if only for a moment, and seeing things through the lens of people unlike ourselves, we can begin to close the gaps, whether they be socio-economic, racial, gender, political or otherwise.

Class of 2018, you are graduating during a time when seemingly anything is possible.

Once the stuff of science fiction, AI is increasingly part of our daily lives. We're on the threshold of medical breakthroughs that could eliminate global disease. Some are attempting to colonize Mars, while others are seeking to eliminate our dependence on fossil fuels. And in true Wharton fashion, one alum is attempting to do both simultaneously.

Regardless of how you decide to change the world, remember, it's not just about the what, it's also about the how.

So I'd like to close by giving you the same advice I'd give my 22 year-old self:

Be compassionate.

We'll all be better off because of it.

Thank you.

Welch, John Francis (Jack). Annual Shareowners Meeting. Delivered April 25, 2001.

I'm Jack Welch, Chairman of the Board of GE. Here with me are Keith Sherin, Senior Vice President and GE's Chief Financial Officer and Ben Heineman, our Senior Vice President, General Counsel, and Secretary.

Once again, I'd like to welcome you all to our Atlanta meeting. Thanks for coming and thanks in particular to our Atlanta share owners for their hospitality. GE now has 4,300 employees in Atlanta, 1,500 of whom work for GE Power Systems, the largest single business unit in GE, which established its headquarters here in Atlanta in February of this year.

GE employees have already sunk their roots into the community and begun volunteer efforts. Five hundred of them participated in "Hands on Atlanta Day" recently and 150 participated in the Dr. Martin Luther King Service Summit in January.

Yesterday, Jeff Immelt and John Rice, CEO of our Power Systems business, visited Southside High School and met Dr. Bill Shepherd, its principal. In 1993 volunteers from the Atlanta chapter of Elfund – GE's global community service organization – began a partnership with Southside High. The partnership focused on raising the overall level of academic achievement by preparing students for SATs, mentoring, and tutoring. These efforts are working. The number of students scoring over 800 or better on the SATs has tripled and there's been a 32% increase in students from Southside going to college.

We've been visiting schools like Southside in other cities of GE for years and seen thousands going to college who never would have been able, because of GE mentoring and GE scholarships. We are so proud of our volunteers and the bright face of your company that they present to the community.

Moving from community service to business operations...

2000 was our best year ever. Revenues were up 16% to nearly \$130 billion. Net income was up 19% to \$12.7 billion. Earnings per share up 19%. And the company generated over \$15 billion in cash flow. Operating margin reached 19%, a level many of us would have described as impossible only five years ago.

This performance and the work of our volunteers both contributed to GE being named by *Fortune* magazine – for the fourth year in a row – the "Most Admired Corporation in America", and by *The Financial Times* as the "Most Admired Company in the World," also for the fourth consecutive year. Our performance has been rewarded, our stock outperformed the S&P in 2000 and also in the first four months of this year. Now that's the glass half-full look. Because the equity markets, as we all know, have been down significantly and while we outperform the S&P indexes on an absolute basis, GE is down modestly since last year.

However, those of you who've held our stock for five years, including up to now, have seen a 34% annual return in your investment. And those who have held GE since 1980 have seen a total compounded annual return of 23%.

I'll talk about our GE values later, but the current economy is clearly demonstrating one of them — the company's love of change. GE people always see change as an opportunity. This environment gives us a chance to demonstrate it. And we are. We'll deliver earnings growth at a time when many are delivering earnings warnings. Our first quarter results just two weeks ago demonstrated this with earnings up 15%. We're confident GE will have another record year in 2001.

Now, for the rest of this report, I'd like to provide a picture of this company as it begins its third century and tell you what 340,000 GE people around the world have created.

GE is, in a phrase, a new kind of Company, a Company with market-leading positions in businesses ranging from high technology manufacturing of power generation equipment, medical diagnostics, jet engines, plastics – to consumer products – broadcasting, lighting, and appliances – to 24 widely diverse financial services businesses. However, the truly unique aspect is the integration of these businesses in GE: their sharing with one another, learning from one another, their pursuit of common initiatives and their intense belief in common values.

It is this learning culture and these values that make GE so much more than the sum of its parts. This culture and the GE operating system it drives, lets us take an initiative – a big idea – plant it like a seed, emphasize it, and watch the people of GE flourish and make it spread rapidly across the Company.

Globalization, for example, our oldest initiative, began as a search for new markets for our products and services. That search quickly expanded to include finding the lowest cost, highest quality sources of finished products, components, and raw materials. Today the initiative is so much richer and is focused on talent, searching the world for intellectual capital, driven by the knowledge that the team that fields the best talent from any source wins.

Six Sigma is our second big initiative. Originally focused on reducing waste and elevating the quality of our products and processes within the company, it has delivered billions of dollars to GE's bottom line in savings. Today, Six Sigma has grown though, from an internally focused activity of five years ago to an outside focus, improving the productivity and efficiency of our customers' operations. Six Sigma has increased the intimacy between GE and its customer base and today we and our customers are entwined in what we call "At the Customer, For the Customer" Six Sigma projects. For example, Medical Systems completed more than a thousand of these projects, generating more than \$100 million in benefits for their customer hospitals and health providers last year. Aircraft Engines completed more than 1,200 "at the customer" projects in 2000, saving more than \$320 million for the airlines. Making customers more productive helps both them and us grow through this tough environment.

Today, though, Six Sigma has evolved to an even larger role in GE. Its rigorous process discipline and relentless customer focus has made it the perfect training ground, a perfect vehicle for the future leadership of GE. Our very best and brightest are moving into Six Sigma assignments and I'm confident when the Board picks the next CEO 20 years from now, the man or woman chosen will be someone with Six Sigma blood in his or her veins. Six Sigma has become the language of leadership in our Company, a big part of what we call the GE brand.

GE has evolved from a product company to a services company that also makes great products. Today, 70% of our revenue comes from services. Increasingly, product services. Twenty years ago only 15% of our revenues came from services. The Product Service initiative started out increasing the focus on traditional maintenance activities – things like turnaround times in engine shops or better delivery of spare parts across all our equipment businesses. The objective was improving the reliability of our products in our customer operations – the more traditional what we call “oil can and overalls” activity.

Today, product service is as high technology as anything we do. Many of the best and brightest of our engineers who traditionally gravitated to new product design, higher thrust engines, more efficient turbines, better diagnostic images have now joined this Company-wide drive to deliver high technology upgrades to GE’s enormous install base. Product Services, which used to be thought of as little more than wrench-turning, is today all about high tech and software products that allow our customers – the world’s hospitals, airlines, utilities, and railroads – to be more productive.

Our fourth initiative, Digitization, is our newest, only its third operational cycle through the GE operating system but already transforming the way we do business.

Like every other initiative, what started out as a little seed of an idea in this case – basically what the dot.coms were doing – Digitization today has expanded far beyond our original vision.

Like the Amazons of the world, we started out with what we call “e-Sell,” primarily distributing our products on the Internet. Moving our traditional customers to the Web for much more efficient transactions has been very successful. And in 2000 we sold \$8 billion in goods and services online, a number that’ll grow to \$20 billion this year, making this 123-year-old institution one of the biggest, if not the biggest, e-Business company in the world.

On what we call the “e-Buy” side, we followed the same path, adopting many of the dot.com ideas on auctions, having a global network of Six Sigma suppliers. The concept of reverse auctions was right in the GE sweet spot and we wasted no time in spreading the new technology across our businesses. We now run global auctions daily – \$6 billion worth last year, \$12 billion this year, generating over \$600 million in savings for the company in 2001.

But the biggest breakthrough of all was what we call “e-Make” and that didn’t come from the dot.coms. They had little infrastructure and few processes. e-Make came from learning what the Internet could do for internal processes and seeing the enormous advantage Digitization can give a big old company that actually makes things, particularly one with Six Sigma methodology already deeply entrenched in its veins. By digitizing our processes from customer service to travel and living, we’ll take over a billion dollars of cost out of our operations this year alone. Digitization will give us at least ten cents a share in 2001, from zero three years ago, demonstrating again the speed with which good ideas are embraced across GE.

Last year I told you I believed e-Business was neither “old economy” nor “new economy,” but simply new technology. I’m more sure of that today. If we needed confirmation that this technology was made for us, we got it. GE was named last year “e-Business of the Year” by *InternetWeek* magazine and awarded the same title last week by *WORTH* magazine.

Digitization is, in fact, a game changer for GE. And, with competition cutting back because of the economy, this is the time for GE to widen the digital gap, to further improve our competitive position. We will do that by increasing our spending on information technology by 10% to 15% this year despite the weak economy.

The exciting thing about these big thriving initiatives I’ve just described is that they are still in their relative infancy. The wonderful thing about the way GE people work in this culture of learning is that they will continually refresh and expand these initiatives and the new ones that someday will follow, always assuring you, our share owners, that the sum of this company will always amount to something much greater than its parts.

Now I’d like to move from these timely initiatives to our timeless values, values that bind us together and make this company work unlike any institution in the world.

The first of these is *integrity* and it will always be the first and most important. Integrity means always abiding by the law, both the letter and the spirit. But it’s not just about laws; it’s at the core of every relationship we have. With trust, born of integrity, employees can set stretch performance goals and believe us when we promise that falling short is not a punishable offense.

In our external dealings with our unions and governments, we are free to represent our position vigorously in a constructive fashion to agree or disagree on the issues, knowing in our souls that our integrity is never at issue.

A period of transition is a period of change and some of our values will be modified to adapt to what the future brings. One will not. Our commitment to integrity, which beyond doing everything right, means always doing the right thing.

Some of our other values I’ve alluded to already: The love of change for the opportunity it brings and understanding that nothing we do will contribute to our success unless it contributes to that of our customers. If GE’s destiny is to become the greatest company of the 21st century, we must be the world’s most customer focused company as well.

We can do none of this if we do not find, challenge, and develop the world’s best people. Doing so, developing great people, in the end is the true “core competency” of General Electric.

Our technology, our great businesses, our reach, our resources aren’t enough to make us the global best unless we always have the best people – people who are always stretching to become better. And this requires rigorous discipline in evaluating and total candor in dealing with everyone in the organization.

In every evaluation and reward system, we break our population down into three categories: the top 20%, the valuable high performance middle 70%, and the bottom 10%. GE leaders understand the necessity to encourage, inspire, and reward that

top 20%, to be sure that high performance 70% is always energized to improve and move upward. But they also have the determination to change out, always humanely, that bottom 10% and do it every single year. That's how real meritocracies are created and thrive.

For years we've been talking about something these winning people have, something we must help foster in all our people – the magic and indispensable ingredient of self-confidence. A Company that aspires to true greatness furnishes its people with big challenges which, when met, fill people with self-confidence that can only come from within and only from winning. You could see that confidence just a few weeks ago in Tiger Woods' face as he walked up the fairways near the end of the Masters, with his opponents, every one of them a great player, wilting around him. What a critical, powerful advantage to have when you compete.

A Company of people brimming with self-confidence also communicates with utter simplicity, energizing people with clear, exciting messages, and moving with speed and decisiveness to seize every opportunity.

Speed is so important and we are getting faster by the day. I'm confident future pundits will be writing articles describing how relatively slow and even plodding the GE of today is compared with the lightening pace of the GE of tomorrow. And that love of change and that desire to seize it is what makes this Company so vital, so dynamic, and so special and we'll never lose it.

GE's big and it's going to become a lot bigger. And it's led by people who understand that size in itself has no value whatsoever other than the ability it gives a company to take swing after swing on new products, ventures, acquisitions, knowing full well that some won't make it – some will fail but that doesn't matter because size and the resources that come with it allow us to step up and swing again and again.

Almost all of our shared values are inspiring, uplifting, positive. But one is not – our visceral hatred of bureaucracy stems from the evil and harm it wreaks on the spirit of a company, any institution, and its people, and its dilutive effect on every other value which we believe. Bureaucracy hates change, could care less about the customer, loves complexity, is afraid of speed and incapable of it, and inspires no one. This Company is committed to keeping itself as bureaucracy-free as any big institution that has ever existed.

The continuous and generally successful war we've waged on bureaucracy over the past two decades has allowed us to create what we call "boundaryless" behavior.

Boundaryless behavior is one of the small company characteristics we've always coveted. It means simply the breaking or ignoring of artificial walls like functions, rank, geography, race, sex, and any other barrier in the way of a headlong rush toward the best ideas. Boundaryless behavior only flourishes when self-confidence reins, as it does in the GE of today and will even more in the GE of tomorrow. Boundaryless behavior and informality go hand-in-hand. Informality in GE means so much more than calling people by their first names or the absence of managers' suits and ties or reserved parking spaces and other trappings of rank. Informality means that anyone anywhere in the company with a good idea, a new view, feels empowered – and, in fact, expected – to deliver it to anyone else and know it'll be listened to and valued. Regardless of the occasion, it's the best idea that wins and that makes all the difference in the way this company works.

This informality and the boundaryless behavior it produces has made GE a Learning Company – a high spirited, endlessly curious enterprise that roams the globe finding and nurturing the best people and cultivating in them an insatiable appetite to learn, to stretch, and to find that better idea, that better way every day.

In my case, the biggest idea I've been searching for for a decade is the name of a person who would succeed me as chairman of the Company.

I'm convinced more and more every day that the best idea I've had in the past 20 years was to choose with the enthusiastic concurrency of your directors Jeff Immelt as your next chairman and CEO.

[APPLAUSE]

I'm sure that Jeff and his terrific team will take GE to levels of growth and excellence that we can only dream of today. And I'm utterly convinced for this great Company, its best days lie ahead.

Thank you for your terrific support over the years.

Welch, John Francis (Jack). *GE and the Internet.* Presented at the General Electric Company 2000 Annual Meeting. Delivered April 26, 2000.

Once again I would like to welcome all of you to our Annual Meeting. Thanks for coming, and thanks in particular to our Richmond share owners for their gracious hospitality to our Board of Directors.

We've always been warmly received in the different GE cities we visit every year for this annual meeting, and one of the reasons is because of the things GE employees do in their hometowns all year round.

GE Financial Assurance, or GEFA as we call it, located here in Richmond and led by CEO Mike Fraizer, is the eleventh largest net income business in the Company. It is only five years old, yet in those five years GEFA employees, many of them new to GE, have warmly embraced the GE tradition of volunteerism in the community and have worked to improve life for people here in the city of Richmond.

In the schools, GE mentors from the Elfun Society, a company-wide organization of GE volunteers, working with a five-year \$1 million grant from the GE Fund, are aiming to double the college-bound rate of the students at John F. Kennedy High School. I visited the high school yesterday and met with its students and principal Frank Butts, a great guy and an education zealot who is with us here today. This mentoring program at JFK is a best practice learned from Elfun chapters in several other GE cities. Nationally, this program has enabled more than 5,500 kids who probably would never have gone to college to do so.

The Richmond chapter of Elfun works with younger students as well. GE employees run a hands-on after-school science program with its partners at the Science Museum of Virginia. And 350 GE employees from Richmond took busses to North Carolina last summer to do volunteer work at the Special Olympics World Summer Games in North Carolina.

Again, nationally, Elfuns in every GE town do more of the same, and each year deliver more than a million hours in volunteer service. They certainly are one reason why, just two months ago, *Fortune* Magazine named GE “America’s Most Admired Company” for the third year in a row.

A technology change, massive as it is, doesn’t mean abandoning traditional management concepts. What it does mean is adapting those business principles to the transformational world of the Internet.

Every year 340,000 GE employees around the world send me to this meeting armed with terrific numbers, and this year is no exception. In 1999 GE

- Revenues were up 11% to \$112 billion – a record.
- Earnings increased 15% and broke the \$10 billion level for the first time.

The total return on a share of GE in 1999 was 54%. Over the past 5 years, this return has averaged 46%, more than 60% better than the S&P 500 for the same period.

In the first quarter of 2000, results from operations were even better: Revenues were up 24% and earnings were up 20%.

Finally, on numbers, this is my twentieth annual meeting and the fifth time I will ask for a stock split, this time three for one. We employees have always considered a split a celebration, and we hope you do as well.

I closed the annual meeting last year in Cleveland by saying to our share owners: “The next time we gather again in April of 2000, as GE begins operations in its third century, you can be certain that your Company will never have been newer, fresher or more energized.”

I had a lot of confidence then, but I didn’t know that this would turn out to be a massive understatement. I didn’t realize that in less than a year a phenomenon that was rumbling across the operations of our Company would erupt with a transformational energy that is changing the very kind of company GE is.

You have undoubtedly read about the ongoing debate about “new economy” companies versus “old economy” companies and the advantages, or penalties, for being one or the other.

The fact is the old economy – new economy scenarios are just trendy buzzwords. There is now and will be in the future only one global economy. Commerce hasn’t changed.

There is, however, a new Internet technology that is fundamentally changing how business operates.

But a technology change, massive as it is, doesn’t mean abandoning traditional management concepts. What it does mean is adapting those business principles to the transformational world of the Internet.

This morning I want to explain what adapting these traditional management principles means to all of us in GE.

Let’s start with the decades-old GE principle of reality, seeing the world the way it is, not the way we hope it will be or wish it to be.

Seeing reality for GE in the ’80s meant a hard look at a century-old portfolio of business, insisting that every business in GE be #1 or #2 in their global markets or that they must be fixed, sold or closed. Taking action on this #1 or #2 reality brought us to where we are today: the owners of the most exciting and powerful array of global businesses in the world.

Seeing reality today means accepting the fact that e-Business is here. It’s not coming. It’s not the thing of the future. It’s here. Reality today means “go on offense.” One cannot be tentative about this. Excuses like channel conflict, or “marketing and sales aren’t ready,” or “the customers aren’t prepared” cannot be allowed to divert or paralyze the offensive. Moving aggressively raises some thorny issues with no clear and immediate solutions, but the challenge is to resolve these issues on the fly in the context of the new Internet reality. Tentativeness in action can mean being cut out of markets, perhaps not by traditional competitors but by companies never heard of 24 months ago.

Reality in the Internet world means moving at a fanatical, maniacal pace everywhere in GE!

The second management concept that has guided us for the better part of two decades is a belief that an organization’s ability to learn, to transfer that learning across its components, and to act on it quickly is its ultimate, sustainable competitive advantage. That belief drove us to create a boundaryless company by delayering and destroying organizational silos. Selflessly sharing good ideas while endlessly searching for better ideas became a natural act. We purged NIH – not invented here – from our system, creating a company with an insatiable desire for information. All this was done the hard way, before the arrival of the Internet. Today, with the Internet, information is available everywhere to everyone, and a company that isn’t searching for the best idea, isn’t open to ideas from anywhere, will find itself left behind with its survival at stake.

Another management concept that served us very well over two decades was the belief that an organization that was not only comfortable with change but relished it – saw it always as opportunity, not as a threat – had a distinct advantage in a world where the pace of change was always accelerating.

We became such a Company, but we had the luxury of learning to become one when the pace of change was comparatively glacial and the windows of opportunity often hung wide open for years.

- In the late '70s and early '80s, we experienced the Japanese inroads on many of our traditional businesses, realized that our future was no longer in many of them, and moved into businesses that were immune to this assault while we restructured the Company. We did this, but we had almost a decade to get it done.
- When Europe experienced doldrums and dislocations in the early '90s, we moved quickly to partner with European firms whose future we believed in. The best opportunities this time were around for only two or three years.
- Then Asia in the late '90s – again economic dislocation and again sudden opportunities to partner with great companies with great futures from Japan to Thailand. The very best of these opportunities were gone in a year.

You see the pattern.

Today, in the midst of this Internet revolution, the opportunities presented by change open and close on a weekly, even daily, basis, which brings us to another management tenet – speed.

Relishing change in itself is not enough if we aren't institutionally fast enough to capitalize on it. The need for speed and more speed has been driving this management team for two decades, for the competitive advantage it always brings and for the sheer excitement and fun it imparts to every aspect of business. Our endless assault on bureaucracy, hierarchy, layers, boundaries and every other manifestation of corporate nonsense has made us much faster than we ever thought a big company could be, but that qualifier – a “big company” – was always there. The most daring true boast we could make about GE's speed was that we had become “the fastest elephant at the dance.” Today, with the digitisation of every process, every operation, every customer touch of every GE business around the globe, we are in the process of taking this Company to levels of speed, agility and performance we could only dream of just a few years ago. There is no time for lengthy evaluations of Internet opportunities. We have to pounce – every day.

We have the hard part, hundreds of factories and warehouses, world-leading products and technology. We have a century-old brand identity and a reputation known and admired around the globe, all attributes that new e-Business entrants are desperate to get.

And we have one other enormous advantage – Six Sigma Quality – the greatest fulfilment engine ever devised.

Six Sigma is a quality process methodology that more than 100,000 GE people have been trained in and have been working at with great success for five years. Six Sigma fits like a glove with e-Business because it allows us to produce and deliver just what customers need when they want it. Six Sigma Quality defines the ultimate in customer fulfilment and satisfaction, just what e-Business requires.

The final and most basic management tenet is measuring progress. GE has for years, like every other company and business school, measured revenues, net income, cash flow and the like and will continue to do so.

In the Internet world, we measure new things, in some cases things we never even heard of a couple of years ago and we measure most of them daily. We group these measures in what we call buckets ... 4 buckets: buy, make, sell and strategic.

On our “buy” side, we now measure the number of auctions on line, the percentage of the total buy on line and the dollars saved.

On the “make” portion, the Internet is all about getting information from its source to the user without intermediaries. The new measurement is how fast information gets from its origin to users and how much unproductive data gathering, expediting, tracking orders and the like can be eliminated. This tedious work in a typical big company is the last bastion – the Alamo – of functionalism and bureaucracy. Taking it out improves both productivity and employee morale.

On the “sell” side, the new measurements are number of visitors, sales on line, percentage of sales on line, new customers, share, span and the like.

Strategically, the breadth of our business portfolio exposes us to a very wide range of emerging companies, many of them Internet based. This intimate knowledge has enabled us to make successful strategic investments in over 250 companies.

We are convinced that if we get these new buy, make, sell and strategic measurements going in the right direction, the traditional sales, net and cash flow measurements will follow, as will our relative stock market performance.

In the end, all of this going on at GE is about using this transformational new technology to better serve customers and to be so good and so fast we become the global supplier of choice.

So, to conclude, I'd like to remind you once more that there is very little, if anything, new in management today and that this “new economy” and “old economy” which we hear about incessantly are just labels invented by pundits.

There is, however, something new and something very real that is changing the pace and scope of business as it has never been changed before. Any company – old or new – that does not see this technology as literally as important as breathing could be on its last breath.

But for those of us, including GE, who are capturing it, are energized by it and see it as the greatest opportunity in our history, the excitement is like nothing we've ever experienced and the rewards promise to be greater than we can imagine.

The Internet truly makes the old young and the slow fast, and what could be a better tonic than that?

This is a wonderful time to be part of GE. I've never been more confident that our most exciting days lie ahead. Thanks for listening.

Welch, John Francis (Jack). Key Annual Speech to Shareholders. Delivered 1981.

I have three subjects to cover in this 10-minute report.

First, I want to give you a brief perspective on your Company at the beginning of a new administration, with some reflections on the significant achievements of my predecessor, Reg Jones.

Second, I want to discuss the rationale behind the Company's recent major moves in electronics, including two significant acquisitions.

And third, I want to talk about one of my basic objectives for this Company over the decade ahead.

Let's begin with General Electric today. GE is one of the most widely diversified high-technology companies in the world, with sales totaling \$25 billion last year, and earnings of \$1.5 billion. Where did those earnings come from?

At the end of the 1960s, 80% of your Company's earnings came from the manufacture of electrical equipment for the power stations, factories, and homes of America. Most of these traditional GE businesses are still healthy and expanding. But today, they provide only 44% of our earnings. The other 56% comes from new, fast-growing businesses in man-made materials...natural resources...aerospace...land transportation equipment...medical systems...and major new lines of opportunity like credit services. Within this total Company product mix, 16% of the earnings about a decade ago came from international activities. This has grown to 42% today.

Under Reg Jones' leadership, the Company was not only diversified and internationalized, but also strengthened technologically and financially. Last year, our research and development expenditures amounted to \$1.6 billion, and our investments in new plant and equipment came to nearly \$2 billion. Yet in spite of these substantial investments in the future, the Company's financial position is strong - with almost \$2 billion in cash and marketable securities and a low debt-to-equity ratio. So this new management team inherits a strong and healthy company, well positioned strategically and financially for vigorous future growth.

It was this strength and diversity that, in a world economy with many sluggish segments, gave us a relatively good first quarter for 1981. Sales of \$6 billion were up 4% over 1980's strong first quarter, and earnings of \$359 million increased 5%. Equally important, this Company is poised to take advantage of any upturn in the world's economies.

In recent months, your Company acquired two electronics companies in California - Calma Corporation and Intersil - as part of an overall industrial electronics strategy. The inroads of foreign companies, especially in autos and steel, have awakened American industry to the realization that it cannot compete when its factories are aging, its productivity is declining, and it is working with the technologies of yesterday.

The United States is poised for a dramatic surge of investment in new plant and equipment . . . what has been called the "Reindustrialization of America." And we believe a large, profitable market is emerging for equipment that addresses these productivity and modernization issues. We in General Electric are preparing ourselves to serve those new markets.

We already had important capabilities for serving the existing industrial markets of this country. For years, General Electric has led in the automation of major industries like steel and paper. We developed the ability to automate job shop operations with such innovations as numerical controls for machine tools and programmable controls for assembly operations, and our factories served as major laboratories for trying out a great variety of new manufacturing techniques and equipment. GE's Information Services Company offers a comprehensive package of software and consulting services that can coordinate the whole flow of events involved in running a business - from order entry to factory scheduling to customer billing.

But galloping technology left some holes in our ability to be a leading supplier of advanced production systems.

Advanced production starts with a new way of designing products. An engineer takes ideas right out of his head and sees them in full color on a screen. He can inspect his design from any angle, change it, stress it and then electronically command a variety of machines on the factory floor to produce it - all of this without generating a scrap of paper. That's where Calma comes in.

Calma is a leading manufacturer of interactive graphics - that's the technology that eliminates tedious manual drafting, tons of paper and, sometimes, man-years of design work.

Another missing link to the factory of the future was robotics. These are machines that can cut, paint, weld, or assemble components or total products.

Robots learn quickly, remember thousands of tasks, and perform complicated work, like assembling small motors. We're developing a variety of robots internally.

The source of their intelligence, as well as the basic cell structure of each of our automation systems - the computer aided design, the electronic control and all the rest - is the integrated circuit. And that's why we acquired Intersil - to assure us a supply of custom-designed chips, and to keep advanced electronic technology running in the Company's bloodstream.

Our goal is to be a major worldwide producer of automation systems in the eighties . . . and Calma and Intersil, coupled with our own internal developments, will enable General Electric to become what one newspaper called us, “a world supermarket of automation for the reindustrialization of America.”

Now, if I may, I'd like to talk with you a bit, philosophically, about what we have in mind for this Company.

When any of us assumes a new role, many thoughts go through our minds as to what we want to do. Our new Corporate Executive Office is having this experience, and we naturally have many objectives that, with the help of our great organization, we want to achieve.

But rather than talk about specific tasks, I want to reflect on what we want this Company to be in 1990 - a decade from today – in two sentences.

We would like General Electric to be perceived as a unique, high-spirited, entrepreneurial enterprise, a company known around the world for its unmatched level of excellence. We want General Electric to be the most profitable, highly diversified company on earth, with world quality leadership in every one of its product lines.

You won't see slogans and banners proclaiming our allegiance to excellence. We want something deeper than that: excellence as a faithfully held commitment by everyone associated with General Electric; excellence as the dominant aspect of our Company's culture.

To me, “excellence” means being “*better than the best*.” Its achievement requires an introspective assessment of everything we do, say, or make, and an honest inquiry: “Is it 'better than the best'?” If it is not, we will ask ourselves, “What will it take?” and then rally the resources required to get there. If the economics or the environment determine that we can't get there, we must take the same spirited action to disengage ourselves from that which we can't make “*better than the best*.”

As share owners, I hope you will recognize that this commitment to the utmost in quality and personal excellence is our surest path to continued business success. Quality is our best assurance of customer allegiance. It is our strongest defense against foreign competition and the only path to sustained growth in earnings. And I have no doubt that, as the spirit of excellence penetrates to all parts of the Company, it will lift the productivity and the pride of our employees. We all want to be part of an organization that needs and expects our very best.

General Electric is already a world-class Company with one of the best reputations in world business. I am asking all of my associates – in the offices, and labs and factories - to take that reputation up several notches...to a point where, in the world's assessment, our quality and excellence are not issues for conjecture, but indisputable facts.

We intend to make our share owners, our employees and ourselves prouder than ever to be associated with General Electric. Thank you.

Whitman, Meg. Speech at the Republican National Convention. Delivered September 3, 2008.

Good evening and thank you for your kind welcome.

It's an enormous privilege to speak to you tonight. As a young girl growing up on Long Island, as a wife and mother who raised two boys in my beautiful home state of California, and even as president and CEO of a Fortune 500 company, I never dreamed I'd have the honor of speaking to my fellow Americans at such a critical moment in our nation's history.

When I was growing up, opportunities for women were still limited.

When I went to college and graduate school, I lived in environments that had just recently admitted women, and were still getting used to having us around.

And when I began my business career, female executives were still a novelty.

Many of our male colleagues questioned whether we'd make it. But my parents, especially my mom, inspired me.

She'd constantly remind me that I could be anything I wanted to be, I just had to earn it.

Mom believed in me, as any mother does.

She also believed in America.

She knew if I worked hard and delivered the results, I would succeed in this remarkable nation.

And so, from an early age, I was an optimist about America.

America is a nation fueled by freedom, with an abiding sense of justice and fairness, guided by the spirit that we should all have the opportunity to achieve our greatest dreams.

And I am a Republican because our party understands that America's success – the success of her people – comes not from the size of its government, but from the character of its citizens ... the strength of its communities ... and the nobility and truth of its ideals.

Tonight delegates from this convention will choose our nominee.

We are proudly the party of Abraham Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan – and today, we are proudly the party of John McCain.

I've known Sen. McCain for several years.

And the more I've gotten to know John, the more my admiration for him has grown.

John's pride in America and his belief in its spirit are electrifying.

And I can say with certainty that when he's sitting in the Oval Office – in every decision he makes – President McCain will put his country first.

For John, putting country first is the calling of a lifetime.

He lives by a code of honor unmatched by anyone in American politics.

And on the most important duty we place on a president – John is more prepared to lead than any person in America.

America faces enormous challenges abroad – but we also face great challenges here at home.

It would be foolish to deny what we all know to be true.

Our economy is struggling and Americans are hurting. We live in a time of economic anxiety and hardships.

The cost of everything from gasoline to groceries to health care has gone up, while the value of our homes and our investments has gone down.

Mortgages once thought to be safe are now threatened, and industries that were once strong are now dying. Since John began his campaign he's heard the concern in your voices and your stories – the stories of hardworking Americans who believe that politicians are out of touch and out of ideas. That may be true of some politicians ... but it's not true of John McCain. John's a different breed.

He understands hardship in a way that few of us have ever known.

And, as he has shown this week in supporting the great people of the Gulf States, he has a unique ability to identify with those who face their own struggles.

Most important of all, Sen. McCain and Gov. Sarah Palin – the real agents of change in this campaign – have solutions for the challenges we face.

In its first 100 days, a McCain administration will put this nation on a path toward energy independence.

John is a man with extraordinary determination – and he will use that quality to push relentlessly for the right energy policies – from lifting the ban on offshore drilling, to building more nuclear reactors, to promoting conservation and alternative forms of energy.

Energy independence will stop massive amounts of money from going to our enemies abroad; it will lower gas prices at home; and it will reduce the harm to our planet's climate.

Energy independence must be our generation's moon shot – and John McCain and Sarah Palin will lead us in that historic effort.

Sen. McCain and Gov. Palin will also lead us in another vital effort: lowering your taxes.

In his first 100 days in office, they will put forward proposals to double the size of the child tax exemption, putting more money in your pockets.

They will push Congress to reduce business taxes, so that entrepreneurs and especially small business have the money they need to expand and create jobs.

They will offer tax incentives to every individual and family in America to buy health insurance.

And John McCain and Sarah Palin will simplify our mind-numbing tax code, so that filling out your taxes is not a dreaded annual nightmare.

Our Democratic opponents view raising taxes as the measure of their compassion and fairness.

John understands the truth.

Higher taxes encourage wasteful spending, demonstrate government's inability to choose among competing priorities, and destroy your prosperity.

As president, John McCain will be guided by the simple beliefs that having worked long hours to earn your money, you should keep more of it; and that government shouldn't spend more than it takes in.

The same kind of frank, common-sense conversations every American family has – about the need to balance the checkbook, living within your means, and tightening the belt during hard times – are the conversations John will have with members of Congress.

Now, Republicans know that John's solutions rest on a set of principles that are true and tested and enduring.

Foremost among them is his belief that there is no challenge that cannot be overcome by individual freedom.

Government has a vital role to play in the life of our country. And it should be effective and efficient in meeting those fundamental responsibilities.

But Republicans understand that government does not create wealth or prosperity – individuals do.

America is all about the inspired individual – men and women who are free to pursue dreams and ambitions in a society that encourages creativity, industry, advancement, and risk taking.

John McCain doesn't want to tax success and achievement; he wants to encourage it.

He doesn't want to redistribute our national wealth; he wants to increase it.

He doesn't want more big government; he wants much more self-government.

John McCain understands that you know what's best for your money, your family, your community and your life.

John's principles run like a golden thread throughout our history.

This has made America's story the greatest and proudest and most hopeful of any in history.

Make no mistake – Americans today face tough challenges.

Sometimes there is a temptation for us, having borne freedom's burden for so long, to grow tired. But when Americans have faced their greatest hardships, they have written history's greatest chapters. We're going to do so again. The solutions to the problems of our time are found in the ingenuity, spirit, determination, and decency of the American people. All we need is a leader who recognizes this and who can, by virtue of his character and his love of country, call us to do great things. When the American people cast their vote for the candidate they believe can best protect our nation, restore our standing in the world, and expand prosperity and opportunity to every willing heart, they will do as they have done in the past – they will put country first. They will choose John McCain as our next president. Thank you very much!

Winfrey, Oprah. Cecil B. DeMille Award Acceptance Address. Delivered 7 January 7, 2018.

Okay, okay. Thank you, Reese [Witherspoon].

In 1964, I was a little girl sitting on the linoleum floor of my mother's house in Milwaukee watching Anne Bancroft present the Oscar for best actor at the 36th Academy Awards. She opened the envelope and said five words that literally made history: "The winner is Sidney Poitier."

Up to the stage came the most elegant man I had ever seen. I remember his tie was white and, of course, his skin was black. And I'd never seen a black man being celebrated like that. And I've tried many, many, many times to explain what a moment like that means to a little girl, a kid watching from the cheap seats as my mom came through the door bone tired from cleaning other people's houses.

But all I can do is quote and say that the explanation in Sidney's performance in *Lilies of the Field*: Amen, amen. Amen, amen.

In 1982, Sidney received the Cecil B. DeMille award right here at the Golden Globes and it is not lost on me that at this moment, there are some little girls watching as I become the first black woman to be given this same award.

It is an honor – It is an honor and it is a privilege to share the evening with all of them and also with the incredible men and women who've inspired me, who've challenged me, who've sustained me and made my journey to this stage possible: Dennis Swanson, who took a chance on me for *A.M. Chicago*; Quincy Jones, who saw me on the show and said to Steven Spielberg, "Yes, she is 'Sophia' in *The Color Purple*"; Gayle, who's been the definition of what a friend is; and Stedman, who's been my rock – just a few to name a few.

I'd like to thank the Hollywood Foreign Press Association because we all know that the press is under siege these days. But we also know that it is the insatiable dedication to uncovering the absolute truth that keeps us from turning a blind eye to corruption and to injustice.

To – To tyrants and victims and secrets and lies, I want to say that I value the press more than ever before as we try to navigate these complicated times, which brings me to this: What I know for sure is that speaking your truth is the most powerful tool we all have. And I'm especially proud and inspired by all the women who have felt strong enough and empowered enough to speak up and share their personal stories. Each of us in this room are celebrated because of the stories that we tell, and this year we became the story.

But it's not just a story affecting the entertainment industry. It's one that transcends any culture, geography, race, religion, politics, or workplace. So I want tonight to express gratitude to all the women who have endured years of abuse and assault because they, like my mother, had children to feed and bills to pay and dreams to pursue.

They...They're the women whose names we'll never know. They are domestic workers and farm workers. They are working in factories and they work in restaurants and they're in academia, in engineering, in medicine, in science. They're part of the world of tech and politics and business. They're our athletes in the Olympics and they're our soldiers in the military.

And there's someone else: Recy Taylor, a name I know and I think you should know, too. In 1944, Recy Taylor was a young wife and a mother. She was just walking home from a church service she'd attended in Abbeville, Alabama, when she was abducted by six armed white men, raped, and left blindfolded by the side of the road, coming home from church. They threatened to kill her if she ever told anyone.

But her story was reported to the NAACP where a young worker by the name of Rosa Parks became the lead investigator on her case and together they sought justice. But justice wasn't an option in the era of Jim Crow. The men who tried to destroy her were never persecuted. Recy Taylor died ten days ago, just shy of her 98th birthday.

She lived as we all have lived, too many years in a culture broken by brutally powerful men. And for too long, women have not been heard or believed if they dared to speak the truth to the power of those men.

But their time is up.

Their time is up!

Their time is up.

And I just hope – I just hope that Recy Taylor died knowing that her truth, like the truth of so many other women who were tormented in those years, and even now tormented, goes marching on. It was somewhere in Rosa Parks' heart almost 11 years later, when she made the decision to stay seated on that bus in Montgomery, and it's here with every woman who chooses to say, "Me too"; and every man – every man who chooses to listen.

In my career, what I've always tried my best to do, whether on television or through film, is to say something about how men and women really behave; to say how we experience shame, how we love and how we rage, how we fail, how we retreat, persevere, and how we overcome. And I've interviewed and portrayed people who've withstood some of the ugliest things life can throw at you, but the one quality all of them seem to share is an ability to maintain hope for a brighter morning, even during our darkest nights.

So I want all the girls watching here, now, to know that a new day is on the horizon!

And when that new day finally dawns, it will be because of a lot of magnificent women, many of whom are right here in this room tonight, and some pretty phenomenal men, fighting hard to make sure that they become the leaders who take us to the time when nobody ever has to say "Me too" again.

Thank you.

Zuckerberg, Mark. Opening Statement to the Senate Judiciary and Commerce Committees on Facebook Data Privacy. Delivered April 10, 2018.

Chairman Grassley, Chairman Thune, Ranking Member Feinstein, Ranking Member Nelson, and Members of the Committee: We face a number of important issues around privacy, safety, and democracy; and you will rightfully have some hard questions for me to answer. Before I talk about the steps we're taking to address them, I want to talk about how we got here.

Facebook is an idealistic and optimistic company.

For most of our existence, we focused on all the good that connecting people can do. And as Facebook has grown, people everywhere have gotten a powerful new tool for staying connected to the people they love, for making their voices heard, and for building communities and businesses. Just recently, we've seen the #MeToo movement and the March for Our Lives organized, at least in part, on Facebook. After Hurricane Harvey, people came together to raise more than 20 million dollars for relief. And more than 70 million small businesses use Facebook to create jobs and grow.

But it's clear now that we didn't do enough to prevent these tools from being used for harm as well. And that goes for fake news, for foreign interference in elections, and hate speech, as well as developers and data privacy. We didn't take a broad enough view of our responsibility, and that was a big mistake. And it was my mistake. And I'm sorry. I started Facebook, I run it, and I'm responsible for what happens here.

So now we have to go through our – all of our relationship[s] with people and make sure that we're taking a broad enough view of our responsibility.

It's not enough to just connect people: We have to make sure that those connections are positive.

It's not enough to just give people a voice: We need to make sure that people aren't using it to harm other people or to spread misinformation.

And it's not enough to just give people control over their information: We need to make sure that the developers they share it with protect their information, too.

Across the board, we have a responsibility to not just build tools, but to make sure that they're used for good. It will take some time to work through all the changes we need to make across the company, but I'm committed to getting this right. This includes the basic responsibility of protecting people's information, which we failed to do with Cambridge Analytica. So, here are a few key things that we are doing to address this and to prevent it from happening again.

First, we're getting to the bottom of exactly what Cambridge Analytica did, and telling everyone affected. What we know now is that Cambridge Analytica improperly accessed some information about millions of Facebook members by buying it from an app developer. That information – This was information that people generally share publicly on their Facebook pages, like names and their profile picture and the pages they follow.

When we first contacted Cambridge Analytica, they told us that they had deleted the data. About a month ago, we heard new reports that suggested that wasn't true. And now we're working with governments in the U.S., the UK, and around the world to do a full audit of what they've done, and to make sure they get rid of any data they may still have.

Second, to make sure no other app developers out there are misusing data, we're now investigating every single app that had access to a large amount of information in the past. And if we find that someone improperly used data, we're going to ban them from Facebook and tell everyone affected.

Third, to prevent this from ever happening again going forward, we're making sure that developers can't access as much information now. The good news here is that we already made big changes to our platform in 2014 that would have prevented this specific situation from – with Cambridge Analytica from occurring again today. But there's more to do, and you can find more details on the steps we're taking in my written statement.

My top priority has always been our social mission – of connecting people, building community, and bringing the world closer together. Advertisers and developers will never take priority over that as long as I am running Facebook. I started Facebook when I was in college. We’ve come a long way since then. We now serve more than two billion people around the world, and every day people use our services to stay connected with the people that matter to them most. I believe deeply in what we’re doing. And I know that when we address these challenges, we’ll look back and view helping people connect and giving more people a voice as a positive force in the world. I realize the issues we’re talking about today aren’t just issues for Facebook and our community. They’re issues and challenges for all of us as Americans. Thank you for having me here today, and I’m ready to take your questions.

Zuckerberg, Mark. Commencement address at Harvard, Class of 2017. Delivered May 25, 2017.

President Faust, Board of Overseers, faculty, alumni, friends, proud parents, members of the ad board, and graduates of the greatest university in the world. I’m honored to be with you today because, let’s face it, you accomplished something I never could. If I get through this speech, it’ll be the first time I actually finish something at Harvard. Class of 2017, congratulations! I’m an unlikely speaker, not just because I dropped out, but because we’re technically in the same generation. We walked this yard less than a decade apart, studied the same ideas and slept through the same Ec10 lectures. We may have taken different paths to get here, especially if you came all the way from the Quad, but today I want to share what I’ve learned about our generation and the world we’re building together.

But first, the last couple of days have brought back a lot of good memories.

How many of you remember exactly what you were doing when you got that email telling you that you got into Harvard? I was playing *Civilization* and I ran downstairs, got my dad, and for some reason, his reaction was to video me opening the email. That could have been a really sad video. I swear getting into Harvard is still the thing my parents are most proud of me for.

What about your first lecture at Harvard? Mine was Computer Science 121 with the incredible Harry Lewis. I was late so I threw on a t-shirt and didn’t realize until afterwards it was inside out and backwards with my tag sticking out the front. I couldn’t figure out why no one would talk to me – except one guy, KX Jin, he just went with it. We ended up doing our problem sets together, and now he runs a big part of Facebook. And that, Class of 2017, is why you should be nice to people. But my best memory from Harvard was meeting Priscilla. I had just launched this prank website Facemash, and the ad board wanted to “see me”. Everyone thought I was going to get kicked out. My parents came to help me pack. My friends threw me a going-away party. As luck would have it, Priscilla was at that party with her friend. We met in line for the bathroom in the Pfoho Belltower, and in what must be one of the all-time romantic lines, I said: “I’m going to get kicked out in three days, so we need to go on a date quickly.”

Actually, any of you graduating can use that line.

I didn’t end up getting kicked out – I did that to myself. Priscilla and I started dating. And, you know, that movie made it seem like Facemash was so important to creating Facebook. It wasn’t. But without Facemash I wouldn’t have met Priscilla, and she’s the most important person in my life, so you could say it was the most important thing I built in my time here.

We’ve all started lifelong friendships here, and some of us even families. That’s why I’m so grateful to this place. Thanks, Harvard.

Today I want to talk about purpose. But I’m not here to give you the standard commencement about finding your purpose. We’re millennials. We’ll try to do that instinctively. Instead, I’m here to tell you finding your purpose isn’t enough. The challenge for our generation is creating a world where everyone has a sense of purpose.

One of my favorite stories is when John F. Kennedy visited the NASA space center, he saw a janitor carrying a broom and he walked over and asked what he was doing. The janitor responded: “Mr. President, I’m helping put a man on the moon.”

Purpose is that sense that we are part of something bigger than ourselves, that we are needed, that we have something better ahead to work for. Purpose is what creates true happiness.

You’re graduating at a time when this is especially important. When our parents graduated, purpose reliably came from your job, your church, your community. But today, technology and automation are eliminating many jobs. Membership in communities is declining. Many people feel disconnected and depressed, and are trying to fill a void.

As I’ve traveled around, I’ve sat with children in juvenile detention and opioid addicts, who told me their lives could have turned out differently if they just had something to do, an after-school program or somewhere to go. I’ve met factory workers who know their old jobs aren’t coming back and are trying to find their place.

To keep our society moving forward, we have a generational challenge—to not only create new jobs, but a renewed sense of purpose.

I remember the night I launched Facebook from my little dorm in Kirkland House. I went to Noch’s with my friend KX. I remember telling him I was excited to connect the Harvard community, but one day someone would connect the whole world.

The thing is, it never even occurred to me that someone might be us. We were just college kids. We didn't know anything about that. There were all these big technology companies with resources. I just assumed one of them would do it. But this idea was so clear to us—that all people want to connect. So we just kept moving forward, day by day.

I know a lot of you will have your own stories just like this. A change in the world that seems so clear you're sure someone else will do it. But they won't. You will.

But it's not enough to have purpose yourself. You have to create a sense of purpose for others. I found that out the hard way. You see, my hope was never to build a company, but to make an impact. And as all these people started joining us, I just assumed that's what they cared about too, so I never explained what I hoped we'd build.

A couple years in, some big companies wanted to buy us. I didn't want to sell. I wanted to see if we could connect more people. We were building the first News Feed, and I thought if we could just launch this, it could change how we learn about the world.

Nearly everyone else wanted to sell. Without a sense of higher purpose, this was the startup dream come true. It tore our company apart. After one tense argument, an advisor told me if I didn't agree to sell, I would regret the decision for the rest of my life. Relationships were so frayed that within a year or so every single person on the management team was gone.

That was my hardest time leading Facebook. I believed in what we were doing, but I felt alone. And worse, it was my fault. I wondered if I was just wrong, an imposter, a 22 year-old kid who had no idea how the world worked.

Now, years later, I understand that is how things work with no sense of higher purpose. It's up to us to create it so we can all keep moving forward together.

Today I want to talk about three ways to create a world where everyone has a sense of purpose: by taking on big meaningful projects together, by redefining equality so everyone has the freedom to pursue purpose, and by building community across the world.

First, let's take on big meaningful projects.

Our generation will have to deal with tens of millions of jobs replaced by automation like self-driving cars and trucks. But we have the potential to do so much more together.

Every generation has its defining works. More than 300,000 people worked to put a man on the moon—including that janitor. Millions of volunteers immunized children around the world against polio. Millions of more people built the Hoover Dam and other great projects.

These projects didn't just provide purpose for the people doing those jobs, they gave our whole country a sense of pride that we could do great things.

Now it's our turn to do great things. I know, you're probably thinking: I don't know how to build a dam, or get a million people involved in anything.

But let me tell you a secret: No one does when they begin. Ideas don't come out fully formed. They only become clear as you work on them. You just have to get started.

If I had to understand everything about connecting people before I began, I never would have started Facebook.

Movies and pop culture get this all wrong. The idea of a single eureka moment is a dangerous lie. It makes us feel inadequate since we haven't had ours. It prevents people with seeds of good ideas from getting started.

Oh, you know what else movies get wrong about innovation? No one writes math formulas on glass. That's not a thing.

It's good to be idealistic. But be prepared to be misunderstood. Anyone working on a big vision will get called crazy, even if you end up right. Anyone working on a complex problem will get blamed for not fully understanding the challenge, even though it's impossible to know everything upfront. Anyone taking initiative will get criticized for moving too fast, because there's always someone who wants to slow you down.

In our society, we often don't do big things because we're so afraid of making mistakes that we ignore all the things wrong today if we do nothing. The reality is, anything we do will have issues in the future. But that can't keep us from starting.

So what are we waiting for? It's time for our generation-defining public works. How about stopping climate change before we destroy the planet, and getting millions of people involved manufacturing and installing solar panels? How about curing all diseases and asking volunteers to track their health data and share their genomes? Today we spend 50x more treating people who are sick than we spend finding cures so people don't get sick in the first place. That makes no sense. We can fix this. How about modernizing democracy so everyone can vote online, and personalizing education so everyone can learn?

These achievements are within our reach. Let's do them all in a way that gives everyone in our society a role. Let's do big things, not only to create progress, but to create purpose. So taking on big meaningful projects is the first thing we can do to create a world where everyone has a sense of purpose.

The second is redefining equality to give everyone the freedom they need to pursue purpose. Many of our parents had stable jobs throughout their careers. Now we're all entrepreneurial, whether we're starting projects or finding our role. And that's great. Our culture of entrepreneurship is how we create so much progress.

Now, an entrepreneurial culture thrives when it's easy to try lots of new ideas. Facebook wasn't the first thing I built. I also built games, chat systems, study tools and music players. I'm not alone. JK Rowling got rejected 12 times before publishing *Harry Potter*. Even Beyonce had to make hundreds of songs to get "Halo." The greatest successes come from having the freedom to fail.

But today, we have a level of wealth inequality that hurts everyone. When you don't have the freedom to take your idea and turn it into a historic enterprise, we all lose. Right now our society is way over-indexed on rewarding success and we don't do nearly enough to make it easy for everyone to take lots of shots.

Let's face it. There is something wrong with our system when I can leave here and make billions of dollars in 10 years while millions of students can't afford to pay off their loans, let alone start a business.

Look, I know a lot of entrepreneurs, and I don't know a single person who gave up on starting a business because they might not make enough money. But I know lots of people who haven't pursued dreams because they didn't have a cushion to fall back on if they failed.

We all know we don't succeed just by having a good idea or working hard. We succeed by being lucky too. If I had to support my family growing up instead of having time to code, if I didn't know I'd be fine if Facebook didn't work out, I wouldn't be standing here today. If we're honest, we all know how much luck we've had.

Every generation expands its definition of equality. Previous generations fought for the vote and civil rights. They had the New Deal and Great Society. Now it's our time to define a new social contract for our generation.

We should have a society that measures progress not just by economic metrics like GDP, but by how many of us have a role we find meaningful. We should explore ideas like universal basic income to give everyone a cushion to try new things. We're going to change jobs many times, so we need affordable child care to get to work and health care that aren't tied to one company. We're all going to make mistakes, so we need a society that focuses less on locking us up or stigmatizing us. And as technology keeps changing, we need to focus more on continuous education throughout our lives.

And yes, giving everyone the freedom to pursue purpose isn't free. People like me should pay for it. Many of you will do well and you should too.

That's why Priscilla and I started the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative and committed our wealth to promoting equal opportunity. These are the values of our generation. It was never a question of if we were going to do this. The only question was when. Millennials are already one of the most charitable generations in history. In one year, three of four US millennials made a donation and seven out of ten raised money for charity.

But it's not just about money. You can also give time. I promise you, if you take an hour or two a week—that's all it takes to give someone a hand, to help them reach their potential.

Maybe you think that's too much time. I used to. When Priscilla graduated from Harvard she became a teacher, and before she'd do education work with me, she told me I needed to teach a class. I complained: "Well, I'm kind of busy. I'm running this company." But she insisted, so I taught a middle-school program on entrepreneurship at the local Boys and Girls Club.

I taught them lessons on product development and marketing, and they taught me what it's like feeling targeted for your race and having a family member in prison. I shared stories from my time in school, and they shared their hope of one day going to college too. For five years now, I've been having dinner with those kids every month. One of them threw me and Priscilla our first baby shower. And next year they're going to college. Every one of them. First in their families.

We can all make time to give someone a hand. Let's give everyone the freedom to pursue their purpose—not only because it's the right thing to do, but because when more people can turn their dreams into something great, we're all better for it.

Purpose doesn't only come from work. The third way we can create a sense of purpose for everyone is by building community. And when our generation says "everyone," we mean everyone in the world.

Quick show of hands: How many of you are from another country? Now, how many of you are friends with one of these folks? Now we're talking. We have grown up connected.

In a survey asking millennials around the world what defines our identity, the most popular answer wasn't nationality, religion or ethnicity, it was "citizen of the world". That's a big deal. Every generation expands the circle of people we consider "one of us." For us, it now encompasses the entire world.

We understand the great arc of human history bends towards people coming together in ever greater numbers—from tribes to cities to nations—to achieve things we couldn't on our own.

We get that our greatest opportunities are now global—we can be the generation that ends poverty, that ends disease. We get that our greatest challenges need global responses too—no country can fight climate change alone or prevent pandemics. Progress now requires coming together not just as cities or nations, but also as a global community.

But we live in an unstable time. There are people left behind by globalization across the world. It's hard to care about people in other places if we don't feel good about our lives here at home. There's pressure to turn inwards.

This is the struggle of our time. The forces of freedom, openness and global community against the forces of authoritarianism, isolationism, and nationalism. Forces for the flow of knowledge, trade and immigration against those who would slow them down. This is not a battle of nations, it's a battle of ideas. There are people in every country for global connection and good people against it.

This isn't going to be decided at the UN either. It's going to happen at the local level, when enough of us feel a sense of purpose and stability in our own lives that we can open up and start caring about everyone. The best way to do that is to start building local communities right now.

We all get meaning from our communities. Whether our communities are houses or sports teams, churches or music groups, they give us that sense we are part of something bigger, that we are not alone; they give us the strength to expand our horizons.

That's why it's so striking that for decades, membership in all kinds of groups has declined as much as one-quarter. That's a lot of people who now need to find purpose somewhere else.

But I know we can rebuild our communities and start new ones because many of you already are.

I met Agnes Igoe, who's graduating today. Where are you, Agnes? She spent her childhood navigating conflict zones in Uganda, and now she trains thousands of law-enforcement officers to keep communities safe.

I met Kayla Oakley and Niha Jain, graduating today, too. Stand up. Kayla and Niha started a nonprofit that connects people suffering from illnesses with people in their communities willing to help.

I met David Razu Aznar, graduating from the Kennedy School today. David, stand up. He's a former city councilor who successfully led the battle to make Mexico City the first Latin American city to pass marriage equality—even before San Francisco.

This is my story too. A student in a dorm room, connecting one community at a time, and keeping at it until one day we connect the whole world.

Change starts local. Even global changes start small—with people like us. In our generation, the struggle of whether we connect more, whether we achieve our biggest opportunities, comes down to this—your ability to build communities and create a world where every single person has a sense of purpose.

Class of 2017, you are graduating into a world that needs purpose. It's up to you to create it. Now, you may be thinking: Can I really do this?

Remember when I told you about that class I taught at the Boys and Girls Club? One day after class I was talking to them about college, and one of my top students raised his hand and said he wasn't sure he could go because he's undocumented. He didn't know if they'd let him in.

Last year I took him out to breakfast for his birthday. I wanted to get him a present, so I asked him and he started talking about students he saw struggling and said, "You know, I'd really just like a book on social justice."

I was blown away. Here's a young guy who has every reason to be cynical. He didn't know if the country he calls home—the only one he's known—would deny him his dream of going to college. But he wasn't feeling sorry for himself. He wasn't even thinking of himself. He has a greater sense of purpose, and he's going to bring people along with him.

It says something about our current situation that I can't even say his name because I don't want to put him at risk. But if a high-school senior who doesn't know what the future holds can do his part to move the world forward, then we owe it to the world to do our part too.

Before you walk out those gates one last time, as we sit in front of Memorial Church, I am reminded of a prayer, *Mi Shebeirach*, that I say whenever I face a challenge, that I sing to my daughter thinking about her future when I tuck her into bed. It goes: "May the source of strength, who blessed the ones before us, help us find the courage to make our lives a blessing."

I hope you find the courage to make your life a blessing.

Congratulations, Class of '17! Good luck out there.

ALLITERATION

1. *Automobiles and airplanes* (Burwell, 2011).
2. *And at Apple*, we never will (Cook, 2018).
3. *Artificial* Intelligence is one *area* I think a lot *about* (Cook, 2018).
4. We *aren't absolutist*, *and* we don't claim to have *all* the *answers* (Cook, 2018).
5. *At Apple*, we *are* optimistic *about* technology's *awesome* potential for good (Cook, 2018).
6. We were *all* sat *around a* big table [...] *and as we went around*, everyone introducing themselves, I sank further and further into my seat (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
7. This is an extremely complex challenge facing everyone *applying artificial* intelligence (Dorsey, 2018).
8. We've got a *long list* of things to work on from our *arms agreements* and issues we have with our nuclear *arms agreements*, to obviously, getting to Ukraine, Crimea, [...] (Tillerson, May 2017).
9. We believe Twitter helps people connect to something bigger than themselves, show all the amazing things that happen – that are happening in the world, and all the things we need to *acknowledge and address* (Dorsey, 2018).
10. But we must find ways – and we are engaging with a range of existing and *prospective partners* to do this – to bring this *approach* to scale while *achieving* 100 percent open defecation-free communities that last, *all at an affordable* cost to households, communities and governments (Burwell, 2011).
11. The *attack* was *an act* of war, and our first responders defended not only our *City* but our *country* and our *Constitution* (Bloomberg, August 2010).
12. That is *an audience* larger than the entire population of *Australia* – *an audience* whose sheer size is beyond the comprehension *and ambitions* of its founders in 1785 (Murdoch, 2008).
13. I *also am announcing* right now that we have ordered [...] (Bloomberg, 2012).
14. We've stressed *all along* that for people living in Zone A, the first option should be finding a *safe* place to *stay* with relatives or friends (Bloomberg, 2012).
15. Evidence of our work is *already apparent*. As I'm sure you know, we are taking an *aggressive approach* on recalls (Barra, June 2014).
16. As we have learned more about this situation over the last few months, we have *acted aggressively* to uncover the facts [...] (Barra, June 2014).
17. Because of the actions of a few people, and the willingness of others in the company to condone bureaucratic processes that *avoided accountability*, we let these customers down (Barra, June 2014).
18. *After* one tense *argument*, *an advisor* told me if I didn't *agree* to sell, I would regret the decision for the rest of my life (Zuckerberg, 2017).
19. As a result, these self-driving Bolt EV test vehicles leave this factory *as* state-of-the-art *autonomous* vehicles (Barra, 2017).
20. So I want tonight to express gratitude to all the women who have endured years of *abuse* and *assault* [...] (Winfrey, 2018).
21. In 1964, I was a little girl sitting on the linoleum floor of my mother's house in Milwaukee watching Anne Bancroft present the Oscar for best actor at the 36th *Academy Awards* (Winfrey, 2018).
22. She was just walking home from a church service she'd *attended* in *Abbeville, Alabama*, when she was *abducted* by six *armed* white men, raped, and left blindfolded by the side of the road, coming home from church (Winfrey, 2018).
23. Quality is our best *assurance* of customer *allegiance* (Welch, 1981).

24. I **am asking all** of my **associates** – in the offices, and labs and factories - to take that reputation up several notches...[...] (Welch, 1981).
25. Major cities in North and South **America, Asia and Australia**, are nearly out of water due to massive droughts and melting glaciers (Gore, December 10, 2007).
26. I **aced advanced** math at Ashland High School in Nebraska (Raikes, 2010).
27. Or do you want to see a chapter of moral victory and prowess as superb and as glorious as that of the victories of arms which have already been **achieved, added** to the **annals** of the history of this country, and high standards of **morality maintained** and perpetuated by our sons and brothers in the days to come? (Rockefeller, 1917).
28. The partnership focused on raising the overall level of **academic achievement** by preparing students for SATs, mentoring, and tutoring (Welch, 2001).
29. The rest of the world **applauded** when we signed the Paris **Agreement** – they went wild; they were so happy – for the simple reason that it put our country, the United States of **America**, which we **all** love, at a very, very big economic disadvantage (Trump, 2017).
30. At 1 percent growth, renewable sources of energy can meet some of our **domestic demand**, but at 3 or 4 percent growth, which I expect, we need all forms of **available American** energy, or our country will be at grave risk of **brownouts** and **blackouts**, our **businesses** will come to a halt in many cases [...] (Trump, 2017).
31. The wonderful thing about the way GE people work in this culture of learning is that they will [...] **always assuring** you, our share owners, that the sum of this company will **always amount** to something much greater than its parts (Welch, 2001).
32. [...] what are our national security interests, what are our economic prosperity interests, and then as we can **advocate** and **advance** our values, we should – but the policies can do this; the values never change (Tillerson, May 2017).
33. And when we deal with our trading partners – that things have gotten a little out of **bounds** here, they’ve gotten a little off **balance** – we’ve got to **bring** that **back** into **balance because** it’s not serving the interests of the American people well (Tillerson, May 2017).
34. But the **biggest breakthrough** of all was what we call “e-Make” and that didn’t come from the dot.coms (Welch, 2001).
35. Many of the **best** and **brightest** of our engineers who traditionally gravitated to new product **design**, higher thrust engines, more efficient turbines, better **diagnostic** images have now joined this Company-wide **drive** to **deliver** high technology upgrades to GE’s enormous install base (Welch, 2001).
36. Our very **best** and **brightest** are moving into Six Sigma assignments and I’m confident when the **Board** picks the next CEO 20 years from now, the man or woman chosen will be someone with **Six Sigma** blood in his or her veins (Welch, 2001).
37. The Center is the **big bet** on STEM in Washington state (Raikes, 2010).
38. In a few moments, I will sign a **bipartisan bill** to fully reauthorize the 9/11 Victims Compensation Fund (Trump, July 2019).
39. And then there are the couples whose marriages are in turmoil because the executive sleeps with a **buzzing Blackberry** by the **bedside** – and compulsively answers email at the breakfast table (Murdoch, 2008).
40. They not only sacrificed so much for you to be here, they also gave up **breakfast in bed** this morning (Weiner, 2018).
41. She lived as we all have lived, too many years in a culture **broken by brutally** powerful men (Winfrey, 2018).

42. The chattering and pounding of typewriter keys reached a crescendo in the minutes before a deadline that was stretched **beyond breaking** point by gun reporters determined to get the latest, freshest version of a story (Murdoch, 2008).
43. To me, “excellence” means **being “better** than the **best.**” (Welch, 1981).
44. We now employ well over 200,000 people and the chances of that number getting through the day without any **bad behavior** occurring is nil (Buffett, 2006).
45. But we will leave it up to each network to decide what approaches they **believe** will work **best** to address their **biggest** challenges (Gates, October 2017).
46. We intend to **break** down the **bureaucratic barriers** that too often impede innovation, compromise customer service, and cost taxpayers money (Bloomberg, January 2010).
47. I was rolling around in the **big bench** seat in the **back** of the car (Bezos, 2010).
48. Unfortunately, our immigration system has been **badly broken** for a very long time (Trump, January 2019).
49. I was working at a financial firm in New York City with a bunch of very smart people, and I had a **brilliant boss** that I much admired (Bezos, 2010).
50. That **belief** drove us to create a **boundaryless** company by **delaying** and **destroying** organizational silos (Welch, 2000).
51. An open Internet will **benefit both** consumers and **businesses** (Genachowski, 2009).
52. At the end of the day, we believe the societal **benefits** and **business** opportunities of autonomous vehicles will be significant and we intend for GM to be a leader in their **development** and **deployment** (Barra, 2017).
53. But first, the last couple of days have **brought back** a lot of good memories (Zuckerberg, 2017).
54. Some have asked whether I have any regrets, and I do have one regret: that I didn’t get the chance to stay and fight for the American people over the next four years, especially for those who need **burdens** lifted and **barriers** removed, [...] (Gore, 2000).
55. But in one of God’s unforeseen paths, this **belatedly broken** impasse can point us all to a new common ground, for its very closeness can serve to remind us that we are one people with a shared history and a shared destiny (Gore, 2010).
56. The continuous and generally successful **war we’ve waged** on **bureaucracy** over the past two decades has allowed us to create what we call “**boundaryless**” **behavior** (Welch, 2001).
57. This informality and the **boundaryless behavior** it produces has made GE a Learning Company [...] (Welch, 2001).
58. **Boundaryless behavior** is one of the small company characteristics we’ve always coveted (Welch, 2001).
59. [...] Look, things have gotten out of balance, and these are really important relationships to us and they’re really important alliances, but we’ve got to **bring** them **back** into **balance** (Tillerson, May 2017).
60. And so, as we said in that **coalition** effort, we’ve got to move **beyond** the **battlefield**, we’ve got to move into the **cyberspace**, we’ve got to move into the social **communications** space [...] (Tillerson, May 2017).
61. So obviously, **close coordination** with the **Department of Defense** [...] (Tillerson, May 2017).
62. According to this same study, by 2040, **compliance** with the **commitments put** into **place** by the **previous** Administration would cut **production** for the following sectors: **paper** down 12 **percent**; [...] (Trump, 2017).
63. The more serious challenge is the **complacency** and **condescension** that festers at the heart of some newsrooms (Murdoch, 2008).
64. It takes no special genius to point out that if you are **contemptuous** of your **customers**, you are going to **have a hard time** getting them to buy your product (Murdoch, 2008).

65. For the first time in history, people of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant faith are standing side by side and working in *closest cooperation* for a great *common cause* (Rockefeller, 1917).
66. That's where *Calma comes in* (Welch, 1981).
67. Anyone working on a big vision will get *called crazy*, even if you end up right (Zuckerberg, 2017).
68. The third AfricaSan conference [...] is testimony to Africa's *continued commitment* to making a better life for all of Africa's people through improved sanitation (Burwell, 2011).
69. I'm inspired to look out on this room and see so many government leaders, scientists, and other professionals all joined around the *common cause* of improving access to sanitation across the continent (Burwell, 2011).
70. This event is called a *commencement*, not a *curtain call* (Burns, 2011).
71. This long-term support of Macao will *continue* in the *coming* months and years (Adelson, 2018).
72. Our decision to reinvest and develop The Londoner Macao reflects at long-term *commitment* to Macao and our *confidence* in its future (Adelson, 2018).
73. And that is why we support a change that can trigger big gains for our students: the *Common Core State Standards* (Gates, 2014).
74. Teachers need better curricula and professional development aligned with the *Common Core* (Gates, October 2017).
75. *Create* the right *culture*, and you *create* a *competitive* advantage (Weiner, 2018).
76. There are two things these networks will share in *common*. A *commitment* to *continuous* improvement (Gates, October 2017).
77. By and large, schools are still falling short on the key metrics of a quality education – math scores, English scores, international *comparisons*, and *college completion* (Gates, October 2017).
78. Without success in *college* or *career preparation programs*, students will have limited economic mobility and fewer opportunities throughout their lives (Gates, October 2017).
79. My moving to Uganda, *conducting cancer* research, even today as head of Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation... I find it odd that I get credit for the jobs I've had (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
80. Each network will be backed by a team of education experts skilled in *continuous* improvement, *coaching*, and data *collection* and analysis (Gates, October 2017).
81. Indeed, the policies that government will follow in its efforts to alleviate the *current crisis* will *probably prove* inflationary [...] (Buffett, 2008).
82. Around the world, from *Copenhagen* to *Chennai* to *Cupertino*, new technologies are driving breakthroughs [...] (Cook, 2018).
83. Let me begin today by updating everyone on the *current* weather *conditions* [...] (Bloomberg, 2012).
84. We have worked very hard to make sure all *cranes* and *construction* sites are battered down [...] (Bloomberg, 2012).
85. My grandparents belonged to a *Caravan Club* [...] (Bezos, 2010).
86. I also want to update you on the *company's commitment to create a compensation* program for victims (Barra, June 2014).
87. I am *committing* the *company* to act on all of these recommendations (Barra, June 2014).
88. Our *customers* have to know they *can count* on our *cars*, our trucks and our word (Barra, June 2014).
89. You should know that Mr. Valukas' report revealed no *conspiracy* by the *corporation* to *cover* up the facts (Barra, June 2014).
90. [...] supported by solid *cost controls* and efficiency gains (Adelson, 2018).
91. *Consistent* standards *can change* that (Gates, 2014).

92. I am very enthusiastic about the *Common Core*, but I know that implementation has been bumpy in places (Gates, 2014).
93. It will help prepare all our students for *college* and *career* – and that’s the best idea our country has for giving every child an equal chance (Gates, 2014).
94. Let’s *compare computer* programming to television programming (Jobs, 1983).
95. I’m personally extremely honored to receive the Adam Smith Award from ALEC, especially since it *comes* from an organization that’s *committed* to *curing* social and economic problems with market-based solutions (Koch, 1994).
96. Resist the easy *comforts* of *complacency*, the specious glitter of – of materialism, the narcotic paralysis of self-satisfaction (McCullough, 2012).
97. Of *course*, this is *controversial*. Some teachers are *concerned* it *could* be *capricious* (Gates, 2010).
98. The net result is that broadband providers’ rational bottom-line interests may diverge from the broad interests of *consumers* in *competition* and choice (Genachowski, 2009).
99. This would shrink opportunities for innovators, *content creators*, and small businesses around the country, and limit the full and free expression the Internet promises (Genachowski, 2009).
100. To those who say the *costs* are still too high: I ask them to *consider* whether the *costs* of oil and *coal* will ever stop increasing if we keep relying on quickly depleting energy sources to feed a rapidly growing demand all around the world (Gore, December 14, 2007).
101. [...] is overwhelming the rate of new discoveries by so much that oil prices are almost *certain* to *continue* upward over time no matter what the oil companies promise (Gore, December 14, 2007).
102. It has the onboard power *capacity* to operate the *complex computing* systems [...] (Barra, 2017).
103. It is vital that illegal – that illegal *conduct* be *curtailed* on the Internet (Genachowski, 2009).
104. I remember telling him I was excited to *connect* the Harvard *community*, but one day someone would *connect* the whole world (Zuckerberg, 2017).
105. The *climate crisis*, in particular, is getting a lot worse – *much more* quickly than predicted (Gore, December 14, 2007).
106. Two major studies from military intelligence experts have warned our leaders about the dangerous national security implications of the *climate crisis*, including the possibility of hundreds of millions of climate refugees destabilizing nations around the world (Gore, December 14, 2007).
107. Just as Hull’s generation found moral authority in rising to solve the world *crisis caused* by fascism, so can we find our greatest opportunity in – in rising to solve the *climate crisis* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
108. And tomorrow, we will dump a slightly larger amount, with the *cumulative concentrations* now trapping *more* and *more* heat from the sun (Gore, December 10, 2007).
109. No, these were *calls* to *come* to the defense of the *common* future (Gore, December 10, 2007).
110. We must understand the connections between the *climate crisis* and the *afflictions* of *poverty*, hunger, HIV-Aids and other *pandemics* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
111. *And* the *consistent conclusion*, restated with increasing distress, is that something basic is wrong (Gore, December 10, 2007).
112. Now, I’m not saying that we should all become *card-carrying* geeks (Murdoch, 2008).
113. These were people who *came* to our *country* because of technological change (Murdoch, 2008).

114. So fierce were these attacks, the British government made the destruction of machinery a **capital crime** (Murdoch, 2008).
115. And if you aren't satisfied with that, you can start up your own blog and **cover** and **comment** on the news yourself (Murdoch, 2008).
116. These were not unions acting on behalf of the working class, but a **cosy, corrupt closed** shop (Murdoch, 2008).
117. Infinitely worse is the other extreme: the **creed of conversion by conquest** – violent Jihad, **murder as martyrdom**, killing Christians, Jews, and Muslims with equal indifference (Romney, 2007).
118. It's important to recognize that while differences in theology exist between the churches in America, we share a **common creed** of moral **convictions** (Romney, 2007).
119. A President must serve only the **common cause** of the people of the United States (Romney, 2007).
120. It is time to exit the Paris Accord and time to pursue a new deal that protects the environment, our **companies**, our citizens, and our **country** (Trump, 2017).
121. Further, while the **current** agreement effectively blocks the development of **clean coal** in America – which it does, and the mines are starting to open up (Trump, 2017).
122. That's what our leadership team has tried to do at LinkedIn; **create a culture** where people **take the time** to understand the other **person's perspective**, and not assume nefarious intention; build trust; and align around a shared mission (Weiner, 2018).
123. **Cash**-strapped cities **cannot** hire enough police officers or fix vital infrastructure (Trump, 2017).
124. This is a **commonsense compromise** both parties should embrace (Trump, January 2019).
125. We will **continue** to work together as **communities** and as citizens to stop evil, **prevent** violence, and **protect** the safety of all Americans (Trump, July 2019).
126. In John Adams' words: "We have no government armed with power **capable of contending** with human passions unbridled by morality and religion." (Romney, 2007).
127. So **China** has its own **challenges**, and **we want to work with** them and be mindful of what they're dealing with in the context of our relationship (Tillerson, May 2017).
128. In Turkey, authorities **continued** to limit the human rights of members of some religious minority groups, and some **communities continue** to experience **protracted property** disputes (Tillerson, 2017).
129. One by one, we are keeping the promises I made to the American people during my **campaign** for President — whether it's **cutting** job-killing regulations; appointing and **confirming** a tremendous Supreme **Court** justice; [...] (Trump, 2017).
130. I told them that the beauty and majesty of citizenship is that it **draws no distinctions** of race or class or faith or gender or background (Trump, January 2019).
131. And I said, then our partners over at the **Department of Defense**, the men and women in uniform, because it's really the State **Department** and the **Defense Department** that **deliver** our national security (Tillerson, May 2017).
132. Dozens of Falun Gong members have **died in detention** (Tillerson, 2017).
133. No responsible leader can put the workers – and the people – of their country at this **debilitating** and tremendous **disadvantage** (Trump, 2017).
134. It was **differentiated, delivered** on an essential consumer need, and moved the needle in terms of results (Weiner, 2018).
135. **Double-digit** unemployment, yet STEM industries have to look overseas for workers (Raikes, 2010).

136. For those who are too young to remember those *daunting days*, let me give you some perspective (Murdoch, 2008).
137. The *defining digital* trend in content is the increasing *sophistication of search* (Murdoch, 2008).
138. *During the Depression*, the *Dow* hit its low, 41, on July 8, 1932 (Buffett, 2008).
139. Of course the greatest obstacle to meeting the challenge of 100 percent renewable electricity in 10 years may be the *deep dysfunction* of our politics and our self-governing system as it exists today (Gore, December 14, 2007).
140. We must act to ensure that technology is *designed* and *developed* to serve humankind [...] (Cook, 2018).
141. Many people feel *disconnected and depressed*, and are trying to fill a void (Zuckerberg, 2017).
142. Rogue actors and even governments have taken advantage of user trust to *deepen divisions*, incite violence, and even undermine our shared sense of what is true and what is false (Cook, 2018).
143. That's life and it's part of living in such a *diverse* and *dense* city (Bloomberg, August 2010).
144. When Europe experienced *doldrums* and *dislocations* in the early '90s, we moved quickly to partner with European firms whose future we believed in (Welch, 2000).
145. Our work in schools began with a focus on making high schools smaller, in the hope of improving relationships to *drive down dropout* rates and increase student achievement (Gates, 2010).
146. They *didn't disrupt* class (Gates, 2010).
147. The solutions to the problems of our time are found in the ingenuity, spirit, *determination*, and *decency* of the American people (Whitman, 2008).
148. For much of the past few decades, a good part of Australia's *domestic debate* has focused on immigration (Murdoch, 2008).
149. Yet in many countries, people today are facing similar *disruptions driven* by technology [...] (Murdoch, 2008).
150. There are some who would have a presidential candidate *describe* and explain his church's *distinctive doctrines* (Romney, 2007).
151. But there's a *dark downside* (Weiner, 2018).
152. So for those of you that have participated in these *early efforts*, thank you (Tillerson, May 2017).
153. The fact that the Paris deal hamstring the United States, while empowering some of the world's top polluting countries, should *dispel* any *doubt* as to the *real reason* why foreign lobbyists wish to keep our magnificent country tied up and bound down by this agreement: It's to give their country an *economic edge* over the United States (Trump, 2017).
154. First, working with allies, we *exceeded* the *expectations* of almost *everyone* with the DPRK maximum pressure campaign with the announcement on my very first trip as *Secretary of State* to the region that the *era* of *strategic* patience was over, and we commenced the *steps* to dramatically increase not just the *scope* but the *effectiveness* of the *sanctions* (Tillerson, 2018).
155. However, there actually is one *extremely effective* way to bring the costs of driving a car way down within a few short years (Gore, December 14, 2007).
156. We would like General *Electric* to be perceived as a unique, high-spirited, *entrepreneurial enterprise*, a company known around the world for its unmatched level of *excellence* (Welch, 1981).
157. Motorists should *exercise extreme* caution (Bloomberg, 2012).

158. We continue to make *enormous efforts* to reach them with the message that they need to leave for their own safety (Bloomberg, 2012).
159. And this principle will not constrain *efforts* to *ensure* a *safe, secure*, and *spam-free* Internet *experience*, or to *enforce* the law (Genachowski, 2009).
160. We have an obligation to *ensure* that the Internet is an *enduring engine* for U.S. *economic* growth, and a foundation for democracy in the 21st century (Genachowski, 2009).
161. Most Americans' early exposure to the Internet was through analog modems, which allowed a trickle of data through the phone lines to support *early electronic bulletin boards* and *basic* email (Genachowski, 2009).
162. And it should be *effective* and *efficient* in meeting those fundamental responsibilities (Whitman, 2008).
163. They will push Congress to reduce business taxes, so that *entrepreneurs* and *especially small business have the money they need to expand and create jobs* (Whitman, 2008).
164. Today, with the Internet, information is available *everywhere to everyone*, and a company that isn't searching for the best idea, isn't open to ideas from anywhere, will find itself left behind with its *survival at stake* (Welch, 2000).
165. At the end of the 1960s, 80% of your Company's *earnings* came from the manufacture of *electrical equipment* for the *power* stations, factories, and homes of America (Welch, 1981).
166. If the *economics* or the *environment* determine that we can't get there, we must take the *same spirited* action to disengage ourselves from that which we can't make "*better* than the *best*." (Welch, 1981).
167. This has been an *extraordinary election* (Gore, 2010).
168. Because almost everything – all *external expectations*, all pride, all fear of *embarrassment* or failure – these things just fall away in the face of death, leaving only what is truly important (Jobs, 2005).
169. April's *experience* is not *exceptional* (Koch, 1994).
170. The *empirical evidence* is *everywhere*, numbers even an English teacher can't ignore (McCullough, 2012).
171. You went back day after day and night after night to save lives and return the *fallen* to their *families*, to *rebuild* and *recover*, and to show the entire world that nothing will ever break America's spirit (Trump, July 2019).
172. We have an obligation, and it's a sacred obligation, to the *families* and *first* responders of 9/11 (Trump, July 2019).
173. The proposal I will outline today is based on – *first* and *foremost* – on input from our border agents and homeland security professionals (Trump, January 2019).
174. Thank you Dean Garrett, esteemed *faculty, family, friends*, and of course the Wharton undergraduate class of 2018 (Weiner, 2018).
175. Some are attempting to colonize Mars, while others are seeking to eliminate our dependence on *fossil fuels* (Weiner, 2018).
176. While the struggle is impending, they are observing the rules of training that they may be *fit to fight* [...] (Rockefeller, 1917).
177. I am thrilled for all of you, and I'm thrilled for your *families* and *friends*, as all of us join the great, big Michigan *family* I *feel* I've been a part of all of my life (Page, 2009).
178. He can inspect his design from any angle, change it, stress it and then electronically command a variety of machines on the *factory floor* to produce it [...] (Welch, 1981).
179. As he says, because of this bill, he does not have to *fear for* the *families* of his *firehouse* whose loved ones made the ultimate sacrifice (Trump, July 2019).

180. You'll note the *founding fathers* took pains to secure your inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness – quite an active verb, “pursuit” – which leaves, I should think, little time for lying around watching parrots roller skate on YouTube (McCullough, 2012).
181. And then there's the *frequency* of *failure*: statistics tell us half of you will get divorced (McCullough, 2012).
182. From this day forward, truly, in sickness and in health, through *financial fiascos* [...] (McCullough, 2012).
183. We are standing at the most *fateful fork* in that path [FUTURE] (Gore, December 10, 2007).
184. Most important, I believe the *field* of school reform is *finally focused* on the right strategic lever (Gates, 2010).
185. The greatest successes come from having the *freedom* to *fail* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
186. *Forces for* the *flow* of knowledge, trade and immigration against those who would slow them down (Zuckerberg, 2017).
187. Another missing link to the *factory* of the *future* was robotics (Welch, 1981).
188. This is the main *finding* of our *foundation's* work in education over the past ten years (Gates, 2010).
189. The UAE's *founding father*, Sheikh Zayed, was among the first international leaders to join the global fight against Guinea worm disease (Gates, November 2017).
190. I'm also hopeful this will attract other *funders focused* on particular approaches or who work in one state or community (Gates, October 2017).
191. [...] *first* and *foremost* to the people we serve (Cook, 2018).
192. *From* hardware breakthroughs that encrypt *fingerprints* and *faces* securely [...] (Cook, 2018).
193. Finally, the last thing I want to mention on this special day is to remember your *friends*, *family*, and *faith* (Barra, May 2014).
194. Keep your *friends* and *family* close (Barra, May 2014).
195. It was perhaps the *first formal, political petition* for religious freedom in the American colonies, and the organizer was thrown in jail and then banished from New Amsterdam (Bloomberg, August 2010).
196. We are going to *fix* the *failures* in our system – that I promise (Barra, June 2014).
197. We're also greatly moved to have with us *families* of our *fallen* heroes (Trump, July 2019).
198. Many of us are *fortunate* enough to be here with *family* (Page, 2009).
199. And who knows, perhaps some of you, like Lucy and I, are dreaming about *future families* of your own (Page, 2009).
200. But also: always remember that the moments we have with *friends* and *family*, [...] (Page, 2009).
201. It was in Philadelphia that our *Founding Fathers* defined a revolutionary vision of liberty [...] (Romney, 2007).
202. My *faith* is the *faith* of my *fathers* (Romney, 2007).
203. *Free* and *fair* elections are the *foundation* of any democracy (Sandberg, 2018).
204. Over the last two decades, you have endured hardship with amazing *grace* and incredible *grit* (Trump, July 2019).
205. It's why we call yours “The *Greatest Generation*.” (Romney, 2007).
206. I visited the high school yesterday and met with its students and principal Frank Butts, a *great guy* and an education zealot who is with us here today (Welch, 2000).

207. We **get** that our **greatest** opportunities are now **global**—we can be the generation that ends poverty, that ends disease (Zuckerberg, 2017).
208. In 1982, Sidney received the Cecil B. DeMille award right here at the **Golden Globes** [...] (Winfrey, 2018).
209. The cost of everything from **gasoline** to **groceries** to health care has **gone** up, while the value of our homes and our investments has **gone** down (Whitman, 2008).
210. It is not unreasonable to ask, **given** the **gravity** of our circumstances, that these heads of state meet every three months until this treaty is completed (Gore, December 10, 2007).
211. The Confederacy was on the wrong side of **history** and **humanity** (Landrieu, 2017).
212. America must never falter in **holding high** the banner of freedom (Romney, 2007).
213. It's already **hovering** at **historic highs** and threatens to get even worse as new technologies potentially displace millions of people from their jobs (Weiner, 2018).
214. **Having hired** people like that and watched them flourish, it's become clear they don't need **handouts**, they just need a **hand** [...] (Weiner, 2018).
215. The conviction of the **inherent** and **inalienable** worth of every life is still the most revolutionary **political proposition** ever advanced (Romney, 2007).
216. If we **don't double down** on **investments in innovation**, [...] (Gates, November 2017).
217. Finally, we will expand **investments in innovative** research to accelerate progress for underserved students (Gates, October 2017).
218. That taught me some lessons about the **importance** of **innovation** and **investment** (Genachowski, 2009).
219. Some will seek to **invoke innovation** and **investment** as reasons not to adopt open **Internet** rules (Genachowski, 2009).
220. America is all about the **inspired individual** – men and women who are free to pursue dreams and ambitions in a society that encourages creativity, **industry**, advancement, and risk taking (Whitman, 2008).
221. While my goals are clear – to ensure the Internet remain a free and open platform that promotes **innovation**, **investment**, competition, and user **interests** – our path to **implementing** them is not pre-determined (Genachowski, 2009).
222. As we tackle these complex questions involving different technologies used for Internet access, let me be clear that **we – we will** be **focused** on **formulating** policies that will maximize **innovation** and **investment**, consumer choice, and greater competition (Genachowski, 2009).
223. The principles that will protect the open **Internet** are an essential step to maximizing **investment and innovation** in the network – on the edge of it, in the cloud – by establishing **rules of the road** that **incentivize** competition, **empower entrepreneurs**, and grow the **economic** pie to the benefit of all (Genachowski, 2009).
224. **Illegal immigration** reduces wages and strains public services (Trump, January 2019).
225. So we adopted that version, reversed our decline in circulation, and helped put **The Times** on a more solid footing, which of course is the **key** to **keeping** jobs (Murdoch, 2008).
226. The **love** and **loyalty** of our 9/11 responders knew no bounds (Trump, July 2019).
227. All Americans, whether first generation or tenth generation, are bound together in **love** and **loyalty**, friendship and affection (Trump, January 2019).
228. [...] and on whether we honor the ideals that have **lit** the **lamp** of **liberty** in our harbor for more than a century, and that continue to inspire the world!
229. You all have surprised a **lot** of people **lately** by **launching** reforms with a **long list** of unexpected partners (Gates, 2010).

230. The innovators who will devise a new way to harness the sun's energy for pennies or invent an engine that's carbon negative may *live* in *Lagos* or *Mumbai* or *Montevideo* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
231. My second story is about *love* and *loss* (Jobs, 2005).
232. But if we want to build an Australia where people are not left behind, we need to recognize that a first-class education is no *longer* a *luxury* (Murdoch, 2008).
233. For example, mobile phone technology proliferated rapidly in places like India, China, and Africa because people were fed up with the long waits they would have for a *land line* (Murdoch, 2008).
234. After a while, a number of the *leading luddites* were arrested and brought to trial (Murdoch, 2008).
235. In the future, successful workers will be those who embrace a *lifetime* of *learning* (Murdoch, 2008).
236. *Six Sigma* has become the *language* of *leadership* in our Company, a big part of what we call the GE brand (Welch, 2001).
237. We became such a Company, but we had the *luxury* of *learning* to become one when the pace of change was comparatively glacial and the windows of opportunity often hung wide open for years (Welch, 2000).
238. These are some of the most valuable *lessons* I've *learned* with regard to compassion (Weiner, 2018).
239. And the same payment systems that allow you to buy something electronically help international drug *lords launder* money (Murdoch, 2008).
240. Papers may be *losing* money, *losing* circulation, and *laying* off people *left* and right (Murdoch, 2008).
241. Believe me, we have massive *legal liability* if we stay in (Trump, 2017).
242. [...], it's never been easier to *make* or to lose *money* (Murdoch, 2008).
243. In this coming century, the form of delivery may change, but the potential audience for our content will *multiply many* times over (Murdoch, 2008).
244. And clearly it's on the *minds* of *many* of *my* peers as well (Cook, 2018).
245. But perhaps the *most momentous* birthday from that famous summer of 1969 – in its way, a *miracle* – went by just a couple of weeks ago with little *mention* (Genachowski, 2009).
246. Just recently, we've seen the *#MeToo movement* and the March for Our Lives organized, at least in part, on Facebook (Zuckerberg, 2018).
247. In our society, we often don't do big things because we're so afraid of *making mistakes* that we ignore all the things wrong today if we do nothing (Zuckerberg, 2017).
248. *Make no mistake* – Americans today face tough challenges (Whitman, 2008).
249. Second, I want to discuss the rationale behind the Company's recent *major moves* in electronics, including two significant acquisitions (Welch, 1981).
250. The other 56% comes from new, *fast-growing businesses* in *man-made materials*...[...] (Welch, 1981).
251. And their impact is a *mix* of the *miraculous*, the efficacious, and the disorienting (Murdoch, 2008).
252. At the best, it will take *many months* to bring home the *men* now overseas, and a still longer time to absorb into civil life this great army (Rockefeller, 1917).
253. In just a few short months since launch, nearly one *million mentors* have volunteered on LinkedIn (Weiner, 2018).
254. I will be *meeting members* of my front office team and *policy planning* later today to thank them for their service (Tillerson, 2018).

255. Do you want to see the flower of the manhood of this country, which has brought everlasting glory to our *nation*, *neglected* in the hour of its greatest *need*, and afraid to face temptation? (Rockefeller, 1917).
256. We are now living with the consequences – and they are tragic – brought about by decades of political stalemate, partisan gridlock, and *national neglect* (Trump, January 2019).
257. Be *open to opportunities* when they *occur* – especially in the early part of your career (Barra, May 2014).
258. Together, I think we share the belief that market-oriented policies *offer our* states the best *opportunity* to correct problems that have been aggravated by the *command-and-control policies* of the *past* (Koch, 1994).
259. When I place my hand on the Bible and take the *Oath of Office*, that *oath* becomes my highest promise to God (Romney, 2007).
260. So that’s just to give you a little *perspective* on how we’re approaching *these things* in *policy planning*, and then we *try* to get a big-picture view and then we *bring* the *bureau people* in, the experts in, and help us start developing, now, how do you execute something like this? (Tillerson, May 2017).
261. But they’re extraordinarily helpful to me, and so keep sending me insights as to what you’re doing, how you’re doing it, and in *particular* the *perspective* on how we got to where we are (Tillerson, May 2017).
262. Secondly, our *proposal provides* a three-year extension of Temporary *Protected* Status (or TPS) (Trump, January 2019).
263. There were wonderful friendly people everywhere, but it was a desperately *poor place* – *people* used the bathroom inside and it flowed out into the open gutter and straight into the river (Page, 2009).
264. Religion is seen as merely a *private* affair with no *place* in *public* life (Romney, 2007).
265. I saw my *parents provide compassionate care* to others, in *personal* ways to *people* nearby, and in just as consequential ways in leading national volunteer movements (Romney, 2007).
266. At its best, Facebook *plays* a *positive* role in our democracy, [...] and giving *people* a *place* to freely express their opinions about the issues that matter to them (Sandberg, 2018).
267. I’m encouraging my *policy planning* team [...] to remain at their *post* and continue our mission at the State Department and working with the interagency *process* (Tillerson, 2018).
268. How should we deal with one another over the next 50 years and ensure a *period* of *prosperity* for all of our *peoples*, free of conflict between two very *powerful* nations? (Tillerson, 2018).
269. So we’re *putting* that *pressure* on (Tillerson, May 2017).
270. And I have no doubt that, as the spirit of excellence *penetrates* to all *parts* of the Company, it will lift the *productivity* and the *pride* of our employees (Welch, 1981).
271. Traditional sources of revenue—such as classifieds—are drying up, *putting pressure* on the business model (Murdoch, 2008).
272. But if *papers provide* readers with news they can trust, we’ll see gains in circulation [...] (Murdoch, 2008).
273. Instead, we had to fly the *printing plates* from Canberra to *presses* elsewhere in the country – usually late at night (Murdoch, 2008).
274. And sometimes it even starts in journalism school – some of which are *perpetuating* the *pessimism* of their tribal elders (Murdoch, 2008).
275. When I started out in the business, anyone who dared *parade* a *prize* for excellence would have been hooted out of the newsroom for taking himself too seriously (Murdoch, 2008).

276. [...] I plan to convene weekly bipartisan meetings at the White House so we can do a finished **product**, a great **product** – a **product** that we can all be **proud** of, having to do with that elusive immigration **problem** (Trump, January 2019).
277. That was a **pretty profound** realization for me, so much so that that book has remained a fixture on my nightstand ever since (Weiner, 2018).
278. It also **provides pensions** for those who are suffering from cancer and other illnesses stemming from the toxic debris they were exposed to in the aftermath of the attacks (Trump, July 2019).
279. We must **protect** our **people** (Tillerson, May 2017).
280. But at the end of it, it is **strengthening** our national **security** and **promoting** economic **prosperity** for the American **people**, and we do that, again, with a lot of **partners** (Tillerson, May 2017).
281. But a **political promise** to do something 40 years from now is universally ignored because everyone knows that it's meaningless (Gore, December 14, 2007).
282. In the last year of that war, you gave the **Peace Prize** to a man from my hometown of 2000 people, Carthage, Tennessee, in the USA (Gore, December 10, 2007).
283. But that unwelcome verdict also brought a **precious**, if **painful**, gift: an opportunity to search for fresh new ways to serve my purpose (Gore, December 10, 2007).
284. So I want to end as I began, with a vision of two futures – each a **palpable possibility** – and with a **prayer** that we will see with vivid clarity the necessity of choosing between those two futures, and the urgency of making the right choice now (Gore, December 10, 2007).
285. Yet, advancing AI by collecting huge **personal profiles** is laziness, not efficiency (Cook, 2018).
286. And we've **paid** the **price** for this neglect (Burwell, 2011).
287. We don't consider **political** viewpoints, **perspectives**, or **party** affiliation in any of our **policies** or enforcement decisions (Dorsey, 2018).
288. A quarter century ago, **polio paralyzed** more than 350,000 **people** every year (Gates, November 2017).
289. And the state has created a marketplace of **preferred professional** development service **providers** to help schools implement these curricula effectively (Gates, October 2017).
290. We build our **policies** and rules with a **principle** of impartiality: objective criteria, rather than on the **basis** of **bias**, **prejudice**, or **preferring** – or **preferring** the benefit to one **person** over another for improper reasons (Dorsey, 2018).
291. In a way, the desire to **put profits** over **privacy** is nothing new (Cook, 2018).
292. Like many of you, Lloyd and I sent one of our two most **precious possessions** — the other **precious possession** is Melissa who is also with us today — off to MIT four years ago (Burns, 2011).
293. Now, we'll set our sights on another national issue that affects New Yorkers in **profoundly personal** ways: Immigration reform (Bloomberg, January 2010).
294. [...] Catholics in New York were effectively **prohibited** from **practicing** their religion – and **priests** could be arrested (Bloomberg, August 2010).
295. This morning, the City's Landmark Preservation Commission unanimously voted to extend – not to extend landmark status to the building on **Park Place** where the mosque and **community center** are planned (Bloomberg, August 2010).
296. The simple fact is this building is **private property** [...] (Bloomberg, August 2010).
297. [...] they will put forward proposals to double the size of the child tax exemption, **putting** more money in your **pockets** (Whitman, 2008).

298. That information – This was information that people generally share publicly on their Facebook *pages*, like names and their *profile picture* and the *pages* they follow (Zuckerberg, 2018).
299. These *projects* didn't just *provide purpose* for the *people* doing those jobs, they gave our whole country a sense of *pride* that we could do great things (Zuckerberg, 2017).
300. The second is redefining equality to give everyone the freedom they need to *pursue purpose* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
301. [...] and some *pretty phenomenal* men, fighting hard to make sure that they become the leaders who take us to the time when nobody ever has to say "Me too" again (Winfrey, 2018).
302. And I've interviewed and *portrayed people* who've withstood some of the ugliest things life can throw at you [...] (Winfrey, 2018).
303. [...] I poked my head into the front of the car, tapped my grandmother on the shoulder, and *proudly proclaimed*, "At two minutes per puff, you've taken nine years off your life!" (Bezos, 2010).
304. [...] and, second, that we accept responsibility for our mistakes and commit to doing everything within our *power to prevent* this *problem* from ever happening again (Barra, June 2014).
305. So if you are aware of a *potential problem* affecting safety or quality and you don't speak up, you are a part of the problem (Barra, June 2014).
306. At the same time, we remain as committed as ever to *playing* the *pioneering* role in Macao's transformation [...] (Adelson, 2018).
307. One *percent* is not redecorating *presidential palaces*. (Hewson, 2006).
308. This freedom results not in the elimination of *planning*, but in *people planning* for themselves (Koch, 1994).
309. Otherwise, we will continue to *pay a price* with *discord*, with *division*, and yeah, violence (Landrieu, 2017).
310. So today I start with a simple and *provocative proposition*: whinging about the technology will get you nowhere (Murdoch, 2008).
311. And the *prices* and *practices* for their trade were set by long-standing regulation (Murdoch, 2008).
312. Too many journalists seem to take a *perverse pleasure* in ruminating on their *pending* demise (Murdoch, 2008).
313. And I can rightly be held to account in *perpetuity* for the *points* on which I am *proven* wrong [...] (Murdoch, 2008).
314. Originally focused on reducing waste and elevating the quality of our *products* and *processes* within the company, it has delivered billions of dollars to GE's bottom line in savings (Welch, 2001).
315. We encourage the Government of Sudan to engage concretely on the religious freedom action *plan provided* by the Department last year (Tillerson, 2017).
316. My job as *President* is to do everything within my power to give America a level *playing* field and to create the economic, regulatory and tax structures that make America the most *prosperous* and *productive* country on Earth, and with the highest standard of living and the highest standard of environmental *protection* (Trump, 2017).
317. The first President *Roosevelt*, the old *rough rider*, advocated the strenuous life (McCullough, 2012).
318. Thanks to the WHO's streamlined *review* and *recent recommendation*, we will be able to *treat tens* of millions of people with LF more quickly and at less cost (Gates, November 2017).

319. The enterprising team of researchers and students has already helped scientists around the world develop a better understanding of the chemical, physical and mechanical properties of human waste and how it might be **recovered** and **recycled** (Burwell, 2011).
320. You want to be **rewarded** for **results** (Gates, 2010).
321. We have everything we need to get started, save perhaps political will, but political will is a **renewable resource** (Gore, December 10, 2007).
322. Its **rigorous process** discipline and **relentless** customer focus has made it the **perfect** training ground, a **perfect** vehicle for the future leadership of GE (Welch, 2001).
323. As I watched the **rocket rise**, slowly at first and then with great speed, the sound was deafening (Gore, December 14, 2007).
324. And much work **remains** to **respond** to the *troubling behavior and actions of* -- on the part of the **Russian government** (Tillerson, 2018).
325. And it's always tempting to **romanticise** the **rustic** (Murdoch, 2008).
326. If it is not, we will ask ourselves, "What will it take?" and then **rally** the **resources required** to get there (Welch, 1981).
327. And this **requires rigorous** discipline in evaluating and total candor in dealing with everyone in the organization (Welch, 2001).
328. In such a world, we can be deeply thankful that we live in a land where **reason** and **religion** are friends and allies in the cause of liberty, joined against the evils and dangers of the day (Romney, 2007).
329. I think there is a **real renewed** sense of energy and commitment to win this war against ISIS (Tillerson, May 2017).
330. We do not insist on a **single strain** of religion; rather, we welcome our nation's **symphony** of faith (Romney, 2007).
331. We believe in a **safe** and lawful **system** of immigration, one that upholds our laws, our traditions, and our most cherished values (Trump, January 2019).
332. Our immigration **system should** be the **subject** of pride, not a **source** of **shame**, as it is all over the world. Our immigration **system should** be the envy of the world, not a **symbol** of **disunity** and **dysfunction** (Trump, January 2019).
333. It's a huge, I think, potential sitting out there, waiting for us to capture it, and then, obviously, a big focus of our health initiatives, because Africa **still struggles** with **huge health** challenges (Tillerson, May 2017).
334. That **single statistic** tells you that there is a discerning audience for news (Murdoch, 2008).
335. But today, our education **system simply** isn't giving **students** the **skills** they need to **seize** those opportunities (Raikes, 2010).
336. I confidently believe that the American people will **stand solidly** behind the men in uniform, and that they will regard it a privilege to contribute to the limit (Rockefeller, 1917).
337. The good news here is that we already made big changes to our platform in 2014 that would have prevented this **specific situation** from – with Cambridge Analytica from occurring again today (Zuckerberg, 2018).
338. It was this **strength** and diversity that, in a world economy with many **sluggish segments**, gave us a relatively good first quarter for 1981 (Welch, 1981).
339. Expansion of our real-world test fleet will help ensure that our **self-driving** vehicles meet the **same strict standards** for **safety** and quality that we build into all our vehicles (Barra, 2017).
340. I wanted to get him a present, so I asked him and he **started** talking about **students** he **saw struggling** and **said**, "You know, I'd really just like a book on social justice." (Zuckerberg, 2017).

341. It was somewhere in Rosa Parks' heart almost 11 years later, when she made the decision to *stay seated* on that bus in Montgomery, [...] (Winfrey, 2018).
342. And I'm especially proud and inspired by all the women who have felt *strong enough* and *empowered enough* to *speak* up and *share* their personal *stories* (Winfrey, 2018).
343. Anything less would render generations of courageous *struggle* and *soul-searching* a truly lost cause (Landrieu, 2017).
344. *Sentimentality sometimes* blocks our path to the future (Murdoch, 2008).
345. At an absolute minimum, that means that every Australian ought to leave *secondary school* with a basic mastery of reading, writing, and arithmetic (Murdoch, 2008).
346. We could see the Internet's doors shut to entrepreneurs, the *spirit* of innovation *stifled*, a *full* and *free flow* of information compromised (Genachowski, 2009).
347. And I've got to admit, that *sure seems* to be the way things have been going (Gore, December 14, 2007).
348. In my *search* for genuinely effective answers to the climate crisis, I have held a *series* of "*solutions summits*" with engineers, scientists, and CEOs (Gore, December 14, 2007).
349. *Stronger storms* in the Atlantic and the Pacific have threatened whole cities (Gore, December 10, 2007).
350. GE employees run a hands-on after-school *science program* with its *partners* at the Science Museum of Virginia (Welch, 2000).
351. Finally, on numbers, this is my twentieth annual meeting and the fifth time I will ask for a *stock split, this time three* for one (Welch, 2000).
352. This intimate knowledge has enabled us to make *successful strategic* investments in over 250 companies (Welch, 2000).
353. [...] we will continue to *strongly support* the community (Adelson, 2018).
354. Then she talked of a student of hers she called a "*success story* kid." (Gates, 2014).
355. If we teach to these *standards*, we will finally make good on the covenant between *schools* and *students* [...] (Gates, 2014).
356. In English Language Arts, research has shown that the single most important predictor of *student success* in *college* and *career* is the ability to read complex text (Gates, 2014).
357. Third, the *standards* are consistent from *state to state* (Gates, 2014).
358. Why can't we have 50 *separate sets* of *standards*, so long as they're higher? (Gates, 2014).
359. More than 2.6 billion people [...] don't have access to these basic *sanitation services* that many of us take for granted (Burwell, 2011).
360. [...] and found no *statistically significant* difference between the number of times a tweet by a Democrat is viewed versus a Republican [...] (Dorsey, 2018).
361. Conversely, if we haven't *seen* a *specific strain* in the field for an extended period, that gives us a pretty good idea that it's gone (Gates, November 2017).
362. In some places and in some ways, *small schools* worked (Gates, October 2017).
363. Understanding this, we saw an opportunity to move our work closer to the classroom – to *systemically support schools* across the country to improve the quality of teaching and raise academic standards (Gates, October 2017).
364. Over time, we realized that what made the most *successful schools successful* – large or small – was their teachers, their relationships with students, and their high expectations of student achievement (Gates, October 2017).
365. Third, we are increasing our commitment to develop curricula and professional development aligned to *state standards* (Gates, October 2017).

366. This network of *schools* is using data to identify *strategies* that educators can use to *solve specific* problems (Gates, October 2017).
367. His invention helped *spark* a *sanitary* revolution of waterborne *sewage systems* that have saved hundreds of millions of lives by keeping communities safe from diseases (Burwell, 2011).
368. Building a modern *sewage system* would require lots of expensive infrastructure and use a lot of water – both resources that are in short supply (Burwell, 2011).
369. Most importantly, we must work closely with the local communities we aim to serve to develop lasting *sanitation solutions* that best meet their needs (Burwell, 2011).
370. This approach, known widely as “Community Led Total Sanitation,” is a promising approach to stimulating demand for *safe sanitation services* and ending open defecation (Burwell, 2011).
371. We’ve come here to *see* the inspiring *symbol* of liberty that, more than 250 years later, would greet millions of immigrants in the – this harbor, and we come here to *state* as *strongly* as ever [...] (Bloomberg, August 2010).
372. Of course, it is fair to ask the organizers of the mosque to show *some special sensitivity* to the *situation* [...] (Bloomberg, August 2010).
373. As we’ve emphasized all along, the greatest danger posed by Sandy is the coastal *storm surge* it will produce (Bloomberg, 2012).
374. On the “*sell*” *side*, the new measurements are number of visitors, *sales* on line, percentage of *sales* on line, new customers, share, *span* and the like (Welch, 2000).
375. [...] ... and tell them how much their *support* and *sacrifice* has meant to you (Barra, May 2014).
376. The truly impressive reforms share the *same strategic* core – they all include fair and reliable measures of teacher effectiveness that are tied to gains in student achievement (Gates, 2010).
377. I grew up a long fly ball from Shea *Stadium* and *soaked* up every *minute* of the *Miracle Mets*’ season (Genachowski, 2009).
378. I believe *such services* can *supplement*, but must not *supplant*, free and open Internet access, and that we must ensure that ample bandwidth exists for all Internet users and innovators (Genachowski, 2009).
379. And it would be a dangerous retreat from the core principle of openness – the freedom to innovate without permission – that has been a hallmark of the Internet since its inception, and has made it *so stunningly successful* as a platform for innovation, opportunity, and prosperity (Genachowski, 2009).
380. In this time of peril, *someone suggested* that they pray (Romney, 2007).
381. We have more than doubled the number of people we have working in *safety* and *security* (Sandberg, 2018).
382. We’ve also taken *strong steps* to prevent abuse and increase transparency in advertising (Sandberg, 2018).
383. When people lose access to economic opportunity, they become disenfranchised and that can have *serious* consequences on *society* (Weiner, 2018).
384. *Six Sigma* is our *second* big initiative (Welch, 2001).
385. The number of *students scoring* over 800 or better on the SATs has tripled and there’s been a 32% increase in *students* from Southside going to college (Welch, 2001).
386. We’ll sanction *them through third*-country sanctions (Tillerson, May 2017).
387. All these *tribes* spend too much *time thinking* about *themselves*, *their* own self-interests, and *their* own belief models (Weiner, 2018).

388. The Product Service initiative started out increasing the focus on *traditional* maintenance activities – *things* like *turnaround times* in engine shops or better delivery of spare parts across all our equipment businesses (Welch, 2001).
389. We face no greater danger today than *theocratic tyranny*, and the boundless *suffering* these *states* and groups could inflict if given the chance (Romney, 2007).
390. We need you to keep making progress – now more than ever, because these are *transformative times* (Cook, 2018).
391. These are experiences that no lecture hall in a[n] academic environment, or a *think tank* can *teach* you (Tillerson, 2018).
392. When I returned from Uganda I was expecting the professional equivalent of a *ticker-tape* parade (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
393. For 2 years I didn't publish or network or do all the things needed to become a *tenure track* faculty member (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
394. *Those* values, *that* commitment *to thoughtful* debate and *transparency*, *they're* only going *to* get more important (Cook, 2018).
395. Four years ago on this day, I stood before you and pledged that we would wage a new campaign against an old problem *that takes a terrible toll* on our communities: Illegal guns (Bloomberg, January 2010).
396. [...] and with gratitude to our *truly tireless* campaign staff and volunteers, including all those who worked so hard in Florida for the last 36 days (Gore, 2000).
397. But *trade* and *technology* means these countries are catching up with us – and they are catching up fast (Murdoch, 2008).
398. John's principles run like a golden *thread throughout* our history (Whitman, 2008).
399. I'm sure that Jeff and his *terrific team* will *take* GE to levels of growth and excellence that we can only dream of today (Welch, 2001).
400. This *tedious* work in a *typical* big company is the last bastion – the Alamo – of functionalism and bureaucracy (Welch, 2000).
401. The penalties for ignoring this challenge are immense and growing, and at some near point would be *unsustainable* and *unrecoverable* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
402. It gave *voice* and *visibility* to people who have *very* little power in the system (Gates, 2010).
403. And each time, both the *victor* and the *vanquished* have accepted the result peacefully and in a spirit of reconciliation (Gore, 2010).
404. It *violated* the *values* of our *company* and of the *country* we love (Sandberg, 2018).
405. It is *very valuable* to me (Tillerson, May 2017).
406. Shortly after launching, Meg Garlinghouse, our head of social impact, and someone deeply committed to our *vision* and *values* [...] (Weiner, 2018).
407. We must protect our ability to be that *voice* of our *values* now and forevermore (Tillerson, May 2017).
408. *We will* continue *working with* our regional *partners* to *protect* religious minority communities from terrorist attacks and to *preserve* their cultural heritage (Tillerson, 2017).
409. The *whole world witnessed* the might and resilience of our nation [...] (Trump, July 2019).
410. So when my *wife, who was* also tired and had had a busy day, *wanted* to connect, or talk about important stuff, I *would* reflexively say it had been a long day, I *was* exhausted, and could we talk about it some other time (Weiner, 2018).
411. Indeed, without realizing it, we have begun to *wage war* on the earth itself (Gore, December 10, 2007).

412. *We* are **what** is **wrong**, and *we* must make it right (Gore, December 10, 2007).
413. We never intended to cause all this destruction, just as Alfred Nobel never intended that dynamite be used for **waging war** (Gore, December 10, 2007).
414. Sometimes, **without warning**, the future knocks on our door with a **precious** and **painful** vision of what might be (Gore, December 10, 2007).
415. I **would walk around as a** kid **with** his **white** coat and a plastic stethoscope giving orders to my sisters who played nurse and receptionist (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
416. *We wanted* to **work with** educators to better understand their needs and the needs of their students and communities (Gates, October 2017).
417. And, taking their best ideas, *we wanted* to **pilot potentially** transformative solutions and understand **what worked well** and **what** didn't (Gates, October 2017).
418. *We will work with* partners to document these change efforts in schools and networks and ask them to share the lessons learned with others (Gates, October 2017).
419. [...] a **warning** of **what** can happen **when** technology becomes a tool of power and loses touch **with** humanity (Cook, 2018).
420. Or think back to the early days of **World War II**, **when** things **were** going badly for the United States in Europe and the Pacific (Buffett, 2008).
421. Of all our precious freedoms, the most important may be the freedom to **worship** as *we wish* (Bloomberg, August 2010).
422. That keeps New York City **well within** the danger zone of this storm [...] (Bloomberg, 2012).
423. Now **when we** close a road, *we* close it **when** the **water** comes up, and if the **water** recedes, for example as you go from a high-tide to a low-tide period, *we would* reopen that (Bloomberg, 2012).
424. A high **wind warning** is now in effect (Bloomberg, 2012).
425. But *we* understand **why we're** here (Bloomberg, 2012).
426. *With* all of our colleagues around the **world watching** today, I *want* it known that this recall issue isn't merely an engineering or manufacturing or legal problem, it represents a **fundamental failure** to meet the basic needs of these customers (Barra, June 2014).
427. I *wondered* if I was just **wrong**, an imposter, a 22 year-old kid who had no idea how the **world worked** (Zuckerberg, 2017).
428. Let's start with the decades-old GE principle of reality, seeing the **world** the **way** it is, not the **way** we hope it *will* be or *wish* it to be (Welch, 2000).
429. The United **War Work** campaign, **which** is asking the American people to contribute not less than \$170,500,000, is the greatest voluntary altruistic endeavor the **world** has ever known (Rockefeller, 1917).
430. No one can choose a **world without** change (Gates, 2010).
431. Many Americans have begun to **wonder whether** or not we've simply lost our appetite for bold policy solutions (Gore, December 14, 2007).

ANASTROPHE:

1. Up to the stage came the most elegant man I had ever seen (Winfrey, 2018).
2. And professionals they are (Trump, January 2019).
3. That I will not do (Romney, 2007).
4. It was invented in 1976, the first personal computer (Jobs, 1983).
5. Over the library of one of our great law schools is inscribed the motto, "Not under man but under God and law." (Gore, 2000).
6. We are going to fix the failures in our system – that I promise (Barra, June 2014).

7. Whatever you may think of the proposed mosque and community center, lost in the heat of the debate has been a basic question: [...] (Bloomberg, August 2010).
8. Impartiality is our guiding principle let me explain why (Dorsey, 2018).
9. As these problems are linked, so too must be their solutions (Gore, December 10, 2007).

ANTITHESIS

1. Our immigration system should be the *subject of pride*, not a *source of shame*, as it is all over the world. Our immigration system should be the *envy of the world*, not a *symbol of disunity and dysfunction* (Trump, January 2019).
2. *And if we can*, that's great. *And if we can't*, that's fine (Trump, 2017).
3. This agreement is *less about* the climate and *more about* other countries gaining a financial advantage over the United States (Trump, 2017).
4. Rather than *inspire and lift people up*, it was a good way *to shut people down* (Weiner, 2018).
5. Last year I told you I believed e-Business was neither "*old economy*" nor "*new economy*," but simply new technology (Welch, 2001).
6. I'm confident future pundits will be writing articles describing how *relatively slow and even plodding the GE of today is* compared *with the lightening pace of the GE of tomorrow* (Welch, 2001).
7. Another management concept that served us very well over two decades was the belief that an organization that was not only comfortable with change but relished it – *saw it always as opportunity, not as a threat* – had a distinct advantage in a world where the pace of change was always accelerating (Welch, 2000).
8. So, to conclude, I'd like to remind you once more that there is very little, if anything, new in management today and that this "*new economy*" and "*old economy*" which we hear about incessantly are just labels invented by pundits (Welch, 2000).
9. You have undoubtedly read about the ongoing debate about "*new economy*" *companies* versus "*old economy*" *companies* and the *advantages*, or *penalties*, for being one or the other (Welch, 2000).
10. Mortgages once thought to be *safe* are now *threatened*, and *industries* that were once *strong* are now *dying* (Whitman, 2008).
11. The cost of everything from gasoline to groceries to health care *has gone up*, while the value of our homes and our investments *has gone down* (Whitman, 2008).
12. John McCain *doesn't want to tax* success and achievement; *he wants to encourage it*. *He doesn't want to* redistribute our national wealth; *he wants to* increase it. *He doesn't want* more big government; *he wants much more* self-government (Whitman, 2008).
13. I remember his tie was *white* and, of course, his skin was *black* (Winfrey, 2018).
14. And I've interviewed and portrayed people who've withstood some of the ugliest things life can throw at you, but the one quality all of them seem to share is an ability to *maintain hope for a brighter morning, even during our darkest nights* (Winfrey, 2018).
15. To – To *tyrants and victims* and secrets and lies, I want to say that I value the press more than ever before as we try to navigate these complicated times [...] (Winfrey, 2018).
16. In my career, what I've always tried my best to do, whether on television or through film, is to say something about how men and women really behave; to say how we experience shame, how we *love* and how we *rage*, how we *fail*, how we *retreat*, *persevere*, and how we *overcome* (Winfrey, 2018).
17. To get to this future, we at GM are pursuing both an *evolutionary path* – with technologies such as automatic emergency braking and Super Cruise – and a *revolutionary path*, and the clearest evidence is the state-of-the-art autonomous vehicles you see here today. (Barra, 2017).

18. And remember that *your integrity is priceless when unquestioned... but worthless*, or worse, when it isn't (Barra, May 2014).
19. Never underestimate the effect that you can have on others... in actions *large and small* (Barra, May 2014).
20. And remember that while there's certainly *a lot wrong* in the world today, there's also *a lot right* (Barra, May 2014).
21. Now when we close a road, we *close* it when the *water comes up*, and if the *water recedes*, for example as you go from a *high-tide* to a *low-tide* period, we would *reopen* that (Bloomberg, 2012).
22. We have faced down controversies that once *divided us* and *we have remained united* (Bloomberg, January 2010).
23. To take on the impossible challenge is *our City's burden – and our City's blessing* (Bloomberg, January 2010).
24. "You've got to accentuate the *positive* / Eliminate the *negative* / Latch on to the affirmative / And don't mess with Mister In-Between." (Burns, 2011).
25. The words Charles Dickens used to describe 18th century London are eerily apt: "It was the *best* of times, it was the *worst* of times, it was the age of *wisdom*, it was the age of *foolishness*, it was the season of *light*, it was the season of *darkness*." (Burns, 2011).
26. What was once seemingly *impossible* is now *possible* (Burwell, 2011).
27. In the pursuit of *artificial intelligence*, we should not sacrifice the humanity, creativity, ingenuity that defined our *human intelligence* (Cook, 2018).
28. Then after years of *not asking enough*, we suddenly *ask way too much* – and they learn too late that their high school diploma didn't prepare them for college (Gates, 2014).
29. But it's important to explain to people that this is different – that the common core standards *don't limit freedom; they promote freedom* (Gates, 2014).
30. The pivotal impact of the teacher does not mean that parents, principals, and administrators *have fewer obligations*. It means they *have greater obligations* – to support better teaching (Gates, 2010).
31. If we *don't develop the talent of our teachers*, we're going to *waste the talent of our students* (Gates, 2010).
32. When the use of solar, wind and geothermal *increases*, pollution *comes down* (Gore, December 14, 2007).
33. "*Life or death, blessings or curses*. Therefore, choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live." (Gore, December 10, 2007).
34. We are what is *wrong*, and we must make it *right* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
35. [...] too many of the world's leaders are still best described in the words Winston Churchill applied to those who ignored Adolf Hitler's threat (and I quote): "They go on in strange paradox, *decided only to be undecided, resolved to be irresolute, adamant for drift, solid for fluidity, all powerful to be impotent*." (Gore, December 10, 2007).
36. Yet as George Orwell reminds us: "Sooner or later a *false belief* bumps up against a *solid reality*, usually on a battlefield." (Gore, December 10, 2007).
37. And while there will be time enough to debate our continuing differences, now is the time to recognize that *that which unites us is greater than that which divides us* (Gore, 2000).
38. Again, you can't *connect the dots looking forward*; you can only *connect them looking backwards* (Jobs, 2005).
39. The *heaviness* of being *successful* was replaced by the *lightness* of being a *beginner* again, less sure about everything (Jobs, 2005).

40. The raw instructions that we *have to feed these little microprocessors*, even the raw instructions that we *have to feed these big giant Cray-1 supercomputers*, are the most trivial of instructions (Jobs, 1983).
41. When I was um, going to school— I had a few *great teachers* and a lot of *mediocre teachers* (Jobs, 1983).
42. And we have a shot at *putting a great object there*. Or if we don't, we're going to *put one more piece of junk object there* (Jobs, 1983).
43. And this stuff can either be *great* or it can be *lousy* (Jobs, 1983).
44. I can put *soft edges on things, hard edges on things* (Jobs, 1983).
45. But during this 15 years if we really— we have an opportunity to do it *great* or to do it *so-so* (Jobs, 1983).
46. Reform proposals should be analyzed as to whether they do a *better* or *worse job* of allowing people to use their individual knowledge, knowledge of their own health needs, of what they value, and of the trade-offs they must make (Koch, 1994).
47. That is why we reclaim these spaces for the United States of America, because we are *one nation, not two*; indivisible with liberty and justice *for all, not some* (Landrieu, 2017).
48. No longer is it how you play the game, no longer is it even whether you *win or lose*, or *learn or grow*, or enjoy yourself doing it (McCullough, 2012).
49. *You're it or you're not* (McCullough, 2012).
50. This is, however, about showing the whole world that we as a city, that we as a people are able to acknowledge, to understand, to reconcile, and more importantly, choose a better future for ourselves, *making straight what has been crooked and making right what was wrong* (Landrieu, 2017).
51. *For me, personally*, it has been a learning experience. *And for us, collectively*, the journey is just beginning (Murdoch, 2008).
52. Because technology now allows the *little guy* to do what once required a *huge corporation* (Murdoch, 2008).
53. If you are in Dubai and you want to know the euro-dollar rate and make a trade a few seconds later, it's never been easier *to make or to lose money* (Murdoch, 2008).
54. The only way to deal with new technology that up-ends your job or your business model *is to get out in front of it. Otherwise it will get out in front of you* (Murdoch, 2008).
55. We are in an era of unprecedented *creative destruction*, but there is far more being *created* than there is being *destroyed* (Murdoch, 2008).
56. Yet even the beneficiaries worry that technology is more *controlling* than *controlled* (Murdoch, 2008).
57. But they will have a wall full of awards — *prisoners of the past* rather than *enthusiasts for the future* (Murdoch, 2008).
58. That has always been the *role* of *great newspapers in the past*. And that *role* will make *newspapers great in the future* (Murdoch, 2008).
59. But also: always remember that the moments we have with friends and family, the chances we have to do things that might *make a big difference in the world, or even to make a small difference to someone you love* — all those wonderful chances that *life gives us, life also takes away*. (Page, 2009).
60. The *least prepared* first grader deserves it just as much as the *most prepared* (Raikes, 2010).
61. And *it's not just the number of degrees. It's the skills of the students getting the degrees* (Raikes, 2010).

62. *Demand* for innovation *is high*: we rank fourth among states in the number of high-tech companies. But *supply is*, frankly, *abysmal*: we rank forty-sixth in the number of STEM graduates (Raikes, 2010).
63. Then give of your *abundance*, give of your *poverty* but give without stint to this great fund which should be not less than \$250,000,000 (Rockefeller, 1917).
64. A person should not be *elected because of his faith* nor should he *be rejected because of his faith* (Romney, 2007).
65. So it doesn't have to come *at the expense of others*, but it does have to come *at an engagement with others* (Tillerson, May 2017).
66. And *I don't say that* just about the State Department, *I say that* about institutions globally (Tillerson, May 2017).
67. The first responders from across the country rushed to New York and worked *endless days* and *sleepless nights* (Trump, July 2019).
68. So, to conclude, I'd like to remind you once more that there is very little, if anything, new in management today and that this *"new economy" and "old economy"* which we hear about incessantly are just labels invented by pundits (Welch, 2000).

APOSIOPESIS:

1. The scale and range of our hotel suite inventory, the diversity of our non-gaming offering, especially in retail and entertainment and the unique benefit of inter-connectivity between our Cotai properties (Adelson, 2018).
2. If you really experience an emergency, 911 (Bloomberg, 2012).
3. When I'm working, or when I want to send something to somebody with a computer terminal (Jobs, 1983).

ASSONANCE

1. It is only five years old, yet in those five years GEFA employee*es*, many of them new to GE, have warmly embraced the GE tradition of voluntee*r*ism in the community and have worked to improve life for people here in the city of Richmond (Welch, 2000).
2. The *need* for *speed* and more *speed* has *been* driving this management team for two decades, for the competitive advantage it always brings and for the *sheer* excitement and fun it imparts to every aspect of business (Welch, 2000).
3. We all want to *see* them succee*d* (Gates, 2014).
4. Yet when we look at all *three* of these *seem*ingly intractable challenges at the same time, we can *see* the common thread running through them, *deep*ly ironic in its simplicity: our dangerous over-reliance on carbon-based fuels is at the core of all *three* of these challenges - the economic, environmental and national security crises (Gore, December 14, 2007).
5. So we have a *steady stream* of stories like *The Economist* cover declaring that 'newspapers are now an endangered species.' (Murdoch, 2008).
6. And if it weren't for *learning* the *mean*ing and value of compassion, it's likely I wouldn't be on this stage today (Weiner, 2018).
7. After *nearly* ten *years*, I still celebrate the fact we can make important decisions in minutes or hours that some companies debate for months (Weiner, 2018).
8. That *means* adopting principles, values, laws, and Unlike the *doom* and *gloom*ers, I believe that newspapers will *reach* new heights (Murdoch, 2008).
9. [...] *treaties* that *releas*e *creat*ivity and initiative at every level of society in multifold responses originating concurrently and spontaneously (Gore, December 10, 2007).

10. Now, the prior administration, as all of you know, President Obama told President Trump this was going to be your *greatest threat* that you're going to have to manage, and he was right (Tillerson, May 2017).
11. Even though I *fear* my words cannot match this moment, I pray what I am feeling in my *heart* will be communicated *clearly* enough that those who *hear* me will say, "We must act." (Gore, December 10, 2007).
12. And I've tried many, many, many times to explain what a moment like that *means* to a little girl, a kid watching from the *cheap seats* as my mom came through the door bone tired from *cleaning* other people's houses (Winfrey, 2018).

ASYNDETON

1. That's true *in the arts, in science, in business* (Bloomberg, January 2010).
2. Through *your resilience, your persistence, your brilliance*, you have earned the right to seize the next exciting opportunity (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018)
3. I said the men and women of the State Department inspire me, my colleagues – *their professionalism, their commitment, their patriotism* (Tillerson, May 2017).
4. When our parents graduated, purpose reliably came from *your* job, *your* church, *your* community (Zuckerberg, 2017).
5. This is, however, about showing the whole world that we as a city, that we as a people are able *to acknowledge, to understand, to reconcile*, and more importantly, choose a better future for ourselves, making straight what has been crooked and making right what was wrong (Landrieu, 2017).
6. No one should believe a solution will be found *without effort, without cost, without change* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
7. They are working in factories and they work in restaurants and they're *in academia, in engineering, in medicine, in science* (Winfrey, 2018). And if I don't like what I've just drawn, *I can erase it, I can move it, I can shrink it, I can grow it, I can change its texture* (Jobs, 1983).
8. Every day, billions of dollars change hands and countless decisions are made on the basis of *our likes and dislikes, our friends and families, our relationships and conversations, our wishes and fears, our hopes and dreams* (Cook, 2018).
9. I presume the reason for this gathering is that all of us are here – Muslims, Jews, Christians – are all searching our souls for how to better serve *our family, our community, our nation, our God* (Hewson, 2006).
10. And certainly, we've been to *your games, your plays, your recitals, your science fairs* (McCullough, 2012).
11. [...] nothing to remember this long chapter of our lives *of the pain, of sacrifice, of shame* – all of it happening on the soil of New Orleans (Landrieu, 2017).
12. To quote Bo Schembechler: "If you do not like people, you will not take the time to get to know them, and if you don't get to know them, you will have no idea *what scares them, what motivates them, what inspires them.*" (Barra, May 2014).
13. In the pursuit of artificial intelligence, we should not sacrifice the *humanity, creativity, ingenuity* that defined our human intelligence (Cook, 2018).

CHIASMUS:

1. Remember: *hard work beats talent... if talent doesn't work hard* (Barra, May 2014).
2. Because people don't *care what you know, until they know that you care* (Barra, May 2014).
3. I *hate sharing this* with you as much as you *hate hearing it* (Barra, June 2014).
4. "We do not *ride on the railroad*," he said. "*It rides upon us*." (Cook, 2018).
5. There has been a lot of *research done about the impact of effective teaching*, but little *research has been done on what makes teaching effective* (Gates, 2010).
6. *The pace* of our response *must be accelerated to match the accelerating pace* of the crisis itself (Gore, December 10, 2007).
7. He said, "Stop asking *God to bless what you're doing*. Get involved in *what God is doing* – because *it's already blessed* [...]" (Hewson, 2006).
8. That has always been the *role* of *great newspapers* in the past. And that *role* will make *newspapers great* in the future (Murdoch, 2008).
9. Our commitment to integrity, which beyond *doing everything right, means always doing the right thing* (Welch, 2001).

CONSONANTS

1. A steel barrier *will* help us stop *illegal immigration* while safely directing *commerce* to our lawful ports of entry (Trump, January 2019).
2. Our plan includes the *following*: 800 *million dollars* in urgent *humanitarian* assistance; 805 *million dollars* for drug detection *technology* to help secure our ports of entry; an additional 2,750 border agents and law enforcement *professionals*; 75 new *immigration* judge teams to reduce the court *backlog* of, believe it or not, *almost* 900,000 cases (Trump, January 2019).
3. India makes its participation contingent on receiving *billions* and *billions* and *billions* of *dollars* in foreign aid from *developed* countries (Trump, 2017).
4. The same nations asking us to stay in the agreement are the countries that have *collectively* cost America *trillions* of *dollars* through tough trade practices and, in many cases, lax contributions to our critical military *alliance* (Trump, 2017).
5. The Green Fund would likely obligate the United States to commit *potentially* tens of *billions* of *dollars* of which the United States has already handed over \$1 *billion* – nobody *else* is even close; most of them haven't even paid anything – *including* funds raided out of America's budget for the war against terrorism (Trump, 2017).
6. For *all* of my working life, I have *believed* that there is a *social* and *commercial* *value* in *delivering* accurate news and information in a cheap and *timely* way (Murdoch, 2008).
7. It was developed *particularly* for *ballistic*, for *military* *calculations* (Jobs, 1983).
8. In all seriousness, the advice I would give my 22-year old self is to be *compassionate* (Weiner, 2018).
9. Whether you're a *career* *employee* or a *political* *appointee*, we are *all* bound by that *common* *commitment* to support and defend the Constitution, to bear true faith and *allegiance* to the same, and to *faithfully* discharge the duties of our office (Tillerson, 2018). +ASSONANCE
10. *Americans* were unable to *accommodate* their *commitment* to their own faith with an appreciation for the convictions of others to different faiths (Romney, 2007).
11. But we do need to be *contemporary* – and to *comprehend* the *impact* on our family and our society (Murdoch, 2008).
12. The forces of *freedom*, openness and global *community* against the forces of *authoritarianism*, *isolationism*, and *nationalism* (Zuckerberg, 2017).

13. We've just finished a **summer** of big-ticket **commemorations**, celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Apollo landing and of Woodstock (Genachowski, 2009).
14. For most people, **adapting** to the **changes** that are **coming** will require **moving** out of comfort zones (Murdoch, 2008).
15. One way we are **planning** to take **advantage** of **online** **opportunities** is by **offering** three tiers of **content** (Murdoch, 2008).
16. We project that – every **single** year – there will be 1 million **openings** for high-paying **STEM** jobs that require some college (Raikes, 2010).
17. Just a short time ago, I had the honor of **presiding** over the **swearing-in** of five new, **great** American citizens (Trump, January 2019). + ASSONANCE
18. **Doing** so, **developing** great people, in the end is the true “core competency” of General Electric (Welch, 2001).
19. GE is, in a phrase, a new kind of Company, a Company with market-leading positions in businesses **ranging** from high technology **manufacturing** of power generation equipment, medical diagnostics, jet engines, plastics – to consumer products – **broadcasting**, **lighting**, and appliances – to 24 widely diverse financial services businesses (Welch, 2001).
20. The empathetic response would be to feel the same sense of crushing suffocation, thus **rendering** you helpless. The compassionate response would be to recognize that that person is in pain and **doing** everything within your power to remove the boulder and alleviate their **suffering** (Weiner, 2018).
21. Its achievement **ment** requires an introspective **assessment** of everything we do, say, or make, and an honest inquiry: “Is it ‘better than the best’?” (Welch, 1981).
22. Compassion is **putting** yourself in the shoes of another person and **seeing** the world through their lens for the sake of **alleviating** their **suffering** (Weiner, 2018).
23. I closed the annual **meeting** last year in Cleveland by **saying** to our share owners: “The next time we gather again in April of 2000, as GE begins operations in its third century, you can be certain that your Company will **never** have been **newer**, **fresher** or more energized.” (Welch, 2000).
24. **Selflessly** **sharing** good ideas while **endlessly** **searching** for better ideas became a natural act (Welch, 2000).
25. In **order** to **foster** **international** cooperation, it is also **essential** that the United States rejoin the **global** community and lead **efforts** to **secure** an **international** **treaty** at Copenhagen in **December** of next **year** that includes a cap on CO2 emissions and a **global** **partnership** that recognizes the necessity of addressing the threats of extreme **poverty** and disease as **part** of the **world's** agenda for **solving** the **climate** **crisis** (Gore, December 14, 2007).
26. The **rewarding** part of having **leadership** and **partnerships** in place is that you can actually get some things done, and I want to give recognition to the State Department and our **partners** for a few of their accomplishments **under** this **Administration** (Tillerson, 2018).
27. Our endless **assault** on bureaucracy, hierarchy, layers, boundaries and every other manifestation of corporate nonsense has made us much faster than we ever thought a big company could be, but that qualifier – a “big company” – was always there (Welch, 2000).
28. The first responders from across the country rushed to New York and worked endless days and sleepless nights (Trump, July 2019).
29. Our Democratic opponents view raising taxes as the measure of their compassion and fairness (Whitman, 2008).
30. This has made America's story the **greatest** and **proudest** and **most** hopeful of any in history (Whitman, 2008).
31. Facebook is an **idealistic** and **optimistic** company (Zuckerberg, 2018).

32. It is our **strongest** defense **against** foreign competition and the only path to **sustained** growth in earnings (Welch, 1981).
33. Before I go further, this morning we express our deepest sadness and sorrow for the families who lost a precious loved one in the horrific shooting last night in Gilroy, California (Trump, July 2019).
34. In Chicago, researchers also found powerful insights in their data that are predictive of student progress and success (Gates, October 2017).
35. The **quickest**, **cheapest** and **best** way to **start** using all this renewable energy is in the production of electricity (Gore, December 14, 2007).
36. Thousands of children are being exploited by ruthless “coyotes” and vicious cartels and gangs (Trump, January 2019).
37. And we’re gathered this morning at the White House to honor our solemn duty to America’s **best**, **bravest**, and **finest**, who I know so well (Trump, July 2019).

ENUMERATION:

1. [...] that we would be reinvesting over \$1.1 billion over the next two years in **expanding, renovating and reframing** Sands Cotai Central into the Londoner [...] (Adelson, 2018).
2. The Venetian introduced large scale, non-gaming amenities to Macao such as **retail malls, MICE, live entertainment and arenas** (Adelson, 2018).
3. The scale of the current SCC assets are unmatched in Macao, including **over 6,000 hotel keys, a 400,000-square-foot retail mall, a 1,700-seat theater and over 300,000 square feet of developed MICE space** (Adelson, 2018).
4. The Londoner renovation and expansion will completely re-envision the property, **developing another 1.7 million square feet of space, expanding and enhancing all our offerings, hotel suites, retail mall, F&B, entertainment, and MICE** (Adelson, 2018).
5. [...] we are working hard to provide financial assistance to the **individuals, institutions and charities** that have been significantly influencing (Adelson, 2018).
6. We regard it as a privilege to contribute to Macao’s success **in realizing its objectives of diversifying its economy, supporting the growth of local businesses and providing meaningful career development opportunities [...], and reaching its full potential as Asia’s leading business and leisure tourism destination** (Adelson, 2018).
7. The structural advantage from our **scale, critical mass and product diversity** remains evident in our strong financial results (Adelson, 2018).
8. Let me add my thanks to everyone who has helped achieve today’s important milestone... **especially the Orion Assembly Plant team... the men and women of UAW Local 5960... the management team... and our government partners at the federal, state and local levels** (Barra, 2017).
9. In fact, no other company today has the unique and necessary combination of **technology, engineering and manufacturing** ability to build autonomous vehicles at scale (Barra, 2017).
10. [...] has amassed more than 35 awards from independent third-parties, including **2017 North American Car of the Year... 2017 Motor Trend Car of the Year... and Green Car Journal’s 2017 Green Car of The Year** (Barra, 2017).
11. The array of equipment that Kyle mentioned – **the LIDAR, cameras, sensors and other hardware** – represents a substantial leap forward in autonomous technology and capability (Barra, 2017).
12. **First**, no matter what you choose to do in life, pursue it with passion and hard work.
Two, conduct yourself with integrity at all times.
Three, build relationships.

Four, address challenges head on.

Five, give something back.

Finally, the last thing I want to mention on this special day is to remember your friends, family, and faith (Barra, May 2014).

13. The skills you have learned here at Michigan – **critical thinking, problem solving, communications, analysis, teamwork** – they are just as essential for success today as they were 30 years ago (Barra, May 2014).
14. But as I lead GM through this crisis, I want everyone to know that I am guided by two clear principles: **First**, that we do the right thing for those who were harmed; and, **second**, that we accept responsibility for our mistakes and commit to doing everything within our power to prevent this problem from ever happening again (Barra, June 2014).
15. **We named** Jeff Boyer Vice President of Safety for the company, elevating and integrating our safety processes under a single leader.
We added 35 safety investigators that will allow us to identify and address issues much more quickly.
We instituted our Speak Up for Safety program encouraging employees to report potential safety issues quickly.
We announced the creation of, and have implemented, a new Global Product Integrity organization that will enhance our overall safety and quality performance.
Finally – and this is an incredibly important one – **we restructured** the safety decision-making process to raise it to the highest levels of the company (Barra, June 2014).
16. The ignition switch issue was touched by numerous parties at GM – **engineers, investigators, lawyers** – but nobody raised the problem to the highest levels of the company (Barra, June 2014).
17. I know, because of your efforts, our current vehicles are winning in the marketplace **on safety, quality and design** (Barra, June 2014).
18. As we have learned more about this situation over the last few months, we have acted aggressively to **uncover the facts, correct the problems and restructure the internal systems that allowed this problem to develop in the first place** (Barra, June 2014).
19. I'd invented **an automatic gate closer out of cement-filled tires, a solar cooker that didn't work very well out of an umbrella and tinfoil, baking-pan alarms to entrap my siblings** (Bezos, 2010).
20. On that day, 3,000 people were killed because some murderous fanatics didn't want us to enjoy the freedoms to **profess our own faiths, to speak our own minds, to follow our own dreams, and to live our own lives** (Bloomberg, August 2010).
21. It was an eye-opening experience that **improved teamwork, generated new ideas, and launched the company to greater heights** (Bloomberg, January 2010).
22. We intend to break down the bureaucratic barriers that too often **impede innovation, compromise customer service, and cost taxpayers money** (Bloomberg, January 2010).
23. And I will not stop working for you – I will not rest – **until every job seeker finds work, every high school student graduates, every child is safe from illegal guns, every family has an affordable home, and every New Yorker with a dream finds it within reach** (Bloomberg, January 2010).
24. And as they did, Americans from across the country looked to New York to ring **in a new year, a new decade, and a new beginning** (Bloomberg, January 2010).
25. In the 20th century, the United States endured **two world wars and other traumatic and expensive military conflicts; the Depression; a dozen or so recessions and financial panics; oil shocks; a flu epidemic; and the resignation of a disgraced president** (Buffett, 2008).

26. And my congratulations also *to all the parents, grandparents, spouses, family members and faculty* that helped push you across the finish line (Burns, 2011).
27. And I hope that in the distant future you will remember how you feel this day:
Proud that an important phase of your life's journey is ending and anxious about the one that is just beginning.
Proud of the friendships you've made here and hopeful that some of them will endure far into the future.
Proud that you've earned a degree and cognizant of how much more you still have to learn.
Proud that you have achieved an important milestone but aware that you have much to do and miles to go before you rest (Burns, 2011).
28. So before I go any further, will the *parents, families and friends* join me in sharing our appreciation to President Hockfield and the talented faculty and staff she leads for all they have give to the graduating class of 2011 (Burns, 2011).
29. We need your *passion, creativity and drive* (Burns, 2011).
30. But human waste actually contains valuable and recyclable materials *such as water, energy, urea, salts, and minerals* (Burwell, 2011).
31. Let me begin today not in the present, but in the past. I'd like to bring you back more than 200 years to 1775.
In America, George Washington was leading the Continental Army in the first battles of the Revolutionary War.
In Europe, a precocious young composer named Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was composing his first violin concertos.
In London, a talented Scottish mathematician and watchmaker named Alexander Cummings was turning his energies to solving a major crisis of his time: improving sanitation (Burwell, 2011).
32. What was once seemingly impossible is now possible.
Automobiles and airplanes.
Electric lights and television.
Smart phones and smarter computers.
We've developed life-saving vaccines.
Looked inside the smallest molecules.
Glimpsed at the farthest stars (Burwell, 2011).
33. The enterprising team of researchers and students has already helped scientists around the world develop a better understanding of the *chemical, physical and mechanical properties* of human waste and how it might be recovered and recycled (Burwell, 2011).
34. We're also funding research into systems that use *wind, algae, and anaerobic micro-digesters* to consume human waste and generate *biodiesel, electricity, heat, methane, fertilizer, and water* for homes and entire villages (Burwell, 2011).
35. Billions of dollars have been poured into constructing *toilets, sewers, and wastewater treatment facilities* in the developing world (Burwell, 2011).
36. To address the needs of the 2.6 billion people who don't have access to safe sanitation, we not only must reinvent the toilet, we also must find *safe, affordable and sustainable ways to capture, treat, and recycle human waste* (Burwell, 2011).
37. We are ready *to offer our support, our funding, the energy and ideas of our staff, and the creativity and innovation* that exist here in Africa to help Reinvent a Toilet (Burwell, 2011).
38. *First*, the right to have personal data minimized.
Second, the right to knowledge.
Third, the right to access.

- And fourth*, the right to security (Cook, 2018).
39. Rogue actors and even governments have taken advantage of user trust to *deepen divisions, incite violence, and even undermine our shared sense* of what is true and what is false (Cook, 2018).
 40. Now, more than ever – *as leaders of governments, as decision-makers in business, and as citizens* – we must ask ourselves a fundamental question (Cook, 2018).
 41. Thank you *for your work, for your commitment to the possibility of human-centered technology, and for your firm belief* that our best days are still ahead of us (Cook, 2018).
 42. *In Singapore, Japan, Brazil, New Zealand, and many more nations*, regulators are asking tough questions and crafting effective reforms (Cook, 2018).
 43. These scraps of data, each one harmless enough on its own, are carefully *assembled, synthesized, traded, and sold* (Cook, 2018).
 44. I look forward to our conversation about our commitment *to impartiality, to transparency, and to accountability* (Dorsey, 2018).
 45. Our early and strong defense of open and free exchange has enabled Twitter to be the platform for *activists, marginalized communities, whistleblowers, journalists, governments, and the most influential people around the world* (Dorsey, 2018).
 46. Our responsibility is to *understand, measure, and reduce* accidental bias due to factors such as the quality of the data used to train our algorithms (Dorsey, 2018).
 47. What’s more, we can draw on the *knowledge, systems, and resources* used *to end polio to make progress against other diseases, and to reduce the risk of future pandemics* (Gates, November 2017).
 48. By and large, schools are still falling short on the key metrics of a quality education – *math scores, English scores, international comparisons, and college completion* (Gates, October 2017).
 49. Over the past decade, in cities like *Charlotte, Austin, and Fresno*, high school graduation rates have gone up rapidly (Gates, October 2017).
 50. Over time, we realized that what made the most successful schools successful – large or small – was *their teachers, their relationships with students, and their high expectations* of student achievement (Gates, October 2017).
 51. And a focus on addressing common problems that are identified by using proven indicators predictive of students’ *learning, progress, and postsecondary success* (Gates, October 2017).
 52. *Many states, districts, and schools* now have the data they need to track student progress and achievement, and some are using it to great effect (Gates, October 2017).
 53. *First*, although we will no longer invest directly in new initiatives based on teacher evaluations and ratings, we will continue to gather data on the impact of these systems and encourage the use of these systems to improve instruction at the local level.
Second, we will focus on locally-driven solutions identified by networks of schools, and support their efforts to use data-driven continuous learning and evidence-based interventions to improve student achievement.
Third, we are increasing our commitment to develop curricula and professional development aligned to state standards.
Fourth, we will continue to support the development of high-quality charter schools.
Finally, we will expand investments in innovative research to accelerate progress for underserved students (Gates, October 2017).
 54. *School leadership, teacher professional development, climate, and curriculum* also play critical roles in improving student achievement (Gates, October 2017).

55. And there are promising developments in *neuroscience, cognitive psychology, and behavioral economics* (Gates, October 2017).
56. Each network will be backed by a team of education experts skilled in *continuous improvement, coaching, and data collection and analysis* (Gates, October 2017).
57. We've seen promising results in places like *Cincinnati, Chicago, New York City, and Washington DC*, where research shows these systems can help identify teachers who need to improve and those who are underperforming . . . and in places like Tennessee, where three out of four teachers say the evaluation process improves their teaching (Gates, October 2017).
58. They determined, for example, that 9th graders who succeed on four key indicators—*high attendance, course completion rates, credit accumulation, and grades* – are more than 4 times more likely to graduate (Gates, October 2017).
59. Schools that track indicators of student progress — *like test scores, attendance, suspensions, and grades and credit accumulation* – improved high school graduation and college success rates (Gates, October 2017).
60. As someone who passionately supports the new standards, I want to offer my views today about *what they are, why we need them, and what should be done to help teachers master them* (Gates, 2014).
61. *First*, the new standards are set high to match the needs of students who want to go to college or get a job that leads to a career. [...] *Second*, the standards are clear and focused. [...] *Third*, the standards are consistent from state to state (Gates, 2014).
62. There's a standard for eighth grade literature that is basically this: *First* read a book, *then* watch the movie, *then* analyze and evaluate the differences (Gates, 2014).
63. On the other hand, when everyone embraces consistent standards, you can *define goals, test methods, and see what's effective* (Gates, 2014).
64. That's why consistent standards are so important to teaching: *they provide a shared platform that allows teachers to communicate, cooperate, innovate, learn from each other and keep pushing to get better* (Gates, 2014).
65. *They involve* teachers in planning.
They listen to teachers and make changes based on their feedback.
They help teachers get experience with the new standards.
They create ways for teachers to share their practices.
And *they give* teachers and students time to adjust to the new standards before they face consequences for not meeting them (Gates, 2014).
66. The students should *read text – understand it, explain it, apply it, analyze it, draw inferences from it, and cite evidence from it* – at ever higher levels of complexity – with ever greater independence (Gates, 2014).
67. *In Washington, D.C., New York, New Haven, Tampa, Pittsburgh, Colorado* – you have taken historic steps to bury old arguments and improve student achievement (Gates, 2010).
68. They give us models to *study, understand, and spread* (Gates, 2010).
69. We have to make sure that teachers get the *evaluations, training, standards, curriculum, assessments, and the student data* they need to improve their practice (Gates, 2010).
70. That's the research we're doing now with nearly 3,000 teachers in six school districts who have volunteered to open their classrooms to *visitors, to video cameras, to new assessments, to watching themselves* teach and talking about their practice (Gates, 2010).
71. Measures of excellent teaching will guide the way they *recruit, evaluate, develop, assign, compensate and promote teachers* (Gates, 2010).

72. In the past, the AFT has served the vital purpose of protecting teachers from *low wages, poor working conditions, political interference, and the arbitrary judgments of administrators* (Gates, 2010).
73. It is also an unprecedented platform for *speech, democratic engagement, and a culture* that prizes creative new ways of approaching old problems (Genachowski, 2009).
74. And it would be a dangerous retreat from the core principle of openness – the freedom to innovate without permission – that has been a hallmark of the Internet since its inception, and has made it so stunningly successful as a platform for *innovation, opportunity, and prosperity* (Genachowski, 2009).
75. Today more than 600,000 Americans earn part of their living by operating small businesses on eBay's auction platform, bringing jobs and opportunities to *Danvers, Massachusetts, Durham, North Carolina, Lincoln, Nebraska, and many communities* in both rural and urban America (Genachowski, 2009).
76. *One reason* has to do with limited competition among service providers.
A second reason involves the economic incentives of broadband providers.
The third reason involves the explosion of traffic on the Internet (Genachowski, 2009).
77. Why has the Internet proved to be such a powerful engine for *creativity, innovation, and economic growth*? (Genachowski, 2009).
78. And sure enough, billions of dollars of new investment are flowing into the development of concentrated *solar thermal, photovoltaics, windmills, geothermal plants, and a variety of ingenious new ways* to improve our efficiency and conserve presently wasted energy (Gore, December 14, 2007).
79. It represents a challenge to all Americans – in every walk of life: *to our political leaders, entrepreneurs, innovators, engineers, and to every citizen* (Gore, December 2007).
80. Higher temperatures lead to drier vegetation that makes kindling for mega-fires of the kind that have been raging in *Canada, Greece, Russia, China, South America, Australia and Africa* (Gore, December 14, 2007).
81. This goal is *achievable, affordable and transformative* (Gore, December 14, 2007).
82. But unlike most other forms of pollution, CO₂ is *invisible, tasteless, and odorless* – which has helped keep the truth about what it is doing to our climate out of sight and out of mind (Gore, December 10, 2007).
83. These prior struggles for survival were won when leaders found words at the 11th hour that released a mighty *surge of courage, hope, and readiness* to sacrifice for a protracted and mortal struggle (Gore, December 10, 2007).
84. We must understand the connections between the climate crisis and the afflictions of *poverty, hunger, HIV-Aids and other pandemics* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
85. But there is hopeful news as well: we have the ability to solve this crisis and avoid the worst – though not all – of its consequences, if we act *boldly, decisively, and quickly* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
86. They were calls upon the *courage, generosity, and strength* of entire peoples, citizens of every class and condition who were ready to stand against the threat once asked to do so (Gore, December 10, 2007).
87. Now comes the threat of climate crisis – a threat that is *real, rising, imminent, and universal* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
88. That means adopting *principles, values, laws, and treaties* that release creativity and initiative at every level of society in multifold responses originating concurrently and spontaneously (Gore, December 10, 2007).

89. When churches started *organizing, petitioning, and even that most unholy of acts today, God forbid, lobbying* on AIDS and global health, governments listened – and acted (Hewson, 2006).
90. *The first story* is about connecting the dots (Jobs, 2005).
My second story is about love and loss (Jobs, 2005).
My third story is about death (Jobs, 2005).
91. You have to trust in something – *your gut, destiny, life, karma, whatever* – because believing that the dots will connect down the road will give you the confidence to follow your heart, even when it leads you off the well-worn path, and that will make all the difference (Jobs, 2005).
92. Because almost everything – *all external expectations, all pride, all fear of embarrassment or failure* – these things just fall away in the face of death, leaving only what is truly important (Jobs, 2005).
93. “Dispersed knowledge” refers to the knowledge of the particulars *of time and place, of people and what they value, of local conditions* — knowledge that enables everyone to contribute because we all possess unique information that can be helpful to others (Koch, 1994).
94. As Ron Scheberle, Chairman of ALECs Private Enterprise Board, indicated, we sponsor programs for an organization called the National Foundation for Teaching Entrepreneurship, known as NFTE, in three metropolitan areas — *Wichita, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Washington, D.C.* (Koch, 1994).
95. We need to develop the methodology for analyzing how each *program, policy, law and regulation* affects the use of dispersed knowledge (Koch, 1994).
96. They include such qualities as: *integrity and respect for the rights and property of others; a work ethic; self-discipline; the desire to make a contribution; tolerance or treating others as you would have them treat you; taking responsibility for your own behavior; and taking the long view* — being willing to make the sacrifices or investments today that help bring a better future (Koch, 1994).
97. As legislators, you recognize the consequences of failing to reinforce and build on these pillars — consequences that include *economic stagnation; higher deficits and taxes; increased poverty and crime; politicized, less-productive businesses; failed education; class warfare, and deteriorating rules of just conduct* (Koch, 1994).
98. New Orleans was one of America’s largest slave markets, a port where hundreds of thousands of souls were *bought, sold, and shipped* up the Mississippi River to lives *of forced labor, of misery, of rape, and of torture* (Landrieu, 2017).
99. It is the history, our history, that holds in its heart the stories of Native Americans – *the Choctaw, the Nation, the Chitimacha; Hernando de Soto, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, the Acadians, the Islenos, the enslaved people of Senegambia, free people of color, the Haitians, the Germans, both empires of France and Spain; the Italian[s], the Irish, the Cubans, the south and central Americans, the Vietnamese, and so many more* (Landrieu, 2017).
100. And your ceremonial costume – *shapeless, uniform, one-size-fits-all* (McCullough, 2012).
101. That’s 37,000 valedictorians; that’s 37,000 class presidents, 92,000 harmonizing altos, 340,000 swaggering jocks, 2,185,967 pairs of Uggs (McCullough, 2012).
102. Yes, you’ve been *pampered, cosseted, doted upon, helmeted, bubble-wrapped*. Yes, capable adults with other things to do have *held you, kissed you, fed you, wiped your mouth, wiped your bottom, trained you, taught you, tutored you, coached you, listened to you, counseled you, encouraged you, consoled you, and encouraged you again*. You have been *nudged, cajoled, wheedled, and implored*. You’ve been *feted and fawned* over and called “sweetie pie.” (McCullough, 2012).

103. *The first* will be the news that we put online for free. *The second* will be available for those who subscribe to *wsj.com*. *And the third* will be a premium service, designed to give its customers the ability to customise high-end financial news and analysis from around the world (Murdoch, 2008).
104. It's some of the *editors, reporters, and proprietors* who are forgetting a newspaper's most precious asset: the bond with its readers (Murdoch, 2008).
105. I know industries that are today facing stiff new competition from the internet: *banks, retailers, phone companies, and so on* (Murdoch, 2008).
106. But if papers provide readers with news they can trust, we'll see gains in circulation—*on our web pages, through our RSS feeds, in emails delivering customised news and advertising, to mobile phones* (Murdoch, 2008).
107. You can already customise your news flow, whether by *country, company or subject* (Murdoch, 2008).
108. Yet in many countries, people today are facing similar disruptions driven by technology – *to their business models, to their livelihoods, to their homes and communities* (Murdoch, 2008).
109. This list of Nobel laureates includes *the father and son team of William and Laurence Bragg, Howard Walter Florey, Frank McFarlane Burnet, and Barry Marshall and Robin Warren* (Murdoch, 2008).
110. Right now Australia has many advantages – a *democratic government, a relatively open economy, a beautiful environment, and a fundamentally tolerant society* (Murdoch, 2008).
111. I do know that their contributions have *helped turn penicillin into a lifesaver, revolutionised treatment for gastro-duodenal ulcers, and provided the foundation for modern biotechnology and genetic engineering* (Murdoch, 2008).
112. And he has done it all with minimal start-up costs—*a computer, a modem, and some space on a server* (Murdoch, 2008).
113. *First*, why technology is a good thing despite the unsettling changes it brings. *Second*, in business terms, how technology is putting a greater premium on what is awkwardly called “human capital” (Murdoch, 2008).
114. At an absolute minimum, that means that every Australian ought to leave secondary school with a basic mastery of *reading, writing, and arithmetic* (Murdoch, 2008).
115. And I have great faith that Australia can harness its potential to *expand opportunity, promote freedom, and bring a better quality of life* (Murdoch, 2008).
116. For example, mobile phone technology proliferated rapidly in places like *India, China, and Africa* because people were fed up with the long waits they would have for a land line (Murdoch, 2008).
117. And we need to buttress it with a *legal, business, and social environment* designed to support a culture of excellence (Murdoch, 2008).
118. Everyone in my family went to school here at Michigan: *me, my brother, my Mom and Dad* – all of us (Page, 2009).
119. It's not easy for me to express how proud I am to be here, *with my Mom, my brother and my wife Lucy, and with all of you*, at this amazing institution that is responsible for my very existence (Page, 2009).
120. We shall take part in, or witness, developments in *science, medicine, and industry* that we can not dream of today (Page, 2009).
121. The STEM movement is an urgent priority for two reasons: *First*, it can resurrect the democratic promise of our school system – that it prepares all young people to succeed. And

- second*, STEM can resurrect the spirit of innovation and economic vitality that has been so important to our prosperity for more than a century (Raikes, 2010).
122. For the first time in history, people of *Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant faith* are standing side by side and working in closest cooperation for a great common cause (Rockefeller, 1917).
 123. The seven organizations included in the campaign – namely, *the Young Men’s Christian Association, the Young Women’s Christian Association, the National Catholic War Council, the Jewish Welfare Board, the War Camp Community Service, the American Library Association, and the Salvation Army* – are authorized by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to work for the soldiers and sailors in and near the camps (Rockefeller, 1917).
 124. During these days and weeks and months of *comparative idleness, relaxation, inactivity, and waiting*, they will need as never since the day they entered the service the *friendship, inspiration, occupation, amusement, and strength* which these organizations alone can provide (Rockefeller, 1917).
 125. And in every faith I’ve come to know, there are features I wish were in my own: I love the *profound ceremony of the Catholic mass, the approachability of God in the prayers of the Evangelicals, the tenderness of spirit among the Pentecostals, the confident independence of the Lutherans, the ancient traditions of the Jews, unchanged through the ages, and the commitment to frequent prayer of the Muslims* (Romney, 2007).
 126. They were “too divided in religious sentiments,” what with *Episcopalians and Quakers, Anabaptists and Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Catholics* (Romney, 2007).
 127. As a bipartisan report from this committee said: Russia used social media as part of – and I quote – “a comprehensive and multifaceted campaign,” “*to sow discord, undermine democratic institutions, and interfere in U.S. elections and those of our allies.*” (Sandberg, 2018).
 128. We’re working with *outside experts, industry partners, and governments, including law enforcement, to share information about threats and prevent abuse* (Sandberg, 2018).
 129. *In July*, we removed 32 pages and accounts involved in coordinated, inauthentic behavior. *In August*, we removed 650 pages and accounts that originated in Iran, as well as additional pages and account – accounts from Russia. *And just last week*, we took down 58 pages and accounts from Myanmar, many of which were posing as news organizations (Sandberg, 2018).
 130. As Chairman Burr has noted, nothing less than the integrity of our democratic *institutions, processes, and ideals is at stake* (Sandberg, 2018).
 131. To stay ahead, we all need to work together, as Chairman Burr said – *government, law enforcement, industry, and experts from civil society* (Sandberg, 2018).
 132. Thank you for your *devotion to a free and open society, to acts of kindness towards one another, to honesty and the quiet hard work that you do* every day to support this government with your tax dollars (Tillerson, 2018).
 133. As we make progress in defeating ISIS and denying them their caliphate, their terrorist members have and continue to target multiple religions and ethnic groups for *rape, kidnapping, enslavement, and even death* (Tillerson, August 2017).
 134. Members of the Shia community there continue to report ongoing discrimination in *government employment, education, and the justice system* (Tillerson, August 2017).
 135. I thank my many colleagues at the Department and overseas who contributed to this report, and specifically the Office of International Religious Freedom, including *Senior Advisor*

on Global Justice Issues Pam Pryor, Special Advisor for Religious Minorities Knox Thames, and the previous ambassador-at-large, David Saperstein (Tillerson, August 2017).

136. To remove any ambiguity from previous statements or reports by the State Department, the crime of genocide requires three elements: *specific acts with specific intent to destroy in whole or in part specific people -- members of national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups; specific act, specific intent, specific people* (Tillerson, 2017).
137. Application of the law to the facts at hand leads to the conclusion ISIS is clearly responsible for genocide against *Yezidis, Christians, and Shia Muslims* in areas it controls or has controlled (Tillerson, 2017).
138. And in Bahrain, the government continued to *question, detain, and arrest* Shia clerics, community members, and opposition politicians (Tillerson, 2017).
139. The government does not recognize the right of non-Muslims to practice their religion in public and applied criminal penalties, including *prison sentences, lashings, and fines, for apostasy, atheism, blasphemy, and insulting the state's interpretation of Islam* (Tillerson, 2017).
140. Where religious freedom is not protected, we know that *instability, human rights abuses, and violent extremism* have a greater opportunity to take root (Tillerson, August 2017).
141. It doesn't mean that we don't advocate for and aspire to *freedom, human dignity, and the treatment of people the world over* (Tillerson, May 2017).
142. But I also want to acknowledge the large number of people who are – stepped into *under secretary, assistant secretary roles, director roles*, and a number of chief of missions around the world as well (Tillerson, May 2017).
143. Now, I think it's important to also remember that guiding all of our foreign policy actions are our fundamental values: our values *around freedom, human dignity, the way people are treated* (Tillerson, May 2017).
144. In the wake of the September 11th attacks, courageous Americans *raced into smoke, fire, and debris* in lower Manhattan, the Pentagon, and a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania (Trump, July 2019).
145. Along with Senator Deb Fischer and Representatives Michael Burgess, Chris Collins, Brian Fitzpatrick, Peter King, John Joyce, Mark Meadows, and Dan Meuser (Trump, July 2019).
146. Many of those affected were *firefighters, police officers, and other first responders* (Trump, July 2019).
147. We are now living with the consequences – and they are tragic – brought about by *decades of political stalemate, partisan gridlock, and national neglect* (Trump, January 2019).
148. This extension will give them *access to work permits, Social Security numbers, and protection from deportation*, most importantly (Trump, January 2019).
149. Our plan includes the following: 800 million dollars in urgent humanitarian assistance; 805 million dollars for drug detection technology to help secure our ports of entry; an additional 2,750 border agents and law enforcement professionals; 75 new immigration judge teams to reduce the court backlog of, believe it or not, almost 900,000 cases (Trump, January 2019).
150. Any reforms we make to our immigration system will be designed to *improve your lives, make your communities safer, and make our nation more prosperous and secure for generations to come* (Trump, January 2019).
151. Both sides in Washington must simply *come together, listen to each other, put down their armor, build trust, reach across the aisle, and find solutions* (Trump, January 2019).
152. We believe in a safe and lawful system of immigration, one that upholds *our laws, our traditions, and our most cherished values* (Trump, January 2019).

153. Vast quantities of lethal narcotics are flooding through our border and into our communities – including ***meth, cocaine, heroin, and fentanyl*** (Trump, January 2019).
154. Some say it could be cut in half [CRIME RATE] – because these ***criminals, drug smugglers, gangs, and traffickers*** do not stop at our border; they permeate throughout our country and they end up in some places where you’d least expect them (Trump, January 2019).
155. It is time to put ***Youngstown, Ohio, Detroit, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*** – along with many, many other locations within our great country – before Paris, France (Trump, 2017).
156. One by one, we are keeping the promises I made to the American people during my campaign for President – whether it’s ***cutting job-killing regulations; appointing and confirming a tremendous Supreme Court justice; putting in place tough new ethics rules; achieving a record reduction in illegal immigration on our southern border; or bringing jobs, plants, and factories back into the United States at numbers which no one until this point thought even possible*** (Trump, 2017).
157. According to this same study, by 2040, compliance with the commitments put into place by the previous Administration would cut production for the following sectors: ***paper down 12 percent; cement down 23 percent; iron and steel down 38 percent; coal – and I happen to love the coal miners – down 86 percent; natural gas down 31 percent*** (Trump, 2017).
158. The Paris Accord would ***undermine our economy, hamstring our workers, weaken our sovereignty, impose unacceptable legal risks, and put us at a permanent disadvantage*** to the other countries of the world (Trump, 2017).
159. It is time to exit the Paris Accord and time to pursue a new deal that protects the ***environment, our companies, our citizens, and our country*** (Trump, 2017).
160. The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries, leaving American workers – who I love – and taxpayers to absorb the cost ***in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories, and vastly diminished economic production*** (Trump, 2017).
161. The importance of being compassionate, and how it can change your ***career path, your company, and your life*** (Weiner, 2018).
162. They’re ***intelligent, resilient, and committed to*** improving their lives and the lives of others (Weiner, 2018).
163. I’ll give you three examples based on my experience at LinkedIn.
The first example is how Reid Hoffman transitioned me into the company. [...]
The second example is less a story than it is an observation. [...]
The third example, is about how compassion has become essential in the realization of LinkedIn’s vision to create economic opportunity for every member of the global workforce (Weiner, 2018).
164. By breaking free of our own tribes, even if only for a moment, and seeing things through the lens of people unlike ourselves, we can begin to close the gaps, whether they be ***socio-economic, racial, gender, political or otherwise*** (Weiner, 2018).
165. The partnership focused on raising the overall level of academic achievement by ***preparing students for SATs, mentoring, and tutoring*** (Welch, 2001).
166. Product Services, which used to be thought of as little more than wrench-turning, is today all about high tech and software products that allow our customers – ***the world’s hospitals, airlines, utilities, and railroads*** – to be more productive (Welch, 2001).
167. GE is, in a phrase, a new kind of Company, a Company with market-leading positions in businesses ranging from high technology manufacturing of ***power generation equipment,***

- medical diagnostics, jet engines, plastics* – to consumer products – *broadcasting, lighting, and appliances* – to 24 widely diverse financial services businesses (Welch, 2001).
168. That search quickly expanded to include finding the lowest cost, highest quality sources of *finished products, components, and raw materials* (Welch, 2001).
 169. Almost all of our shared values are *inspiring, uplifting, positive* (Welch, 2001).
 170. GE leaders understand the necessity to *encourage, inspire, and reward* that top 20%, to be sure that high performance 70% is always energized to improve and move upward (Welch, 2001).
 171. This informality and the boundaryless behavior it produces has made GE a Learning Company – a *high spirited, endlessly curious enterprise* that roams the globe finding and nurturing the best people and cultivating in them an insatiable appetite *to learn, to stretch, and to find that better idea, that better way every day* (Welch, 2001).
 172. And it's led by people who understand that size in itself has no value whatsoever other than the ability it gives a company to take swing after swing on *new products, ventures, acquisitions*, knowing full well that some won't make it – some will fail but that doesn't matter because size and the resources that come with it allow us to step up and swing again and again (Welch, 2001).
 173. But one is not – our visceral hatred of bureaucracy stems from the evil and harm it wreaks on the spirit of a *company, any institution, and its people*, and its dilutive effect on every other value which we believe (Welch, 2001).
 174. It means simply the breaking or ignoring of artificial walls like *functions, rank, geography, race, sex, and any other barrier* in the way of a headlong rush toward the best ideas (Welch, 2001).
 175. Seeing reality for GE in the '80s meant a hard look at a century-old portfolio of business, insisting that every business in GE be #1 or #2 in their global markets or that they must be *fixed, sold or closed* (Welch, 2000).
 176. On the “sell” side, the new measurements are *number of visitors, sales on line, percentage of sales on line, new customers, share, span and the like* (Welch, 2000).
 177. On our “buy” side, we now measure the *number of auctions on line, the percentage of the total buy on line and the dollars saved* (Welch, 2000).
 178. Our endless assault on *bureaucracy, hierarchy, layers, boundaries and every other manifestation of corporate nonsense* has made us much faster than we ever thought a big company could be, but that qualifier – a “big company” – was always there (Welch, 2000).
 179. We have the *hard part, hundreds of factories and warehouses, world-leading products and technology* (Welch, 2000).
 180. The new measurement is how fast information gets from its origin to users and how much unproductive data *gathering, expediting, tracking orders* and the like can be eliminated (Welch, 2000).
 181. GE has for years, like every other company and business school, measured *revenues, net income, cash flow and the like* and will continue to do so (Welch, 2000).
 182. The second management concept that has guided us for the better part of two decades is a belief that an organization's ability *to learn, to transfer that learning across its components, and to act on it quickly is its ultimate, sustainable competitive advantage* (Welch, 2000).
 183. Today, with the digitisation of every process, every operation, every customer touch of every GE business around the globe, we are in the process of taking this Company *to levels of speed, agility and performance* we could only dream of just a few years ago (Welch, 2000).

184. **First**, I want to give you a brief perspective on your Company at the beginning of a new administration, with some reflections on the significant achievements of my predecessor, Reg Jones.
Second, I want to discuss the rationale behind the Company's recent major moves in electronics, including two significant acquisitions.
And third, I want to talk about one of my basic objectives for this Company over the decade ahead (Welch, 1981).
185. The other 56% comes from **new, fast-growing businesses in man-made materials...natural resources...aerospace...land transportation equipment...medical systems...and major new lines of opportunity like credit services** (Welch, 1981).
186. We would like General Electric to be perceived as a **unique, high-spirited, entrepreneurial enterprise, a company known around the world for its unmatched level of excellence** (Welch, 1981).
187. Calma is a leading manufacturer of interactive graphics – that's the technology that eliminates **tedious manual drafting, tons of paper and, sometimes, man-years of design work** (Welch, 1981).
188. These are machines that can **cut, paint, weld, or assemble components or total products** (Welch, 1981).
189. Its achievement requires an introspective assessment of everything we **do, say, or make, and an honest inquiry**: "Is it 'better than the best'?" (Welch, 1981).
190. We intend to make **our share owners, our employees and ourselves** prouder than ever to be associated with General Electric (Welch, 1981).
191. At the end of the 1960s, 80% of your Company's earnings came from the manufacture of electrical equipment for the **power stations, factories, and homes of America** (Welch, 1981).
192. Higher taxes **encourage wasteful spending, demonstrate government's inability to choose among competing priorities, and destroy your prosperity** (Whitman, 2008).
193. Energy independence will **stop massive amounts of money from going to our enemies abroad; it will lower gas prices at home; and it will reduce the harm to our planet's climate** (Whitman, 2008).
194. And I am a Republican because our party understands that America's success – the success of her people – comes not from the size of its government, but **from the character of its citizens ... the strength of its communities ... and the nobility and truth of its ideals** (Whitman, 2008).
195. The solutions to the problems of our time are found in the **ingenuity, spirit, determination, and decency of the American people** (Whitman, 2008).
196. America is all about the inspired individual – men and women who are free to pursue dreams and ambitions in a society that **encourages creativity, industry, advancement, and risk taking** (Whitman, 2008).
197. John McCain understands that you know what's best **for your money, your family, your community and your life** (Whitman, 2008).
198. We are proudly the party of **Abraham Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan** – and today, we are proudly the party of John McCain (Whitman, 2008).
199. It's one [STORY] that transcends any **culture, geography, race, religion, politics, or workplace** (Winfrey, 2018).
200. I met Agnes Igoye, who's graduating today. [...].
I met Kayla Oakley and Niha Jain, graduating today, too. [...]
I met David Razu Aznar, graduating from the Kennedy School today. [...] (Zuckerberg, 2017).

201. Facebook wasn't the first thing I built. I also *built games, chat systems, study tools and music players* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
202. Forces for the *flow of knowledge, trade and immigration* against those who would slow them down (Zuckerberg, 2017).
203. The forces of *freedom, openness and global community* against the forces of *authoritarianism, isolationism, and nationalism* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
204. In a survey asking millennials around the world what defines our identity, the most popular answer wasn't *nationality, religion or ethnicity*, it was "citizen of the world" (Zuckerberg, 2017).
205. *President Faust, Board of Overseers, faculty, alumni, friends, proud parents, members of the ad board, and graduates* of the greatest university in the world (Zuckerberg, 2017).
206. Today I want to talk about three ways to create a world where everyone has a sense of purpose: *by taking on big meaningful projects together, by redefining equality so everyone has the freedom to pursue purpose, and by building community across the world* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
207. We face a number of important issues around *privacy, safety, and democracy* [...]
(Zuckerberg, 2018).
208. And that goes *for fake news, for foreign interference in elections, and hate speech*, as well as developers and data privacy (Zuckerberg, 2018).
209. My top priority has always been our social mission – *of connecting people, building community, and bringing the world closer together* (Zuckerberg, 2018).
210. *Chairman Grassley, Chairman Thune, Ranking Member Feinstein, Ranking Member Nelson, and Members of the Committee* (Zuckerberg, 2018).

LISTINGS:

1. *Our* technology, *our* great businesses, *our* reach, *our* resources aren't enough to make us the global best unless we always have the best people – people who are always stretching to become better (Welch, 2001).
2. Instead, the Internet's open architecture pushes decision-making and intelligence to the edge of the network – *to end users, to the cloud, to businesses of every size and in every sector of the economy, to creators and speakers across the country and across the globe* (Genachowski, 2009).
3. And I came right here to The Ohio State, where I *rented a room, spent a month on the cardiology service, experienced a Buckeye's football game* (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
4. Technology's potential is, and always must be, rooted in the faith people have in it: *in the optimism and the creativity that it stirs in the hearts of individuals; in its promise and capacity to make the world a better place* (Cook, 2018).
5. They are the price of admission to today's *fast-paced, ever-changing, increasingly global* economy (Barra, May 2014).
6. Through *his values, his dedication, his thoughtful work*, Giovanni, his predecessor Peter Hustinx, and all of you have set an example for the world (Cook, 2018).
7. I learned *about* serif and sans-serif typefaces, *about* varying the amount of space between different letter combinations, *about* what makes *great* typography *great* (Jobs, 2005).
8. During these days and weeks and months of comparative *idleness, relaxation, inactivity, and waiting*, they will need as never since the day they *entered the service the friendship, inspiration, occupation, amusement, and strength* which these *organizations alone can provide* (Rockefeller, 1917).

9. We radiate beauty and grace – *in our food, in our music, in our architecture, in our joy of life, in our celebration of death; in everything that we do* (Landrieu, 2017).
10. Think about second lines; think about Mardi Gras; think about muffaletta; think about the Saints; think about gumbo; think about red beans and rice (Landrieu, 2017).
11. Today, with the digitisation of *every process, every operation, every customer* touch of every GE business around the globe, we are in the process of taking this Company to levels of speed, agility and performance we could only dream of just a few years ago (Welch, 2000).
12. It's an obligation which is fulfilled by *Americans* every day, here and across the globe, without regard to *creed or race or nationality* (Romney, 2007).
13. Therefore, in order to fulfill my solemn duty to protect America and its citizens, the United States will withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord – thank you, thank you – but begin negotiations to reenter either the Paris Accord or a really entirely new transaction on terms that are *fair to the United States, its businesses, its workers, its people, its taxpayers* (Trump, 2017).
14. Many New Yorkers are struggling *to pay the rent or the mortgage, to find a job, to feed their families* (Bloomberg, January 2010).
15. Yet in many countries, people today are facing similar disruptions driven by technology – *to their business models, to their livelihoods, to their homes and communities* (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
16. Some people call that feeling “imposter syndrome”, the sense that you don't belong, that others are somehow *more* ready, *more* worthy, *more* likely to succeed (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).

METAPHORS:

1. Don't let the noise of others' opinions *drown out your own inner voice* (Jobs, 2005).
2. So if you *wait for the robins, spring will be over* (Buffett, 2008).
3. We believe that *every single human being is a child of God*; we're all part of the human family (Romney, 2007).
4. Americans acknowledge that *liberty is a gift of God*, not an indulgence of government (Romney, 2007).
5. We're also going to require *people running large pages with large audiences* in the United States to go through an authorization process and confirm their identity (Sandberg, 2018).
6. When *bad actors try to use our site*, we will block them (Sandberg, 2018).
7. Thank you for your devotion to a free and open society, to acts of kindness towards one another, to honesty and the *quiet hard work* that you do every day to support this government with your tax dollars (Tillerson, 2018).
8. At the same time, we remain as committed as ever to *playing the pioneering role* in Macao's transformation into Asia's leading business and leisure tourism destination (Adelson, 2018).
9. Today, new technologies and changing customer needs are helping us transform personal mobility and *deliver new transportation solutions* that are safer, more sustainable and better than ever (Barra, 2017).
10. It has the *onboard power capacity* to operate the complex computing systems necessary for self-driving vehicles (Barra, 2017).
11. [...] innovate and iterate *at the speed of today's leading tech companies* (Barra, 2017).
12. President Coleman – on the *eve of your retirement*, I would like to thank you for the tremendous contributions that you have made to the University [...] (Barra, May 2014).
13. So, don't be content to *work around the edges of your profession* (Barra, May 2014).
14. In 12 years, you have [...] literally helped *change the skyline of this city* (Barra, May 2014).
15. For example, *not all of you are attached* to your cell phones 24/7 (Barra, May 2014).

16. Demographers like to talk about you as if you were *one monolithic mass of humanity* (Barra, May 2014).
17. So, despite the fact that *your generation is 80 million strong* – making you the largest age grouping in American history – I’m well aware that none of you alike (Barra, May 2014).
18. *Faith doesn’t make things easy... but it can make things possible* (Barra, May 2014).
19. In that way, you truly can *make the world a better place* (Barra, May 2014).
20. For those of us who have dedicated our lives to this company, it is enormously painful to have our *shortcomings laid out so vividly* (Barra, June 2014).
21. As a State Department, we are *bound together by that oath* (Tillerson, 2018).
22. I realize there are no *words of mine that can ease their grief and pain* (Barra, June 2014).
23. Repeatedly, individuals failed to disclose *critical pieces of information* that could have fundamentally changed the lives of those impacted by a faulty ignition switch (Barra, June 2014).
24. Overall, the report concludes that from start to finish the *Cobalt saga was riddled with failures*, which led to tragic results for many (Barra, June 2014).
25. But *we own this problem*, and we have to have the courage to deal with it in the right way (Barra, June 2014).
26. GM personnel’s inability to address the ignition switch problem, which persisted for more than 11 years, *represents a history of failures* (Barra, June 2014).
27. So if you are aware of a potential problem affecting safety or quality and you don't speak up, *you are a part of the problem* (Barra, June 2014).
28. Tomorrow, in a very real sense, your life – *the life you author from scratch on your own* – begins (Bezos, 2010).
29. I’d always wanted to be an inventor, and she wanted me *to follow my passion* (Bezos, 2010).
30. *Cleverness is a gift, kindness is a choice*. Gifts are easy – they’re given after all. Choices can be hard.
31. I’m sure one of your gifts is the *gift of a smart and capable brain* (Bezos, 2010).
32. [...] I poked my head into the front of the car, tapped my grandmother on the shoulder, and proudly proclaimed, “At two minutes per puff, *you’ve taken nine years off your life!*” (Bezos, 2010).
33. This month comes the extraordinary but also inevitable news that we’ve *synthesized life* (Bezos, 2010).
34. When you are 80 years old, and in a quiet moment of reflection narrating for only yourself the most *personal version of your life story*, the telling that will be most compact and meaningful will be the series of choices you have made (Bezos, 2010).
35. Conditions are deteriorating very rapidly, and the *window for you getting out safely is closing* (Bloomberg, 2012).
36. And so you’re sort of *caught between a rock and a hard place* (Bloomberg, 2012).
37. There’s always the possibility of power outages, and you *might get caught between floors* (Bloomberg, 2012).
38. You just- stay away from windows when you’re inside, outside *keep your eyes and ears open* (Bloomberg, 2012).
39. Our doors are open to everyone – everyone with a dream and a willingness to work hard and play by the rules (Bloomberg, August 2010).
40. The simple fact is this building is private property, and the owners have a right to *use the building as a house of worship* (Bloomberg, August 2010).
41. In fact, to cave to popular sentiment would be to *hand a victory to the terrorists* – and we should not stand for that (Bloomberg, August 2010).
42. Whatever you may think of the proposed mosque and community center, lost in the *heat of the debate* has been a basic question: [...] (Bloomberg, August 2010).

43. But as we consider the *bright promise of our future*, we cannot *ignore the hard times that exist around* us (Bloomberg, January 2010).
44. Now, *we'll set our sights on another national issue* that affects New Yorkers in profoundly personal ways: Immigration reform (Bloomberg, January 2010).
45. [...] I feel more strongly than ever that the future of our city, and our country, depends on newcomers like them, and on whether we honor the *ideals that have lit the lamp of liberty* in our harbor for more than a century, and that continue to inspire the world! (Bloomberg, January 2010).
46. I will not *shirk from the hard decisions that lie ahead* (Bloomberg, January 2010).
47. As we begin this new decade, we will take a *fresh look* at everything with *fresh thinking* and *fresh energy*, and we will put more emphasis than ever on collaboration (Bloomberg, January 2010).
48. In business and in government, I've seen how innovation occurs when people *look with fresh eyes at old problems*, and then work together to solve them (Bloomberg, January 2010).
49. Immigrants helped make New York City the *world capital of opportunity and entrepreneurship*, and now we will make City government a global leader in supporting and encouraging entrepreneurs (Bloomberg, January 2010).
50. It was an *eye-opening experience* that improved teamwork, generated new ideas, and *launched the company to greater heights* (Bloomberg, January 2010).
51. We intend to *break down the bureaucratic barriers* that too often impede innovation, compromise customer service, and cost taxpayers money (Bloomberg, January 2010).
52. And Deputy Commissioners out there: *This is not a game of musical chairs* (Bloomberg, January 2010).
53. *The future starts here. It starts now. And it starts with us* (Bloomberg, January 2010).
54. The *financial world is a mess*, both in the United States and abroad (Buffett, 2008).
55. Economic conditions, though, kept deteriorating until Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in March 1933 (Buffett, 2008).
56. It lets you *buy a slice of America's future* at a marked-down price (Buffett, 2008).
57. But we can have a huge effect in minimizing such activities by *jumping on anything immediately* when there is the *slightest odor of impropriety* (Buffett, 2006).
58. Like many of you, Lloyd and I sent one of our two most precious possessions — the other *precious possession is Melissa* who is also with us today — off to MIT four years ago (Burns, 2011).
59. *Our economy is sputtering* and yet our ability to innovate continues to lead the world and create new industries (Burns, 2011).
60. That is precisely what is *rolled up in your diplomas* (Burns, 2011).
61. Your family ... MIT ... your church or synagogue or mosque or mountaintop ... have given you a set of core values — a *moral compass* (Burns, 2011).
62. *Set your sights on changing the world* — in leaving this planet a little better than you found it (Burns, 2011).
63. [...] or raising a family that will *carry good values into the future* (Burns, 2011).
64. His invention helped *spark a sanitary revolution of waterborne sewage systems* that have saved hundreds of millions of lives by keeping communities safe from diseases (Burwell, 2011).
65. “The *lack of sanitation* endured by 2.6 billion people *is a hidden international scandal*.” (Burwell, 2011).
66. In this case, it will require *turning an age-old problem on its head* (Burwell, 2011).
67. Working together, we firmly believe that *reinventing a long-lasting, safe, and sustainable answer* to the world's sanitation needs is not just necessary, but within reach (Burwell, 2011).
68. It is an honor to be here with you today in this grand hall, room that represents what is possible when people of different backgrounds, histories, and philosophies come together to *build something bigger than themselves* (Cook, 2018).

69. Now, *Italy has produced more than its fair share of great leaders and public servants* (Cook, 2018).
70. Fortunately, we *have your example before us* (Cook, 2018).
71. Every day, we work to infuse the devices we make with the *humanity that makes us* (Cook, 2018).
72. Yet even there, where he *hoped to find a bit of peace* [...] (Cook, 2018).
73. *Gossip* is no longer the resource of the idle and of the vicious, but *has become a trade* (Cook, 2018).
74. Every day, *billions of dollars change hands* and countless decisions are made [...] (Cook, 2018).
75. Thank you [...] for your firm belief that our *best days are still ahead of us* (Cook, 2018).
76. When we designed this device we knew it could *put more personal data in your pocket* than most of us keep in our homes (Cook, 2018).
77. And there was enormous pressure on Steve and Apple to *bend our values* and to freely share the information (Cook, 2018).
78. As I *weighed my opportunity* to work in Uganda, I have a very distinct memory of a senior colleague telling me that I would ruin my academic career by leaving the country (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
79. Graduates, there are *those on the field who make progress happen, and those on the sidelines who ask*: what happened? (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
80. Through your resilience, your persistence, your brilliance, you have earned the right to *seize the next exciting opportunity* (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
81. The Ohio State is *making your stories ones of possibility, ones filled with opportunity* (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
82. This is a remarkable statistic, but it is also part of a *larger story of advancement in global health* (Gates, November 2017).
83. While much has rightly been made of the OECD data that shows lagging performance of American students overall, the *national averages mask a bigger story* (Gates, October 2017).
84. Our role is to serve as a *catalyst of good ideas*, driven by the same guiding principle we started with [...] (Gates, October 2017).
85. In a few places, we also will support pilots of scalable professional development supports *anchored in high quality curriculum* (Gates, October 2017).
86. Public *education is the single greatest instrument for equal opportunity* in America (Gates, 2014).
87. And that is why we support a *change that can trigger big gains* for our students: the Common Core State Standards (Gates, 2014).
88. Then she talked of a student of hers she called a “*success story kid*.” (Gates, 2014).
89. They have to *pay out of their own pockets* to take remedial courses to learn what we should have already taught them (Gates, 2014).
90. The *standards they developed are a direct response* to our biggest challenge, and a striking advance over what we had before (Gates, 2014).
91. When students master this, they *open the door to everything* (Gates, 2014).
92. “If you learn what we teach, you will be ready to *succeed at the next stage*.” (Gates, 2014).
93. If you didn’t learn an area of math that other students did, you might find out about it for the first time on a *test that helps determine your future* (Gates, 2014).
94. *They [STANDARDS] set teachers free* to try any method, compare their results, and share the ones that work best (Gates, 2014).
95. This *opens the door to insightful teacher feedback* that can be tied to great professional development and customized for each teacher (Gates, 2014).

96. These are all *encouraging signs* that teachers will get the new materials and support they need (Gates, 2014).
97. The *standards shouldn't be a mark* of where students came from, *but a key* to wherever they want to go (Gates, 2014).
98. It *can show students where they stand* and share that information with the teacher (Gates, 2014).
99. They're supported by huge industries that are *designing new tools to give them an edge* (Gates, 2014).
100. In recent years, our politics has tended toward incremental proposals made up of small policies designed to avoid offending special interests, alternating with occasional *baby steps in the right direction* (Gore, December 14, 2007).
101. We must now *lift our nation* to reach another goal that will change history (Gore, December 14, 2007).
102. It's time for us to *move beyond empty rhetoric* (Gore, December 14, 2007).
103. In considering the openness of the Internet, it is also important to recognize that our choice of technologies and devices for accessing the Internet *continues to expand at a dizzying pace* (Genachowski, 2009).
104. And it meant doing everything within my power *to set them [THOUGHTS] up to* be successful. (Weiner, 2018).
105. Rather than inspire and *lift people up*, it was a good way to shut people down. (Weiner, 2018).
106. That's why I'm proposing today a strategic initiative designed to free us from the crises that are *holding us down* and to regain control of our own destiny (Gore, December 14, 2007).
107. If you want to know the truth about gasoline prices, here it is: the exploding demand for oil, especially in places like China, is overwhelming the rate of new discoveries by so much that *oil prices are almost certain to continue upward* over time no matter what the oil companies promise (Gore, December 14, 2007).
108. Instead, the Internet's open architecture *pushes decision-making and intelligence to the edge of the network* [...] (Genachowski, 2009).
109. Reality in the Internet world means *moving at a fanatical, maniacal pace everywhere in GE!* (Welch, 2000).
110. It literally *stopped the world in its tracks* (Hewson, 2006).
111. And most important, have the courage to *follow your heart and intuition* (Jobs, 2005).
112. *Moving aggressively* raises some thorny issues with no clear and immediate solutions, but the challenge is to *resolve these issues on the fly* in the context of the new Internet reality (Welch, 2000).
113. We understand the *great arc of human history bends towards people* coming together in ever greater numbers—from tribes to cities to nations—to achieve things we couldn't on our own (Zuckerberg, 2017).
114. So now, you are *driving the decisions* to improve teaching. You are *driving the changes* that will accelerate student gains (Gates, 2010).
115. But if a high-school senior who doesn't know *what the future holds* can do his part *to move the world forward*, then we owe it to the world to do our part too (Zuckerberg, 2017).
116. That's how clear and consistent *standards drive innovation* (Gates, 2014).
117. A lot of people – and I'm sure *this must drive you crazy* – but a lot of people who've never been in front of a classroom think they could just walk in one day and teach a course (Gates, 2010).
118. That's why consistent standards are so important to teaching: they provide a shared platform that allows teachers to communicate, cooperate, innovate, learn from each other and *keep pushing to get better* (Gates, 2014).

119. Another teacher was having a harder time. He said: ‘Everybody in my school is complaining about the lack of curriculum ... now we have to **jump all over the place** and find extra materials to make things deeper and richer.’ (Gates, 2014).
120. In addition, it became clear that teacher evaluation is one important piece of several critical elements **to drive student achievement** (Gates, October 2017).
121. Graduates, as you think about what comes next, **move your thoughts** from thinking about “me” to thinking about “us” (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
122. I **raced through** my undergrad in 3 years, helping out my Mom and living at home, eager to get to Medical School (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
123. As **progress speeds up**, these things should continue to ground us and connect us [...] (Cook, 2018).
124. And my congratulations also to all the parents, grandparents, spouses, family members and faculty that helped **push you across the finish line** (Burns, 2011).
125. Those investors who cling now to cash are betting they can **efficiently time their move away** from it later (Buffett, 2008).
126. [...] sustainable solutions like farming, financial services and improved sanitation that can help hundreds of millions of people **pull themselves out of poverty and hunger** (Burwell, 2011).
127. The **market hit bottom** in April 1942 [...] (Buffett, 2008).
128. First, we’re **getting to the bottom** of exactly what Cambridge Analytica did, and telling everyone affected (Zuckerberg, 2018).
129. What is likely, however, is that the **market will move higher**, perhaps substantially so, well before either sentiment or the economy turns up (Buffett, 2008).
130. New York is to the nation what the white church spire is to the village – the visible symbol of aspiration and faith, the **white plume saying the way is up** (Bloomberg, January 2010).
131. Last night, the **final moments of 2009 passed into history** (Bloomberg, January 2010).
132. The local community board in Lower Manhattan voted overwhelming to support the proposal and **if it moves forward**, I expect the community center and mosque will add to the life and vitality of the neighborhood and the entire City (Bloomberg, August 2010).
133. [...] and always worried about cleanup even though the storm should abate dramatically as **we get into Tuesday** (Bloomberg, 2012).
134. Furthermore, numerous individuals did not accept any responsibility **to drive our organization to understand** what was truly happening (Barra, June 2014).
135. We are seeing more **examples of this popping up all** the time (Gates, October 2017).
136. [...], if we identify what they do, and if we find out how to transfer those skills to others – then every **teacher can move closer to the top. It will elevate** the whole profession (Gates, 2010).
137. I happened across his graduating speech recently, and it **blew me away** (Page, 2009).
138. I was **blown away** (Zuckerberg, 2017).
139. The addition of The Parisian to our Cotai Strip portfolio has **taken our critical mass and diversity of offering to another level** (Adelson, 2018).
140. But I never want to **put this behind us** (Barra, June 2014).
141. The **common core is not a list of skills; it’s a staircase**. Each **standard is a step toward the higher skills** that will help students solve complex problems in the classroom and beyond (Gates, 2014).
142. We’re **dropping back** into the old media habits (Jobs, 1983).
143. And **history is moving around us** as we just spoke (Tillerson, May 2017).
144. Since then, **we have seen a year of exciting change** (Gates, 2010).
145. This has helped **spark the movement for change** (Gates, 2010).
146. I have watched great teachers keep thirty **students riveted for an hour** (Gates, 2010).

147. That's the research we're doing now with nearly 3,000 teachers in six school districts who have ***volunteered to open their classrooms to visitors*** [...] (Gates, 2010).
148. But today, we have a ***level of wealth inequality that hurts everyone***. When you don't have the freedom to ***take your idea and turn it into a historic enterprise***, we all lose (Zuckerberg, 2017).
149. But I know lots of people who haven't pursued dreams because they ***didn't have a cushion to fall back on if they failed*** (Zuckerberg, 2017).
150. I hope you find the courage to ***make your life a blessing*** (Zuckerberg, 2017).
151. We didn't take a ***broad enough view of our responsibility***, and that was a big mistake (Zuckerberg, 2018).
152. And I know that when we address these challenges, we'll look back and view helping people connect and ***giving more people a voice as a positive force in the world*** (Zuckerberg, 2018).
153. There is, however, something new and something very real that is ***changing the pace and scope of business*** as it has never been changed before (Welch, 2000).
154. Any company – old or new – that does not see this ***technology as literally as important as breathing*** could be on its last breath (Welch, 2000).
155. The ***Internet truly makes the old young and the slow fast***, and what could be a better tonic than that? (Welch, 2000).
156. A ***big part of the answer*** traces back to one key decision by the Internet's original architects: to make the Internet an open system (Genachowski, 2009).
157. And a ***revolution in wireless technologies*** – using licensed and unlicensed spectrum – and the creation of path-breaking devices like the Blackberry and the iPhone have enabled millions of us to ***carry the Internet in our pockets and our purses*** (Genachowski, 2009).
158. In the words of Tim Berners-Lee, the ***Internet is a "blank canvas"*** allowing anyone to contribute and to innovate without permission (Genachowski, 2009).
159. It's easy to look at today's Internet giants – and the tremendous benefits they have supplied to our economy and our culture – and forget that many were small businesses just a few years ago, ***founded on little more than a good idea*** and a no-frills connection to the Internet (Genachowski, 2009).
160. In acknowledging the existence of challenging competitive, economic, and technological realities for today's Internet, I want to underscore that this debate, as I see it, isn't about ***white hats or black hats among companies*** in and around the network (Genachowski, 2009).
161. We have an obligation to ensure that the ***Internet remains a vast landscape of innovation and opportunity*** (Genachowski, 2009).
162. This would ***shrink opportunities for innovators***, content creators, and small businesses around the country, and ***limit the full and free expression the Internet promises*** (Genachowski, 2009).
163. In closing, we are here because 40 years ago a bunch of researchers in a lab changed the way computers interact and, as a result, ***changed the world*** (Genachowski, 2009).
164. It's to make sure that, in the 21st century, the garage, the basement, and the dorm room remain places where innovators can not only dream but ***bring their dreams to life*** (Genachowski, 2009).
165. The Internet can potentially ***connect kids anywhere to the best information and best teachers everywhere*** (Genachowski, 2009).
166. During periods of ***network congestion***, for example, it may be appropriate for providers to ensure that very heavy users do not crowd out everyone else (Genachowski, 2009).
167. Of course, we could and should ***speed up this transition*** by insisting that the price of carbon-based energy include the costs of the environmental damage it causes. I have long supported a ***sharp reduction*** in payroll taxes with the difference made up in CO2 taxes (Gore, December 14, 2007).
168. We're committed to ***changing not just light bulbs, but laws*** (Gore, December 14, 2007).
169. The power and the ***vibration of the giant rocket's engines shook my entire body*** (Gore, December 14, 2007).

170. And then four days later, I watched along with hundreds of millions of others around the world as Neil Armstrong took one small step to the surface of the moon and ***changed the history of the human race*** (Gore, December 14, 2007).
171. Then bear witness to the ***people's appetite for change*** (Gore, December 14, 2007).
172. But if we ***grab hold of that common thread and pull it hard***, all of these ***complex problems begin to unravel*** and we will find that we're holding the answer to all of them right in our hand (Gore, December 14, 2007).
173. But I've begun to hear different voices in this country from people who are not only ***tired of baby steps*** and special interest politics, but are ***hungry for a new, different and bold approach*** (Gore, December 14, 2007).
174. We could further increase the value and efficiency of a Unified National Grid by helping our struggling ***auto giants*** switch to the manufacture of plug-in electric cars (Gore, December 14, 2007).
175. Our ***economy is in terrible shape and getting worse***, gasoline prices are increasing dramatically, and so are electricity rates (Gore, December 14, 2007).
176. Many Americans have begun to wonder whether or not we've simply ***lost our appetite for bold policy solutions*** (Gore, December 14, 2007).
177. I'm convinced that one reason ***we've seemed paralyzed in the face of these crises*** is our tendency to ***offer old solutions to each crisis separately*** – without taking the others into account (Gore, December 14, 2007).
178. Sometimes, without warning, the ***future knocks on our door with a precious and painful vision*** of what might be (Gore, December 10, 2007).
179. But that ***unwelcome verdict also brought a precious, if painful, gift***: an opportunity to search for fresh new ways to serve my purpose (Gore, December 10, 2007).
180. So today, we dumped another 70 million tons of global-warming pollution into the ***thin shell of atmosphere surrounding our planet, as if it were an open sewer*** (Gore, December 10, 2007).
181. As temperature extremes have increased, tens of thousands have ***lost their lives*** (Gore, December 10, 2007).
182. The very ***web of life*** on which we depend ***is being ripped and frayed*** (Gore, December 10, 2007).
183. ***Moreover, between here and there [PRESENT AND FUTURE], across the unknown, falls the shadow.*** That is just another way of saying that we have to expand the boundaries of what is possible (Gore, December 10, 2007).
184. So I want to end as I began, with a vision of two futures – each a palpable possibility – and with a prayer that we will see with vivid clarity the necessity of ***choosing between those two futures***, and the urgency of making the right choice now (Gore, December 10, 2007).
185. The world now needs an alliance – especially of those ***nations that weigh heaviest*** in the scales where earth is in the balance (Gore, December 10, 2007).
186. For now, we still have the ***power to choose our fate*** [...] (Gore, December 10, 2007).
187. Mahatma Gandhi ***awakened the largest democracy on earth*** and forged a shared resolve with what he called “Satyagraha” – or “truth force.” In every land, the ***truth*** – once known – ***has the power*** to set us free (Gore, December 10, 2007).
188. But you are the richest generation in history, with ***collective spending power and influence*** of almost 1 trillion dollars (Barra, May 2014).
189. The fourth quarter results at SCC demonstrate the ***earnings power of this building*** with quarterly EBITDA above the target ***anchored by its strong position*** in premium end segment and a scaling range of hotel suite inventory (Adelson, 2018).
190. The same goes for all of the accounting gimmicks to ***manipulate earnings*** – and deceive investors – that has taken place in recent years (Buffett, 2006).

191. He has a greater sense of purpose, and he's going to *bring people along with him* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
192. Vast quantities of *lethal narcotics are flooding through our border and into our communities* – including meth, cocaine, heroin, and fentanyl (Trump, January 2019).
193. We *are mired in debt* and recovering at a painfully slow pace from the deepest recession in 80 years (Burns, 2011).
194. Clearly the *advocate harbors at least a small doubt* about the act if he utilizes this verbal crutch (Buffett, 2006).
195. Even as recently as a few years ago, the thought of a global *economic melt-down* was beyond comprehension (Burns, 2011).
196. The poet Mary Oliver tells us to *row, row into the swirl and roil* (McCullough, 2012).
197. So we have a *steady stream of stories* like *The Economist* cover declaring that '*newspapers are now an endangered species.*' (Murdoch, 2008).
198. I didn't realize that in less than a year a phenomenon that was rumbling across the operations of our Company would *erupt with a transformational energy* that is changing the very kind of company GE is (Welch, 2000).
199. Just two days ago, 27 senior statesmen and retired military leaders warned of the national security threat from an "*energy tsunami*" that would be triggered by a loss of our access to foreign oil (Gore, December 14, 2007).
200. *Truth also has the power to unite us and bridge the distance* between "me" and "we," creating the basis for common effort and shared responsibility.
201. But unlike most other forms of pollution, *CO2 is invisible, tasteless, and odorless* – which has helped keep the truth about what it is doing to our climate out of sight and out of mind (Gore, December 10, 2007).
202. We're hopeful that the regime in North Korea will think about this and come to a conclusion that there's *another way to the future* (Tillerson, May 2017).
203. So we are *part of a living history and we're going to get to carve our little piece of it*, our increment, in that clock of time (Tillerson, May 2017).
204. And so that's what we've been doing, is *leaning hard into China* to test their willingness to use their influence, their engagement with the regime in North Korea (Tillerson, May 2017).
205. So it's a *pressure campaign that has a knob on it* (Tillerson, May 2017).
206. *Purpose is what creates true happiness* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
207. Purpose is that sense that we are *part of something bigger than ourselves*, that we are needed, that we have something better ahead to work for (Zuckerberg, 2017).
208. Today I want to talk about three ways to *create a world* where everyone has a sense of purpose: by taking on big meaningful projects together, by redefining equality so everyone has the freedom to pursue purpose, and by building community across the world (Zuckerberg, 2017).
209. Nearly everyone else wanted to sell. It *tore our company apart* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
210. *Relationships were so frayed* that within a year or so every single person on the management team was gone (Zuckerberg, 2017).
211. Tipper and I feel a deep gratitude to Joe and Hadassah Lieberman, who brought passion and high purpose to our partnership and *opened new doors, not just for our campaign but for our country* (Gore, 2000).
212. In the last few months, it has been harder and harder to misinterpret the *signs that our world is spinning out of kilter* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
213. President-elect Bush *inherits a nation* whose citizens will be ready to assist him in the conduct of his large responsibilities (Gore, 2000).

214. This is a *dangerous idea I've put on the table*, here: my God versus your God, their God versus our God, versus no God (Hewson, 2006).
215. It's annoying but *justice and equality are mates, aren't they?* Justice always wants to hang out with equality. And equality is a *real pain in the ass* (Hewson, 2006).
216. We're asking for an extra one percent *to change the world*, to transform millions of lives [...] (Hewson, 2006).
217. And it's true these are dangerous times, but *America has not drawn the blinds and double-locked the doors* (Hewson, 2006).
218. I'm here today in all humility to say: you *changed minds*; you changed policy; and you *changed the world* (Hewson, 2006).
219. *One percent is the girl in Africa* who gets to go to school, thanks to you. *One percent is the AIDS patient* who gets her medicine, thanks to you. *One percent is the African entrepreneur* who can start a small family business, thanks to you. *One percent is not redecorating presidential palaces*. One percent must not be – or don't give it – money down a rat hole. This *one percent is digging waterholes to provide clean water...* (Hewson, 2006).
220. God is in the slums, in the cardboard boxes where the poor play house. God is in the silence of a mother who has infected her child with a virus that will end both their lives. God is in the cries heard under the rubble of war. God is in the debris of wasted opportunity and lives, and God is with us if we are with them (Hewson, 2006).
221. I presume that, in a way, is why you're all here. I presume the reason for this gathering is that all of us are here – Muslims, Jews, Christians – are all *searching our souls* for how to better serve our family, our community, our nation, our God (Hewson, 2006).
222. In a remarkable turn of events, Apple bought NeXT, and I returned to Apple, and the technology we developed at NeXT is *at the heart of Apple's current renaissance* (Jobs, 2005).
223. The nation, a lot of the world *experienced the JFK funeral in their living room* and at a level of intensity that wouldn't have been possible with radio (Jobs, 1983).
224. The fact that *computers and society are out on a first date* in the 80's (Jobs, 1983).
225. We're in the *I Love Lucy stage right now* in our medium development (Jobs, 1983).
226. It means to make sure *everything is buttoned up* so that it will be as easy as possible for your family. It means to say your goodbyes (Jobs, 2005).
227. Remembering that I'll be dead soon is the most important tool I've ever encountered to help me make the big choices in life. Because almost everything – all external expectations, all pride, all fear of embarrassment or failure – these things just fall away in the face of death, leaving only what is truly important (Jobs, 2005).
228. And there's something sort of, I think that that, there's going to be a *little slice in the timeline of history* as we look back (Jobs, 1983).
229. Uhm, a lot of you are *products of the television generation*. I'm pretty much a *product of the television generation* (Jobs, 1983).
230. And after about 5 minutes of repeating this, finally *a light bulb would come on in their minds* and they decided if they didn't like it they could throw it out the window or run over it with their car (Jobs, 1983).
231. And the *thing that probably kept me out of jail was books* (Jobs, 1983).
232. What happens when a *new medium enters the scene*, is that we tend to fall back into old media habits (Jobs, 1983).
233. We should review all our policies to ensure that the incentives encourage people to *increase the size of the pie, rather than to merely grab for a bigger piece* (Koch, 1994).
234. The goal of these programs is to help at-risk students understand markets and learn how to advance themselves by satisfying the needs of others; to help them learn that they can *control their own*

destiny, rather than rely on the well-intentioned but *crippling trap of the welfare system* as we know it (Koch, 1994).

235. A society that *destroys rather than creates wealth, leaving a smaller pie to meet much greater needs* (Koch, 1994).

236. *Century-old wounds are still raw* because, you see, they never healed right in the first place (Landrieu, 2017).

237. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, “*wait has almost always meant never.*” (Landrieu, 2017).

238. You see, New Orleans is truly a *city of many nations, a melting pot, a bubbling cauldron of many cultures* (Landrieu, 2017).

239. New Orleans was one of America’s largest slave markets, a port where *hundreds of thousands of souls were bought, sold, and shipped up* the Mississippi River to lives of forced labor, of misery, of rape, and of torture (Landrieu, 2017).

240. We can not *walk away from this truth* (Landrieu, 2017).

241. All we hold dear is created by *throwing everything in the pot* – creating, producing something better; everything, everything a product of our historic diversity (Landrieu, 2017).

242. This “cult” had one goal and one goal only: through monuments and through other means to *rewrite history, to hide the truth*, which is that the Confederacy was on the wrong side of humanity (Landrieu, 2017).

243. It is the *history, our history, that holds in its heart the stories* of Native Americans – the Choctaw, the Nation, the Chitimacha; Hernando de Soto, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, the Acadians, the Islenos, the enslaved people of Senegambia, free people of color, the Haitians, the Germans, both empires of France and Spain; the Italian[s], the Irish, the Cubans, the south and central Americans, the Vietnamese, and so many more (Landrieu, 2017).

244. But, this is a good place to stop for a moment and ask ourselves at this point in our history – after Katrina, after Rita, after Ike, after Gustav, after the national recession, after the BP oil spill catastrophe, after the tornado – if presented with an *opportunity to build monuments that told our story* or curate these particular spaces ... would these be the monuments that we want the world to see? (Landrieu, 2017).

245. This is, however, about showing the whole world that we as a city, that we as a people are able to acknowledge, to understand, to reconcile, and more importantly, *choose a better future for ourselves, making straight what has been crooked and making right what was wrong* (Landrieu, 2017).

246. [...] nothing to remember this *long chapter of our lives of the pain, of sacrifice, of shame* – all of it happening on the soil of New Orleans. (Landrieu, 2017).

247. Absolutely, *smiles ignite when you walk into a room [...]* (McCullough, 2012).

248. Don’t wait for *inspiration or passion to find you*. [...] *Find it yourself and grab hold* with both hands (McCullough, 2012).

249. Mr. Thoreau wanted to *drive life into a corner, to live deep and suck out all the marrow* (McCullough, 2012).

250. And now you’ve *conquered high school*; [...] (McCullough, 2012).

251. As you commence, then, and *before you scatter to the winds*, I urge you to do whatever you do for no reason other than you love it and believe in its importance (McCullough, 2012).

252. Resist the *easy comforts of complacency, the specious glitter of – of materialism, the narcotic paralysis of self-satisfaction* (McCullough, 2012).

253. Like accolades ought to be, the *fulfilled life is a consequence – a gratifying byproduct* (McCullough, 2012).

254. Dream big (McCullough, 2012).

255. The fulfilling life, the distinctive life, the relevant life, is an achievement, not something that will *fall into your lap* because you're a nice person or mommy ordered it from the caterer (McCullough, 2012).
256. In the 21st century, people are *hungrier for information than ever before*. And they have more sources of information than ever before (Murdoch, 2008).
257. Unlike the doom and gloomers, I believe that *newspapers will reach new heights* (Murdoch, 2008).
258. Over many decades in newspapers, I have been privileged to *witness history being made and printed* almost every night (Murdoch, 2008).
259. For more than a half century, *newspapers have been at the heart of my business* (Murdoch, 2008).
260. But our real business isn't printing on *dead trees* (Murdoch, 2008).
261. The more serious challenge is the *complacency and condescension that festers at the heart* of some newsrooms (Murdoch, 2008).
262. Given the realities of modern technology, this *very radio address can be sliced and digitally diced* (Murdoch, 2008).
263. As everyone here knows, *Randi opened this year* by unveiling a model for teacher development and evaluation that surprised some critics with its commitment to reform (Gates, 2010).
264. That *background music created an urgency* all of its own (Murdoch, 2008).
265. They *acted as sort of demigods* (Murdoch, 2008).
266. The *chattering and pounding of typewriter keys reached a crescendo* in the minutes before a deadline that was stretched beyond breaking point by *gun reporters determined to get the latest, freshest version of a story* (Murdoch, 2008).
267. By doing that, they hoped to grab readers and advertisers before we could even *get off the ground* (Murdoch, 2008).
268. We are in an *era of unprecedented creative destruction*, but there is far more being created than there is being destroyed (Murdoch, 2008).
269. We are in the *midst of a shift from an industrial society to an information society* (Murdoch, 2008).
270. I do know that their contributions have *helped turn penicillin into a lifesaver*, revolutionised treatment for gastro-duodenal ulcers, and provided the foundation for modern biotechnology and genetic engineering (Murdoch, 2008).
271. The result was that some of the less developed *nations have leap-frogged over us* (Murdoch, 2008).
272. Think, for example, of the *giant American television networks* that are finding their *mass audience shrinking* with every passing day (Murdoch, 2008).
273. The word "technology" has a coldness and a distance that seems removed from human experience. There is "high technology", which *sounds almost religious* (Murdoch, 2008).
274. And their impact is a *mix of the miraculous, the efficacious, and the disorienting* (Murdoch, 2008).
275. But Australia is a small *country without the cushion of a large domestic market* (Murdoch, 2008).
276. Then something happened that *shook this tidy little world to its core* (Murdoch, 2008).
277. But they *were truly prisoners of the past* (Murdoch, 2008).
278. But they will have a wall full of awards – *prisoners of the past rather than enthusiasts for the future* (Murdoch, 2008).
279. And the news and *entertainment industry is right in the centre of the maelstrom* (Murdoch, 2008).

280. Corporate executives who once enjoyed quasi-monopolies now lose sleep – fearing that some *little icon on someone's desktop is going to wipe away their entire business* (Murdoch, 2008).
281. The new *technology turned their world upside down* (Murdoch, 2008).
282. To be successful, a business *needs people who see the big picture*, who can think critically, and who have strong character (Murdoch, 2008).
283. They were my parents, so I suppose you could say *I'm a direct result of that kitchen chemistry experiment*, right here at Michigan (Page, 2009).
284. The *idea wasn't even on the radar*. When a *really great dream shows up, grab it!* (Page, 2009).
285. Their slogan is to have a "*healthy disregard for the impossible*" (Page, 2009).
286. I still think a lot about transportation – you *never loose a dream, it just incubates as a hobby* (Page, 2009).
287. The STEM Center will unify that work, and add to it, so that the people in Washington who have an interest in education will also have a *powerful vehicle for reforming it*. (Raikes, 2010).
288. In the United States, we invest in *education* because we believe it *is the key to opportunity* (Raikes, 2010).
289. A *good education paves the way for a rewarding career and a more rewarding life* (Raikes, 2010).
290. The STEM fields are where the *opportunities of the future will lie* (Raikes, 2010).
291. But today, our education system simply isn't giving students the skills they need to *seize those opportunities* (Raikes, 2010).
292. Those *numbers are scary* (Raikes, 2010).
293. We get a lot of attention for our work in global health and development, and I think it sometimes *overshadows the investments we make at home* (Raikes, 2010).
294. And the *negative economic impact of those unfilled jobs is immeasurable* (Raikes, 2010).
295. We need the STEM movement if we hope to *write a different story about our future* (Raikes, 2010).
296. Because the STEM *movement in this state is about to take off* (Raikes, 2010).
297. It needs *political muscle in Olympia*. Most of all, it needs your ideas (Raikes, 2010).
298. Every young adult should have a Professor Winkler, who gives them the confidence and the skills they need to *beat the curve* (Raikes, 2010).
299. That's because those are the jobs responsible for innovation, and *innovation has always been the key to our economic fortunes* (Raikes, 2010).
300. Or do you want to see a *chapter of moral victory and prowess* as superb and as glorious as that of the victories of arms which have already been achieved, added to the annals of the history of this country, and high standards of morality maintained and perpetuated by our sons and brothers in the days to come? (Rockefeller, 1917).
301. For the first time in history, people of Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant faith are *standing side by side* and working in closest cooperation for a great common cause (Rockefeller, 1917).
302. Do you want to see the *flower of the manhood of this country*, which has brought everlasting glory to our nation, neglected in the hour of its greatest need, and afraid to face temptation? (Rockefeller, 1917).
303. As Governor, I tried to do the right as best I knew it, serving the law and *answering to the Constitution* (Romney, 2007).
304. *Religious tolerance would be a shallow principle* indeed if it were reserved only for faiths with which we agree (Romney, 2007).
305. We do not insist on a single strain of religion; rather, we welcome our nation's *symphony of faith* (Romney, 2007).
306. I believe that every *faith I've encountered draws its adherents closer to God* (Romney, 2007).

307. In such a world, we can be deeply thankful that we live in a land where ***reason and religion are friends and allies in the cause of liberty, joined against the evils and dangers of the day*** (Romney, 2007).
308. John Adams put it that we are “***thrown into the world all equal and alike.***” (Romney, 2007).
309. ***Freedom opens the windows of the soul*** so that man can discover his most profound beliefs and commune with God (Romney, 2007).
310. This clear military commitment attracted the support of allies broadly and ***equipped our diplomats with a whole new level of certainty*** around how to prepare for the peace talks and achieve the final objectives (Tillerson, 2018).
311. As President Trump has said, we look forward to a day when, “[good] people of all faiths, Christians and Muslims and Jewish and Hindu, can ***follow their hearts*** and worship according to their conscience” (Tillerson, August 2017).
312. It’s kind of a – what’s the ***hottest fire that we’ve got to deal with?*** (Tillerson, May 2017).
313. And I think that’s – as you hear the President talk about it, that’s what he really speaks about, is: Look, ***things have gotten out of balance***, and these are really important relationships to us and they’re really important alliances, but we’ve got to bring them back into balance (Tillerson, May 2017).
314. It doesn’t mean that we ***leave those values on the sidelines***. It doesn’t mean that we don’t ***advocate for and aspire to freedom, human dignity, and the treatment of people the world over*** (Tillerson, May 2017).
315. And what we’ve asked the Chinese to do is we’re - we ***want to take a fresh look*** at where’s this relationship going to be 50 years from now, because I think we have an opportunity to define that (Tillerson, May 2017).
316. And when the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union broke up, we took all of that off and ***history regained its march*** (Tillerson, May 2017).
317. And so I want to express my appreciation to all of you for helping me and helping my team ***as we came on board*** (Tillerson, May 2017).
318. Your willingness ***to step up and not just fill that role***, but to take responsibility for the role and to lead the organization through some pretty challenging first 90 days –it’s not like we haven’t had some things to work on (Tillerson, May 2017).
319. And then ***I’ll take a quick walk around the world*** (Tillerson, May 2017).
320. Most of you have some familiarity of what’s going on around the world, but ***I thought just regionally I’d hit each one of them very quickly***, to share with you my perspective on kind of where I feel we are [...] (Tillerson, May 2017).
321. So it was - ***it’s right on the doorstep*** (Tillerson, May 2017).
322. But ***we’re all on this boat, on this voyage*** -- I’m not going to call it a cruise; it’s not – may not be that much fun. But ***we’re on all this ship, on this voyage together*** (Tillerson, May 2017).
323. I didn’t come with a solution in a box when I showed up (Tillerson, May 2017).
324. And in many respects, we’ve not yet ***transitioned ourselves to this new reality either*** (Tillerson, May 2017).
325. It’s not as ***rocky [SITUATION] as it looks sometimes***, and I think, in fact, the relationships are quite good (Tillerson, May 2017).
326. We also cannot allow the ***terrorist networks that weave their way through*** Africa to continue unabated (Tillerson, May 2017).
327. ***In the wake of the September 11th attacks***, courageous Americans raced into smoke, fire, and debris in lower Manhattan, the Pentagon, and a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania (Trump, July 2019).
328. On September 11th, 15 of his men ***raced into the ashes of hell*** and gave their lives (Trump, July 2019).

329. You ran toward the wreckage, into a *ball of flames*, like, frankly, nobody in this country had ever seen (Trump, July 2019).
330. The *love and loyalty of our 9/11 responders knew no bounds* (Trump, July 2019).
331. You *lift up our communities* and you remind us all what it means to stand united as “one nation under God.” (Trump, July 2019).
332. I told them that the *beauty and majesty of citizenship* is that it draws no distinctions of race or class or faith or gender or background (Trump, January 2019).
333. It was a beautiful ceremony and a moving *reminder of our nation’s proud history* of welcoming legal immigrants from all over the world *into our national family* (Trump, January 2019).
334. Unfortunately, our *immigration system has been badly broken* for a very long time (Trump, January 2019).
335. Furthermore, in order to *build the trust and goodwill* necessary to begin real immigration reform, there are two more elements to my plan (Trump, January 2019).
336. This includes a new system to allow Central American minors to apply for asylum in their home countries, and reform to promote family reunification for unaccompanied children, *thousands of whom wind up on our border doorstep* (Trump, January 2019).
337. Further, while the *current agreement effectively blocks the development of clean coal* in America – which it does, and the mines are starting to open up (Trump, 2017).
338. We have among the most abundant *energy reserves on the planet, sufficient to lift millions* of America’s poorest workers out of poverty (Trump, 2017).
339. Yet, under this agreement, we are effectively *putting these reserves under lock and key*, taking away the great wealth of our nation – it’s great wealth, it’s phenomenal wealth; not so long ago, we had no idea we had such wealth – and leaving millions and millions of *families trapped in poverty and joblessness* (Trump, 2017).
340. Had you done a case study on the product, you likely would have said it had all the *hallmarks of a winning strategy*: It was differentiated, delivered on an essential consumer need, and *moved the needle in terms of results* (Weiner, 2018).
341. Regardless of how you *decide to change the world*, remember, it’s not just about the what, it’s also about the how (Weiner, 2018).
342. Put another way, *compassion is empathy plus action* (Weiner, 2018).
343. Thus, as of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the *draconian financial and economic burdens* the agreement imposes on our country (Trump, 2017).
344. Compassion is putting yourself in the shoes of another person and seeing the world through their lens for the sake of alleviating their suffering (Weiner, 2018).
345. We need to *increasingly put ourselves in the shoes* of those on the receiving end of new technologies – and those who might never benefit from them (Weiner, 2018).
346. I’d now like to *shift gears* and talk about how essential it is to practice compassion at home (Weiner, 2018).
347. By the time I got home on some nights, *I’d be so spent* that after putting the girls to bed, I had little left to give (Weiner, 2018).
348. My wife, *Lisette, is the bedrock of our home* and has built the foundation upon which my work exists (Weiner, 2018).
349. Nothing could be *further from the truth* (Weiner, 2018).
350. By breaking free of our own tribes, even if only for a moment, and seeing things through the lens of people unlike ourselves, we can *begin to close the gaps*, whether they be socio-economic, racial, gender, political or otherwise (Weiner, 2018).
351. But Reid went further than *establishing clear lines of authority* (Weiner, 2018).

352. If I saw something in a presentation that didn't make sense, I could ***barrage the team with questions*** (Weiner, 2018).
353. We're on the ***threshold of medical breakthroughs*** that could eliminate global disease (Weiner, 2018).
354. Our technology, our great businesses, our reach, our resources aren't enough to make us the global best unless we always have the best people – ***people who are always stretching to become better*** (Welch, 2001).
355. Today the ***initiative is so much richer and is focused on talent***, searching the world for intellectual capital, driven by the knowledge that the team that fields the best talent from any source wins (Welch, 2001).
356. This informality and the boundaryless behavior it produces has made GE a Learning Company – a high spirited, endlessly curious enterprise that roams the globe finding and nurturing the best people and cultivating in them an insatiable appetite to learn, to stretch, and to find that better idea, that better way every day (Welch, 2001).
357. Now, for the rest of this report, I'd like to ***provide a picture of this company*** as it begins its third century and tell you what 340,000 GE people around the world have created (Welch, 2001).
358. We are so proud of our volunteers and the ***bright face of your company*** that they present to the community (Welch, 2001).
359. Now ***that's the glass half-full look*** (Welch, 2001).
360. Originally focused on reducing waste and elevating the quality of our products and processes within the company, it has ***delivered billions of dollars to GE's bottom line in savings*** (Welch, 2001).
361. Its rigorous process discipline and relentless customer focus has made it the perfect training ground, a ***perfect vehicle for the future leadership*** of GE (Welch, 2001).
362. Our very best and brightest are moving into Six Sigma assignments and I'm confident when the Board picks the next CEO 20 years from now, the man or woman chosen will be ***someone with Six Sigma blood in his or her veins*** (Welch, 2001).
363. ***Six Sigma has become the language of leadership*** in our Company, a big part of what we call the GE brand (Welch, 2001).
364. Many of the best and brightest of our engineers who traditionally ***gravitated to new product design***, higher thrust engines, more efficient turbines, better diagnostic images have now joined this Company-wide drive to deliver high technology upgrades to GE's enormous install base (Welch, 2001).
365. ***Moving our traditional customers to the Web*** for much more efficient transactions has been very successful (Welch, 2001).
366. Digitization will give us at least ten cents a share in 2001, from zero three years ago, demonstrating again the ***speed with which good ideas are embraced across*** GE (Welch, 2001).
367. ***Digitization is, in fact, a game changer for GE***. And, with ***competition cutting back*** because of the economy, this is the time for GE to widen the digital gap, to further improve our competitive position (Welch, 2001).
368. ***Integrity means always abiding by the law***, both the letter and the spirit (Welch, 2001).
369. A Company of people brimming with self-confidence also communicates with utter simplicity, energizing people with clear, exciting messages, and ***moving with speed and decisiveness to seize every opportunity*** (Welch, 2001).
370. It means simply the breaking or ignoring of ***artificial walls like functions, rank, geography, race, sex, and any other barrier*** in the way of a headlong rush toward the best ideas (Welch, 2001).
371. We purged NIH – not invented here – from our system, ***creating a company with an insatiable desire for information*** (Welch, 2000).
372. Another management concept that served us very well over two decades was the belief that an organization that was not only ***comfortable with change but relished it*** – saw it always as opportunity,

not as a threat – had a distinct advantage in a world where the pace of change was always accelerating (Welch, 2000).

373. We became such a Company, but we had the luxury of learning to become one when the pace of change was comparatively glacial and the *windows of opportunity often hung wide open for years* (Welch, 2000).

374. Today, in the midst of this Internet revolution, the *opportunities presented by change open and close on a weekly, even daily, basis*, which brings us to another management tenet – speed (Welch, 2000).

375. The most daring true boast we could make about *GE's speed was that we had become "the fastest elephant at the dance."* (Welch, 2000).

376. Equally important, this Company is poised to take advantage of any *upturn in the world's economies*. (Welch, 1981).

377. If it is not, we will ask ourselves, "What will it take?" and then *rally the resources required to get there* (Welch, 1981).

378. But *galloping technology left some holes* in our ability to be a leading supplier of advanced production systems (Welch, 1981).

379. The inroads of foreign companies, especially in autos and steel, have *awakened American industry to the realization* that it cannot compete when its factories are aging, its productivity is declining, and it is working with the technologies of yesterday (Welch, 1981).

380. An engineer *takes ideas right out of his head* and sees them in full color on a screen (Welch, 1981).

381. She'd constantly remind me that *I could be anything I wanted to be*, I just had to earn it (Whitman, 2008).

382. John's *pride in America and his belief in its spirit are electrifying* (Whitman, 2008).

383. He lives by a *code of honor* unmatched by anyone in American politics (Whitman, 2008).

384. Since John began his campaign he's heard the *concern in your voices and your stories – the stories of hardworking Americans* who believe that politicians are out of touch and out of ideas (Whitman, 2008).

385. John's a different breed (Whitman, 2008).

386. John's principles *run like a golden thread throughout our history* (Whitman, 2008).

387. But when Americans have faced their greatest hardships, they have *written history's greatest chapters* (Whitman, 2008).

388. *Energy independence must be our generation's moon shot* – and John McCain and Sarah Palin will lead us in that historic effort (Whitman, 2008).

389. The same kind of frank, common-sense conversations every American family has – about the need to balance the checkbook, living within your means, and *tightening the belt during hard times* – are the conversations John will have with members of Congress (Whitman, 2008).

390. And John McCain and Sarah Palin will *simplify our mind-numbing tax code*, so that filling out your taxes is not a *dreaded annual nightmare* (Whitman, 2008).

391. And I can say with certainty that when he's sitting in the Oval Office – in every decision he makes – President McCain *will put his country first* (Whitman, 2008).

392. In his first 100 days in office, they will put forward proposals to double the size of the child tax exemption, *putting more money in your pockets* (Whitman, 2008).

393. Now, Republicans know that John's *solutions rest on a set of principles* that are true and tested and enduring. (Whitman, 2008).

394. And I've interviewed and portrayed people who've *withstood some of the ugliest things life can throw at you*, but the one quality all of them seem to share is an ability to maintain hope for a brighter morning, even during our darkest nights (Winfrey, 2018).

395. And I've tried many, many, many times to explain what a moment like that means to a little girl, a kid watching from the cheap seats as my mom came through the door ***bone tired*** from cleaning other people's houses (Winfrey, 2018).
396. But we also know that it is the insatiable dedication to uncovering the absolute truth that keeps us from ***turning a blind eye to corruption and to injustice*** (Winfrey, 2018).
397. [...] I want to say that I value the press more than ever before as we try to ***navigate these complicated times***, which brings me to this: What I know for sure is that speaking your truth is the most powerful tool we all have (Winfrey, 2018).
398. Each of us in this room are celebrated because of the stories that we tell, and this year ***we became the story*** (Winfrey, 2018).
399. It is an honor – It is an honor and it is a privilege to share the evening with all of them and also with the incredible men and women who've inspired me, who've challenged me, who've sustained me and ***made my journey to this stage possible***: [...] ***Gayle, who's been the definition*** of what a friend is; and ***Stedman, who's been my rock*** – just a few to name a few (Winfrey, 2018).
400. And I just hope – I just hope that Recy Taylor died knowing that her truth, like the ***truth of so many other women who were tormented in those years, and even now tormented, goes marching on*** (Winfrey, 2018).
401. So I want all the girls watching here, now, to know that a ***new day is on the horizon!*** (Winfrey, 2018).
402. She lived as we all have lived, too many years in a ***culture broken by brutally powerful men*** (Winfrey, 2018).
403. Whether our communities are houses or sports teams, churches or music groups, they give us that sense ***we are part of something bigger***, that we are not alone; they give us the strength ***to expand our horizons*** (Zuckerberg, 2017).

METAPHORS CONCEPTUAL:

METAPHORS OF LIVING ORGANISMS:

1. In short, we ***misdiagnosed the problem*** from the beginning (Barra, June 2014).
2. Protect it. ***Cultivate it [BUSINESS]***. Wear it with pride (Barra, May 2014).
3. [...] Russia used social media as part of – and I quote – “a comprehensive and multifaceted campaign,” “to ***sow discord***, undermine democratic institutions, and interfere in U.S. elections and those of our allies.” (Sandberg, 2018).
4. And though you will find many people of ***strong faith*** there, the ***churches*** themselves seem to be ***withering away*** (Romney, 2007).+BUILDING
5. “The next time we gather again in April of 2000, as GE begins operations in its third century, you can be certain that your ***Company will never have been newer, fresher or more energized.***” (Welch, 2000).
6. A cynic would say the obvious reason for economic competitors and their wish to see us remain in the agreement is so that we continue to ***suffer this self-inflicted major economic wound*** (Trump, 2017).
7. It also provides pensions for those who are suffering from ***cancer and other illnesses stemming from*** the toxic debris they were exposed to in the aftermath of the attacks (Trump, July 2019).
8. Like every other initiative, what ***started out as a little seed of an idea*** in this case – basically what the dot.coms were doing – Digitization today has expanded far beyond our original vision (Welch, 2001).
9. This culture and the GE operating system it drives, lets us take an initiative – ***a big idea – plant it like a seed***, emphasize it, and watch the ***people of GE flourish and make it spread rapidly*** across the Company. (Welch, 2001).
10. The ***economy is starting to come back***, and very, very rapidly (Trump, 2017).

11. The *fruits of our labor* will be seen very shortly even more so (Trump, 2017).
12. The *Paris Agreement handicaps the United States economy* in order to win praise from the very foreign capitals and global activists that have long sought to gain wealth at our country's expense (Trump, 2017).
13. In the late '70s and early '80s, we experienced the Japanese inroads on many of our traditional businesses, realized that our future was no longer in many of them, and moved into *businesses that were immune to this assault while we restructured the Company* (Welch, 2000).
14. And that's why we acquired Intersil – to assure us a supply of custom-designed chips, and to keep *advanced electronic technology running in the Company's bloodstream* (Welch, 1981).
15. These *businesses will indeed suffer earnings hiccups*, as they always have (Buffett, 2008).
16. It will also help facilitate discussion among all the participants in the *Internet ecosystem*, which can reduce the need for government involvement in network management disagreements (Genachowski, 2009).
17. The *complacency stems* from having enjoyed a monopoly – and now finding they have to compete for an audience they once took for granted (Murdoch, 2008).
18. A lot of *banks and insurance companies have suffered earnings disasters* after relying on that rationale (Buffett, 2006).
19. Mortgages once thought to be safe are now threatened, and *industries that were once strong are now dying* (Whitman, 2008).
20. And when I was accepted as a Medicine resident at University of California, San Francisco [...] that *feeling grew even stronger* (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
21. It is in this union, it is in this truth that *real patriotism is rooted and it flourishes* (Landrieu, 2017).
22. *The soul of our beloved city is rooted* in a history that has evolved over thousands of years; *rooted in a diverse people* who have been here together *every step of the way* through good and through bad (Landrieu, 2017). + JOURNEY
23. We will do that by increasing our spending on information technology by 10% to 15% this year despite the *weak economy* (Welch, 2001).
24. Most of these traditional GE *businesses are still healthy and expanding* (Welch, 1981).
25. [...] The full weight of the *legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government* has been brought to bear and that is why these monuments are coming down in accordance with the law and will be removed (Landrieu, 2017).
26. The exciting thing about these *big thriving initiatives* I've just described is that they are still *in their relative infancy* (Welch, 2001).
27. That's how *real meritocracies are created and thrive* (Welch, 2001).
28. For years we've been talking about something these winning people have, something we must help *foster* in all our people – *the magic and indispensable ingredient of self-confidence* (Welch, 2001).
29. Technology's potential is, and always must be, *rooted in the faith people* have in it [...] (Cook, 2018).
30. And it is a freedom that, even here in a City *that is rooted in Dutch tolerance*, was hard-won over many years (Bloomberg, August 2010).
31. [...] and this *next-generation vehicle* will allow us to increase [...] (Barra, 2017).
32. We've come here to Governors Island to stand where the earliest settlers first set foot in New Amsterdam, and where the *seeds of religious tolerance were first planted* (Bloomberg, August 2010).
33. Now, an *entrepreneurial culture thrives* when it's easy to try lots of new ideas (Zuckerberg, 2017).
34. It prevents people *with seeds of good ideas* from getting started (Zuckerberg, 2017).

35. So this new management team inherits a ***strong and healthy company***, well positioned strategically and financially for vigorous future growth (Welch, 1981).
36. Company-wide adjusted EBITDA reached \$1.34 billion, an increase of 20% over the prior year ***driven by outstanding growth*** in Macao and Singapore (Adelson, 2018).
37. Our ***economy is struggling*** and Americans are hurting. We live in a ***time of economic anxiety*** and hardships (Whitman, 2008).
38. But one is not – our ***visceral hatred of bureaucracy stems from*** the evil and harm it wreaks on the spirit of a company, any institution, and its people, and its dilutive effect on every other value which we believe (Welch, 2001).
39. Our ***non-rolling table grew*** by 18% over the prior year while our ***non-rolling win grew*** by 27% (Adelson, 2018).
40. It was awful tasting medicine [BEING FIRED], but I guess the patient needed it. Sometime life – Sometimes ***life's going to hit you in the head with a brick*** (Jobs, 2005).
41. I'm personally extremely honored to receive the Adam Smith Award from ALEC, especially since it comes from an ***organization that's committed to curing social and economic problems*** with market-based solutions (Koch, 1994).
42. As a result, ***we grew by an exceptional 52% in premiums*** mass when compared to the prior year (Adelson, 2018).
43. And I believe that societies that want to prosper in this new age ***need to cultivate a spirit of learning and flexibility and achievement*** (Murdoch, 2008).
44. They did it by describing the Millennium, the year 2000, as a Jubilee year; described this year as an opportunity to cancel the ***chronic debts of the world's poorest people*** (Hewson, 2006).
45. Where religious freedom is not protected, we know that instability, human rights abuses, and violent extremism have a ***greater opportunity to take root*** (Tillerson, August 2017).
46. I offered to meet with him as soon as possible so that we can start to ***heal the divisions of the campaign*** and the contest through which we've just passed (Gore, 2000).
47. GE employees have already ***sunk their roots into*** the community and begun volunteer efforts (Welch, 2001).
48. ***Boundaryless behavior only flourishes*** when self-confidence reins, as it does in the GE of today and will even more in the GE of tomorrow (Welch, 2001).
49. Our ***democracy has become sclerotic*** at a time when these crises require boldness (Gore, December 14, 2007).
50. Having three iconic must-see European-themed destination resorts with a broad range of amenities will [...] ***position us to grow faster*** than the Macao market in every segment on both, the top line and the bottom line in the years ahead (Adelson, 2018).
51. There are a ***growing number of public schools*** – including charter schools – that smash old prejudices about what low-income and minority students can achieve (Gates, 2010).
52. While [With] the ***growing popularity*** of high-bandwidth applications, Internet traffic is roughly doubling every two years (Genachowski, 2009).
53. We have an obligation to ensure that the Internet is an enduring engine for U.S. ***economic growth***, and a foundation for democracy in the 21st century (Genachowski, 2009).
54. In view of these challenges and opportunities, and because it is vital that the Internet continue to be an engine of innovation, ***economic growth***, competition, and democratic engagement, I believe the Federal Communications ***Commission must be a smart cop*** on the beat preserving a free and open Internet (Genachowski, 2009).
55. [...] I ask them to consider whether the costs of oil and coal will ever stop increasing if we keep relying on quickly depleting energy sources ***to feed a rapidly growing demand*** all around the world (Gore, December 14, 2007).

56. But even those who *reap the profits* of the carbon age have to recognize the inevitability of its demise (Gore, December 14, 2007).
57. It's exciting to see how the *standards are being brought to life* in schools and classrooms (Gates, October 2017).
58. We worked hard, and in 10 years *Apple had grown* from just the two of us in a garage into a two billion dollar company with over 4000 employees (Jobs, 2005).
59. Well, as *Apple grew* we hired someone who I thought was very talented to run the company with me, and for the first year or so things went well (Jobs, 2005).
60. I came across the fact that *Web usage was growing* at 2,300 percent per year (Bezos, 2010).
61. As a result, the *earth has a fever*. And the fever is rising. The experts have told us it is not a passing affliction that will heal by itself (Gore, December 10, 2007).
62. GE *has evolved from* a product company to a services company that also makes great products (Welch, 2001).
63. I'm sure that Jeff and his terrific team will take GE to *levels of growth* and excellence that we can only dream of today (Welch, 2001).
64. Our strategy to build integrated results with scale and diversity is clearly paying dividends as Macao's *mass and tourism growth* accelerates (Adelson, 2018).
65. Our MICE *business* has gone from strength to strength *growing* by 44% year-on-year to just under 290,000 room nights in 2017 (Adelson, 2018).
66. Sands China is a company *rooted* in Macao [...] (Adelson, 2018).
67. Making customers more productive helps both them and us *grow through this tough environment* (Welch, 2001).
68. *They [VALUES] are your roots*, but *you have also been given wings* — the ability to dare to dream the impossible and then make that dream a reality (Burns, 2011).
69. *Genetics was in its infancy* (Burns, 2011).
70. There, and everywhere, *it [FEDERAL PRIVACY LAW] should be rooted* in four essential rights [...] (Cook, 2018).
71. The other 56% comes from new, *fast-growing businesses* in man-made materials...natural resources...aerospace...land transportation equipment...medical systems...and major new lines of opportunity like credit services (Welch, 1981).
72. One reason for this is a *growing global demand* for business news and for accurate news (Murdoch, 2008).
73. We'll deliver *earnings growth* at a time when many are delivering earnings warnings (Welch, 2001).
74. Why? Because people suddenly have a *growing multitude of choices* – and they are rightly exercising those choices (Murdoch, 2008).
75. The release of the 2016 International Religious Freedom Report details the status of religious freedom in 199 countries and territories, and provides insights as to *significant and growing challenges* (Tillerson, August 2017).
76. *This ability will grow* even more important in the future (Murdoch, 2008).
77. [...] and now as a *growing military power* – that as we participated in those changes, we were promoting relations, we were promoting economic activity, we were promoting trade with a lot of these emerging economies, and we just kind of lost track of how we were doing. (Tillerson, May 2017).
78. We're [BUSINESSES] *going to grow*; we're *going to grow rapidly* (Trump, 2017).
79. At Apple, *respect for privacy – and a healthy suspicion of authority – have always been in our bloodstream* (Cook, 2018).

METAPHORS OF WAR:

1. Some have argued that the FCC should not *take affirmative steps to protect the Internet's openness* (Genachowski, 2009).
2. The UAE's founding father, Sheikh Zayed, was among the first international leaders to join the *global fight against Guinea worm disease* (Gates, November 2017).
3. And that's why it's incumbent upon all of us to do all we can to *protect our democratic process* (Sandberg, 2018).
4. In this environment, it's understandable that *people on the losing end* worry about where the information revolution is taking us (Murdoch, 2008).
5. This is where our *comfort can be a formidable enemy* (Murdoch, 2008).
6. But there is no excuse for failing to cultivate areas where we enjoy an advantage—and where talented *people from around the world are fighting to get in* (Murdoch, 2008).
7. In John Adams' words: "We have no *government armed with power* capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion." (Romney, 2007).
8. But if you're *fighting only for wages, hours and working conditions*, then it's just *teachers fighting for teachers* (Gates, 2010).
9. These prior *struggles for survival were won* when leaders found words at the 11th hour that released a mighty surge of courage, hope, and readiness to sacrifice for a *protracted and mortal struggle* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
10. All this was excellent *preparation for the next big fight we had*: the opening of our new presses at Wapping in England (Murdoch, 2008).
11. Senators, let me be clear: We are more determined than our opponents, and *we will keep fighting [VIOLENT CONTENT]* (Sandberg, 2018).
12. Our *endless assault on bureaucracy, hierarchy, layers, boundaries and every other manifestation* of corporate nonsense has made us much faster than we ever thought a big company could be [...] (Welch, 2000).
13. The *survival of the United States of America as we know it is at risk* (Gore, December 14, 2007).
14. In those discussions, one thing has become abundantly clear: when you connect the dots, it turns out that the real solutions to the climate crisis are the very same measures needed to renew our economy and *escape the trap of ever-rising energy prices* (Gore, December 14, 2007).
15. These are not talking points. These are the *heartbreaking realities that are hurting innocent, precious human beings* every single day on both sides of the border. (Trump, January 2019).
16. He's a former city councilor who *successfully led the battle* to make Mexico City the first Latin American city to pass marriage equality—even before San Francisco (Zuckerberg, 2017).
17. This is not a *battle of nations, it's a battle of ideas* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
18. It's time we *unleash the full power of this great company* (Barra, June 2014).
19. It's very easy, in these times, to see *religion as a force for division rather than unity* (Hewson, 2006).
20. Currently, thousands of men and women are *battling cancer and other illnesses* due to 9/11 (Trump, July 2019).
21. *I am fighting every day* for the great people of this country (Trump, 2017).
22. Whether you're a career employee or a political appointee, we are all bound by that common commitment to *support and defend the Constitution*, to bear true faith and allegiance to the same, and to faithfully discharge the duties of our office (Tillerson, 2018).
23. Every year 340,000 GE employees around the world send me to this meeting *armed with terrific numbers*, and this year is no exception (Welch, 2000).
24. *As for the battle [ELECTIONS] that ends* tonight, I do believe, as my father once said, that "No matter how hard the loss, defeat might serve as well as victory to shape the soul and let the glory out." (Gore, 2000).

25. ***Religious freedom is under attack*** in Pakistan, where more than two dozen are on death row or serving a life imprisonment for blasphemy (Tillerson, August 2017).
26. [...] Americans rise to the occasion, willing to risk their very lives ***to defend freedom*** and preserve our nation (Romney, 2007).
27. Indeed, without realizing it, we have ***begun to wage war on the earth itself***. Now, we and the earth's climate are ***locked in a relationship*** familiar to war planners: "Mutually assured destruction." (Gore, December 10, 2007). +BUILDING
28. The continuous and generally successful ***war we've waged on bureaucracy*** over the past two decades has allowed us to create what we call "boundaryless" behavior (Welch, 2001).
29. Yet as George Orwell reminds us: "Sooner or later a ***false belief bumps up against a solid reality, usually on a battlefield.***" (Gore, December 10, 2007).
30. [...] that I didn't get the chance to ***stay and fight for the American people*** over the next four years, especially for those who need ***burdens lifted and barriers removed***, especially for those who feel their voices have not been heard (Gore, 2000).
31. The result was a good old-fashioned stoush – ***a newspaper war*** (Murdoch, 2008).
32. We never intended to cause all this destruction, just as Alfred Nobel never intended that dynamite be used for ***waging war*** (Gore, December 10, 2007).
33. Iran continues to sentence individuals to death under vague apostasy laws – 20 individuals were executed in 2016 on charges that included (quote), "***waging war against God.***" (Tillerson, 2017).
34. Both of our neighbors [COUNTRIES] understand we have to refresh some of the ***agreements that have governed our relationship***, particularly in the areas of trade, and both countries are ready to engage in a good-faith effort with us as well (Tillerson, May 2017).
35. Maybe it's something to do with having a father who was a Protestant and a mother who was a Catholic in a country where the line between the two was, quite literally, often a ***battle line***; where the line between Church and State was, at the very least, a little blurry and hard to see (Hewson, 2006).
36. It was exactly that ***spirit of openness and acceptance that was attacked*** on 9/11, 2001 (Bloomberg, August 2010).
37. They ***answered terror*** with the emotional strength of true American warriors (Trump, July 2019).
38. Our ***attacks on terrorism*** are greatly stepped up – and you see that, you see it all over – from the previous Administration, including getting many other countries to make major contributions to the ***fight against terror*** (Trump, 2017).
39. It is time ***to make peace with the planet*** (Gore, December 10, 2007).
40. I can't remember the details, but basically the ad said, every puff of a cigarette ***takes some number of minutes off of your life*** (Bezos, 2010).
41. Shaken by this condemnation, the inventor ***made a fateful choice to serve the cause of peace*** (Gore, December 10, 2007).
42. When the American people cast their vote for the candidate they believe can best ***protect our nation, restore our standing in the world***, and expand prosperity and opportunity to every willing heart, they will do as they have done in the past – they will put country first (Whitman, 2008).
43. And for a few weeks, we were literally ***under siege by people intent*** on damaging our presses, hurting our people, and ***killing our business***. (Murdoch, 2008).
44. In fact, ***we must move first***, because that is the key to getting others to follow; and because ***moving first is in our own national interest*** (Gore, December 14, 2007).
45. Even though I fear my words cannot match this moment, I pray what I am feeling in my heart will be communicated clearly enough that those who hear me will say, "***We must act.***" (Gore, December 10, 2007).
46. Both sides in Washington must simply come together, listen to each other, ***put down their armor, build trust***, reach across the aisle, and find solutions (Trump, January 2019).

47. It is time to exit the Paris Accord and time to pursue a new deal that *protects the environment, our companies, our citizens, and our country* (Trump, 2017).
48. [...] and some pretty phenomenal men, *fighting hard to make sure that they become the leaders* who take us to the time when nobody ever has to say “Me too” again (Winfrey, 2018).

METAPHORS OF JOURNEY:

1. But as you’ve heard me say, we are not going to *negotiate our way to the negotiating table* (Tillerson, May 2017).
2. In my meetings at the G7, we have *taken historic steps* to demand fair and reciprocal trade that gives Americans a level playing field against other nations (Trump, 2017).
3. Neither he nor I *anticipated this long and difficult road* [ELECTIONS] (Gore, 2000).
4. We’ve *come a long way* since then (Zuckerberg, 2018).
5. I am very enthusiastic about the Common Core, but I know that *implementation has been bumpy in places* (Gates, 2014).
6. We’re *a long way from perfect and we’ve surely stumbled along the way* (Romney, 2007).
7. You are probably *on the right track* if you feel like a sidewalk worm during a rainstorm! (Page, 2009).
8. And yet *death is the destination we all share*. And that is as it should be, because Death is very likely the single best invention of Life. It’s Life’s change agent. It clears out the old to make way for the new. Right now the new is you, but someday not too long from now, you will gradually become the old and be cleared away (Jobs, 2005).
9. Your *life’s journey will include some turbulent waters* (Burns, 2011).
10. Our entire civilization depends upon us now embarking on a new *journey of exploration and discovery*. Once again, we have an opportunity to *take a giant leap for humankind* (Gore, December 14, 2007).
11. So on we go with the *journey of equality* (Hewson, 2006).
12. It’s about *fair rules of the road for companies* that control access to the Internet (Genachowski, 2009).
13. [...] *and that the fewer obstacles those innovators face in bringing their work to the world*, the greater our opportunity as citizens and as a nation (Genachowski, 2009).
14. In Washington, D.C., New York, New Haven, Tampa, Pittsburgh, Colorado – you have *taken historic steps to bury old arguments* and improve student achievement (Gates, 2010).
15. And when you move your thoughts from thinking about “me” to thinking about “us”, you will be *embarking on the path to a meaningful life* (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
16. We also celebrate the *new steps taken*, not only here in Europe, but around the world (Cook, 2018).
17. Even though each form of Internet access has unique technical characteristics, *they are all are different roads to the same place* (Genachowski, 2009).
18. Proud that you have *achieved an important milestone* but aware that you have much to do and *miles to go before you rest* (Burns, 2011).
19. It may feel like you have your *life mapped out*, but I can assure you – things will happen that you simply cannot imagine as you sit here today (Barra, May 2014).
20. We’ve also *taken strong steps to prevent abuse* and increase transparency in advertising (Sandberg, 2018) (Sandberg, 2018).
21. And for us, collectively, *the journey [SHIFT FROM AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY TO AN INFORMATION SOCIETY] is just beginning* (Murdoch, 2008).
22. The *road ahead will not be easy*, but the *journey we have taken together over the past decade fills me with optimism* for the one that now lies ahead (Bloomberg, January 2010).
23. Your smarts will come in handy because you *will travel in a land of marvels* (Bezos, 2010).

24. I *found that out the hard way* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
25. Today's *production milestone brings us one step closer* to making our vision of personal mobility a reality (Barra, 2017).
26. Before I talk about the *steps we're taking to address them* [ISSUES], I want to talk about how we got here (Zuckerberg, 2018).
27. And I'm utterly convinced for this great Company, *its best days lie ahead* (Welch, 2001).
28. For America [and] New Orleans, it *has been a long and winding road*, marked by tragedy and triumph (Landrieu, 2017).
29. The opening of the Venetian Macao 10 years ago marked the *first step in my vision* to create the Cotai Strip (Adelson, 2018).
30. It is our strongest defense against foreign competition and *the only path to sustained growth in earnings* (Welch, 1981).+LIVING ORGANISM
31. We are standing at the most *fateful fork in that path* [FUTURE] (Gore, December 10, 2007).
32. You have to trust in something – your gut, destiny, life, karma, whatever – because believing that the dots will connect *down the road* will give you the confidence to follow your heart, even when it *leads you off the well-worn path*, and that will make all the difference (Jobs, 2005).
33. [...] false narrative of our history that I think weakens us and make *straight a wrong turn* that we made many years ago, so we can more closely connect with the integrity to the founding principles of our nation and *forge a clearer, straighter path towards* a better city and towards a more perfect union (Landrieu, 2017).
34. The rise of serious challenges to the free and open Internet *puts us at a crossroads* (Genachowski, 2009).
35. Perhaps we forget the *long and arduous path* our nation's forbearers took to achieve it (Romney, 2007).
36. The importance of being compassionate, and how it can change your *career path*, your company, and your life (Weiner, 2018).
37. As share owners, I hope you will recognize that this commitment to the utmost in quality and personal excellence is our *surest path to continued business success* (Welch, 1981).
38. In its first 100 days, a McCain administration will put this nation on a *path toward energy independence* (Whitman, 2008).
39. We may have *taken different paths to get here*, especially if you came all the way from the Quad, but today I want to share what I've learned about our generation and the *world we're building together* (Zuckerberg, 2017).+BUILDING
40. And I suspected I would always be *haunted by a decision* to not try at all. After much consideration, I took *the less safe path to follow my passion*, and I'm proud of that choice (Bezos, 2010).
41. Sentimentality sometimes *blocks our path to the future* (Murdoch, 2008).
42. I have a story about *following dreams*. Or maybe more accurately, it's a *story about finding a path to make those dreams real* (Page, 2009).
43. Proud that an important *phase of your life's journey is ending* and anxious about the one that is just beginning (Burns, 2011).
44. The principles that will protect the open Internet are an essential step to maximizing investment and innovation in the network [...] by establishing *rules of the road that* incentivize competition, empower entrepreneurs, and *grow the economic pie* to the benefit of all (Genachowski, 2009).
45. On what we call the "e-Buy" side, *we followed the same path*, adopting many of the dot.com ideas on auctions, having a global network of Six Sigma suppliers (Welch, 2001).

METAPHORS OF LIQUID:

1. While here, he began to quench his *thirst for knowledge* ... [...] (Burns, 2011).

2. To every 9/11 hero, you ***poured out your heart, your sweat, your soul, and everything you had*** for your country (Trump, July 2019).
3. He described it as during the Cold War, we ***froze history*** (Tillerson, May 2017).
4. I grew up a long fly ball from Shea Stadium and ***soaked up every minute of the Miracle Mets' season*** (Genachowski, 2009).
5. A Company that aspires to true greatness ***furnishes its people with big challenges*** which, when met, ***fill people with self-confidence*** that can only come from within and only from winning (Welch, 2001).
6. The “Arab spring” is all about a ***thirst for freedom and democratic rule*** (Burns, 2011).
7. Forces for the ***flow of knowledge, trade and immigration*** against those who would slow them down. (Zuckerberg, 2017).
8. ***Billions of dollars have been poured*** into constructing toilets, sewers, and wastewater treatment facilities in the developing world (Burwell, 2011).
9. We've ***poured in new investments*** (Gates, 2010).
10. And I have no doubt that, as the ***spirit of excellence penetrates to all parts of the Company***, it will lift the productivity and the pride of our employees (Welch, 1981).
11. And sure enough, ***billions of dollars of new investment are flowing into the*** development of concentrated solar thermal, photovoltaics, windmills, geothermal plants [...] (Gore, December 14, 2007).
12. ***Traditional sources of revenue—such as classifieds—are drying up***, putting pressure on the business model. (Murdoch, 2008).
13. [...] we look forward to increasing those recurring dividends in the future as our ***cash flows*** grow (Adelson, 2018).
14. In conclusion, our ***cash flow generation*** continues to be strong and predictable (Adelson, 2018).
15. Let me add my thanks to everyone who has helped ***achieve today's important milestone*** [...] (Barra, 2017).+JOURNEY
16. Its ***problems***, moreover, ***have been leaking into the general economy***, and the ***leaks are now turning into a gusher*** (Buffett, 2008).
17. And the company generated over \$15 billion in ***cash flow*** (Welch, 2001).
18. GE has for years, like every other company and business school, measured revenues, net income, ***cash flow*** and the like and will continue to do so (Welch, 2000).
19. [...] the traditional sales, net and ***cash flow*** measurements will follow, as will our relative stock market performance (Welch, 2000).
20. GE's Information Services Company offers a comprehensive package of software and consulting services that can coordinate the ***whole flow of events*** involved in running a business - from order entry to factory scheduling to customer billing (Welch, 1981).
21. We could see the ***Internet's doors shut to*** entrepreneurs, the spirit of innovation stifled, a ***full and free flow of information*** compromised (Genachowski, 2009).+BUILDING
22. I want to suggest to you today that you see the ***flow of effective foreign assistance*** as tithing [...] (Hewson, 2006).
23. [...] a new partnership with Africa, where ***increased assistance flows*** toward improved governance and initiatives with proven track records and away from the boondoggles and white elephants that we've seen before (Hewson, 2006).
24. You can already customise your ***news flow***, whether by country, company or subject. (Murdoch, 2008).
25. We were all sat around a big table – the 25 new residents – and as we went around, everyone introducing themselves, ***I sank further and further into my seat*** (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
26. It is time to reclaim our future from the extreme voices who fear compromise and demand open borders, which means ***drugs pouring in***, human trafficking, and a lot of crime (Trump, January 2019).

27. In fact, they are the opposite of immoral because they will save many lives and stop *drugs from pouring into our country* (Trump, January 2019).

28. [...] these criminals, drug smugglers, gangs, and traffickers do not stop at our border; *they permeate* throughout our country and they end up in some places where you'd least expect them (Trump, January 2019).

METAPHORS OF BUILDINGS AND PHYSICAL STRUCTURE:

1. So we adopted that version, reversed our decline in circulation, and helped *put The Times on a more solid footing*, which of course is the key to keeping jobs (Murdoch, 2008).

2. The great majority of companies that *operate our nation's broadband pipes* rely upon revenue from selling phone service, cable TV subscriptions, or both (Genachowski, 2009).

3. I'm asking you – each of you – to join me and *build this future* (Gore, December 14, 2007).

4. Teachers can *build their strengths* by watching videos of their colleagues in the classroom—or studying their lesson plans (Gates, 2014).

5. After studying them, talking to teachers about them, and seeing students learn from them, we are convinced that the *new standards are a platform for innovation* (Gates, 2014).

6. So that's what we're hoping, is that we can *begin to build a way in which we can learn* how to work with one another (Tillerson, May 2017).

7. There is a gross mismatch between the skills we need to *build a 21st century economy* and the product our public education system is producing (Burns, 2011).

8. And pledge to yourself that you will cherish what you have learned here — and *use it as a foundation to build a wonderful life*. Most of the *chapters of your life are still to be written. Most of the pages are blank* (Burns, 2011).

9. To that end, on behalf of GM, we pledge that we will use the findings and recommendations from this report as a *template for strengthening our company* (Barra, June 2014).

10. Be *open to opportunities when they occur* – especially in the early part of your career (Barra, May 2014).

11. [...] we'll transform the relationship between business and government making it possible for *entrepreneurs to open their doors more quickly – and build their futures more successfully* (Bloomberg, January 2010).

12. Remember, too, that you can't *build a relationship* only when you need it (Barra, May 2014).

13. *It builds on* our electrification leadership [...] (Barra, 2017).

14. Three, *build relationships* (Barra, May 2014).

15. Expansion of our real-world test fleet will help ensure that our self-driving vehicles meet the same strict *standards for safety and quality that we build into all our vehicles* (Barra, 2017).

16. That is, if we “have a healthy disregard for the impossible” and actually *build new solutions* (Page, 2009).

17. As the *winds start building* this afternoon, it gets more and more dangerous to go outside (Bloomberg, 2012).

18. The *brand recognition* we have generated for The Parisian Macao *on these platforms* has simply been incredible with over 5.2 billion impressions as of December 31 (Adelson, 2018).

19. [...] strategy *to build integrated results* with scale and diversity is clearly paying dividends as *Macao's mass and tourism growth accelerates* (Adelson, 2018). +GROWTH

20. Great teaching is the *centerpiece of a strong education*; everything else revolves around it (Gates, 2010).

21. And as *Facebook has grown*, people everywhere have gotten a powerful new tool for staying connected to the people they love, for making their voices heard, and for *building communities and businesses* (Zuckerberg, 2018). +LIVING ORGANISM

22. In the end, we are our choices. *Build yourself a great story* (Bezos, 2010).

23. My top priority has always been our social mission – of connecting people, *building community*, and bringing the world closer together (Zuckerberg, 2018).
24. Our recurring *dividend remains the cornerstone of our program* to return capital to shareholders (Adelson, 2018).
25. [...] that we ended 2017 with such *strong financial results* (Adelson, 2018).
26. *They're [AMERICAN VALUES] the firm ground* on which Americans of different faiths meet and stand as a nation, united (Romney, 2007).

METAPHORS OF MONEY AND ECONOMIC TRANSACTIONS:

1. A professor's life is pretty flexible, and he was able to *spend oodles of time raising me* (Page, 2009).
2. In return, you would be *rewarded with trust and loyalty you could take to the bank* (Murdoch, 2008).
3. I hope you *can find time* to sit down with parents in your community and tell them what the standards really are (Gates, 2014).
4. It takes no special genius to point out that if you are contemptuous of your customers, you are *going to have a hard time* getting them to buy your product (Murdoch, 2008).
5. *We don't have time* to answer every false tweet and post (Gates, 2014).
6. In an environment like that, *you'll spend most of your time* navigating corporate politics, rather than focusing on the task at hand (Weiner, 2018).
7. We can all *make time* to give someone a hand (Zuckerberg, 2017).
8. *Live your life so that at the end of your journey*, you will know that your *time here was well spent*, that you left behind more than you took away (Burns, 2011).+JOURNEY
9. The concept of reverse auctions was right in the GE sweet spot and we *wasted no time* in spreading the new technology across our businesses (Welch, 2001).
10. Your *time is limited*, so *don't waste it* living someone else's life (Jobs, 2005).
11. In particular, we're *investing a lot of effort* into Mexico because of the transmigration issues and organized crime (Tillerson, May 2017).
12. I hope all of you meet someone equally *invested in your success* (Weiner, 2018).
13. Our efforts in recent elections [...] show us that the *investments we are making* are yielding results (Sandberg, 2018).
14. And *much of what I stumbled into by following my curiosity and intuition turned out to be priceless later on* (Jobs, 2005).
15. People are going to be *spending, two, three hours a day* sometimes interacting with these machines (Jobs, 1983).
16. So I want to talk about that a little bit, and then *spend some time* at the end talking about where we're going in the future [...] (Tillerson, May 2017).
17. We should explore *ideas like universal basic income* to give everyone a cushion to try new things (Zuckerberg, 2017).
18. It's a vicious cycle: We don't *spend enough time* thinking about other tribes, which drives us even further apart (Weiner, 2018).
19. And remember that your *integrity is priceless when unquestioned... but worthless*, or worse, when it isn't (Barra, May 2014).
20. We are *wasting lots and lots of talent* (Raikes, 2010).
21. As these past few weeks and months have shown, this *work is starting to pay off* (Sandberg, 2018).
22. Your *integrity is one of the most valuable possessions* you have (Barra, May 2014).
23. *They [SKILLS] are the price* of admission to today's fast-paced, ever-changing, increasingly global economy (Barra, May 2014).

24. I know I'll *spend time* in Tennessee and mend some fences, literally and figuratively (Gore, 2000).
25. By nine... 86-87, pick a year, people are going to be *spending more time* interacting with these machines than they do interacting with their big automobile machines today (Jobs, 1983).

METONYMY:

1. These projects didn't just provide purpose for the people doing those jobs, they gave our *whole country* a sense of pride that we could do great things (Zuckerberg, 2017).
2. I remember telling him I was excited to connect the Harvard community, but one day someone would connect the *whole world* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
3. The *whole world* witnessed the might and resilience of our nation in the extraordinary men and women of the New York Fire Department and the New York Police Department, selfless patriots of unmatched character and devotion (Trump, July 2019).
4. This is, however, about showing the *whole world* that we as a city, that we as a people are able to acknowledge, to understand, to reconcile, and more importantly, choose a better future for ourselves, making straight what has been crooked and making right what was wrong (Landrieu, 2017).
5. *Bahrain must stop discriminating against the Shia* communities (Tillerson, August 2017).
6. Through his values, his dedication, his thoughtful work, Giovanni, his predecessor Peter Hustinx, and all of you have *set an example for the world* (Cook, 2018).
7. But the reason I'm here, and the reason I keep coming back to Washington, is because this is a *town that is proving it can come together on behalf of what the Scriptures call "the least of these."* (Hewson, 2006).
8. Finally, I want to say something about what all this means for *Australia's future* (Murdoch, 2008).
9. We have made public schools our top priority in the United States, because we believe [...] *nothing means more for the future of the country* (Gates, 2010).
10. So *China has its own challenges*, and we want to work with them and be mindful of what they're dealing with in the context of our relationship (Tillerson, May 2017).
11. We have asked *China to narrow the dialogue areas and elevate* the participants to the decision-making level (Tillerson, May 2017).
12. One percent is a new partnership with *Africa*, not paternalism towards *Africa*; a new partnership with *Africa*, where increased assistance flows toward improved governance and initiatives [...] (Hewson, 2006).
13. We're *borrowing money from China to buy oil from the Persian Gulf* to burn it in ways that destroy the planet (Gore, December 14, 2007).
14. Both *countries should stop using the other's behavior as an excuse* for stalemate and instead develop an agenda for mutual survival in a shared global environment (Gore, December 10, 2007).
15. Well, the difference, I think, in our approach this time is we're going to test this assumption, and when the – when folks came in to review the situation with me, the assumption was that *China has limited* influence on the regime in Pyongyang, or they have a limited willingness to assert their influence (Tillerson, May 2017).
16. When *Europe experienced* doldrums and dislocations in the early '90s, we moved quickly to partner with European firms whose future we believed in (Welch, 2000).
17. What is most important is to ensure an orderly and smooth transition during a time that the *country continues to face significant policy and national security challenges* (Tillerson, 2018).

18. It will help prepare all our students for college and career – and that’s the best idea *our country has for giving every child an equal chance* (Gates, 2014).
19. *Hillsborough made its new evaluation and development system public* this May. *It offers* teachers a chance to have side-by-side coaching with master teachers (Gates, 2010).
20. *Russia must assess carefully* as to how its actions are in the best interest of the Russian people and of the world more broadly (Tillerson, 2018).
21. And I have great faith that *Australia can harness its potential to expand opportunity, promote freedom, and bring a better quality of life* (Murdoch, 2008).
22. Much work remains to establish a clear view of the *nature of our future relationship with China*.
23. As a *bipartisan report from this committee said: Russia used social media as part of* – and I quote – “a comprehensive and multifaceted campaign,” “to *sow discord*, undermine democratic institutions, and interfere in U.S. elections and those of our allies.” (Sandberg, 2018).
24. At least in science, *Australia has a pretty strong tradition* (Murdoch, 2008).
25. But trade and technology means these *countries are catching up with us – and they are catching up fast* (Murdoch, 2008).
26. *Africa was* able to leapfrog landlines and go straight to using mobile phones, jumpstarting mobile banking and other innovations that are often more advanced than what’s available in the United States or Europe. Now *Africa is poised to leapfrog* traditional sewage systems and reinvent the toilet in ways that will revolutionize sanitation across the planet (Burwell, 2011).
27. *Thank you, Brookings*, for hosting me and this discussion about the future of broadband and the Internet (Genachowski, 2009).
28. *Australia has done a reasonably good job* of absorbing those who share our values and aspirations. At the same time, I believe we don't worry nearly enough about the flip side: whether *Australia will build the kind of society* that can and will continue to attract talented people from the outside – not to mention keeping the ones we have (Murdoch, 2008).
29. *When we send money to foreign countries* to buy nearly 70 percent of the oil we use every day, they build new skyscrapers and we lose jobs (Gore, December 14, 2007).
30. Big, big contributions are being *made by countries* that weren’t doing so much in the form of contribution (Trump, 2017).
31. *China will be allowed to build* hundreds of additional coal plants. [...] *India will be allowed to double* its coal production by 2020. [...] *Even Europe is allowed to continue construction* of coal plants (Trump, 2017).
32. I salute *Europe and Japan for the steps they’ve taken* in recent years to meet the challenge, and the *new government in Australia*, which *has made solving* the climate crisis its first priority (Gore, December 10, 2007).
33. In fact, you have doubled aid to *Africa* (Hewson, 2006).
34. *Africa* makes a fool of our idea of justice; [...] (Hewson, 2006).
35. [...] or *our country* will be at grave risk of brownouts and blackouts, our businesses will come to a halt in many cases, and the *American family* will suffer the consequences in the form of lost jobs and a very diminished quality of life (Trump, 2017).
36. We don’t want other *leaders and other countries laughing* at us anymore (Trump, 2017).
37. Many of the other *countries haven’t spent anything*, and many of them *will never pay one dime* (Trump, 2017).
38. Our attacks on terrorism are greatly stepped up – and you see that, you see it all over – from the previous Administration, including getting many other *countries to make major contributions* to the *fight against terror* (Trump, 2017).

39. We've got a long list of things to work on from our arms agreements and issues we have with our nuclear arms agreements, to obviously, getting to Ukraine, Crimea, and other places where **Russia** is not being particularly helpful today (Tillerson, May 2017).
40. It's a huge, I think, potential sitting out there, waiting for us to capture it, and then, obviously, a big focus of our health initiatives, because **Africa** still struggles with huge health challenges (Tillerson, May 2017).
41. We urge **Saudi Arabia to embrace** greater degrees of religious freedom for all of its citizens. (Tillerson, August 2017).
42. **Iran** continues to sentence individuals to death under vague apostasy laws – 20 individuals were executed in 2016 on charges that included (quote), “waging war against God.” (Tillerson, August 2017).
43. The state of **Washington's** response to this crisis has been shockingly inadequate (Raikes, 2010).
44. I think he would have been annoyed that I hadn't gotten my Ph.D. yet (**thanks, Michigan!**) (Page, 2009).
45. **The Ohio State** is making your stories ones of possibility, ones filled with opportunity (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
46. And we're gathered this morning at the **White House** to honor our solemn duty to America's best, bravest, and finest, who I know so well (Trump, July 2019).
47. Chief Joyce spent seven months working at **Ground Zero** (Trump, July 2019).
48. Think about the **Wall Street trader** – at least, the one who still has a job – who now has instantaneous access to real time prices around the world (Murdoch, 2008).
49. [...] Cruise is a leading **Silicon Valley** startup in autonomous technology [...] (American high-technology economic sector) (Barra, 2017).
50. In 2001, with the encouragement of my then boss and mentor, Terry Semel, I moved to **Silicon Valley** and became an executive at Yahoo (Weiner, 2018).
51. I was a very public failure, and I even thought about running away from the **valley** (Jobs, 2005).
52. **Both sides in Washington** must simply come together, listen to each other, put down their armor, build trust, reach across the aisle, and find solutions (Trump, 2019).
53. The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of **Washington entering into an agreement** that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries (Trump, 2017).
54. The columnist Bernard Levin described **Fleet Street** this way: ‘Conditions which combined a protection racket with a lunatic asylum.’ (Murdoch, 2008).
55. A couple years in, some **big companies wanted to buy us** (Zuckerberg, 2017).
56. In December, we announced that **GM would build** its next-generation autonomous test vehicle here at Orion (Barra, 2017).
57. The current track provided by the **National Hurricane Center** shows Sandy making landfall just south of Atlantic City this evening (Bloomberg, 2012).
58. If you want to know the truth about gasoline prices, here it is: the exploding demand for oil, especially in places like China, is overwhelming the rate of new discoveries by so much that oil prices are almost certain to continue upward over time no matter **what the oil companies promise** (Gore, December 14, 2007).
59. As you all know, **GM acquired** Cruise Automation early last year (Barra, 2017).
60. We acknowledge the growing concern people have of the **power held by – by companies like Twitter** (Dorsey, 2018).
61. I can tell you the **White House feels good about it** (Tillerson, May 2017).
62. This is a lesson the **University of Michigan has taught** for nearly 200 years (Barra, May 2014).

63. My understanding is *NHTSA*, our regulator, *will post the full report* on their website, which is available for anyone to review (Barra, June 2014).
64. *The World Trade Center Site* will forever *hold a special place* in our City, in our hearts (Bloomberg, August 2010).
65. Over the last two decades, thanks to substantial investment and technological ingenuity, *companies devised ways to retrofit* networks initially designed for phones and one-way video to support two-way broadband data streams connecting homes and businesses across the country (Genachowski, 2009).
66. We should celebrate the *transformative work of the European institutions* tasked with the successful implementation of the GDPR (Cook, 2018).
67. *The Center will test* cutting-edge ideas in pilot sites throughout the state, and it will work with *key players in Washington* to make sure the best ideas get scaled up (Raikes, 2010).
68. Thanks, *Harvard* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
69. *Six Sigma* has increased the intimacy between *GE* and its customer base and today we and our customers are entwined in what we call “At the Customer, For the Customer” Six Sigma projects (Welch, 2001).
70. *GE now has 4,300 employees* in Atlanta, 1,500 of whom work for GE Power Systems [...] (Welch, 2001).
71. *The University of Toronto* is developing a toilet that turns human waste into ash through rapid dehydration and smoldering and also produces potable water (Burwell, 2011).
72. *Stanford University, Berkeley and MIT*, in collaboration with start-up *NGO Sanergy*, are designing a toilet that converts human waste into soil-improving biochar (Burwell, 2011).
73. *Delft University of Technology* is proposing to zap human waste into synthetic gas with micro waves (Burwell, 2011).
74. *The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards* demonstrates even in its *title* the essential link between *standards* and a *profession* (Gates, 2014).
75. I am grateful to the *Pacific Science Center* for inviting me to speak to you this morning (Raikes, 2010).
76. The *Gates Foundation* has committed more than \$3 billion to organizations located in Washington state (Raikes, 2010).
77. You can also get in touch with the *Partnership for Learning*, which has been working on behalf of the Washington Roundtable to get the Center started (Raikes, 2010).
78. The *STEM Center* will unify that work, and add to it, so that the people in Washington who have an interest in education will also have a powerful vehicle for reforming it (Raikes, 2010).
79. What we know now is that *Cambridge Analytica* improperly accessed some information about millions of Facebook members by buying it from an app developer (Zuckerberg, 2018).
80. When we first contacted *Cambridge Analytica*, they told us that they had deleted the data (Zuckerberg, 2018).
81. *GE's Information Services Company* offers a comprehensive package of software and consulting services [...] (Welch, 1981).
82. For example, *Medical Systems* completed more than a thousand of these projects, generating more than \$100 million in benefits for their customer hospitals and health providers last year. *Aircraft Engines* completed more than 1,200 “at the customer” projects in 2000, saving more than \$320 million for the airlines (Welch, 2001).
83. *The Richmond chapter of Elfun* works with younger students as well (Welch, 2000).
84. To the men and women in uniform, I’m told for the first time in most people’s memory the *Department of State and Department of Defense have a close working relationship* – where we all agree the U.S. leadership starts with diplomacy (Tillerson, 2018).

85. And I said, then our partners over at the *Department of Defense*, the men and women in uniform, because it's really the *State Department* and the *Defense Department* that *deliver* our national security (Tillerson, May 2017).
86. This collaboration will bring crucial new funding for *schools that teach* some of the nation's most underserved students (Gates, 2010).
87. *GE* has for years, like every other company and business school, *measured* revenues, net income, cash flow and the like and will continue to do so (Welch, 2000).
88. The *State Department will continue to advocate* on behalf of those seeking to live their lives according to their faith. (Tillerson, August 2017).
89. To remove any ambiguity from previous *statements or reports by the State Department*, the crime of genocide requires three elements: specific acts with specific intent to destroy in whole or in part specific people -- members of national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups; specific act, specific intent, specific people (Tillerson, August 2017).
90. *The State Department will continue its efforts* to make that a reality (Tillerson, August 2017).
91. *The Department undertook a global campaign to bring partners and allies on board* in every country around the world, with every embassy and mission, raising this to the highest levels (Tillerson, 2018).
92. These are things you can do, and they are *things* our *schools need* (Raikes, 2010).
93. *Double-digit* unemployment, yet *STEM industries have to look* overseas for workers (Raikes, 2010).
94. For years, *local businesses and nonprofit organizations* like the Science Center *have been working* in the education sector (Raikes, 2010).
95. I know *industries that are today facing stiff new competition* from the internet: banks, retailers, phone companies, and so on (Murdoch, 2008).
96. I'm personally extremely honored to receive the Adam Smith Award from ALEC, especially since it comes from an *organization* that's *committed* to *curing social and economic problems* with market-based solutions (Koch, 1994).
97. That is why *companies these days invest so heavily* in helping employees develop their talents and *sharpen their skills* (Murdoch, 2008).
98. I had no idea what I wanted to do with my life and no idea how *college* was going to help me figure it out (Jobs, 2005).
99. Equally important, this *Company is poised to take advantage* of any *upturn in the world's economies*. (Welch, 1981).
100. And more than *70 million small businesses use Facebook to create jobs and grow* (Zuckerberg, 2018).
101. The Center *needs* your support (Raikes, 2010).
102. In recent months, your *Company acquired two electronics companies in California* – Calma Corporation and Intersil – as part of an overall industrial electronics strategy (Welch, 1981).
103. *A Company that aspires to true greatness furnishes its people* with big challenges which, when met, fill people with self-confidence that can only come from within and only from winning (Welch, 2001).
104. I'll talk about our GE values later, but the current economy is clearly demonstrating one of them — the *company's love of change* (Welch, 2001).
105. Any *company* – old or new – *that does not see* this technology as literally as important as breathing could be on its last breath (Welch, 2000).
106. *This Company is committed to keeping itself as bureaucracy-free* as any big institution that has ever existed (Welch, 2001).

107. **Reed College** at that time *offered* perhaps the best calligraphy instruction in the country (Jobs, 2005).
108. **Pixar went on to create** the world's first computer-animated feature film, Toy Story, and is now the most successful animation studio in the world (Jobs, 2005).
109. In a remarkable turn of events, **Apple bought NeXT**, and I *returned to Apple*, and the technology we developed at NeXT is at the *heart of Apple's current renaissance* (Jobs, 2005).
110. The **Church** was slow but the **Church** got busy on this the leprosy of our age (Hewson, 2006).
111. **The National Safety Council estimates** as many as 40,000 people died in motor vehicles crashes [...] (Barra, 2017).
112. **We entrusted this wonderful institution** with the education of Malcolm at a pivotal moment in his life (Burns, 2011).
113. In February, **we invited more than 20 leading universities** worldwide to submit their ideas of how to realize our vision of a Reinvented Toilet.
114. A couple of months ago, **our foundation published a report** called 'Goalkeepers' that highlighted much of this progress (Gates, November 2017).
115. As a short-term measure, the **WHO recently began recommending** the use of bed nets that include a chemical agent that breaks down the mosquitoes' resistance (Gates, November 2017).
116. **The institute will focus** on translating research and data on the burden of disease into actionable policy across the wider region and around the world (Gates, November 2017).
117. When our **foundation began working in education** in 2000, we started with a few guiding principles (Gates, October 2017).
118. **Many states, districts, and schools now have the data they need** to track student progress and achievement, **and some are using it** to great effect (Gates, October 2017).
119. Excited by insights like these, school **leaders in Chicago partnered with the University of Chicago** to create the Network for College Success (Gates, October 2017).
120. **Summit Public Schools**, which operates 11 charter schools in California and Washington, **analyzed data and determined** that English Learners entered school significantly behind and never caught up (Gates, October 2017).
121. This is a **defining challenge for our schools** today (Gates, 2014).
122. They're **supported by huge industries that are designing new tools to give them an edge** (Gates, 2014).
123. In 2008 and 2009, **our foundation partnered with Scholastic** on a national survey to learn the views of 40,000 teachers on crucial questions facing your profession (Gates, 2010).
124. Many of the **schools** we worked with **made strong gains**, but others were disappointing. The **schools that made the biggest gains in achievement did more than make structural changes; they also improved teaching** (Gates, 2010).
125. This is the work **our foundation is trying to foster** in Pittsburgh, Hillsborough County, and other communities that have agreed to be part of two projects we're funding [...] (Gates, 2010).
126. To date, the **FCC has addressed these issues** by announcing four Internet principles that guide our case-by-case enforcement of the communications laws (Genachowski, 2009).
127. Some have argued that the **FCC should not take affirmative steps to protect the Internet's openness** (Genachowski, 2009).
128. I will propose that the **FCC evaluate alleged** violations of the non-discrimination principle as they arise, on a case-by-case basis, recognizing that the Internet is an extraordinarily complex and dynamic system (Genachowski, 2009).

129. In the years since 2005, the Internet has continued to evolve and the *FCC has issued a number of important decisions involving openness* (Genachowski, 2009).
130. Power outages and defects in the current grid system *cost US businesses* more than \$120 billion dollars a year (Gore, December 14, 2007).
131. When *churches* start demonstrating on debt, *governments* listened – and acted. When *churches* started organizing, petitioning, and even that most unholy of acts today, God forbid, *lobbying* on AIDS and global health, *governments* listened – and acted (Hewson, 2006).
132. Now, one of the things I love about this country is the separation of Church and State and although I have to say in inviting me here both *Church and State have been separated from something else completely: their – their mind* (Hewson, 2006).
133. Now the *U.S. Supreme Court has spoken* (Gore, 2010).
134. Maybe it's something to do with having a father who was a Protestant and a mother who was a Catholic in a country where the line between the two was, quite literally, often a battle line; where the *line between Church and State was, at the very least, a little blurry and hard to see* (Hewson, 2006).
135. Even as we face difficult fiscal realities, we will *budget not only with our heads but with our hearts* (Bloomberg, January 2010).
136. Last month, his powerful testimony in Congress *touched the heart* of our nation. (Trump, July 2019).
137. But then my cynicism got another *helping hand* (Hewson, 2006).
138. And we will always *have that on our shoulder* everywhere we go (Tillerson, May 2017).
139. *Presses* have never been faster or more flexible (Murdoch, 2008).
140. When the *presses began to run*, everyone in the building felt the rumble. And when the *presses* were late, the journalists felt *me* rumble (Murdoch, 2008).
141. And for a few weeks, we were literally under siege by people intent on damaging our *presses*, hurting our people, and killing our business (Murdoch, 2008).
142. Instead, we had to fly the printing plates from Canberra to *presses* elsewhere in the country – usually late at night (Murdoch, 2008).
143. We decided to change that. We bought new, state of the art *presses*, installed them at a site in Wapping, and found good people to run them (Murdoch, 2008).
144. I'd like to thank the Hollywood Foreign Press Association because we all know that the *press is under siege these days* (Winfrey, 2018).
145. We are one team and one people, proudly saluting one great *American flag* (Trump, January 2019).
146. They had the audacity to renew the Lord's call and were joined by Pope John Paul II, who, from Irish half-Catholic's point of view, may have had a little more of a direct line to the *Almighty* (Hewson, 2006).
147. If so, they're at odds with the *nation's Founders*, for they, when our nation faced its greatest peril, sought the blessings of the *Creator* (Romney, 2007).
148. And you can be – You can be certain of this: Any believer in religious freedom, any person who has knelt in prayer to the *Almighty*, has a friend and ally in me (Romney, 2007).
149. [...] defined a revolutionary vision of liberty, grounded on self-evident truths about the equality of all, and the inalienable rights with which each is endowed by his *Creator* (Romney, 2007).
150. We should acknowledge the *Creator* as did the Founders – in ceremony and word (Romney, 2007).

PERSONIFICATION:

1. Our *Macao operations produced* its best quarter [...]
2. *These attractions* are now well established in Macao and *will continue to flourish and grow* (Adelson, 2018).
3. The *Parisian Macao achieved* EBITDA of \$412 million in its first 12-year of operation and *welcomed* over 15 million visitors to the property (Adelson, 2018).
4. *The Londoner have tremendous potential* as the third landmark must-see destination (Adelson, 2018).
5. The *fourth quarter results* at SCC *demonstrate* the earnings power of this building [...] (Adelson, 2018).
6. The *Londoner will offer great potential* for visitation and growth as a stand-alone integrated resort, but *will also provide synergies* with The Venetian Macao and The Parisian (Adelson, 2018).
7. As a result, *these self-driving Bolt EV test vehicles leave this factory* as state-of-the-art autonomous vehicles (Barra, 2017).
8. *These vehicles will soon join* the more-than-50 first-generation self-driving Bolt EVs we have already deployed [...] (Barra, 2017).
9. *Cruise is moving fast, operating* within GM like the startup company it is (Barra, 2017).
10. [...] autonomous technology that specializes in developing the *software that drives* our autonomous vehicles (Barra, 2017).
11. [...] and this *next-generation vehicle will allow* us to increase [...] (Barra, 2017).
12. [...] that is something that *autonomous vehicles have the potential* to eliminate (Barra, 2017).
13. Each new *experience will broaden your skills and perspectives* (Barra, May 2014).
14. And *problems don't go away* when you ignore them – they *tend to get bigger* (Barra, May 2014).
15. The Valukas *report makes a series of recommendations* in eight major areas (Barra, June 2014).
16. I can't remember the details, but basically *the ad said, every puff of a cigarette takes some number of minutes off of your life* (Bezos, 2010).
17. Atom by atom, we'll assemble *tiny machines that will enter cell walls and make repairs* (Bezos, 2010).
18. There's no chance that *mass transit will be back in time to serve people* [...] (Bloomberg, 2012).
19. Most of the *glass is able to stand up to* the gusts [...] (Bloomberg, 2012).
20. We've come here to see the *inspiring symbol of liberty* that, more than 250 years later, *would greet millions of immigrants* in the – this harbor [...] (Bloomberg, August 2010).
21. Four years ago on this day, I stood before you and pledged that we would wage a new campaign against *an old problem that takes a terrible toll on our communities*: Illegal guns (Bloomberg, January 2010).
22. And most certainly, *fear is now widespread, gripping* even seasoned investors (Buffett, 2008).
23. *If prices keep looking attractive*, my non-Berkshire net worth will soon be 100 percent in United States equities (Buffett, 2008).
24. A *simple rule dictates my buying*: Be fearful when others are greedy, and be greedy when others are fearful (Buffett, 2008).
25. Again, in the early 1980s, the time to buy stocks was when *inflation raged* and the economy was in the tank (Buffett, 2008).
26. And *culture*, more than rule books, *determines* how an *organization behaves* (Buffett, 2006).
27. Our *political system at times seems incapable of action* and our political rhetoric seems largely devoid of civility (Burns, 2011).
28. *Innovation has touched* nearly every part of our lives (Burwell, 2011).
29. No *innovation* in the past 200 years *has done more to save lives and improve health* than the sanitation revolution triggered by invention of the toilet (Burwell, 2011).

30. The *second largest killer of children under five is diarrheal disease*, which is responsible for the deaths of more than 1 million children every year, more than AIDS and malaria combined (Burwell, 2011).
31. *Platforms and algorithms that promised* to improve our lives can actually magnify our worst human tendencies (Cook, 2018).
32. For *Artificial Intelligence, to be truly smart, it must respect* human values, including privacy (Cook, 2018).
33. *Technology is capable of doing* great things. But it *doesn't want to do* great things. It *doesn't want* anything (Cook, 2018).
34. At its core, this *technology promises to learn* from people individually to benefit us all (Cook, 2018).
35. [...] a warning of what can happen when *technology becomes a tool of power and loses touch with humanity* (Cook, 2018).
36. What *our algorithms decide to show* in shared spaces, like search results, is based on thousands of signals that constantly learn and evolve over time (Dorsey, 2018).
37. We believe it's dangerous *to ask Twitter to regulate opinions or be the arbiter of truth* (Dorsey, 2018).
38. *Our technology was using a decision-making criteria* that considers [sic] the behavior of people following these accounts (Dorsey, 2018).
39. *Twitter will always default* to open and free exchange (Dorsey, 2018).
40. It's important *Twitter distinguishes between people's opinions and their behaviors*, and *disarms* behavior intending to silence another person or adversely interfere with their universal human rights (Dorsey, 2018).
41. If we don't double down on investments in innovation, more children will die needlessly and *poor health will continue to hold back millions of people* and limit the economic potential of many developing countries (Gates, November 2017).
42. To eliminate the last vestiges of polio, we are using genetic sequencing *to track the movement of polio in the few places* where it is still endemic or where it occasionally resurfaces (Gates, November 2017).
43. But we will leave it up to each *network to decide what approaches they believe will work best to address their biggest challenges*. *They might decide*, for example, *to focus on* student interventions in middle school . . . or adapting new and more rigorous curricula . . . or improving support for certain groups of students in the transition from high school to college (Gates, October 2017).
44. We also know that *high-quality curricula can improve* student learning more than many costlier solutions, and it *has the greatest impact* with students of novice and lower performing teachers (Gates, October 2017).
45. *They* (NEW STANDARDS) *will give teachers the freedom* you need to be creative, the tools you need to be effective, the feedback you need to keep improving – and the rigor that our students need to become great learners. [...] *They emphasize critical thinking and problem-solving*, and they are now being implemented in 45 states and here in the District of Columbia (Gates, 2014).
46. I want each of you to know that *America is holding you in the arms of its wonderful, wonderful heart* (Trump, July 2019).
47. Then after years of not asking enough, we suddenly ask way too much – and they learn too late that their *high school diploma didn't prepare them for college* (Gates, 2014).
48. But it's important to explain to people that this is different – that the *common core standards don't limit freedom; they promote freedom* (Gates, 2014).
49. Inconsistent *standards punish* students (Gates, 2014).

50. If the student doesn't get it, the *software can review the concepts, taking her as far back as she needs to go to start getting it right* (Gates, 2014).
51. *It [SOFTWARE] can show students where they stand and share that information with the teacher* (Gates, 2014).
52. *Technology can also offer students* on-line self-assessments that help them quickly see what they understand and what they don't (Gates, 2010).
53. *This collaboration will bring crucial new funding* for schools that teach some of the nation's most underserved students (Gates, 2010).
54. I understand the Internet is a dynamic network and that *technology continues to grow and evolve* (Genachowski, 2009).
55. While *broadband Internet alone won't provide a complete solution* to any of those problems, it can and must play a critical role in solving each one (Genachowski, 2009).
56. The *potential* of collaboration and social media *continue to grow*. It is *changing* and *accelerating innovation* (Genachowski, 2009).
57. It is also an *unprecedented platform* for speech, democratic engagement, and a culture *that prizes creative new ways of approaching old problems* (Genachowski, 2009).
58. *They [technologies] cannot by themselves determine the right answers* to difficult policy questions – and *they raise their own set of new questions* (Genachowski, 2009).
59. And the *Internet is helping* enable *smart grid technologies, which promise to reduce carbon dioxide emissions* by hundreds of millions of metric tons (Genachowski, 2009).
60. According to experts, the Jakobshavn *glacier*, one of Greenland's largest, *is moving at a faster rate than ever before*, losing 20 million tons of ice every day, equivalent to the amount of water used every year by the residents of New York City (Gore, December 14, 2007).
61. But that *unwelcome verdict also brought a precious, if painful, gift*: an opportunity to search for fresh new ways to serve my purpose (Gore, December 10, 2007).
62. It's annoying but *justice and equality are mates*, aren't they? *Justice always wants to hang out with equality. And equality is a real pain in the ass* (Hewson, 2006).
63. Third thing about computers, they're really *dumb* (Jobs, 1983).
64. Fractional horsepower *computing, has created a revolution* (Jobs, 1983).
65. And that *society and computers are really meeting* for the first time in the 80's (Jobs, 1983).
66. It [VIDEO GAME] *follows the laws of gravity*, of angular momentum, and it sets up this stupid little Pong game! But the ball, ALWAYS follows these laws. No two Pong games are ever the same. And yet every single *Pong game follows these underlying principals* (Jobs, 1983).
67. Unfortunately, *command-and-control legislation takes that freedom away* (Koch, 1994).
68. Together, I think we share the belief that *market-oriented policies offer* our *states* the best opportunity to correct problems that have been aggravated by the command-and-control policies of the past (Koch, 1994).
69. But, this is a good place to stop for a moment and ask ourselves at this point in our history – after Katrina, after Rita, after Ike, after Gustav, after the national recession, after the BP oil spill catastrophe, after the tornado – if presented with an opportunity to build *monuments that told our story* or curate these particular spaces ... would these be the monuments that we want the world to see? (Landrieu, 2017).
70. And then there's the frequency of failure: *statistics tell us* half of you will get divorced (McCullough, 2012).
71. So here we are, commencement, *life's great forward-looking ceremony* (McCullough, 2012).
72. To be successful, a *business needs people* who see the big picture, who can think critically, and who have strong character (Murdoch, 2008).

73. Think, for example, of the *giant American television networks that are finding their mass audience shrinking with every passing day* (Murdoch, 2008).
74. *Technology is destroying the business models* we have relied on for decades (Murdoch, 2008).
75. And the prices and practices for their trade were *set by long-standing regulation* (Murdoch, 2008).
76. In the end, this new *technology would help make the British textile industry a world leader*.
77. My own *industry* – news and entertainment – *is feeling the impact* too (Murdoch, 2008).
78. That means that *businesses are going to have to work harder to keep their customers* (Murdoch, 2008).
79. A moment ago I spoke of how *advances in information technology are challenging the accepted ways of doing things* (Murdoch, 2008).
80. *History also shows* that with each new advance, existing businesses are forced to become more creative and relevant to their customers (Murdoch, 2008).
81. I also believe that *technology is making* the human side of the business equation – skills and knowledge – more valuable than ever (Murdoch, 2008).
82. The *market encourages the spread of technology*, because businesses have an incentive to attract more and more customers (Murdoch, 2008).
83. Because *technology now allows* the *little guy* to do what once required a huge corporation (Murdoch, 2008).
84. I do know that their *contributions have helped turn penicillin into a lifesaver*, revolutionised treatment for gastro-duodenal ulcers, and provided the foundation for modern biotechnology and genetic engineering (Murdoch, 2008).
85. First, why *technology* is a good thing despite the *unsettling changes it brings*. Second, in business terms, how *technology is putting a greater premium* on what is awkwardly called “*human capital*” (Murdoch, 2008).
86. But just as we don't ban automobiles because thieves use cars to flee a crime scene, and we don't ban phones because some people use them to make obscene calls, we are not going to give up the *advantages other technologies offer* just because some people abuse them (Murdoch, 2008).
87. The only way to deal with new *technology that up-ends your job or your business model* is to get out in front of it. Otherwise it will get out in front of you (Murdoch, 2008).
88. Today I'd like to talk about what these *experiences have taught me* – and why they *give me confidence* about the future (Murdoch, 2008).
89. *Our payroll showed that cheques were being sent* to people like *M. Mouse* and *D. Duck* – neither of whom paid income tax (Murdoch, 2008).
90. Far from celebrating this citizen journalism, the *establishment media reacted defensively* (Murdoch, 2008).
91. The *newspaper, or a very close electronic cousin, will always be around* (Murdoch, 2008).
92. The Journal is already the only US *newspaper that makes real money online* (Murdoch, 2008).
93. That *single statistic tells you* that there is a discerning audience for news (Murdoch, 2008).
94. This helps explain why the *journal continues to defy industry trends* (Murdoch, 2008).
95. The *costs were destroying hundreds of jobs and crippling* what is now the world's most vibrant newspaper market (Murdoch, 2008).
96. A recent American *study reported that many* editors and reporters simply do not trust their readers to make good decisions (Murdoch, 2008).
97. At a time when new *printing technology was making other papers around the world more efficient, newspapers in Britain were forced to rely on a technology* that had not changed much since Gutenberg's Bible (Murdoch, 2008).

98. Four years ago *The Times of London was going through a difficult time* in circulation (Murdoch, 2008).
99. My Dad had difficulty breathing his whole life, and the *complications of Polio are what took him from* us too soon (Page, 2009).
100. But, much later we happened upon a better way of ranking webpages to make a really great search engine, and *Google was born* (Page, 2009).
101. *That program encouraged* me to pursue a crazy idea at the time: I wanted to build a personal rapid transit system on campus to replace the buses (Page, 2009).
102. He gave me some seriously good advice because *the web was really growing with people and activity*, even in 1995! (Page, 2009).
103. He would have been very upset that Polio still persists even though we have a vaccine. He would have been equally upset that back in India we had polio virus on our shoes from walking through the *contaminated gutters that spread the disease* (Page, 2009).
104. A *mediocre education stands in the way* (Raikes, 2010).
105. At the Gates Foundation, STEM is an important complement to our College Ready *strategy that stresses teacher effectiveness* (Raikes, 2010).
106. A *vigorous* STEM movement can reverse that trend (Raikes, 2010).
107. We project that – every single year – there will be 1 million openings for high-paying STEM *jobs that require some college* (Raikes, 2010).
108. I'll also offer perspectives on how my own *faith would inform my presidency*, if I were elected (Romney, 2007).
109. Some believe that such a *confession of my faith will sink my candidacy* (Romney, 2007).
110. No *religion should dictate to the state* nor should the state interfere with the free practice of religion (Romney, 2007).
111. Our efforts in recent elections, from Germany to Italy to Mexico to the Alabama special Senate election, show us that the *investments we are making are yielding results* (Sandberg, 2018).
112. At its best, *Facebook plays a positive role in our democracy*, enabling representatives to connect with their constituents, reminding people to register and to vote, and giving people a place to freely express their opinions about the issues that matter to them (Sandberg, 2018).
113. Today on Facebook, you can go to any page and see all the *ads that page is running*, even if they wouldn't be shown to you (Sandberg, 2018).
114. In the first three months of 2018 alone over 85 percent of the violent content we took down, or added warning labels to, was *identified by our technology* before it was reported (Sandberg, 2018).
115. As a *bipartisan report from this committee said*: Russia used social media as part of – and I quote – “a comprehensive and multifaceted campaign,” “to sow discord, undermine democratic institutions, and interfere in U.S. elections and those of our allies.” (Sandberg, 2018).
116. In July, we removed 32 *pages and accounts involved in coordinated, inauthentic behavior* (Sandberg, 2018).
117. These are experiences that no *lecture hall* in a[n] academic environment, or a *think tank* can *teach* you (Tillerson, 2018).
118. *This clear military commitment* attracted the support of allies broadly and *equipped our diplomats with a whole new level of certainty* around how to prepare for the *peace talks* and achieve the final objectives (Tillerson, 2018).
119. In Syria, we did achieve *important cease-fires* and *stabilizations which we know has saved thousands of lives* (Tillerson, 2018).

120. The **release** of the 2016 International Religious Freedom Report **details the status** of religious freedom in 199 countries and territories, **and provides insights** as to significant and **growing challenges** (Tillerson, August 2017).
121. To remove any ambiguity from previous statements or reports by the State Department, the **crime of genocide requires three elements**: specific acts with specific intent to destroy in whole or in part specific people – members of national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups; specific act, specific intent, specific people (Tillerson, 2017).
122. So for the first time, we are seeking and we -- so far it appears we will get people at the politburo level and at much higher levels of the government within China to participate in these dialogues so we can reframe what we want the relationship to be and begin to deal with some of the **problems and issues that have just been sitting out there kind of stuck in neutral for a while** (Tillerson, May 2017).
123. And my comment to him was you – we cannot have, the **two greatest nuclear powers in the world cannot have this kind of relationship** (Tillerson, May 2017).
124. **Walls are not immoral**. In fact, they are the opposite of immoral because they **will save many lives and stop drugs** from **pouring into our country** (Trump, January 2019).
125. We believe in a safe and lawful **system** of immigration, one that **upholds our laws, our traditions, and our most cherished values** (Trump, January 2019).
126. **Illegal immigration** reduces wages and strains public services (Trump, January 2019).
127. **Drugs kill 78,000 Americans** a year and cost our society in excess of 700 billion dollars (Trump, January 2019).
128. **Heroin alone kills 300 Americans** a week, 90 percent of which comes across our southern border (Trump, January 2019).
129. Secondly, our **proposal provides** a three-year extension of Temporary Protected Status (or TPS) (Trump, January 2019).
130. Our **proposal** is not intended to **solve all of our immigration challenges** (Trump, January 2019).
131. This **plan solves** the immediate crisis – and it is a horrible crisis. [...] And it **provides humanitarian relief, delivers** real border security, and immediately **reopens our federal government** (Trump, January 2019).
132. Thus, as of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the **draconian financial and economic burdens** the **agreement imposes** on our country (Trump, 2017).
133. The **Paris Accord would undermine** our economy, hamstringing our workers, weaken our sovereignty, impose unacceptable legal risks, and put us at a permanent disadvantage to the other countries of the world (Trump, 2017).
134. In short, the **agreement doesn't eliminate coal jobs, it just transfers** those jobs out of America and the United States, and **ships them** to foreign countries (Trump, 2017).
135. The fact that the **Paris deal hamstring**s the United States, while **empowering** some of the world's top polluting countries, should dispel any doubt as to the real reason why foreign lobbyists wish to keep our magnificent country tied up and bound down by this agreement: It's to give their country an economic edge over the United States (Trump, 2017).
136. Further, while the **current agreement effectively blocks the development of clean coal** in America – which it does, and the **mines are starting to open up** (Trump, 2017).
137. That **sense of belonging helps keep us safe and feel protected** (Weiner, 2018).
138. **Technology facilitates the divide** [OF HAVES AND HAVE-NOTS] by making it easier than ever to connect to those who reinforce our own worldview (Weiner, 2018).

139. As the *pace of innovation and technology continues to accelerate*, it's more important than ever that we think through the unintended consequences of our actions, and not just remain fixated on maximizing shareholder value (Weiner, 2018).
140. I'll talk about our GE values later, but the *current economy is clearly demonstrating one of them* — the company's love of change (Welch, 2001).
141. This *environment gives us a chance to demonstrate it* (Welch, 2001).
142. *Our first quarter results just two weeks ago demonstrated* this with earnings up 15% (Welch, 2001).
143. This informality and the boundaryless behavior it produces has made GE a Learning Company – *a high spirited, endlessly curious enterprise that roams the globe* finding and nurturing the best people and *cultivating in them an insatiable appetite to learn, to stretch, and to find that better idea*, that better way every day (Welch, 2001).
144. Today the *initiative is so much richer and is focused on talent, searching* the world for intellectual capital, *driven by* the knowledge that the team that fields the best talent from any source wins (Welch, 2001).
145. GE leaders understand the necessity to encourage, inspire, and reward that top 20%, to be sure that *high performance 70% is always energized to improve and move upward* (Welch, 2001).
146. *Bureaucracy hates change, could care less about the customer, loves complexity, is afraid of speed and incapable of it, and inspires no one* (Welch, 2001).
147. e-Make came from learning *what the Internet could do* for internal processes and seeing the *enormous advantage Digitization can give a big old company* [...] (Welch, 2001).
148. *Digitization will give us at least ten cents a share* in 2001, from zero three years ago, demonstrating again the speed with which good ideas are embraced across GE (Welch, 2001).
149. I didn't realize that in less than a year a *phenomenon that was rumbling across the operations of our Company would erupt with a transformational energy* that is changing the very kind of company GE is (Welch, 2000).
150. *Excuses* like *channel conflict*, or “*marketing and sales aren't ready*,” or “the customers aren't prepared” *cannot be allowed to divert or paralyze the offensive* (Welch, 2000).
151. Another management concept that served us very well over two decades was the belief that an *organization that was not only comfortable with change but relished it* – saw it always as opportunity, not as a threat – had a distinct advantage in a world where the *pace of change was always accelerating* (Welch, 2000).
152. *Robots learn quickly, remember thousands of tasks, and perform complicated work*, like assembling small motors (Welch, 1981).
153. If the *economics* or the *environment determine that we can't get there*, we must take the same spirited action to disengage ourselves from that which we can't make “better than the best.” (Welch, 1981).
154. These are machines that can *cut, paint, weld, or assemble components* or total products (Welch, 1981).
155. *Higher taxes encourage wasteful spending*, demonstrate government's inability to choose among competing priorities, and destroy your prosperity (Whitman, 2008).
156. *Energy independence will stop massive amounts of money from going to our enemies abroad*; it will lower gas prices at home; and it will reduce the harm to our planet's climate (Whitman, 2008).
157. I've met factory workers who know their *old jobs aren't coming back* and are trying to find their place (Zuckerberg, 2017).The *project is also launching ideas* for how to use video technology to help identify and transfer best practices (Gates, 2010).

POLYSYNDETON:

1. As President Trump has said, we look forward to a day when, “[good] people of all faiths, Christians **and** Muslims **and** Jewish **and** Hindu, can follow their hearts and worship according to their conscience” (Tillerson, August 2017).
2. The Internet has unleashed the creative genius of countless entrepreneurs **and** has enabled the creation of jobs **and** the launch of small businesses **and** the expansion of large ones all across America (Genachowski, 2009).
3. I want to speak now to my State Department colleagues **and** to our interagency colleagues **and** partners at DOD **and** the Joint Chief[s] of Sta[ff], most particularly (Tillerson, 2018).
4. [...] I want it known that this recall issue isn't merely an engineering **or** manufacturing **or** legal problem, it represents a fundamental failure to meet the basic needs of these customers (Barra, June 2014).
5. Do what's right – **for** your family, **for** your friends, **for** your customers, **for** your clients, **for** your co-workers, **for** yourself (Barra, 2014).
6. And I believe that societies that want to prosper in this new age need to cultivate a spirit of learning **and** flexibility **and** achievement (Murdoch, 2008).
7. And they begin thinking about where they want to live **and** work **and** raise their families (Murdoch, 2008).
8. I'm encouraging my policy planning team **and** undersecretaries **and** assistant secretaries, those confirmed, as well as those in acting positions, to remain at their post and continue our mission at the State Department and working with the interagency process (Tillerson, 2018).
9. It can be accessed in a day **or** a month **or** a decade (Murdoch, 2008).
10. I told them that the beauty and majesty of citizenship is that it draws no distinctions of race **or** class **or** faith **or** gender **or** background (Trump, January 2019).
11. So I want tonight to express gratitude to all the women who have endured years of abuse and assault because they, like my mother, had children to feed **and** bills to pay **and** dreams to pursue (Winfrey, 2018).
12. Through it all, you care **and** you work, **and** you love, **and** you will always remember all of those great families (Trump, July 2019).
13. Now, Republicans know that John's solutions rest on a set of principles that are true **and** tested **and** enduring (Whitman, 2008).
14. She's taught me the importance of love, **and** kindness, **and** gratitude (Weiner, 2018).
15. And so together **they prayed, and together they fought, and together**, by the grace of God they **founded this great nation** (Romney, 2007).

QUESTIONS:

1. So what are we waiting for? (Zuckerberg, 2017).
2. What kind of world do we want to live in? (Cook, 2018).
3. The Internet truly makes the old young and the slow fast, and what could be a better tonic than that? (Welch, 2000)
4. Can you do it? Can you do it? Can you look into the eyes of this young girl and convince her that Robert E. Lee is there to encourage her? Do you think she feels inspired and hopeful by that story? Do these monuments help her see her future with limitless potential? Have you ever thought, have you every thought that if her potential is limited, yours and my potential [is limited] as well? (Landrieu, 2017).
5. Um, well I'll talk about anything you want to talk about today, I've got about 15 to 20 minutes of stuff that I just wanted to cover really quickly and then, whatever you want to talk about, we

can talk about. How's that? Ok? How many of you own an Apple? Or just any personal, computer? Uh oh. How many of you have used one or seen one? Anything.. like that? Good! Ok! (Jobs, 1983).

6. Am I the only one who finds it strange that our government so often adopts a so-called solution that has absolutely nothing to do with the problem it is supposed to address? (Gore, December 14, 2007).
7. Graduates, there are those on the field who make progress happen, and those on the sidelines who ask: what happened? It's 2038, which one are you? (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
8. How many of you would ignore that advice? (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
9. And can you imagine a television show dedicated to watching guys try on tuxedos? (McCullough, 2012).
10. Could there be a better upbringing than university brat? (Page, 2009).
11. Our mission is to organize the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful. How can that not get you excited? (Page, 2009).
12. What better time to build on Sheikh Zayed's legacy of philanthropy? (Gates, November 2017).
13. So I have to ask, What are you going to do about it? (Raikes, 2010).
14. How many talented students don't have those advantages? How many never make it? (Raikes, 2010).
15. And so how do we develop policies and bring regional players together to address these threats of ISIS and counterterrorism? (Tillerson, May 2017).
16. Can we build some level of trust? We've got a long list of things to work on [...] (Tillerson, May 2017).
17. Should government attempt to deny private citizens the right to build a house of worship on private property based on their particular religion? (Bloomberg, August 2010).
18. So why can't we solve this problem? (Burwell, 2011).
19. How will you use these gifts? And will you take pride in your gifts or pride in your choices? (Bezos, 2010).
20. So, how will you do that? How will you make your own transition from "me" to "us"? (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
21. Much work remains to establish a clear view of the nature of our future relationship with China. How should we deal with one another over the next 50 years and ensure a period of prosperity for all of our peoples, free of conflict between two very powerful nations? (Tillerson, 2018).
22. If great teaching is the most powerful point of leverage – how are we going to help more teachers become great? (Gates, 2010).
23. This is the heart of the challenge – how do you set up a system that helps every teacher get better? (Gates, 2010).
24. For now, we still have the power to choose our fate, and the remaining question is only this: Have we the will to act vigorously and in time, or will we remain imprisoned by a dangerous illusion? (Gore, December 10, 2007).
25. What if we could use fuels that are not expensive, don't cause pollution and are abundantly available right here at home? (Gore, December 14, 2007).
26. How can you engage every student at the highest level? What if someone developed software that allowed students to choose the book and film that interest them most? (Gates, 2014).
27. What would it take, for example, to get all kids to mastery of Algebra I? What kinds of intelligent tools do teachers and students need to get there? And how might we design these in partnership with the best math teachers in the country? (Gates, October 2017).
28. So that's just to give you a little perspective on how we're approaching these things in policy planning, and then we try to get a big-picture view and then we bring the bureau people in, the

- experts in, and help us start developing, now, how do you execute something like this? How do you implement it? (Tillerson, May 2017).
29. At what point does America get demeaned? At what point do they start laughing at us as a country? (Trump, 2017).
 30. You know what it's like to wake up in the middle of the night with a vivid dream? And you know how, if you don't have a pencil and pad by the bed to write it down, it will be completely gone the next morning? (Page, 2009).
 31. What if we viewed waste as a valuable resource to be tapped? What if human waste powered lights and homes? What if it helped farmers grow more crops? What if it generated potable water? (Burwell, 2011).
 32. What could we do instead for the next 10 years? What should we do during the next 10 years? (Gore, December 14, 2007).
 33. But what about you? Where are you? What are you doing? Why don't you close your eyes for just a moment and think about that? Did anyone imagine themselves being the Commencement speaker receiving an honorary doctorate from The Ohio State University? (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
 34. How will you use your gifts? What choices will you make? Will inertia be your guide, or will you follow your passions? Will you follow dogma, or will you be original? Will you choose a life of ease, or a life of service and adventure? Will you wilt under criticism, or will you follow your convictions? Will you bluff it out when you're wrong, or will you apologize? Will you guard your heart against rejection, or will you act when you fall in love? Will you play it safe, or will you be a little bit swashbuckling? When it's tough, will you give up, or will you be relentless? Will you be a cynic, or will you be a builder? Will you be clever at the expense of others, or will you be kind? (Bezos, 2010).
 35. What was the impact of my going? How did people's lives improve? Here's what I want to be able to say [...] (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
 36. So, what does this mean for our work with you and others? First, although we will no longer invest directly in new initiatives [...] (Gates, October 2017).
 37. How many of you remember exactly what you were doing when you got that email telling you that you got into Harvard? I was playing Civilization and I ran downstairs, got my dad, and for some reason, his reaction was to video me opening the email (Zuckerberg, 2017).
 38. What about your first lecture at Harvard? Mine was Computer Science 121 with the incredible Harry Lewis (Zuckerberg, 2017).
 39. Where did those earnings come from? At the end of the 1960s, 80% of your Company's earnings came from the manufacture of electrical equipment for the power stations, factories, and homes of America (Welch, 1981).
 40. We fixed it, but how did it happen? Our technology was using a decision-making criteria [...] (Dorsey, 2018).
 41. Why has the Internet proved to be such a powerful engine for creativity, innovation, and economic growth? A big part of the answer traces back to one key decision [...] (Genachowski, 2009).
 42. Why can't we have 50 separate sets of standards, so long as they're higher? The answer is: Inconsistent standards punish students (Gates, 2014).
 43. I've been buying American stocks. [...] Why? A simple rule dictates my buying: And most certainly, fear is now widespread, gripping even seasoned investors (Buffett, 2008).
 44. Why would somebody offer such a rationale for an act if there were a good reason available? Clearly the advocate harbors at least a small doubt about the act if he utilizes this verbal crutch (Buffet, 2006).

45. Why? Because people suddenly have a growing multitude of choices – and they are rightly exercising those choices (Murdoch, 2008).
46. This is not about charity in the end, is it? It's about justice (Hewson, 2006).
47. And what is that one percent that we're asking for in the ONE campaign? It's not merely a number on a balance reader pulled out of the air (Hewson, 2006).
48. How do you design a network that is "future proof" – that can support the applications that today's inventors have not yet dreamed of? The solution was to devise a network of networks that would not be biased in favor of any particular application (Genachowski, 2009).
49. Do you want to see the flower of the manhood of this country, which has brought everlasting glory to our nation, neglected in the hour of its greatest need, and afraid to face temptation? Then withhold your contribution to this fund (Rockefeller, 1917).
50. Or do you want to see a chapter of moral victory and prowess as superb and as glorious as that of the victories of arms which have already been achieved, added to the annals of the history of this country, and high standards of morality maintained and perpetuated by our sons and brothers in the days to come? Then give of your abundance, give of your poverty [...] (Rockefeller, 1917).
51. How can you get fired from a company you started? Well, as Apple grew we hired someone who I thought was very talented to run the company with me [...] (Jobs, 2005).
52. Ok let's go back to this revolution, what is happening? What's happening is the personal computer is a medium– of communication. One of the medium. So what's a medium? It's a technology communication (Jobs, 1983).
53. So, what can we do together, communities, businesses, and legislators, to support the pillars of a free society? To begin, we would do well to remind ourselves [...] (Koch, 1994).
54. What is the one sentence summary of how you change the world? Always work hard on something uncomfortably exciting! (Page, 2009).
55. One of the questions I'm most frequently asked is what advice would I give my 22-year-old self? The answer is two words. More cheesesteaks (Weiner, 2018).
56. We want to collect all of these – all this input and your thoughts and ideas, both here and at USAID, and that is going to guide how we approach both our organizational structure, but more importantly, our work process design: How do we actually deliver on mission? That's the real key. How do you deliver on mission? And really, the way I have found these things to be the most successful is I understand how to deliver on mission first [...] (Tillerson, May 2017).

REPETITION: ANADIPILOSIS

1. Your planet, I'll remind you, *is not the center* of its *solar system*; your *solar system is not the center* of its *galaxy*; your *galaxy is not the center* of the universe (McCullough, 2012).
+PLOCHE
2. It was somewhere in Rosa Parks' heart almost 11 years later, when she made the decision to stay seated on that bus in Montgomery, and it's here with *every* woman who *chooses to* say, "Me too"; and *every man – every man* who *chooses to* listen (Winfrey, 2018) + PLOCHE
3. Since John began his campaign he's heard the concern in *your* voices and *your stories – the stories* of hardworking Americans who believe that politicians are *out of* touch and *out of* ideas (Whitman, 2008). +PLOCHE
4. That's because those are the jobs responsible for *innovation*, and *innovation* has always been the key to our economic fortunes (Raikes, 2010).
5. So, even though *I was a believer, and – and* perhaps because *I was a believer*, I was cynical – not about God, but about God's politics (Hewson, 2006).

6. Our technology, our great businesses, our reach, our resources aren't enough to make us the global best unless we always have the best *people* – *people* who are always stretching to become better (Welch, 2001).
7. Tomorrow, in a very real sense, your *life* – the *life* you author from scratch on your own – begins (Bezos, 2010).
8. If you are still in Zone A and can find a way to *leave*, *leave* immediately (Bloomberg, 2012).
9. Now, if you live on a coastline you have to add to that breaking *waves*, *waves* of 15 to 20 feet along the ocean [...] (Bloomberg, 2012).
10. Whatever *happens*, *happens* here first (Bloomberg, January 2010).
11. For us to use our dispersed knowledge, it requires that we be free to make *choices*, *choices* such as where to work and what to buy (Koch, 1994).
12. Like many of you, Lloyd and I sent one of our two most *precious possessions* — the other *precious possession* is Melissa who is also with us today — off to MIT four years ago (Burns, 2011).
13. The research shows that when each of the variables under a school's control is correlated with student achievement, the teacher is the one that makes the *biggest difference* – and *that difference* can be dramatic (Gates, 2010).
14. It's a huge *change* – the kind of *change* that could match the scale of the problem (Gates, 2010).
15. As legislators, you recognize the *consequences* of failing to reinforce and build on these pillars — *consequences* that include economic stagnation; higher deficits and taxes; increased poverty and crime; politicized, less-productive businesses; failed education; class warfare, and deteriorating rules of just conduct (Koch, 1994).
16. Once the government is open and we have made a down payment on border security, and *immigration* reform starts to happen, I plan to convene weekly bipartisan meetings at the White House so we can do a finished *product*, a great *product* – a *product* that we can all be proud of, having to do with that elusive *immigration* problem (Trump, January 2019). +PLOCHE
17. Now, I think it's important to also remember that guiding all of our foreign policy actions are our fundamental *values*: our *values* around freedom, human dignity, the way people are treated (Tillerson, May 2017).
18. But trade and technology means these countries *are catching up* with us – and they *are catching up* fast (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
19. If everyone gets a *trophy*, *trophies* become meaningless (McCullough, 2012).
20. Our doors are open to *everyone* – *everyone* with a dream and a willingness to work hard and play by the rules (Bloomberg, August 2010).
21. And we've shown *we will defend* them – *we will defend* our principles when challenged (Cook, 2018).
22. The *real breakthrough*, the next *real breakthrough* was in the 60's (Jobs, 1983).

ANAPHORA

1. We want something deeper than that: *excellence as* a faithfully held commitment by everyone associated with General Electric; *excellence as* the dominant aspect of our Company's culture (Welch, 1981).
2. *People* you love and *people* who are good (Burns, 2011).
3. *God is in the* slums, in the cardboard boxes where the poor play house. *God is in the* silence of a mother who has infected her child with a virus that will end both their lives. *God is in the* cries heard under the rubble of war. *God is* in the debris of wasted opportunity and lives, and *God is* with us if we are with them (Hewson, 2006).

4. *The* empathetic *response would be to* feel the same sense of crushing suffocation, thus rendering you helpless. *The* compassionate *response would be to* recognize that that person is in pain and doing everything within your power to remove the boulder and alleviate their suffering (Weiner, 2018).
5. First, *the right to* have personal data minimized. [...] Second, *the right to* knowledge. [...] Third, *the right to* access. [...] And fourth, *the right to* security (Cook, 2018).
6. *God bless* all of you.
7. *God bless* the American people.
8. *God bless* America (Tillerson, 2018).
9. *Freedom* requires religion just as religion requires freedom. *Freedom* opens the windows of the soul so that man can discover his most profound beliefs and commune with God. *Freedom* and religion endure together, or perish alone (Romney, 2007).
10. We expect *surge* levels of 6 to 11 feet. A *surge* of 9 to 10 feet is possible along Coney Island and the Rockaways. And a *surge* of 11 to 12 feet may occur at the Battery Monday evening. Maximum *surge* impact in these areas expected to be at some period plus or minus two hours around 8:15, so say 6 to 10:30. The peak *surge* will hit areas along Long Island Sound between 10 and 2 am, as I said four hours later (Bloomberg, 2012).
11. *God bless* you, and *God bless* New York City (Bloomberg, January 2010).
12. That is *an audience* larger than the entire population of Australia – *an audience* whose sheer size is beyond the comprehension and ambitions of its founders in 1785 (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
13. *I recall* very well the joy of graduation. And *I recall* the promise and excitement I felt about leaving school and starting my career in earnest (Barra, 2014).
14. *Our job* is not just to fix the problem. *Our job* must be to set a new industry standard for safety, quality and excellence (Barra, 2014).
15. *I am thrilled for* all of you, and *I'm thrilled for* your families and friends, as all of us join the great, big Michigan family I feel I've been a part of all of my life (Page, 2009).
16. *We're going to have* the *cleanest* air. *We're going to have* the *cleanest* water. [...] *We're going to grow; we're going to grow* rapidly (Trump, 2017).+PLOCHE
17. *They...They're* the women whose names we'll never know. *They are* domestic *workers* and farm *workers*. *They are* working in factories and they work in restaurants and they're in academia, in engineering, in medicine, in science. *They're* part of the world of tech and politics and business. *They're* our athletes in the Olympics and they're our soldiers in the military (Winfrey, 2018).+PLOCHE
18. *We don't do it because* we have to. *We do it because* we ought to (Cook, 2018).
19. *They have* cots, *they have* blankets, *they have* food, *they have* sanitary facilities, and *they* can even take your pets (Bloomberg, 2012).
20. *Anyone working on* a big vision will get called crazy, *even* if you end up right. *Anyone working on* a complex problem will get blamed for not fully understanding the challenge, *even* though it's impossible to know everything upfront. *Anyone* taking initiative will get criticized for moving too fast, because there's always someone who wants to slow you down (Zuckerberg, 2017).
21. Because of the heavy rains that we do expect, which will come in later tonight, after- first *we'll see* higher winds, then *we'll see* the surge, then *we'll see* more rain (Bloomberg, 2012).
22. One thing that distinguishes *those who really* make a difference in life, *those who really* contribute, is passion and hard work (Barra, 2014).
23. For example, *not all of you* are attached to your cell phones 24/7. And *not all of you* grew up with high-speed Internet. And this may come as a shock, but *not all of you* are millionaires. *Not*

- all of you* have short attention spans. *Not all of you* speak “acronym”. Finally, *not all of you* believe you will be famous (Barra, 2014).
24. *We get that* our greatest opportunities are now global—we can be the generation *that ends* poverty, *that ends* disease. *We get that* our greatest challenges need global responses too—no country can fight climate change alone or prevent pandemics (Zuckerberg, 2017). +PLOCHE
 25. *No one can* learn geometry without knowing it. *No one can* make a rational case for excluding it (Gates, 2014).
 26. *It doesn't tell* anyone what to think; *it doesn't tell* you what to read; *it doesn't tell* you how to teach (Gates, 2014).
 27. *We are proudly the party of* Abraham Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan – and today, *we are proudly the party of* John McCain (Whitman, 2008).
 28. *I hope* each one of you can be involved in this discussion and bring it back to what's real. *I hope* you can find time to sit down with parents in your community and tell them what the standards really are (Gates, 2014).
 29. *They're not* told how they can improve. *They're not* given training that can address their weaknesses or help them share their strengths with others (Gates, 2010).
 30. *You want* to be rewarded for results. *You want* better evaluations (Gates, 2010).
 31. *If we* analyze the teachers whose students are making big gains, *if we* identify what they do, and *if we* find out how to transfer those skills to others – then every teacher can move closer to the top (Gates, 2010).
 32. However, the truly unique aspect is the integration of these businesses in GE: *their* sharing with *one another*, learning from *one another*, *their* pursuit of *common* initiatives and *their* intense belief in *common* values (Welch, 2001). (ALLITERATION). +EPIPHORA+PLOCHE
 33. *It is an honor – It is an honor* and it is a privilege to share the evening with all of them and also with the incredible men and women *who've* inspired me, *who've* challenged me, *who've* sustained me and made my journey to this stage possible: [...] Gayle, *who's been* the definition of what a friend is; and Stedman, *who's been* my rock – just a few to name a few (Winfrey, 2018). +EPIMONE
 34. The words Charles Dickens used to describe 18th century London are eerily apt: “*It was the* best of *times*, *it was the* worst of *times*, *it was the age of* wisdom, *it was the age of* foolishness, *it was the season of* light, *it was the season of* darkness.” (Burns, 2011).
 35. Quality and safety aren't someone else's responsibilities. *They are* mine. *They are* yours (Barra, 2014).
 36. When the American people cast their vote for the candidate they believe can best protect our nation, restore our standing in the world, and expand prosperity and opportunity to every willing heart, *they will* do as they have done in the past – *they will* put country first (Whitman, 2008).
 37. John McCain understands that you know what's best for *your* money, *your* family, *your* community and *your* life (Whitman, 2008).
 38. Whether our communities are houses or sports teams, churches or music groups, *they give us* that sense we are part of something bigger, that we are not alone; *they give us* the strength to expand our horizons (Zuckerberg, 2017).
 39. *We* were just college kids. *We* didn't know anything about that (Zuckerberg, 2017).
 40. *Yes*, you've been pampered, cosseted, doted upon, helmeted, bubble-wrapped. *Yes*, capable adults with other things to do have held you, kissed *you*, fed *you*, *wiped your* mouth, *wiped your* bottom, trained *you*, taught *you*, tutored *you*, coached *you*, listened to *you*, counseled *you*, encouraged *you*, consoled *you*, and encouraged *you* again. *You have been* nudged, cajoled,

wheedled, and implored. **You've been** feted and fawned over and called “sweetie pie.” (McCullough, 2012). +PLOCHE

41. **We** placed flyers in all 26 of the affected developments starting last Friday. **We** started knocking on doors of residents in the affected developments Friday and Saturday. **We** have knocked on every door in the affected developments (Bloomberg, 2012).
42. **We've come here to** Governors Island to stand **where** the earliest settlers **first** set foot in New Amsterdam, and **where** the seeds of religious tolerance were **first** planted. **We've come here to** see the inspiring symbol of liberty that, more than 250 years later, would greet millions of immigrants in the – this harbor [...] (Bloomberg, August 2010). +PLOCHE
43. **We have** experienced financial crisis and economic recession and weathered them better than most. **We have** suffered devastating attacks and rebounded faster than anyone thought possible, and **we've** refused to be terrorized. **We have** faced down controversies that once divided us and **we have** remained united. **We have** made the safest big city in the nation even safer. **We have** adopted bold education reforms that President Obama's Administration has hailed as a national model. **We have** built the country's largest affordable housing program and adopted its most sweeping public health agenda. **We have** pursued the boldest sustainability agenda on the planet (Bloomberg, January 2010).
44. **We will find innovative new ways to** create jobs in the industries of the future, from bioscience and arts and culture, to green technology that fights global warming and local asthma at the same time. **We'll find innovative new ways to** offer all children – in all communities – the first-rate education that they deserve and that is so crucial to building a strong middle class. **We'll find innovative new ways to** protect our city from terrorism and drive crime to record lows, with a renewed focus on a key group: young people who are troubled and at-risk (Bloomberg, January 2010).
45. **You will** face difficult choices. **You will** be challenged and tested (Burns, 2011).
46. **We need** your passion, creativity and drive. **We need** the spirit of exploration and the thirst for knowledge that you embraced here (Burns, 2011).
47. **It should** be a toilet that is pleasant to use and makes safe sanitation available simply and cheaply to people everywhere. **It should** save children's lives by controlling disease. **It should** eradicate the worst job in the world, that of the latrine emptier. **It should** bring safety and dignity to all people, especially to women and children (Burwell, 2011).
48. But **it doesn't want** to do great things. **It doesn't want** anything (Cook, 2018).
49. **I loved** school. **I loved** math and science (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
50. **We believe** it's dangerous to ask Twitter to regulate opinions or be the arbiter of truth. **We believe** Twitter helps people connect to something bigger than themselves, show all the amazing **things** that **happen** – that are **happening** in the world, and all the **things** we need to acknowledge and address (Dorsey, 2018) + POLYPTOTON + PLOCHE
51. **We need** world-class experts working together on smart policies and great scientists to pursue new solutions. And **we need** dedicated advocates to ensure that improving health for all stays at the top of the global agenda (Gates, November 2017).
52. **We also know** that high-quality curricula can improve student learning more than many costlier solutions, and it has the greatest impact with students of novice and lower performing teachers. **We also know** it has the greatest impact when accompanied by professional learning and coaching (Gates, October 2017).
53. **They** involve teachers in planning. **They** listen to teachers and make changes based on their feedback.

54. **They** help teachers get experience with the new standards. **They** create ways for teachers to share their practices. And **they** give teachers and students time to adjust to the new standards before they face consequences for not meeting them (Gates, 2014).
55. In closing, **we are here** because 40 years ago a bunch of researchers in a lab changed the way computers interact and, as a result, changed the world. **We are here** because those Internet pioneers had unique insights about the power of open networks to transform lives for the better, and they did something about it (Genachowski, 2009).
56. **We need you**. And **we need you** now (Gore, December 14, 2007).
57. **We are** on the eve of a presidential election. **We are** in the midst of an international climate treaty process that will conclude its work before the end of the first year of the new president's term (Gore, December 14, 2007).
58. **Our** families cannot stand 10 more years of gas price increases. **Our** workers cannot stand 10 more years of job losses and outsourcing of factories. **Our** economy cannot stand 10 more years of sending \$2 billion every 24 hours to foreign countries for oil (Gore, December 14, 2007).
59. After 9/11, **we were told America would** have no time for the world's poor. **We were told America would** be taken up with its own problems of safety (Hewson, 2006).
60. **Africa makes** a fool of **our idea of** justice; **it makes** a farce of **our idea of** equality. **It** mocks our pieties; **it** doubts our concern, and **it** questions our commitment (Hewson, 2006). +PLOCHE
61. I'm here today in all humility to say: **you changed** minds; **you changed** policy; and **you changed** the world (Hewson, 2006).
62. **I'd like to talk about** the – the **laws** of man, here in this city, where those **laws** are written. **I'd like to talk about** higher **laws** (Hewson, 2006). +PLOCHE
63. **I presume** that, in a way, is why you're all here. **I presume** the reason for this gathering is that all of us are here – Muslims, Jews, Christians – are all searching our souls for how to better serve our family, our community, our nation, our God (Hewson, 2006).
64. **I'm certainly not here** as a man of the **cloth**, unless that **cloth** is – is leather. **I'm certainly not here** because I'm a rock star – which leaves only one possible explanation: I've got a messianic complex (Hewson, 2006).+PLOCHE
65. **She** refused to sign the final adoption papers. **She** only relented a few months later when my parents promised that I would go to college (Jobs, 2005).
66. So **you have to trust** that the dots will somehow connect in your future. **You have to trust** in something – your gut, destiny, life, karma, whatever – because believing that the dots will connect down the road will give you the confidence to follow your heart, even when it leads you off the well-worn path, and that will make all the difference (Jobs, 2005).
67. **We'd run some on** Fred's job over here, then **we'd run some on** Sally's job, then **we'd run some on** Don's job then **we'd run on** Susie's job (Jobs, 1983).
68. **We have a chance** to make these thing beautiful, and **we have a chance** to communicate something.
69. **They can retrieve** it at 12 AM in the morning, **they can retrieve** it 3 days later (Jobs, 1983).
70. **We've** blown it **from** an industrial **point of** view because **we've** lost the market from the **point of** competitors. **We've** lost from the design point of view (Jobs, 1983).+PLOCHE
71. **We** quickly **forget** or have failed to learn the desperate lessons of the failure of command-and-control societies. **We forget** that 99 percent of the history of the world has been one of dire abject poverty. And **we forget** that when society has moved forward, it has been due to the use of dispersed knowledge, beneficial incentives, and the rules of just conduct (Koch, 1994).
72. **We** forget, we deny how much we really depend on each other, how much we really need each other. **We** justify our silence and inaction by manufacturing noble causes that marinate in historic denial. **We** still find a way to say “wait, wait, wait, not so fast.” (Landrieu, 2017).

73. From worrying about *my* grades, *my* CV, *my* career, and thinking instead about what I could do for *our* world, and *our* pursuit of human progress (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
74. *We need to* do more than catch up. *We need to* lead – by example and by results (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
75. *We have* computers that allow you to lay out multiple pages in multiple countries. *We have* faster distribution (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
76. *We* decided to change that. *We* bought new, state of the art presses, installed them at a site in Wapping, and found good people to run them (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
77. *He would have been* very upset that Polio still persists even though we have a vaccine. *He would have been* equally upset that back in India we had polio virus on our shoes from walking through the contaminated gutters that spread the disease (Page, 2009).
78. If I'm fortunate to become your President, I will serve *no one* religion, *no one* group, *no one* cause, and *no one* interest (Romney, 2007).
79. *I saw my* father march with Martin Luther King. *I saw my* parents provide compassionate care to others, in personal ways to people nearby, and in just as consequential ways in leading national volunteer movements (Romney, 2007).
80. Chairman Burr, *I want to thank you for* your leadership. Vice Chairman Warner, *I want to thank you for* your white paper which has so many ideas on how we can work together to strengthen our defense (Sandberg, 2018).
81. *We're* making progress on fake news. *We're* getting rid of the economic incentives to create it, and *we're* limiting the distribution it gets on Facebook. *We* demote articles rated by third [party fact] checkers as "false." (Sandberg, 2018).
82. *It's about* our kids; *it's about* their education (Raikes, 2010).
83. *You can't* tell who's a research scientist and who's a teacher. *You can't* distinguish between a student and an intern (Raikes, 2010).
84. *Students learn* by doing. *They learn* that they can be bold about their talent – and audacious about what they plan to do with it. *They learn* to be the innovators this country needs (Raikes, 2010).
85. *We must* secure the nation. *We must protect our* people. *We must protect our* borders. *We must protect our* ability to be that voice of our values now and forevermore (Tillerson, May 2017).
86. *It doesn't mean that* we leave those values on the sidelines. *It doesn't mean that* we don't advocate for and aspire to freedom, human dignity, and the treatment of people the world over (Tillerson, May 2017).
87. When *we see* you not implementing, *we see* companies or *we see* individuals that are violating these sanctions, *we're going to* contact you and *we're going to* ask you to take care of it (Tillerson, May 2017).
88. *They* kind of put China on the map, and China really began to feel its oats about that time, and rightfully. *They* have achieved a lot. *They* moved 500 million Chinese people out of poverty into middle class status. *They've* still got a billion more they need to move (Tillerson, May 2017).
89. This is a big department, between this and USAID, and we are including *all of our* missions, *all of our* embassies, *all of our* consular offices, because we all are part of how we deliver on mission (Tillerson, May 2017).
90. So *that's the world* as it is and *that's the world* we have to engage with (Tillerson, May 2017).
91. As an all-volunteer military, *they do it for* love of country; *they do it for* you; and *they do it for* me – and for no other reason (Tillerson, 2018).

92. ***The Center needs*** your support. ***It needs*** money. ***It needs*** political muscle in Olympia. Most of all, ***it needs*** your ideas (Raikes, 2010).
93. There's nothing easy about it, and I don't want to diminish in any way the challenges I know ***this presents for*** individuals, ***it presents to*** families, ***it presents to*** organizations (Tillerson, May 2017).
94. And so, as we said in that coalition effort, ***we've got to move*** beyond the battlefield, ***we've got to move*** into the cyberspace, ***we've got to move*** into the social communications space, and get inside of the messaging that allows them to recruit people around the world to their terrorism efforts (Tillerson, May 2017). +PLOCHE
95. ***You*** ran toward the wreckage, into a ball of flames, like, frankly, nobody in this country had ever seen. ***You*** searched for survivors. ***You*** went back ***day*** after ***day*** and ***night*** after ***night*** to save lives and return the fallen to their families, to rebuild and recover, and to show the entire world that nothing will ever break America's spirit (Trump, July 2019).+PLOCHE
96. ***It is*** unsustainable. ***It is*** ridiculous (Trump, January 2019).
97. ***These*** are not talking points. ***These*** are the heartbreaking realities that are hurting innocent, precious human beings every single day on both sides of the border (Trump, January 2019).
98. It is time to exit the Paris Accord and time to pursue a new deal that protects the environment, ***our*** companies, ***our*** citizens, and ***our*** country (Trump, 2017).
99. ***We will*** all sit down, and ***we will*** get back into the deal. ***And we'll*** make it good, and ***we won't*** be closing up our factories, and ***we won't*** be losing our jobs. ***And we'll*** sit down with the Democrats and all of the people that represent either the Paris Accord or something that we can do that's much better than the Paris Accord (Trump, 2017).
100. ***We want fair treatment for*** its citizens, and ***we want fair treatment for*** our taxpayers (Trump, 2017).
101. The importance of being compassionate, and how it can change ***your*** career path, ***your*** company, and ***your*** life (Weiner, 2018).
102. ***I wasn't very compassionate*** when I was your age. As a matter of fact, ***I wasn't particularly compassionate*** until the latter stage of my career (Weiner, 2018).
103. ***That meant*** pausing, and being a spectator to my own thoughts, especially when getting emotional. ***It meant*** walking a mile in the other person's shoes; and understanding their hopes, their fears, their strengths and their weaknesses. ***And it meant*** doing everything within my power to set them up to be successful (Weiner, 2018).
104. We believe in a safe and lawful system of immigration, one that upholds ***our*** laws, ***our*** traditions, and ***our*** most cherished values (Trump, January 2019).
105. ***Our immigration system should be*** the subject of pride, not a source of shame, as it is all over the world. ***Our immigration system should be*** the envy of the world, not a symbol of disunity and dysfunction (Trump, January 2019).
106. We are clear – we've been clear to them this is not about regime change, ***this is not about*** regime collapse, ***this is not about*** an accelerated reunification of the peninsula, ***this is not about*** us looking for an excuse to come north of the 38th Parallel (Tillerson, May 2017). +PLOCHE
107. We are clear – we've been clear to them this is not about regime change, ***this is not about*** regime collapse, ***this is not about*** an accelerated reunification of the peninsula, ***this is not about*** us looking for an excuse to come north of the 38th Parallel (Tillerson, May 2017). +PLOCHE
108. ***That*** matters. ***That*** says something (McCullough, 2012).
109. ***Most of the*** chapters of your life are still to be written. ***Most of the*** pages are blank (Burns, 2011).

110. *Anything less would* render generations of courageous struggle and soul-searching a truly lost cause. *Anything less would* fall short of the immortal words of our greatest President, Abraham Lincoln [...] (Landrieu, 2017).
111. *That's* time sharing. *That's* what got computers on college campuses in large numbers. [...] *That's* the reason we exist (Jobs, 1983).
112. *This is not about* politics. *It's not about* blame. *It's not about* retaliation. *This is not about* a naïve quest to solve all of our problems at once (Landrieu, 2017).
113. *It's not enough to just* connect people: *We* have *to make sure that* those connections are positive. *It's not enough to just* give people a voice: *We need to make sure that* people aren't using it to harm other people or to spread misinformation. And *it's not enough to just* give people control over their information: *We need to make sure that* the developers they share it with protect their information, too (Zuckerberg, 2018).
114. *That is why* Melinda and I focus on public schools. And *that is why* we support a change that can trigger big gains for our students: the Common Core State Standards (Gates, 2014).
115. *Some were* hanged. *Some were* thrown into prison. And *some were* transported here to Australia, where they became among our first settlers (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
116. *It means to* try and tell your kids everything you thought you'd have the next 10 years to tell them in just a few months. *It means to* make sure everything is buttoned up so that it will be as easy as possible for your family. *It means to* say your goodbyes (Jobs, 2005).
117. *Seeing reality* for *GE* in the '80s meant a hard look at a century-old portfolio of *business*, insisting that every *business* in *GE* be #1 or #2 in their global markets or that they must be fixed, sold or closed. [...] *Seeing reality* today means accepting the fact that e-Business is here (Welch, 2000).+PLOCHE
118. China *will be allowed* to build hundreds of additional coal plants. [...] India *will be allowed* to double its coal production by 2020. [...] Even Europe is *allowed* to continue construction of coal plants (Trump, 2017).
119. *Read* all the time. *Read as a matter of* principle, *as a matter of* self-respect. *Read* as a nourishing staple of life (McCullough, 2012).+PLOCHE
120. *Climb* the mountain not to plant your flag, but to embrace the challenge, enjoy the air and behold the view. *Climb* it so you can see the world, not so the world can see you (McCullough, 2012).
121. I *taught* them lessons on product development and marketing, and they *taught* me what it's like feeling targeted for your race and having a family member in prison (Zuckerberg, 2017).
122. I *shared* stories from my time in school, and they *shared* their hope of one day going to college too (Zuckerberg, 2017).
123. *Don't* be trapped by dogma – which is living with the results of other people's thinking. *Don't* let the noise of others' opinions drown out your own inner voice (Jobs, 2005).
124. *Check* Judaism. *Check* Islam. *Check* pretty much anyone (Hewson, 2006).
125. “*Keep it* real and *keep it* short!” (Burns, 2011).
126. *Remembering that* I'll be dead soon is the most important tool I've ever encountered to help me make the big choices in life. [...] *Remembering that* you are going to die is the best way I know to avoid the trap of thinking you have something to lose (Jobs, 2005).
127. These monuments celebrate a fictional, sanitized Confederacy: *ignoring* the death, *ignoring* the enslavement, *ignoring* the terror that it actually stood for (Landrieu, 2017).
128. Then *give of your* abundance, *give of your* poverty but *give* without stint to this great fund which should be not less than \$250,000,000 (Rockefeller, 1917).+PLOCHE

129. And I hope that in the distant future you will remember how you feel this day: **Proud** that an important phase of your life's journey is ending and anxious about the one that is just beginning. **Proud** of the friendships you've made here and hopeful that some of them will endure far into the future. **Proud** that you've earned a degree and cognizant of how much more you still have to learn. **Proud** that you have achieved an important milestone but aware that you have much to do and miles to go before you rest (Burns, 2011).
130. I also know that achieving this goal will take an approach that is **smart about** technology, **smart about** markets, **smart about** law and policy, **smart about** the experiences of ordinary consumers, and **smart about** the lessons of history (Genachowski, 2009).
131. **A standard** electrical outlet allows technological innovations to be used in every home. **A standard** computer language (TCP/IP) allows billions of people to share information on the internet. **A standard** shipping container lets us move goods from ships to trains to trucks (Gates, 2014).
132. I know East Meadow very well. **Great** place. **Great** people (Trump, July 2019).
133. And I believe with all my heart that on this – **the first day of the** year, **the first day of the** decade, and **the first day of the** future of this great city – the way is still up (Bloomberg, January 2010).
134. And as they did, Americans from across the country looked to New York to ring in **a new** year, **a new** decade, and **a new** beginning (Bloomberg, January 2010).
135. **The same** technology that puts mobile phones within reach of people with less money by making them disposable can also be used by criminals to evade the police. **The same** internet that allows you to order the latest bestseller online also allows sex predators to trawl for victims in relative anonymity. And **the same** payment systems that allow you to buy something electronically help international drug lords launder money (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
136. For almost a year, we printed two versions of The Times—each with **the same** photos, **the same** headlines, and **the same** stories (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
137. Some have asked whether I have any regrets, and I do have one regret: that I didn't get the chance to stay and fight for the American people over the next four years, **especially for those who** need burdens lifted and barriers removed, **especially for those who** feel their voices have not been heard (Gore, 2000).
138. **Then I can** cut 'em out and paste them into my documents so that I can combine pictures and words. **Then I can** send it on the electronic mailbox on to somebody else that's living here in Aspen [...] (Jobs, 1983).
139. **No longer is it** how you play the game, **no longer is it** even whether you win **or** lose, **or** learn **or** grow, **or** enjoy yourself doing it (McCullough, 2012). +PLOCHE
140. From this day forward, truly, in sickness and in health, **through** financial fiascos, **through** midlife crises and passably attractive sales reps at trade shows in Cincinnati (parents get that), **through** diminishing tolerance for annoyingness, **through** every difference, irreconcilable and otherwise, **you** will stay forever graduated from high school, **you** and your diploma as one, 'til death do **you** part (McCullough, 2012).+PLOCHE
141. **And you** get to an intersection and you get to stop. **And you** can look right, and you can look straight and you can look left. **And you** can decide which way you want to go (Jobs, 1983).
142. **And** so I want to touch on that. **And** then I'll take a quick walk around the world (Tillerson, May 2017).
143. **And** what we've asked the Chinese to do is we're -- we want to take a fresh look at where's this relationship going to be 50 years from now, because I think we have an opportunity to define that. **And** so I know there have been a lot of dialogue areas that have been underway for the last several years with China (Tillerson, May 2017).

144. *And* so I want to express my appreciation to all of you for *helping* me and *helping* my team as we came on board. *And* I've just been really gratified at the work that everyone's undertaken in that regard (Tillerson, May 2017). +PLOCHE
145. *And they* had this truck with this camera on it. *And they* went down every single street, and photographed every single intersection. *And* every single street in Aspen. *And they* photographed all the buildings. *And they* got this computer and this video disc hooked together and on the screen you see yourself looking down a street. *And you* touch the screen and there are some arrows on the screen.. *and you* touch 'walk forward' (Jobs, 1983).
146. We asked for a second opinion. *And* a third. *And* a fourth. *And* the consistent conclusion, restated with increasing distress, is that something basic is wrong (Gore, December 10, 2007).
147. *And* when the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union broke up, we took all of that off and history regained its march. *And* the world got a whole lot more complicated. *And* I think that's what we see (Tillerson, May 2017).
148. *So* this is a – it's a big undertaking. [...] *So* we want to look at it in its entirety as to how we do that. *So* I appreciate your participating openly in this listening exercise, but importantly, I want to condition you to be ready to participate in the next phase, because that's when it'll become more challenging. *But we're* all on this boat, on this voyage – I'm not going to call it a cruise; it's not – may not be that much fun. *But we're* on all this ship, on this voyage together. And *so* we're going to get on the ship and we're going to take this voyage, and when we get there, we're all going to get off the ship at wherever we arrive. *But we're* all going to get on and we're going to get off together. [...] *So* I appreciate your participation. (Tillerson, May 2017).
149. *If I had never dropped* in on that single course in college, the "Mac" *would have never* had multiple typefaces or proportionally spaced fonts. [...] *If I had never dropped* out, I *would have never* dropped in on that calligraphy class, and personal computers might not have the wonderful typography that they do (Jobs, 2005).
150. *If you* want to find out the status of a trade bill in the United States Congress, *you can* access it from your desktop. *If you* are a footy fan living in Jakarta, *you can* click on to the Melbourne Herald Sun and see how the Cats did against the Hawks. *If you* are in Dubai and you want to know the euro-dollar rate and make a trade a few seconds later, it's never been easier to make or to lose money (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
151. *If they* ran a story, *it* became news. *If they* ignored an event, *it* never happened (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
152. *No matter* where you live and work, *no matter* what your race or roots, *no matter who you* love, *who you* worship, or *who you* voted for, I pledge to be your Mayor (Bloomberg, January 2010).
153. Today I want to talk about three ways to create a world where everyone has a sense of *purpose: by* taking on big meaningful projects together, *by* redefining equality so everyone has the freedom to pursue *purpose*, and *by* building community across the world (Zuckerberg, 2017).
154. Many years later, *after* a startup, *after* falling in love, and *after* so many of life's adventures, I found myself thinking about my Dad (Page, 2009).
155. So for me this campaign ends as it began: *with* the love of Tipper and our family; *with* faith in God and in the country I have been so proud to serve, from Vietnam to the vice presidency; and *with* gratitude to our truly tireless campaign staff and volunteers, including all those who worked so hard in Florida for the last 36 days (Gore, 2000).
156. *After* decades *of* public debate, *of* anger, *of* anxiety, *of* anticipation, *of* humiliation and *of* frustration; *after* public hearings and approvals from three separate community boards and

- commissions; *after* two robust public hearings and a 6-1 vote by our duly-elected City Council; *after* review by 13 different federal and state judges: [...]. (Landrieu, 2017). +PLOCHE
157. New Orleans was one of America's largest slave markets, a port where hundreds of thousands of souls were bought, sold, and shipped up the Mississippi River to lives *of* forced labor, *of* misery, *of* rape, and *of* torture (Landrieu, 2017).
158. *Instead of* finding stories that are relevant to their readers' lives, papers run stories reflecting their own interests. *Instead of writing for* their audience, they are *writing for* their fellow journalists. And *instead of* commissioning *stories* that will gain them readers, some editors commission *stories* whose sole purpose is the quest for a prize (Murdoch, November 16, 2008). +PLOCHE
159. But, this is a good place to stop for a moment and ask ourselves at this point in our history – *after* Katrina, *after* Rita, *after* Ike, *after* Gustav, *after* the national recession, *after* the BP oil spill catastrophe, *after* the tornado – if presented with an opportunity to build monuments that told our story or curate these particular spaces ... would these be the monuments that we want the world to see? (Landrieu, 2017).
160. But as we have progressed over the last 20 years – and *some of you could tie it back* to the post-Cold War era as the world has changed, *some of you can tie it back* to the evolution of China since the post-Nixon era and China's rise as an economic power, and now as a growing military power – that as we participated in those changes, *we were promoting* relations, *we were promoting* economic activity, *we were promoting* trade with a lot of these emerging economies, and we just kind of lost track of how we were doing (Tillerson, May 2017).
161. *Not every* teacher is eager for change. *Not every* local wants reform (Gates, 2010).
162. *Some* teachers are concerned it could be capricious. *Some* believe it would come with high overhead (Gates, 2010).
163. *Every* child should have an Alice Raikes, that tough as nails junior high teacher who makes them believe they can be an astronaut. *Every* young adult should have a Professor Winkler, who gives them the confidence and the skills they need to beat the curve (Raikes, 2010).
164. And I will not stop working for you – I will not rest – until *every* job seeker finds work, *every* high school student graduates, *every* child is safe from illegal guns, *every* family has an affordable home, and *every* New Yorker with a dream finds it within reach (Bloomberg, January 2010).
165. *Some* of those signals are engagement. *Some* are the number of abuse reports (Dorsey, 2018).
166. *Some of the debate comes from people who want* more time and support for teachers to implement the standards. *Some of the debate comes from people who want* to stop the standards, which would send us back to what we had before (Gates, 2014).
167. *What if* we viewed waste as a valuable resource to be tapped? *What if* human waste powered lights and homes? *What if* it helped farmers grow more crops? *What if* it generated potable water? (Burwell, 2011).
168. *When I* was growing up, opportunities for women were still limited. *When I* went to college and graduate school, I lived in environments that had just recently admitted women, and were still getting used to having us around. And *when I* began my business career, female executives were still a novelty (Whitman, 2008).
169. *How will you* use these gifts? And *will you* take pride in your gifts or pride in your choices? *How will you* use your gifts? What choices *will you* make? *Will* inertia be your guide, or *will you* follow your passions? *Will you* follow dogma, or *will you* be original? *Will you* choose a life of ease, or a life of service and adventure? *Will you* wilt under criticism, or *will*

- you* follow your convictions? **Will you** bluff it out when you're wrong, or **will you** apologize? **Will you** guard your heart against rejection, or **will you** act when you fall in love? **Will you** play it safe, or **will you** be a little bit swashbuckling? When it's tough, **will you** give up, or **will you** be relentless? **Will you** be a cynic, or **will you** be a builder? **Will you** be clever at the expense of others, or **will you** be kind? (Bezos, 2010).
170. **How about** stopping climate change before we destroy the planet, and getting millions of people involved manufacturing and installing solar panels? **How about** curing all diseases and asking volunteers to track their health data and share their genomes? [...] **How about** modernizing democracy so everyone can vote online, and personalizing education so everyone can learn? (Zuckerberg, 2017).
171. Catholic in a country **where the line between** the two was, quite literally, often a battle line; **where the line between** Church and State was, at the very least, a little blurry and hard to see (Hewson, 2006).+PLOCHE
172. Maybe it's something to do with having a father who was a Protestant and a mother who was a In my career, what I've always tried my best to do, whether on television or through film, is **to say** something about how men and women really behave; **to say how we** experience shame, **how we** love and **how we** rage, **how we** fail, **how we** retreat, persevere, and **how we** overcome (Winfrey, 2018).
173. So, **how will you** do that? **How will you** make your own transition from "me" to "us"? (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
174. **How will you use** these **gifts**? And will you take **pride** in your **gifts** or **pride** in your **choices**? [...]. **How will you use** your **gifts**? What **choices** will you make? (Bezos, 2010).+PLOCHE
175. **When demand for** oil and coal increases, their price goes up. **When demand for** solar cells increases, the price often comes down (Gore, December 14, 2007).
176. **When we** send **money** to foreign countries to buy nearly 70 percent of the oil we use every day, they build new skyscrapers and we lose jobs (SYNECDOCHE + PERSONIFICATION). **When we** spend that **money** building solar arrays and windmills, we build competitive industries and gain jobs here at home (Gore, December 14, 2007).
177. **When the use of** oil and coal goes up, pollution goes up. **When the use of** solar, wind and geothermal increases, pollution comes down (Gore, December 14, 2007).
178. **When** I talk on a telephone with anyone, we both have to be on the phone at the same time. **When** I'm working, or **when** I want to send something to somebody with a computer terminal (Jobs, 1983).
179. **How many** talented students don't have those advantages? **How many** never make it? (Raikes, 2010).
180. **When** bad actors try to use our site, we will block them. **When** content violates our policies, we will take it down. And **when** our opponents use new techniques, we will share them so we can strengthen our collective efforts (Sandberg, 2018).
181. To be successful, a business needs people **who** see the big picture, **who** can think critically, and **who** have strong character (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
182. **One percent** is a **new partnership with Africa**, not paternalism towards **Africa**; a **new partnership with Africa**, where increased assistance flows toward improved governance and initiatives with proven track records and away from the boondoggles and white elephants that we've seen before. [...] **One percent** is national security. **One percent** is enlightened economic self-interest, and a better safer world rolled into one (Hewson, 2006).+PLOCHE

183. **One percent** is not redecorating presidential palaces. **One percent** must not be – or don't give it – money down a rat hole. This **one percent** is digging waterholes to provide clean water... (Hewson, 2006).

ANTIMETABOLE

1. Be fearful when others are greedy, and be greedy when others are fearful (Buffett, 2008).
2. Rather than “You Only Live Once,” it should be “You Live Only Once” – but because “[Y]LOO” doesn't have the same ring, we shrug and decide it doesn't matter (McCullough, 2012).
3. Just like me, your families brought you here, and you brought them here (Page, 2009).
4. Freedom requires religion just as religion requires freedom (Romney, 2007).

EPANALEPSIS

1. To those who say **10 years** is not enough time, I respectfully ask them to consider what the world's scientists are telling us about the risks we face if we don't act in **10 years** (Gore, December 14, 2007).
2. **Love** everything you **love**, everyone you **love**, with all your might (McCullough, 2012).
3. What **is done is done** (Landrieu, 2017).

EPIMONE

1. And finally, getting to **higher** levels, **higher** callings: **This is not about charity** in the end, is it? **It's about justice**. [...] I just want to repeat that: **This is not about charity, it's about justice** (Hewson, 2006).+PLOCHE
2. Beneath it were the words: “**Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish.**” It was their farewell message as they signed off. **Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish.** And I've always wished that for myself. And now, as you graduate to begin anew, I wish that for you: **Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish** (Jobs, 2005).
3. But **their time is up. Their time is up! Their time is up** (Winfrey, 2018).
4. **Not all of you have short attention spans**. Let me repeat that. **Not all of you have short attention spans** (Barra, 2014).
5. And **I just hope – I just hope** that Recy Taylor died knowing that her **truth**, like the **truth** of so many other women who were **tormented** in those years, and even now **tormented**, goes marching on (Winfrey, 2018).+PLOCHE
6. As the timeless quote **from the E.B. White – from the great E.B. White** reminds us [...] (Bloomberg, January 2010).
7. **And you can be – You can be** certain of this: **Any** believer in religious freedom, **any** person who has knelt in prayer to the Almighty, has a friend and ally in me (Romney, 2007).+PLOCHE
8. **No city** on Earth – **no city** – should hold these principles higher aloft than this city of immigrants (Bloomberg, January 2010).
9. **And more and more**, we've made it true of city government in so many areas (Bloomberg, January 2010).
10. Graduates, as you think about what comes next, **move your thoughts from thinking about “me” to thinking about “us”**. [...] And when you **move your thoughts from thinking about “me” to thinking about “us”**, you will be embarking on the path to a meaningful life (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
11. We build our policies and rules with a principle of impartiality: objective criteria, rather than on the basis of bias, prejudice, **or preferring – or preferring** the benefit to one person over another for improper reasons (Dorsey, 2018).
12. **Great job**, Rudy. **Great job** (Trump, July 2019).
13. **Thank you**, Jeff. **Thank you** very much (Trump, July 2019).

14. This year in 1983, the industry is going to ship over **3 million** of the little buggers. **3 million** (Jobs, 1983).
15. **Can you do it? Can you do it? Can you** look into the eyes of this young girl and convince her that Robert E. Lee is there to encourage her? (Landrieu, 2017).
16. Wow. Great. **Thank you. Thank you**, fellas. **Great-looking group of people** you are. **Great-looking group of people. Thank you** very much. (Trump, July 2019).
17. **We** love you. **We** honor you. And **we thank you**. God bless you all. **Thank you. Thank you** (Trump, July 2019).+ANAPHORA
18. But all I can do is quote and say that the explanation in Sidney's performance in Lilies of the Field: **Amen, amen. Amen, amen** (Winfrey, 2018).

EPIPHORA

1. Today I want to talk about **purpose**. But I'm not here to give you the standard commencement about finding your **purpose**. [...] Instead, I'm here to tell you finding your **purpose** isn't enough. The challenge for our generation is creating a world where everyone has a sense of **purpose** (Zuckerberg, 2017).
2. Uhm, a lot of you are **products of the television generation**. I'm pretty much a **product of the television generation** (Jobs, 1983).
3. But to some extent, starting to become a **product of the computer generation** and the kids grown up now are definitely **products of the computer generation** (Jobs, 1983).
4. It's just a simple **machine**. But it's a new type of **machine** (Jobs, 1983).
5. One of the **medium**. So what's a **medium**? (Jobs, 1983).
6. Because through the art of television programming, we are very good at capturing a set of **experiences**. **AN experience. 2 experiences. 20 experiences** (Jobs, 1983).
7. You have to calm the disruptive **kids**, challenge the advanced **kids**, humor the bored **kids**, and reach the **kids** who learn at a different pace (Gates, 2010).
8. New York City was built **by immigrants**, and it's sustained **by immigrants** – by people from **more than a hundred different** countries speaking **more than two hundred different** languages and professing every faith (Bloomberg, August 2010).+PLOCHE
9. I participated in **every sport**. Literally **every sport**. I started thinking about how to serve **humanity**, how to make a contribution to **humanity** (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
10. Last month, we had more than a dozen teachers from across the country come talk to our team at the Foundation so we could hear more about what they're facing as they switch over to **the Common Core**. One teacher told a story about the old standards that for her captured the need for **the Common Core** (Gates, 2014).
11. It's **an odd thing**. It's really **an odd thing** (Jobs, 1983).
12. And all of you that have been at this a long time understand the value of speaking with **a posture of strength** – not a threatening **posture**, but **a posture of strength** (Tillerson, May 2017).
13. Today, 70% of our revenue comes **from services**. Increasingly, product **services**. Twenty years ago only 15% of our revenues came **from services** (Welch, 2001).
14. We didn't take a broad enough view of our responsibility, and that was a big **mistake**. And it was my **mistake** (Zuckerberg, 2018).
15. According to this same study, by 2040, compliance with the commitments put into place by the previous Administration would cut production for the following sectors: paper **down 12 percent**; cement **down 23 percent**; iron and steel **down 38 percent**; **coal** – and I happen to love the **coal** miners – **down 86 percent**; natural gas **down 31 percent** (Trump, 2017).+PLOCHE

16. We are preparing *additional sanctions*, if it turns out North Korea's actions warrant *additional sanctions* (Tillerson, May 2017).
17. We have an *obligation*, and it's a sacred *obligation*, to the families and first responders of 9/11 (Trump, July 2019).
18. But the Chief is *a fighter*. He is definitely *a fighter* (Trump, July 2019).
19. This plan solves the immediate *crisis* – and it is a horrible *crisis* (Trump, January 2019).
20. Love was *on the move*. Mercy was *on the move*. God was *on the move* (Hewson, 2006).
21. The fulfilling *life*, the distinctive *life*, the relevant *life*, is an achievement, not something that will fall into your lap because you're a nice person or mommy ordered it from the caterer (McCullough, 2012).
22. Why? Because people suddenly have a growing multitude of *choices* – and they are rightly exercising those *choices* (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
23. In the 21st century, people are hungrier for *information than ever before*. And they have more sources of *information than ever before* (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
24. He introduced me to *problem sets*. Lots of *problem sets* (Raikes, 2010).
25. And it's not just the number of *degrees*. It's the skills of the students getting the *degrees* (Raikes, 2010).
26. Because we're *good at charity*. Americans, Irish people, are *good at charity* (Hewson, 2006).
27. Yet, under this agreement, we are effectively putting these reserves under lock and key, taking away the *great wealth* of our nation – it's *great wealth*, it's phenomenal *wealth*; not so long ago, we had no idea we had such *wealth* – and leaving *millions* and *millions* of families trapped in poverty and joblessness (Trump, 2017).+PLOCHE
28. I have no doubt that many of you will go on to do *great things*. But remember no one does *great things* alone (Barra, 2014).
29. A person should not be elected *because of his faith* nor should he be rejected *because of his faith* (Romney, 2007).
30. "If you do not like people, you will not take the time to get to know *them*, and if you don't get to know *them*, you will have no idea what scares *them*, what motivates *them*, what inspires *them*." (Barra, 2014).
31. He can inspect his design from any angle, change *it*, stress *it* and then electronically command a variety of machines on the factory floor to produce *it* – all of this without generating a scrap of paper (Welch, 1981).
32. After studying *them*, talking to teachers about *them*, and seeing students learn from *them*, we are convinced that the new standards are a platform for innovation (Gates, 2014).
33. The students should read text – understand *it*, explain *it*, apply *it*, analyze *it*, draw inferences from *it*, and cite evidence from *it* – at *ever* higher levels of complexity – with *ever* greater independence (Gates, 2014).+PLOCHE
34. And I think the question is *how we will do that* and *how* effectively *we will do that* (Tillerson, May 2017).
35. Some parents would come in and say: "You're *experimenting on my kid*." And the teachers' reaction was: 'We're not *experimenting on your kid* (Gates, 2014).
36. He said, "Stop asking God to bless what you're *doing*. Get involved in what God is *doing* – because it's already blessed. Well, let's get involved in what God is *doing*. God, as I say, is always with the poor. That's what God is *doing*....]" (Hewson, 2006).
37. And we *need help*. We *really really need* your *help* (Jobs, 1983).+PLOCHE

38. Almost 50 years ago another candidate from Massachusetts explained that he was an American ***running for President***, not a Catholic ***running for President***. Like him, I am an American ***running for President*** (Romney, 2007).
39. But they're extraordinarily helpful to me, and so keep sending me insights as to what ***you're doing, how you're doing*** it, and in particular the perspective on ***how*** we got to where we are (Tillerson, May 2017). +PLOCHE
40. As future business leaders, keep in mind, it's not just about what you're ***trying to accomplish***, it's about how you're ***trying to accomplish*** it (Weiner, 2018).
41. City school-based afterschool programs ***are closed***. Senior centers ***are closed***. Public libraries ***are closed*** (Bloomberg, 2012).
42. The only way to deal with new technology that up-ends your job or your business model is to ***get out in front of*** it. Otherwise it will ***get out in front of*** you (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
43. I have faith that we can ***get there***, that we will ***get there***, because of the exemplary work of organizations such as ALEC (Koch, 1994).
44. And if we ***can do it***, then everyone ***can do it*** (Cook, 2018).
45. And so at 30, I was ***out***. And very publicly ***out*** (Jobs, 2005).
46. Whether male or female, tall or short, scholar or slacker, spray-tanned prom queen or intergalactic X-Box assassin, each of you is dressed, you'll notice, ***exactly the same***; and your diploma, but for your name, ***exactly the same*** (McCullough, 2012).

GRADATIO

1. This is a generational ***moment***. A ***moment*** when we decide our own path and our collective fate (Gore, December 14, 2007).
2. Another new study, to be presented by U.S. Navy researchers later this week, warns it could happen in as little as ***7 years***. ***Seven years*** from now (Gore, December 10, 2007).
3. Let there be no doubt, while I strongly disagree with the court's decision, ***I accept it. I accept*** the finality of this outcome which will be ratified next Monday in the Electoral College (Gore, 2000).
4. Let's start off with ***what is a computer. What is a computer*** (Jobs, 1983).
5. Ok let's go back to this revolution, ***what is happening? What's happening*** is the personal computer is a medium – of communication (Jobs, 1983).
6. We are proof that ***out of many we are one*** – and better for it. ***Out of many we are one*** – and we really do love it (Landrieu, 2017).
7. And fourth, the right to ***security***. ***Security*** is foundational to trust – and all other privacy rights (Cook, 2018).

NEGATIVE-POSITIVE RESTATEMENT

1. ***We do not honor their lives*** by denying the very Constitutional rights they died protecting. ***We honor their lives*** by defending those rights, and the freedoms that the terrorists attacked (Bloomberg, August 2010).
2. ***And if we can, that's*** great. ***And if we can't, that's*** fine (Trump, 2017).
3. ***It's not*** coming. ***It's not*** the thing of the future. ***It's*** here (Welch, 2000).
4. ***Success is not reaching hundreds of*** thousands of people. ***It's reaching hundreds of*** millions of people (Burwell, 2011).
5. ***This crisis is real. It is not imagined*** or exaggerated or “crazy.” (Cook, 2018).
6. The pivotal impact of the teacher ***does not mean*** that parents, principals, and administrators have ***fewer obligations***. ***It means*** they have ***greater obligations*** – to support better teaching (Gates, 2010).

7. And we can hire experts to write them so they benefit us, these laws, so that they say *it's okay to protect our agriculture* but *it's not okay* for African farmers *to protect their agriculture*, to earn a living (Hewson, 2006).
8. This approach, within the framework I am proposing today, will allow the Commission to make reasoned, fact-based determinations *based on the Internet* before it, *not based on the Internet* of years past or guesses about how *the Internet* will evolve (Genachowski, 2009).+PLOCHE
9. This *is not a battle of* nations, *it's a battle of* ideas (Zuckerberg, 2017).
10. The neat thing, is that each medium *shapes* not only the *communication* that goes through it but it *shapes* the process of the *communication* (Jobs, 1983).

PLOCHE

1. The need for *speed* and more *speed* has been driving this management team for two decades, for the competitive advantage it always brings and for the sheer excitement and fun it imparts to every aspect of business (Welch, 2000).
2. In the late '70s and early '80s, we experienced the Japanese inroads on many of our traditional *businesses*, realized that our future was no longer in many of them, and moved into *businesses* that were immune to this assault while we restructured the Company (Welch, 2000).
3. The whole world witnessed the might and resilience of our nation in the extraordinary men and women of the *New York Fire Department* and the *New York Police Department*, selfless patriots of unmatched character and devotion (Trump, July 2019).
4. So we just kept moving forward, *day by day* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
5. But it's not enough to have *purpose* yourself. You have to create a sense of *purpose* for others (Zuckerberg, 2017).
6. In our society, we often don't do big *things* because we're so afraid of making mistakes that we ignore all the *things* wrong today if we do nothing (Zuckerberg, 2017).
7. *The forces* of freedom, openness and global community against *the forces* of authoritarianism, isolationism, and nationalism (Zuckerberg, 2017).
8. America faces enormous *challenges* abroad – but we also face great *challenges* here at home (Whitman, 2008).
9. Selflessly sharing good *ideas* while endlessly searching for better *ideas* became a natural act (Welch, 2000).
10. We developed the ability to automate job shop *operations* with such innovations as numerical *controls for* machine tools and programmable *controls for* assembly *operations*, and our factories served as major laboratories for trying out a great variety of new manufacturing techniques and equipment (Welch, 1981).
11. That *information* – This was *information* that people generally share publicly on their Facebook *pages*, like names and their profile picture and the *pages* they follow (Zuckerberg, 2018).
12. We now serve more than two billion *people* around the world, and every day *people* use our services to stay connected with the *people* that matter to them most (Zuckerberg, 2018).
13. I realize the *issues* we're talking about today aren't just *issues* for Facebook and our community (Zuckerberg, 2018).
14. Students, *today* is a big *day*. [...] *Today* is the *day* you finally...get to update your LinkedIn profile (Weiner, 2018).
15. Mr. Valukas has confirmed that he and his investigators were provided with unlimited access to *interview* any *GM employee* and every request for an *interview* of a *GM employee* was granted (Barra, 2014).
16. We wanted to work with educators to better understand their *needs* and the *needs* of their students and communities (Gates, October 2017).

17. Melinda and I made public education our top priority in the U.S. because we wanted to do something about the disparity in achievement and postsecondary success for *students* of color and low-income *students* (Gates, October 2017).
18. Third, the standards are consistent from *state* to *state* (Gates, 2014).
19. The solution was to devise a *network* of *networks* that would not be biased in favor of any particular application (Genachowski, 2009).
20. Seventy years later, my teacher, Roger Revelle, and his colleague, Dave Keeling, began to precisely document the increasing CO2 levels *day* by *day* (Gore, December 10, 2007).
21. Now the political *struggle* is over and we turn again to the unending *struggle* for the common good of all Americans and for those multitudes around the world who look to us for leadership in the cause of freedom (Gore, 2000).
22. This is a dangerous idea I've put on the table, here: my *God versus* your *God*, their *God versus* our *God, versus* no *God* (Hewson, 2006).
23. I had *no idea* what I wanted to do with my life and *no idea* how college was going to help me figure it out (Jobs, 2005).
24. But this ceremony, *commencement*, a *commencement* works every time (McCullough, 2012).
25. I want to speak now to my State Department *colleagues* and to our interagency *colleagues* and partners at DOD and the Joint Chief[s] of Sta[ff], most particularly (Tillerson, 2018).
26. In August, we removed 650 *pages* and *accounts* that originated in Iran, as well as additional *pages* and account – *accounts* from Russia. And just last week, we took down 58 *pages* and *accounts* from Myanmar, many of which were posing as news organizations (Sandberg, 2018).
27. Their authority is theirs, within the province of church *affairs*, and it ends where the *affairs* of the nation begin (Romney, 2007).
28. When I place my hand on the Bible and take the *Oath* of Office, that *oath* becomes my highest promise to God (Romney, 2007).
29. The lives of hundreds of thousands of America's sons and daughters were laid down during the last century to preserve *freedom*, for us and for *freedom* loving people throughout the world (Romney, 2007).
30. As such, effective at the end of the day, I'm delegating all responsibilities of the Office of the *Secretary* to Deputy *Secretary* of State Sullivan (Tillerson, 2018).
31. All of us, we know, want to leave this *place* as a better *place* for the next generation (Tillerson, 2018).
32. So let me reiterate what I said yesterday just for everybody's *safety*, and it's also for the *safety* of the city's first responders who might have to rescue people who remain in Zone A, and whose own lives could be put at risk because of that (Bloomberg, 2012).
33. In fact, we can start right now using solar *power*, wind *power* and geothermal *power* to make electricity for our homes and businesses (Gore, December 14, 2007).
34. If you want to know the truth about gasoline *prices*, here it is: the exploding demand for *oil*, especially in places like China, is overwhelming the rate of new discoveries by so much that *oil prices* are almost certain to continue upward over time no matter what the *oil* companies promise (Gore, December 14, 2007).
35. But over time, people learned from each other, the gap narrowed – and the average *hitter* today is much closer to the best *hitter* (Gates, 2010).
36. The chief goal is to work with *teachers* – using technology, data and research – to develop a system of evaluation that *teachers* believe is fair and will help them improve (Gates, 2010).
37. Project teams record student gains on two assessments – one a state multiple choice *test*, the other a more open-ended, problem-solving *test* to make sure the *test* scores reflect real knowledge and not just *test*-taking skill (Gates, 2010).

38. We have tried *reform* after *reform* (Gates, 2010).
39. Many of the *schools* we worked with made strong *gains*, but others were disappointing. The *schools* that made the biggest *gains* in achievement did more than make structural changes; they also improved teaching (Gates, 2010).
40. The *Church* was slow but the *Church* got busy on this the leprosy of our age (Hewson, 2006).
41. And we had hip-hop *stars* and country *stars* (Hewson, 2006).
42. Let's compare computer *programming* to television *programming* (Jobs, 1983).
43. One reason for this is a growing global demand for business *news* and for accurate *news* (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
44. Just last year, with support from Microsoft, Boeing, and Battelle—as well as the Allen *Foundation* and the Gates *Foundation* – a group called the Partnership for Learning launched the Washington STEM Initiative (Raikes, 2010).
45. These are *things* you can do, and they are *things* our schools need (Raikes, 2010).
46. That has always been the *role* of great *newspapers* in the past. And that *role* will make *newspapers* great in the future (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
47. In short, we are moving from *news* papers to *news* brands (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
48. If you were an owner, the best thing you could do was to hire editors who looked out for your *readers'* interests—and give these *readers* good honest reporting on issues that mattered most to them (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
49. Back in the mid-1980s, British papers were essentially run by their *unions*, and these *unions* resisted all improvements (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
50. And for a few weeks, we were literally under siege by *people* intent on damaging our presses, hurting our *people*, and killing our business (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
51. We are in the midst of a shift from an industrial *society* to an information *society* (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
52. Just think of all the *things* that you can do now because of technology – *things* that would have been impossible just twenty years ago (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
53. We are long past the day when you took a job at a company ... and 40 years later you retired after doing more or less the same thing every *day*, *day-after-day* (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
54. It is the *history*, our *history*, that holds in its heart the stories of Native Americans – [...] the enslaved *people of* Senegambia, free *people of* color, [...] (Landrieu, 2017).
55. Reform proposals should be analyzed as to whether they do a better or worse job of allowing people to use their individual *knowledge*, *knowledge* of their own health needs, of what they value, and of the trade-offs they must make (Koch, 1994).
56. Your willingness to step up and not just fill that *role*, but to take responsibility for the *role* and to lead the organization through some pretty challenging first 90 days – it's not like we haven't had some things to work on (Tillerson, May 2017).
57. The seven organizations included in the campaign [...] are authorized by the *Secretary* of War and the *Secretary* of the Navy to work for the soldiers and sailors in and near the camps (Rockefeller, 1917).
58. "Dispersed *knowledge*" refers to the *knowledge* of the particulars of time and place, of people and what they value, of local conditions — *knowledge* that enables everyone to contribute because we all possess unique information that can be helpful to others (Koch, 1994).
59. We've got a long list of things to work on from our arms *agreements* and issues we have with our nuclear arms *agreements*, to obviously, getting to Ukraine, Crimea, and other places where Russia is not being particularly helpful today (Tillerson, May 2017).

60. Many of these security ideas have been proposed by **Democrats** themselves, and all of them have been supported by **Democrats** in the past, including a physical barrier, wall, or fence (Trump, January 2019).
61. **Six Sigma** has increased the intimacy between GE and its **customer** base and today we and our **customers** are entwined in what we call “At the **Customer**, For the **Customer**” **Six Sigma** projects (Welch, 2001).
62. Our very best and brightest are moving into **Six Sigma** assignments and I’m confident when the Board picks the next CEO 20 years from now, the man or woman chosen will be someone with **Six Sigma** blood in his or her veins (Welch, 2001).
63. As President, I have one **obligation**, and that **obligation** is to the American people (Trump, 2017).
64. GE is, in a phrase, a new kind of **Company**, a **Company** with market-leading positions in businesses [...] (Welch, 2001).
65. The number of **students** scoring over 800 or better on the SATs has tripled and there’s been a 32% increase in **students** from Southside going to college (Welch, 2001).
66. They’re intelligent, resilient, and committed to improving their **lives** and the **lives** of others (Weiner, 2018).
67. Last year I told you I believed e-Business was neither “old **economy**” nor “new **economy**,” but simply new technology (Welch, 2001).
68. A Company that aspires to true greatness furnishes its **people** with big challenges which, when met, fill **people** with self-confidence that can only come from within and only from winning (Welch, 2001).
69. Now, the prior administration, as all of you know, **President** Obama told **President** Trump this was going to be your greatest threat that you’re going to have to manage, and he was right (Tillerson, May 2017).
70. So whether it’s our asking of NATO members to really meet their **obligations**, even though those were notional **obligations**, we understand – and aspirational **obligation**, we think it’s important that those become concrete (Tillerson, May 2017).
71. All Americans, whether first **generation** or tenth **generation**, are bound together in love and loyalty, friendship and affection (Trump, January 2019).
72. We’re also working very hard for **peace** in the Middle East, and perhaps even **peace** between the Israelis and the Palestinians (Trump, 2017).
73. The lack of border control provides a **gateway** – and a very wide and open **gateway** – for criminals and gang members to enter the United States – including the criminal aliens who murdered a brave California police officer only a day after Christmas (Trump, January 2019).
74. While everybody who was engaged on the ignition switch issue had the **responsibility** to fix it, nobody took **responsibility** (Barra, 2014).
75. To those who say the **costs** are still too high: I ask them to consider whether the **costs** of oil and coal will ever stop increasing if we keep relying on quickly depleting energy sources to feed a rapidly growing demand all around the world (Gore, December 14, 2007).
76. But also: always remember that the moments we have with friends and family, the **chances** we have to do things that might make a big **difference** in the world, or even to make a small **difference** to someone you love — all those wonderful **chances** that **life** gives us, **life** also takes away (Page, 2009).
77. Let’s start with the decades-old GE principle of reality, seeing the world the **way** it is, not the **way** we hope **it** will **be** or wish **it** to **be** (Welch, 2000).
78. Well, the difference, I think, in our approach this time is we’re going to test this **assumption**, and **when** the – **when** folks came in to review the situation with me, the **assumption** was that

- China has *limited influence* on the regime in Pyongyang, or they have a *limited* willingness to assert their *influence* (Tillerson, May 2017).
79. This “cult” had *one goal* and *one goal* only: *through* monuments and *through* other means to rewrite history, to hide the truth, which is that the Confederacy was on the wrong side of humanity (Landrieu, 2017).
 80. The *poorest children* in the *poorest* countries deserve is just as much as your *children*, or mine (Raikes, 2010).
 81. Scientists with access to data from Navy submarines traversing underneath the North polar *ice cap* have warned that there is now a 75 percent chance that within five years the entire *ice cap* will completely disappear during the summer months (Gore, December 14, 2007).
 82. Yet when we look at *all three of these* seemingly intractable *challenges* at the same time, we can see the common thread running through them, deeply ironic in its simplicity: our dangerous over-reliance on carbon-based fuels is at the core of *all three of these challenges* - the economic, environmental and national security crises (Gore, December 14, 2007).
 83. At 1 *percent growth*, renewable sources of energy can meet some of our domestic demand, but at 3 or 4 *percent growth*, which I expect, we need all forms of available *American* energy, or our country will be at grave risk of brownouts and blackouts, our businesses will come to a halt in many cases, and the *American* family will suffer the consequences in the form of lost jobs and a very diminished quality of life (Trump, 2017).
 84. The aim is not just to create a few more *strong schools* – it’s to make every *school strong* (Gates, 2010).
 85. And in some circumstances, if you condition our *national security* efforts on someone adopting our values, we probably can’t achieve our *national security* goals or our *national security* interests (Tillerson, May 2017).
 86. And our relationship has to be one of understanding that we have *security interests throughout* northeast Asia and *security interests throughout* the Pacific, and we need to work with them on how those are addressed (Tillerson, May 2017).
 87. And I think that’s – as you hear the President talk *about* it, that’s what he really speaks *about*, is: Look, things have gotten out of *balance*, and these are really important relationships to us and they’re really important alliances, but we’ve got to bring them back into *balance* (Tillerson, May 2017).
 88. For years we’ve been talking about *something* these winning *people* have, *something* we must help foster in all our *people* – the magic and indispensable ingredient of self-confidence (Welch, 2001).
 89. One of the great honors for me serving in this *department, the Department of State*, and all of you know, *the Department of State*, first cabinet created and chartered under the Constitution (Tillerson, May 2017).
 90. Our plan includes the following: 800 *million dollars* in urgent humanitarian assistance; 805 *million dollars* for drug detection technology to help secure our ports of entry; [...] (Trump, January 2019).
 91. I have *a story about* following *dreams*. Or maybe more accurately, it’s *a story about* finding a path to make those *dreams* real (Page, 2009).
 92. We have started in the last 20 years to deal with computers in *higher* and *higher levels of abstraction* but ultimately these *levels of abstraction* get translated down into these stupid instructions that run really fast (Jobs, 1983).
 93. There is a gigantic chasm between *the scale of* the emergency and *the scale of* the response (Hewson, 2006).
 94. You have tripled funding *for* the *global health* – *for global health* (Hewson, 2006).

95. *A lot of people* – and I’m sure this must drive you crazy – but *a lot of people* who’ve never been in front of a classroom think they could just walk in one day and teach a course (Gates, 2010).
96. Because the *best advice* isn’t always the *best advice* (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
97. We’ve moved from *one adult for every 14 students* to *one adult for every eight students* (Gates, 2010).
98. Meanwhile, the *war in* Iraq continues, and now the *war in* Afghanistan appears to be getting worse (Gore, December 14, 2007).
99. But remember, if you are in the South Bronx, the *surge* that you’re getting is *surge* that enters Long Island Sound from out around Montauk, and it takes about four hours to get down here. So the *surge* that you would *experience* there is much later than the *surge* that you’d *experience* if the water is coming up the East River and the Hudson River (Bloomberg, 2012).
100. My biological *mother* found out later that my *mother had never graduated from* college and that my father *had never graduated from* high school.
101. Some will seek to invoke *innovation and investment* as reasons not to adopt *open Internet* rules. But history’s lesson is clear: Ensuring a robust and *open Internet* is the best thing we can do to promote *innovation and investment* (Genachowski, 2009).
102. My job as President is to do everything within my power to give *America* a level playing field and to create the economic, regulatory and tax structures that make *America* the most prosperous and productive country on Earth, and with the *highest standard* of living and the *highest standard* of environmental protection (Trump, 2017).
103. You have undoubtedly read *about* the ongoing debate *about* “new *economy*” *companies* versus “old *economy*” *companies* and the advantages, or penalties, for being one or the other (Welch, 2000).
104. It is only *five years* old, yet in those *five years* GEFA employees, many of them new to GE, have warmly embraced the GE tradition of volunteerism in the community and have worked to improve life for people here in the city of Richmond (Welch, 2000).
105. And not only are we *committed* to building safe and reliable *autonomous vehicles*, we are also *committed* to the belief that *autonomous vehicles* will provide great benefits [...] (Barra, 2017).
106. At GM, the highest *priority* in our vehicle development process is always safety, and of course that *priority* extends to our development and testing of these autonomous vehicles (Barra, 2017).
107. This threatens not only their *economic future* but the *economic future* and competitiveness of the United States (Gates, October 2017).
108. In New York City, graduation rates of *students attending small schools* was more than 30 percentage points higher than the *schools* they replaced. And almost half of the *students attending small schools* enrolled in postsecondary education – a more than 20 percent difference from *schools* with similar demographics (Gates, October 2017).
109. We have everything we need to get started, save perhaps *political will*, but *political will* is a renewable resource (Gore, December 10, 2007).
110. Let me assure you that no authorities *of* my *church*, or *of* any other *church* for that matter, will ever exert influence on presidential decisions (Romney, 2007).
111. As I opened my car door and started thinking about getting home to my wife and our two daughters, it hit me: For as hard as I worked to be *compassionate* at the office, I was not always as *compassionate* with my family (Weiner, 2018).

112. As we begin this new decade, we will take a *fresh* look at everything with *fresh* thinking and *fresh* energy, and we will put more emphasis than ever on collaboration (Bloomberg, January 2010).
113. You sit here today a privileged few having received a *great* education from a *great* university (Burns, 2011).
114. This informality and the boundaryless behavior it produces has made GE a Learning Company – a high spirited, endlessly curious enterprise that roams the globe finding and nurturing the best people and cultivating in them an insatiable appetite to learn, to stretch, and to find *that better* idea, *that better* way every day (Welch, 2001).
115. Its rigorous process discipline and relentless customer focus has made it the *perfect* training ground, a *perfect* vehicle for the future leadership of GE (Welch, 2001).
116. Walls are not *immoral*. In fact, they are the opposite of *immoral* because they will save many lives and stop drugs from pouring into our country (Trump, January 2019).
117. A cynic would say the obvious reason for *economic* competitors and their wish to see us remain in the agreement is so that we continue to suffer this self-inflicted major *economic* wound (Trump, 2017).
118. In order to foster international cooperation, it is also essential that the United States rejoin the *global* community and lead efforts to secure an international treaty at Copenhagen in December of next year that includes a cap on CO2 emissions and a *global* partnership that recognizes the necessity of addressing the threats of extreme poverty and disease as part of the world's agenda for solving the climate crisis (Gore, December 14, 2007).
119. But what amazes me about most *great* teachers, is that in most cases nobody taught them how to be *great* (Gates, 2010).
120. In the last few months, it has been *harder* and *harder* to misinterpret the signs that our world is spinning out of kilter (Gore, December 10, 2007).
121. It is vital *that illegal – that illegal* conduct be curtailed on the Internet (Genachowski, 2009).
122. But in one of God's unforeseen paths, this belatedly broken impasse can point us all to a new common ground, for its very closeness can serve to remind us that we are one people with a *shared* history and a *shared* destiny (Gore, 2000).
123. This was *the closest* I've been to facing death, and I hope it's *the closest* I get for a few more decades (Jobs, 2005).
124. Our motto has always been "*she'll be right*" – but *she'll be right* mate only if we make it *right* (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
125. Before we discuss the Paris Accord, I'd like to begin with an update on our *tremendous* – absolutely *tremendous* – economic progress since Election Day on November 8th (Trump, 2017).
126. We were *too slow* to spot this and *too slow* to act (Sandberg, 2018).
127. And like any great relationship, it just gets *better* and *better* as the years roll on (Jobs, 2005).
128. I'll now return to *private* life *as a private* citizen, *as a proud* American, *proud* of the opportunity I've had to serve my country (Tillerson, 2018).
129. To remove any ambiguity from previous statements or reports by the State Department, the crime of genocide requires three elements: *specific* acts with *specific intent* to destroy in whole or in part *specific people* -- members of national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups; *specific* act, *specific intent*, *specific people* (Tillerson, August 2017).
130. The Bolt EV is now *available* at Chevrolet dealerships in 16 states, and will be *available* nationwide by September (Barra, 2017).

131. Because **good** intentions are not **good** enough – that’s still all about “me” (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
132. Because no **city** on earth has been **more** rewarded **by immigrant** labor, **more** renewed **by immigrant** ideas, **more** revitalized **by immigrant** culture, than the **City** of New York (Bloomberg, January 2010).
133. But without Facemash I wouldn’t have met Priscilla, and she’s the **most important** person in my life, so you could say it was the **most important** thing I built in my time here (Zuckerberg, 2017).
134. There will probably never be a **paperless** office, but young people are starting **paperless** homes (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
135. When I think, as we look to the next 50-100 years, if we really can come up with these machines that can capture an **underlying** spirit or an **underlying** set of principals or an **underlying** way of looking at the world.. then when the next Aristotle comes around... what if he carries one of these machines around with him his **whole life**. His or her **whole life** (Jobs, 1983).+EPIPHORA
136. Computers are **very adaptive**, it’s a **very adaptive** machine (Jobs, 1983).
137. So if you were here last night, and you heard about the brain and how it’s **very adaptive** computers are in the same way, **very very adaptive** (Jobs, 1983).
138. We can achieve both **great** Artificial Intelligence and **great** privacy standards (Cook, 2018).
139. It’s giving our readers **great** journalism and **great** judgment (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
140. And so engaging with **our allies** and ensuring that **our allies** and we see the situation the same – **our allies** in South Korea, **our allies** in Japan (Tillerson, May 2017).
141. **Everybody’s** helping **everybody** and working together, and that’s the way it should be (Bloomberg, 2012).
142. Saying **nothing** and doing **nothing** would impose its own form of unacceptable cost (Genachowski, 2009).
143. The heaviest winds will occur **this** afternoon, **this** evening (Bloomberg, 2012).
144. Regardless of how you decide to change the world, remember, **it’s** not just **about** the what, **it’s** also **about** the how (Weiner, 2018).
145. There is, however, **something** new and **something** very real that is changing the pace and scope of business as it has never been changed before (Welch, 2000).
146. Shortly after launching, Meg Garlinghouse, **our** head of social impact, and someone deeply committed to **our** vision and values, asked what effect the new feature would have on the most underserved segments of **our** membership – people who didn’t go to a four-year university, who don’t have the right relationships, but who do have the skills to excel in the role (Weiner, 2018).
147. As we tackle these complex questions involving different technologies used for Internet access, let me be clear that **we – we** will be focused on formulating policies that will maximize innovation and investment, consumer choice, and greater competition (Genachowski, 2009).
148. Over time, we realized that what made the most **successful** schools **successful** – large or small – was **their** teachers, **their** relationships with students, and **their** high expectations of student achievement (Gates, October 2017).
149. We are ready to offer **our** support, **our** funding, the energy and ideas of **our** staff, and the creativity and innovation that exist here in Africa to help Reinvent a Toilet [...] (Burwell, 2011).

150. The World Trade Center Site will forever hold a special place *in our* City, *in our* hearts (Bloomberg, August 2010).
151. Through it all, *you* care and *you* work, and *you* love, and *you* will always remember all of those great families (Trump, July 2019).
152. In the United States, *we* invest in education because *we* believe it is the key to opportunity. A good education paves the way for a *rewarding* career and a more *rewarding* life (Raikes, 2010).
153. We intend to make *our* share owners, *our* employees and ourselves prouder than ever to be associated with General Electric (Welch, 1981).
154. All these tribes spend too much time thinking about themselves, *their own* self-interests, and *their own* belief models (Weiner, 2018).
155. On that day, 3,000 people were killed because some murderous fanatics didn't want us to enjoy the freedoms to profess *our own* faiths, to speak *our own* minds, to follow *our own* dreams, and to *live our own lives* (Bloomberg, August 2010).+POLYPTOTON
156. The attack was an act of war, and *our* first responders defended not only *our* City but *our* country and *our* Constitution (Bloomberg, August 2010).
157. But we do need to be contemporary – and to comprehend the impact on *our* family and *our* society (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
158. Therefore, in order to fulfill my solemn duty to protect America and its citizens, the *United States* will withdraw from the *Paris Climate Accord* – *thank you, thank you* – but begin negotiations to reenter either the *Paris Accord* or a really entirely new transaction on terms that are fair to *the United States*, *its* businesses, *its* workers, *its* people, *its* taxpayers (Trump, 2017).
159. Our attacks on terrorism are greatly stepped up – and *you see* that, *you see* it all over – from the previous Administration, including getting many other countries to make major contributions to the fight against terror (Trump, 2017).
160. The rest of the world applauded when we signed the Paris Agreement – *they* went wild; *they* were so happy – for the simple reason that it put our country, the United States of America, which we all love, at a *very, very* big economic disadvantage (Trump, 2017).
161. But just as we *don't ban* automobiles *because* thieves use cars to flee a crime scene, and we *don't ban* phones *because some people* use them to make obscene calls, we are not going to give up the advantages other technologies offer just *because some people* abuse them (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
162. And when we deal with our trading partners – that things have *gotten a little* out of bounds here, they've *gotten a little* off *balance* – we've got to bring that back into *balance* because it's not serving the interests of the American people well (Tillerson, May 2017).
163. Suffice it to say, I couldn't *do* what I *do* without her (Weiner, 2018).
164. Today *we spend* 50x more treating people who are *sick* than *we spend* finding cures so people don't get *sick* in the first place (Zuckerberg, 2017).
165. In the Internet world, *we measure* new *things*, in some cases *things* we never even heard of a couple of years ago and *we measure* most of them daily (Welch, 2000).
166. I remember telling him I was excited to *connect* the Harvard community, but one day someone would *connect* the whole world (Zuckerberg, 2017).
167. The electric motor *was first invented* in the late 1800's and when it *was first invented* it was only possible to build a *very very* large one (Jobs, 1983).
168. The same processes you use to *solve problems* in your area of expertise can *solve* our schools' *problems* (Raikes, 2010).
169. If you can't *take care of it* or you simply don't want to *take care of it* for your own internal political reasons, we will (Tillerson, May 2017).

170. In other words, **you** can **do** more of what **you** want to **do** – and **you** can **do** it in less time and at less cost (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
171. She felt very strongly that I should be **adopted** by college graduates, so everything was all set for me to be **adopted** at birth by a lawyer and his wife – except that when I popped out they decided at the last minute that they really wanted a girl (Jobs, 2005).
172. Our **non-rolling** table **grew by** 18% over the prior year while our **non-rolling** win **grew by** 27% [...] (Adelson, 2018).
173. [...] that make clear to every user precisely what **they're sharing** and when **they are sharing** it (Cook, 2018).
174. The fact is **I believe in** this company and **I believe in** you (Barra, 2014).
175. **If you** see a problem that you **don't believe is being handled properly**, bring it to the attention of your supervisor. **If you** still **don't believe** it's **being handled properly**, contact me directly (Barra, 2014).
176. Others have been relieved because they simply **didn't** do enough: They **didn't** take responsibility; **didn't** act with any sense of urgency (Barra, 2014).
177. Papers may be **losing** money, **losing** circulation, and laying off people left and right (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
178. They will give teachers the freedom **you need to be** creative, the tools **you need to be** effective, the feedback **you need to** keep improving – and the rigor that our students **need to** become great learners (Gates, 2014).
179. Because that was before I went from life **being all about** “me”, to it **being all about** “us” (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
180. Graduates, one of the most common things we all do is **underestimate** ourselves, **underestimate** our capacity to make a difference to humanity (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
181. By nine... 86-87, pick a year, people are going to be spending more time **interacting with** these machines than they do **interacting with** their big automobile machines today (Jobs, 1983).
182. We hear that call in the ONE Campaign, a growing movement of more than two **million** Americans – five **million** by the next election, I promise you – united in the belief that where you **live** should no longer determine whether you **live** (Hewson, 2006).
183. She said: “We have **kids who fail**, and it’s not [just] the **kids who** think they’re going to **fail**.”
184. Just as Hull’s generation found moral authority **in rising to solve** the world **crisis** caused by fascism, so can we find our greatest opportunity **in – in rising to solve** the climate **crisis** (Gore, December 10, 2007).
185. Let me say how grateful I am to all those who **supported** me and **supported** the cause for which we have fought (Gore, 2000).
186. And then I got **fired**. How can you get **fired** from a company you started? (Jobs, 2005).
187. Forecasts are reasonably accurate this close to when we’re predicting something and it’s **going to be** very high winds, **going to be** a lot of road closures (Bloomberg, 2012).
188. Our whole nation prays and pays tribute to the incredible life and legacy of Detective Alvarez – **how** hard he worked and **how** much he suffered (Trump, July 2019).
189. The good news is, these problems can all be solved but only if we have the political courage to do **what is** just and **what is** right (Trump, January 2019).
190. And so we really have to understand, in **each** country or **each** region of the world that we’re dealing with, **what are our** national security **interests**, **what are our** economic prosperity **interests**, and then as we can advocate and advance our **values**, we should – but the policies can do this; the **values** never change (Tillerson, May 2017).

191. Now **when** we **close** a road, we **close** it **when** the **water** comes up, and if the **water** recedes, for example as you go from a high-tide to a low-tide period, we would reopen that (Bloomberg, 2012).
192. Rogue actors and even governments have taken advantage of user trust to deepen divisions, incite violence, and even undermine our shared sense of **what is** true and **what is** false (Cook, 2018).
193. Otherwise, we will continue to pay a price **with** discord, **with** division, and yeah, violence (Landrieu, 2017).
194. So obviously, close coordination **with** the Department of Defense, **with** our intelligence agencies, and importantly our allies in the region, **because** we want them to always know what we're doing, **because** we're going to need their support as well (Tillerson, May 2017).
195. The good news here is that we already made big changes to our platform in 2014 that would have prevented this specific situation **from** – with Cambridge Analytica **from** occurring again today (Zuckerberg, 2018).
196. We acknowledge the growing concern people have of the power held **by** – **by** companies like Twitter (Dorsey, 2018).
197. I learned about serif and sans-serif typefaces, **about** varying the amount of space between different letter combinations, **about** what makes **great** typography **great** (Jobs, 2005).
198. [...] which has very big implications for those areas **to the west of us** and **to the north of us** (Bloomberg, 2012).
199. And **the more** I've gotten to know John, **the more** my admiration for him has grown (Whitman, 2008).
200. And I'm especially proud and inspired by all the women who have felt strong **enough** and empowered **enough** to speak up and share their personal stories (Winfrey, 2018).
201. And tomorrow, we will dump a slightly larger amount, with the cumulative concentrations now trapping **more** and **more** heat from the sun (Gore, December 10, 2007).
202. You just can't demand that of us, we can't move that **quickly**, we can't adapt that **quickly**, okay? (Tillerson, May 2017).
203. There are many voices in this debate, but none are **more** important or **more** trusted than yours.
204. All of you should feel **very, very** proud (Burns, 2011).
205. But it was **very, very** clear looking backwards 10 years later (Jobs, 2005).
206. And the ones that didn't miss it could only see it as divine retribution for bad behavior – **even** on children, **even** if the fastest growing group of HIV infections were married, faithful women (Hewson, 2006).
207. We were all sat around a big table – the 25 new residents – and as we went around, everyone introducing themselves, I sank **further** and **further** into my seat (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).
208. Throughout the campus **every** poster, **every** label on **every** drawer, was beautifully hand calligraphed (Jobs, 2005).
209. And I've tried **many, many, many** times to explain what a moment like that means to a little girl, a kid watching from the cheap seats as my mom came through the door bone tired from cleaning other people's houses (Winfrey, 2018).
210. Over the decades, **many** Presidents and **many** lawmakers have come and gone, and no real progress has been made on immigration (Trump, January 2019).
211. **In some** places and **in some** ways, small schools worked (Gates, October 2017).
212. We are **one** team and **one** people, proudly saluting **one** great American flag (Trump, January 2019).

213. India makes its participation contingent on receiving *billions and billions and billions* of dollars in foreign aid from developed countries (Trump, 2017).

POLYPTOTON

1. Remember how you *get* things *done* is just as important as *getting* them *done* (Barra, 2014). + PLOCHE
2. If you are in one of these 26 affected developments, the City is *running buses* for the next hour or so but that's going to stop because it just becomes too dangerous *to run the buses* (Bloomberg, 2012).+PLOCHE
3. We'll *deliver earnings* growth at a time when many are *delivering earnings* warnings (Welch, 2001).+PLOCHE
4. You said: "We do not want others *to drive the decisions* that affect the future of our profession." So now, you are *driving the decisions* to improve teaching. You are *driving the* changes that will accelerate student gains (Gates, 2010).+PLOCHE
5. Users should always know what data *is being collected* and what it *is being collected* for. This is the only way to empower users to decide what *collection* is legitimate and what isn't (Cook, 2018).+PLOCHE
6. All we hold dear is *created* by throwing *everything* in the pot – *creating, producing* something better; *everything, everything* a *product* of our historic diversity (Landrieu, 2017).+PLOCHE
7. Technology is capable of *doing great things*. But it doesn't want *to do great things* (Cook, 2018).+PLOCHE
8. Graduates, as you *think about* what comes next, move your *thoughts* from *thinking about* "me" to *thinking about* "us" (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).+PLOCHE
9. We had lots of *frustrating* and – *frustrated* – *frustrating* and heated debates (Dorsey, 2018).+PLOCHE
10. This freedom results not in the elimination of *planning*, but in people *planning* for themselves (Koch, 1994).
11. As you know, we also backed the Common Core because we *believed*, and still *believe*, that all students – no matter where they go to *school* – should graduate with the skills and knowledge to succeed after high *school* (Gates, October 2017).+PLOCHE
12. Decisions about *what works* and *what* doesn't *work* should include the people who do the *work* (Gates, 2010).+PLOCHE
13. The most important *skill* you will need in your careers is the ability to acquire new *skills* (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
14. All the great, product *designers* are off *designing* automobiles or off *designing* buildings but hardly any of them are *designing* computers (Jobs, 1983). +PLOCHE
15. We've been visiting *schools* like Southside in other cities of *GE* for years and seen thousands going to college who never would have been able, because of *GE* mentoring and *GE scholarships* (Welch, 2001). +PLOCHE
16. And instead of *commissioning stories* that will gain them readers, some editors *commission stories* whose sole purpose is the quest for a prize (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).+PLOCHE
17. A *great mayor* of the city of New York – our *greatest mayor*, in my opinion (Trump, July 2019).+PLOCHE
18. *Americans* do not *respect respecters* – excuse me – *believers* of convenience. *Americans* tire of those who would jettison their *beliefs*, even to gain the world (Romney, 2007). + ANAPHORA
19. But for those of us, including GE, who are capturing *it*, are energized by *it* and see *it* as the *greatest* opportunity in our history, the excitement is like nothing we've ever experienced and the rewards promise to be *greater* than we can imagine (Welch, 2000). +EPIPHORA

20. Central to this effort would be designing *policies* that require business to profit only by the economic *means of wealth* creation, not by the *political means of wealth* redistribution (Koch, 1994).+PLOCHE
21. So a lot of *work* ahead of us on the Russia engagement – *work* some small things, can we *work* one big thing together (Tillerson, May 2017).
22. GE has evolved from a *product company* to a services *company* that also makes great *products* (Welch, 2001).+PLOCHE
23. You can *connect* the dots between countries throughout the central *part of Africa* and northern *part of Africa* where the terrorist networks are *connected* (Tillerson, May 2017).+PLOCHE
24. Preventing the *poorest* of the *poor* from selling their products while we sing the virtues of the free market, *that's not charity: That's a justice issue*. Holding children to ransom for the debts of their grandparents, *that's not charity: That's a justice issue*. Withholding life-saving medicines out of deference to the Office of Patents, well *that's not charity*. To me, *that's a justice issue* (Hewson, 2006).+EPIPHORA
25. Now I'd like to move from these *timely* initiatives to our *timeless values*, *values* that bind us together and make this company work unlike any institution in the world (Welch, 2001).+ANADIPLSIS
26. *Big, big contributions* are being made by countries that weren't doing so much in the form of *contribution* (Trump, 2017). +PLOCHE
27. We warn people *who* have *shared them* or *who* are about to *share them* (Sandberg, 2018) + PLOCHE
28. We started *knocking on doors* of residents in the affected developments Friday and Saturday. *We have knocked on every door* in the affected developments (Bloomberg, 2012).
29. *Somebody* is doing *something* today at Berkshire that you and I would be unhappy about if we knew of it (Buffett, 2006).
30. However, there actually is one extremely effective *way* to bring the costs of driving a car *way* down within a few short years (Gore, December 14, 2007).
31. The distinguished scientists with whom it is the greatest honor of my life to share this award have laid before us a *choice* between two different futures – a *choice* that to my ears echoes the words of an ancient prophet: "*Life* or death, blessings or curses. Therefore, *choose life*, that both thou and thy seed may *live*." (Gore, December 10, 2007).
32. Its problems, moreover, have been *leaking* into the general economy, and the *leaks* are now turning into a gusher (Warren, 2008).
33. It's not enough to just *connect* people: We have to make sure that those *connections* are positive (Zuckerberg, 2018).
34. I'm sure one of your *gifts* is the *gift* of a smart and capable brain (Bezos, 2010).
35. Today, with the Internet, information is available *everywhere* to *everyone*, and a company that isn't searching for the best *idea*, isn't open to *ideas* from anywhere, will find itself left behind with its survival at stake (Welch, 2000).
36. They are your roots, but you have also been given wings — the ability to dare to *dream* the impossible and then make that *dream* a reality (Burns, 2011).
37. Every day, we work to infuse the devices we *make* with the humanity that *makes* us (Cook, 2018).
38. Fortunately, this year, you've shown the world that good *policy* and *political* will can come together to protect the rights of everyone (Cook, 2018).
39. So, when I think about the kind of *life* I imagined myself *living* back then there is no way it would have resembled any part of my *life* as it has been (Desmond-Hellmann, 2018).

40. In a few places, we also will **support** pilots of scalable professional development **supports** anchored in high quality curriculum (Gates, October 2017).
41. While broadband Internet alone won't provide a complete **solution** to any of those problems, it can and must play a critical role in **solving** each one (Genachowski, 2009).
42. The sixth **principle** is a **transparency principle** – stating that providers of Internet access must be **transparent** about their network management practices (Genachowski, 2009).
43. The fifth principle is one of **non-discrimination** – stating that broadband providers cannot **discriminate** against particular Internet content or applications (Genachowski, 2009).
44. In fact, we must **move first**, because that is the key to getting others to follow; and because **moving first** is in our own national interest (Gore, December 14, 2007).
45. It's worth **fighting** for and that's a **fight** I'll never stop (Gore, 2000).
46. I've tried to make it my **guide** throughout this contest, as it has **guided** America's deliberations of all the complex issues of the past five weeks (Gore, 2000).
47. I want to suggest to you today that you see the flow of effective foreign assistance as **tithing**; which, to be truly meaningful, will mean an additional one percent of the federal budget **tithed** to the poor (Hewson, 2006).
48. We can move the electrons around **differently** to **different** places (Jobs, 1983).
49. You will **feel** a lot of the same **feelings** you **felt** when you were watching that 20 years ago (Jobs, 1983).
50. It took us about 4 years before we **started breaking out** of that. And we're just **starting to break out** of it now (Jobs, 1983).
51. Another way of putting this is that the new technology allowed textile **producers** to be more **productive** (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
52. And the luddites didn't just **threaten**. They backed up their **threats** with physical attacks (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
53. Yet even the beneficiaries worry that technology is more **controlling** than **controlled** (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
54. Amid these many diverse and competing voices, readers **want** what they've always **wanted**: a source they can trust (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
55. The journal has the advantage of having a very loyal **readership**, a brand known for quality and editors who take the **readers** and their interest seriously (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
56. Its newsroom was a **noisy** place. But it was **noise** with purpose (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).
57. Whether you're a career employee or a political appointee, we are all bound by that **common commitment** to support and defend the Constitution, to bear true **faith** and allegiance to the same, and to **faithfully** discharge the duties of our office (Tillerson, 2018).
58. The State Department will continue to advocate on behalf of those seeking to **live** their **lives** according to their faith (Tillerson, August 2017).
59. Application of the law to the facts at hand leads to the conclusion ISIS is clearly responsible for genocide against Yezidis, Christians, and Shia Muslims in areas it **controls** or has **controlled** (Tillerson, August 2017).
60. But as you've heard me say, we are not going to **negotiate** our way to the **negotiating** table (Tillerson, May 2017).
61. We'll **sanction** them through third-country **sanctions** (Tillerson, May 2017).
62. So I appreciate your **participating** openly in this listening exercise, but importantly, I want to condition you to be ready to **participate** in the next phase, because that's when it'll become more challenging (Tillerson, May 2017).
63. It was a beautiful ceremony and a moving reminder of our **nation's** proud history of welcoming legal immigrants from all over the world into our **national** family (Trump, January 2019).

64. As a candidate for President, I *promised* I would fix this crisis, and I intend to keep that *promise* one way or the other (Trump, January 2019).
65. We have among the most abundant energy reserves on the planet, sufficient to lift millions of America's *poorest* workers out of *poverty* (Trump, 2017).
66. Empathy is *feeling* what another living thing *feels* (Weiner, 2018).
67. Our *performance* has been rewarded, our stock *outperformed* the S&P in 2000 and also in the first four months of this year (Welch, 2001).
68. The second management concept that has guided us for the better part of two decades is a belief that an organization's ability to *learn*, to transfer that *learning* across its components, and to act on it quickly is its ultimate, sustainable competitive advantage (Welch, 2000).
69. They are *working* in factories and they *work* in restaurants and they're in academia, in engineering, in medicine, in science (Winfrey, 2018).
70. It goes: "May the source of strength, who *blessed* the ones before us, help us find the courage to make our lives a *blessing*." (Zuckerberg, 2017).

SYMPLOCE

1. *One percent* is the girl in Africa who gets to go to school, *thanks to you*. *One percent* is the AIDS patient who gets her medicine, *thanks to you*. *One percent* is the African entrepreneur who can start a small family business, *thanks to you* (Hewson, 2006).
2. *When churches* start demonstrating on debt, *governments listened – and acted*. *When churches* started organizing, petitioning, and even that most unholy of acts today, God forbid, lobbying on AIDS and global health, *governments listened – and acted* (Hewson, 2006).
3. *It's not* a Republican *idea*. *It's not* a Democratic *idea*. *It's not* even, with all due respect, an American *idea*; nor it is unique to any one faith (Hewson, 2006).
4. *Computer programming does* something a little different. What *computer programming does*, is it captures *the underlying principles of an experience*. Not the experience its self but *the underlying principals of the experience* (Jobs, 1983).
5. *They do change*. *They should change* (Tillerson, May 2017).
6. Under the old standards, *if you were from* Kentucky, you didn't have to know the quadratic formula, *but your neighbors in* Tennessee *did*. *If you were from* Maryland, you didn't have to learn trigonometry, *but your neighbors in* Virginia *did* (Gates, 2014).
7. *Our* system of government is still *the envy of the world*. *Our* universities at their best are also *the envy of the world* (Burns, 2011).
8. They're going to be *these objects*, *these* new *objects* that are *going to be in everyone's* working *environment*. *And is going to be in everyone's* educational *environment*. *And is going to be in everyone's* home *environment* (Jobs, 1983).+PLOCHE
9. *When the presses* began to run, everyone in the building felt the *rumble*. And *when the presses* were late, the journalists felt me *rumble* (Murdoch, November 16, 2008).

RHYME:

1. A person should not be *elected* because of his faith nor should he be *rejected* because of his faith (Romney, 2007).
2. If we are successful in this effort, then we can start the *border broader* project of remaking our immigration system for the 21st century (Trump, January 2019).
3. It's a vicious cycle: We don't spend enough time thinking about other *tribes*, which *drives* us even further apart (Weiner, 2018).
4. As the American poet Robert Frost wrote, "Some say the world will end in fire; some say in *ice*." Either, he notes, "would *suffice*." (Gore, December 10, 2007).

5. And for that cherished outcome, we need teachers who *inspire* – not those who *conspire* to thwart change (Murdoch, 2008).
6. Given the realities of modern technology, this very radio address can be *sliced* and digitally *diced* (Murdoch, 2008).
7. *Self-pity* is never *pretty* (Murdoch, 2008).
8. Our whole nation *prays* and *pays* tribute to the incredible life and legacy of Detective Alvarez [...] (Trump, July 2019).
9. We'll deliver earnings growth at a time when many are delivering *earnings warnings* (Welch, 2001).

SYNECDOCHE:

1. She also believed in *America* (Whitman, 2008).
2. And so, from an early age, I was an optimist about *America* (Whitman, 2008).
3. *America* is a nation fueled by freedom, with an abiding sense of justice and fairness, guided by the spirit that we should all have the opportunity to achieve our greatest dreams (Whitman, 2008).
4. And I am a Republican because our party understands that *America's* success – the success of her people – comes not from the size of its government, but from the character of its citizens ... the strength of its communities ... and the nobility and truth of its ideals (Whitman, 2008).
5. *America* faces enormous challenges abroad – but we also face great challenges here at home (Whitman, 2008).
6. My job as President is to do everything within my power to give *America* a level playing field and to create the economic, regulatory and tax structures that make *America* the most prosperous and productive country on Earth, and with the highest standard of living and the highest standard of environmental protection (Trump, 2017).
7. *America* has always confronted attacks from determined, well-funded opponents who want to undermine our democracy (Sandberg, 2018).
8. It's a moving reminder that when *America* has faced challenge and peril, *Americans* rise to the *occasion*, willing to risk their very lives to defend freedom and preserve our nation (Romney, 2007).
9. *America* took nothing from that century's terrible wars – no land from Germany or Japan or Korea; no treasure; no oath of fealty (Romney, 2007).
10. *America* must never falter in holding high the banner of freedom (Romney, 2007).
11. For *America* [and] New Orleans, it has been a long and winding road, marked by tragedy and triumph (Landrieu, 2017).
12. After 9/11, we were told *America* would have no time for the world's poor. We were told *America* would be taken up with its own problems of safety (Hewson, 2006).
13. And it's true these are dangerous times, but *America* has not drawn the blinds and double-locked the doors (Hewson, 2006).
14. *America* gives less than one percent now (Hewson, 2006).
15. We're trying to get *America's kids* ready for life in a global knowledge-based economy (Gates, 2014).
16. I believe these reforms can make a huge difference for students – as long as you keep pushing – and bring *all America's* teachers along with you (Gates, 2010).
17. And I say to our fellow members of the world community, let no one see this contest as a sign of *American weakness*. The *strength of American democracy* is shown most clearly through the difficulties it can overcome (Gore, 2010).

18. In fact, many loving mothers give their young daughters birth control pills for the long journey up to *the United States* because they know they may be raped, or sexually accosted, or assaulted (Trump, January 2019).
19. Additionally, *the United States* continues to advocate for the release of Pastor Andrew Brunson, who has been wrongfully imprisoned in Turkey (Tillerson, August 2017).
20. The lack of border control provides a gateway [...] for criminals and gang members to enter *the United States* [...] (Trump, January 2019).
21. Therefore, in order to fulfill my solemn duty to protect America and its citizens, the *United States* will withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord – thank you, thank you – but begin negotiations to reenter either the Paris Accord or a really entirely new transaction on terms that are fair to the United States, its businesses, its workers, its people, its taxpayers (Trump, 2017).
22. In order to foster international cooperation, it is also essential that *the United States* rejoin the global community and lead efforts to secure an international treaty at Copenhagen [...] (Gore, December 14, 2007).
23. It is a great error to say that *the United States* must wait for others to join us in this matter (Gore, December 14, 2007).
24. If all the youths of America were as fortunate in securing an education as we have been, then the *future of the United States would be* even more bright than it is today.” (Page, 2009).
25. *The United States* has been struggling for decades to improve our public schools (Gates, 2010).
26. Thus, as of today, *the United States* will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country (Trump, 2017).
27. The *states* designed the standards [...] (Gates, 2014).
28. Progress is faster in some places than others, and the *states* that are doing implementation well are following a few key principles (Gates, 2014).
29. And the *state* has created a marketplace of preferred professional development service providers to help schools implement these curricula effectively (Gates, October 2017).
30. So, the *district created* individualized college information packets for every senior who met the state’s college requirements (Gates, October 2017).
31. Drugs kill 78,000 *Americans* a year and cost our society in excess of 700 billion dollars (Trump, January 2019).
32. Heroin alone kills 300 *Americans* a week, 90 percent of which comes across our southern border (Trump, January 2019).
33. It’s an obligation which is fulfilled by *Americans* every day, here and across the globe, without regard to creed or race or nationality (Romney, 2007).
34. All *Americans*, whether first generation or tenth generation, are bound together in love and loyalty, friendship and affection (Trump, January 2019).
35. In the wake of the September 11th attacks, courageous *Americans* raced into smoke, fire, and debris in lower Manhattan, the Pentagon, and a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania (Trump, July 2019).
36. We will continue to work together as communities and as citizens to stop evil, prevent violence, and protect the safety of all *Americans* (Trump, July 2019).
37. *Americans* tire of those who would jettison their beliefs, even to gain the world (Romney, 2007).
38. *Americans* were unable to accommodate their commitment to their own faith with an appreciation for the convictions of others to different faiths (Romney, 2007).
39. [...] developing a National Broadband Plan to ensure that every *American* has access to open and robust broadband (Genachowski, 2009).

40. It represents a challenge *to all Americans* – in every walk of life: to our political leaders, entrepreneurs, innovators, engineers, and to every citizen (Gore, December 14, 2007).
41. Now the political struggle is over and we turn again to the unending struggle for the common good of *all Americans* and for those multitudes around the world who look to us for leadership in the cause of freedom (Gore, 2010).
42. [...] I never dreamed I'd have the honor of speaking to my fellow *Americans* at such a critical moment in our nation's history (Whitman, 2008).
43. Make no mistake – *Americans* today face tough challenges (Whitman, 2008).
44. [...] *Americans* who believe that politicians are out of touch and out of ideas (Whitman, 2008).
45. In my meetings at the G7, we have taken historic steps to demand fair and reciprocal trade that gives *Americans* a level playing field against other nations (Trump, 2017).
46. *Today's generations of Americans* have always known religious liberty (Romney, 2007).
47. At an absolute minimum, that means that *every Australian* ought to leave *secondary school* with a basic mastery of reading, writing, and arithmetic (Murdoch, 2008).
48. Let us not forget that *Muslims* were among those murdered on 9/11 and that our *Muslim neighbors* grieved with us as *New Yorkers* – and as *Americans*. We would betray our values and play into our enemies' hands if we were to treat *Muslims* differently than anyone else (Bloomberg, 2010).
49. These *radical Islamists* do their preaching not by reason or example, but in the coercion of minds and the shedding of blood (Romney, 2007).
50. There are *many voices in this debate*, but none are more important or more trusted than yours (Gates, 2014).
51. The best response to these claims *is the voice* of an experienced teacher talking to a concerned parent (Gates, 2014).
52. Some of the *voices we hear are the defenders* of the status quo – the ones with a vested interest in perpetuating the current system, no matter how high a price the rest of us will have to pay (Gore, December 14, 2007).
53. Shortly after launching our *head of social impact*, and someone deeply committed to our vision and values, [...] (Weiner, 2018).
54. *Heads of state* should meet early next year to review what was accomplished in Bali and take personal responsibility for addressing this crisis (Gore, December 10, 2007).
55. It is not unreasonable to ask, given the gravity of our circumstances, that these *heads of state* meet every three months until this treaty is completed (Gore, December 10, 2007).
56. Having hired people like that and watched them flourish, it's become clear they don't need handouts, they just need *a hand*; like all of us have needed at some point in our careers (Weiner, 2018).
57. We can all make time to give someone *a hand* (Zuckerberg, 2017).
58. In school districts and legislatures across the country, you in the AFT have been using your *voice* to get teachers the feedback and training they need to make a difference for students (Gates, 2010).
59. Our *men in uniform* are like the college football players (Rockefeller, 1917).
60. I confidently believe that the American people will stand solidly behind the *men in uniform*, and that they will regard it a privilege to contribute to the limit (Rockefeller, 1917).
61. To the *men and women in uniform*, I'm told for the first time in most people's memory the Department of State and Department of Defense have a close working relationship – where we all agree the U.S. leadership starts with diplomacy (Tillerson, 2018).

62. And I said, then our partners over at the Department of Defense, the *men and women in uniform*, because it's really the State Department and the Defense Department that deliver our national security (Tillerson, May 2017).
63. If you discuss the future with *newspapermen*, you will find that too many think that our business is only physical newspapers (Murdoch, 2008).
64. I said the *men and women of the State Department* inspire me, my colleagues – their professionalism, their commitment, their patriotism (Tillerson, May 2017).
65. *We, the human species*, are confronting a planetary emergency – a threat to the survival of our *civilization* that is gathering ominous and destructive potential even as we gather here (Gore, December 10, 2007).
66. *We humans* – plodding as we are – will astonish ourselves (Bezos, 2010).
67. It's human nature to gravitate towards *people that look and sound like we do* (Weiner, 2018).
68. He said: '*Everybody in my school* is complaining about the lack of curriculum ... now we have to jump all over the place and find extra materials to make things deeper and richer.' (Gates, 2014).
69. The innovators who will devise a new way to harness the sun's energy *for pennies* or invent an engine that's carbon negative may live in Lagos or Mumbai or Montevideo (Gore, December 10, 2007).
70. And then there are the couples whose marriages are in turmoil because the executive sleeps with a buzzing *Blackberry* by the bedside – and compulsively answers email at the breakfast table (Murdoch, 2008).
71. It is wonderful that most people don't need to carry a *heavy blunt object for protection* anymore (Page, 2009).
72. Chairman Burr, I want to thank you for your leadership. Vice Chairman Warner, I want to thank you for your *white paper* which has so many ideas on how we can work together to strengthen our defense (Sandberg, 2018).
73. At a time when new printing technology was making other *papers* around the world more efficient, newspapers in Britain were forced to rely on a technology that had not changed much since Gutenberg's Bible (Murdoch, 2008).
74. Of the *ten largest papers* in the United States, the journal is the only one to have grown its paid subscriptions last year (Murdoch, 2008).
75. When I took over the *News*, *The Adelaide Advertiser* was the dominant *paper* in town (Murdoch, 2008).
76. By taking their audience for granted and allowing themselves to become as institutionalised as any government or company they write about, these journalists are threatening their own *papers* (Murdoch, 2008).
77. They certainly are one reason why, just two months ago, *Fortune Magazine* named GE "America's Most Admired Company" for the third year in a row (Welch, 2000).
78. As the *Wall Street Journal* wrote this morning: "The reality is that withdrawing is in America's economic interest and won't matter much to the climate." (Trump, 2017).
79. Back in 1992, Bill Gates talked about this in an interview with *Forbes magazine* (Murdoch, 2008).
80. Our goal is to be a major worldwide producer of automation systems in the eighties . . . and Calma and Intersil, coupled with our own internal developments, will enable General Electric to become what *one newspaper called us*, "a world supermarket of automation for the reindustrialization of America." (Welch, 1981).
81. And together, let us pray that *this land* may always be blessed, "with freedom's holy light." (Romney, 2007).

82. God bless this **great land**, The United States of America (Romney, 2007).
83. In our **blessed land**, we come to the table of democracy as equals (Landrieu, 2017).
84. And further, they discovered the essential connection between the survival of a **free land** and the protection of religious freedom (Romney, 2007).
85. That's why I'm so **grateful to this place** (Zuckerberg, 2017).
86. In such a world, we can be deeply thankful that we **live in a land** where reason and religion are friends and allies in the cause of liberty, joined against the evils and dangers of the day (Romney, 2007).
87. [...] nothing to remember this long chapter of our lives of the pain, of sacrifice, of shame – all of it happening on the **soil of New Orleans** (Landrieu, 2017).
88. In Turkey, **authorities continued to limit** the human rights of members of some religious minority groups, and **some communities continue to experience** protracted property disputes (Tillerson, August 2017).
89. Let me assure you that no **authorities** of my church, or of any other church for that matter, will ever **exert influence** on presidential decisions (Romney, 2007).
90. In John Adams' words: "We have no **government armed with power** capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion." (Romney, 2007).
91. And now we're **working with governments** in the U.S., the UK, and around the world to do a full audit of what they've done, and to make sure they get rid of any data they may still have (Zuckerberg, 2018).
92. But Republicans understand that **government does not create** wealth or prosperity – individuals do (Whitman, 2008).
93. Once the **government** is open and we have made a down payment on border security, and immigration reform starts to happen [...] (Trump, January 2019).
94. As president, John McCain will be guided by the simple beliefs that having worked long hours to earn your money, you should keep more of it; and that **government shouldn't spend** more than it takes in (Whitman, 2008).
95. When most of us hear that the **government is going to set** a new standard, the first thing we think is – 'this is going to get in my way.' (Gates, 2014).
96. Am I the only one who finds it strange that our **government so often adopts a so-called solution** that has absolutely nothing to do with the problem it is supposed to address? (Gore, December 14, 2007).
97. So fierce were these attacks, the **British government made** the destruction of machinery a capital crime. **And it sent in** thousands of British troops to put down the workers' rebellion (Murdoch, 2008).
98. **Governments worry about** people having access to information they no longer control (Murdoch, 2008).
99. We don't have access to the intelligence **government[s] have access to**, so we don't always know exactly who is behind these attacks, or their motives (Sandberg, 2018).
100. And we're troubled at home by **government overspending**, overuse of foreign oil, and the breakdown of the family (Romney, 2007).
101. In China, the **government tortures, detains, and imprisons** thousands for practicing their religious beliefs (Tillerson, August 2017).
102. The **government marginalizes** Ahmadiyya Muslims, and refuses to recognize them as Muslim (Tillerson, August 2017).
103. We encourage the **Government of Sudan to engage concretely** on the religious freedom action plan provided by the Department last year (Tillerson, August 2017).

104. Finally, in Sudan the **government arrests, detains, and intimidates clergy and church** members. It **denies permits** for the construction of new churches and is closing or demolishing existing ones (Tillerson, August 2017).
105. **The government does not recognize** the right of non-Muslims to practice their religion in public and applied criminal penalties, including prison sentences, lashings, and fines, for apostasy, atheism, blasphemy, and insulting the state's interpretation of Islam (Tillerson, August 2017).
106. In the past few years, **Australian governments have made some strides** in this direction (Murdoch, 2008).
107. And in Bahrain, the **government continued to question, detain, and arrest** Shia clerics, community members, and opposition politicians (Tillerson, August 2017).
108. And the **Governor's Office and my office** have **talked** today (Bloomberg, 2012).
109. Our new **Corporate Executive Office is having this experience**, and we naturally have many objectives that, with the help of our great organization, we want to achieve (Welch, 1981).
110. I had just launched this prank website Facemash, and the **ad board wanted to** "see me" (Zuckerberg, 2017).
111. The **Boards said – we'll talk to you about anything to do with salaries or working conditions; but we won't talk to you** about anything that's good for children, because you're not elected to represent the children (Gates, 2010).
112. He thought that the **Boards of Education would resist salary increases**, but would be open to teachers' ideas about ways to benefit both teachers and students (Gates, 2010).
113. More recently, **ISIS has claimed responsibility** for attacks on Christian pilgrims and churches in Egypt (Tillerson, August 2017).
114. Application of the law to the facts at hand leads to the conclusion **ISIS is clearly responsible** for genocide against Yezidis, Christians, and Shia Muslims in areas it controls or has controlled (Tillerson, August 2017).
115. Surely we are far enough removed from this dark time to acknowledge that the **cause of the Confederacy was wrong** (Landrieu, 2017).
116. The **Confederacy was on the wrong side** of history and humanity (Landrieu, 2017).
117. This "cult" had one goal and one goal only: through monuments and through other means to rewrite history, to hide the truth, which is that the **Confederacy was on the wrong side of humanity** (Landrieu, 2017).
118. The rulemaking process will enable the **Commission to analyze** fully the implications of the principles for our mobile network architectures and practices [...] (Genachowski, 2009).
119. This approach, within the framework I am proposing today, will allow the **Commission to make reasoned, fact-based determinations based on the Internet before** it, not based on the Internet of years past or guesses about how the Internet will evolve (Genachowski, 2009).
120. But the **Congress may be poised to move** in that direction anyway [...] (Gore, December 14, 2007).
121. They will push **Congress** to reduce business taxes, so that **entrepreneurs and especially small business have the money they need to expand and create jobs** (Whitman, 2008).
122. However, the whole concept of having lengthy trials for anyone who sets one foot in our country unlawfully must be changed by **Congress** (Trump, January 2019).
123. We look forward to **working with Congress, and the Administration**, to continue **America's indispensable role** as a champion of religious freedom the world over (Tillerson, August 2017).

124. You may have heard about some of the things the ***Obama Administration is doing to encourage*** innovation in education (Raikes, 2010).
125. In its first 100 days, a ***McCain administration will put this nation*** on a path toward energy independence (Whitman, 2008).
126. According to this same study, by 2040, compliance with the commitments ***put into place by the previous Administration*** would cut production for the following sectors: paper down 12 percent; [...] (Trump, 2017).
127. The ***City Human Resources Administration*** has opened all its facilities located outside Zone A (Bloomberg, 2012).
128. We have adopted bold education reforms that ***President Obama's Administration*** has hailed as a national model (Bloomberg, January 2010).
129. The ***Trump Administration has committed to addressing*** these conditions in part by advancing international religious freedom around the world (Tillerson, August 2017).
130. The protection of these groups – and others subject to violent extremism – is a ***human rights priority for the Trump Administration*** (Tillerson, August 2017).
131. So as all of you clearly understand, when we came in to the State Department, the ***administration came in, was sworn in, immediately confronted*** with a serious situation in North Korea (Tillerson, May 2017).
132. And that is why I'm grateful for the ***work this committee is doing*** (Sandberg, 2018).
133. We're ***millennials*** (Zuckerberg, 2017).
134. In a survey asking ***millennials*** around the world what defines our identity, the most popular answer wasn't nationality, religion or ethnicity, it was "citizen of the world" (Zuckerberg, 2017).
135. ***Millennials*** are already one of the most charitable generations in history. In one year, three of four US ***millennials*** made a donation and seven out of ten raised money for charity (Zuckerberg, 2017).
136. ***The challenge for our generation*** is creating a world where everyone has a sense of purpose (Zuckerberg, 2017).
137. ***Previous generations fought*** for the vote and civil rights (Zuckerberg, 2017).
138. I felt that I had ***let the previous generation of entrepreneurs down*** – that I had dropped the baton as it was being passed to me (Jobs, 2005).
139. And when ***our generation*** says "everyone," we mean everyone in the world (Zuckerberg, 2017).
140. ***Our generation will have to deal*** with tens of millions of jobs replaced by automation like self-driving cars and trucks (Zuckerberg, 2017).
141. We get that our greatest opportunities are now global—we can be the ***generation that ends*** poverty, that ends disease (Zuckerberg, 2017).
142. All of us, we know, want to leave this place as a better place for the ***next generation*** (Tillerson, 2018).
143. Mr. President, ***your generation rose to the occasion***, first to defeat Fascism and then to ***vanquish*** the Soviet Union. [...]. It's why we call yours "The ***Greatest Generation***." It's now ***my generation's turn***. How we respond to today's challenges will define ***our generation*** (Romney, 2007).
144. ***Every generation expands*** its definition of equality (Zuckerberg, 2017).
145. ***Every generation expands*** the circle of people we consider "one of us." (Zuckerberg, 2017).

146. ***The generation that defeated*** fascism throughout the world in the 1940s found, in rising to meet their awesome challenge, that they had gained the moral authority and long-term vision [...] (Gore, December 10, 2007).
147. Make no mistake, the ***next generation will ask us*** one of two questions (Gore, December 10, 2007).
148. The great Norwegian playwright, Henrik Ibsen, wrote, “One of these days, the ***younger generation will come knocking*** at my door.” (Gore, December 10, 2007).
149. Just as ***Hull’s generation*** found moral authority in rising to solve the world crisis caused by fascism, so can we find our greatest opportunity in – in rising to solve the climate crisis (Gore, December 10, 2007).
150. When I was young, there was an amazing publication called The Whole Earth Catalog, which was one of the ***“bibles” of my generation*** (Jobs, 2005).
151. Now is the time to send a new message to the ***next generation of New Orleanians***, a message about the future, about the next 300 years and beyond [...] (Landrieu, 2017).
152. The result was that some of the less ***developed nations have leap-frogged over us*** (Murdoch, 2008).
153. The same ***nations asking*** us to stay in the agreement are the countries that have collectively cost America trillions of dollars through tough trade practices and, in many cases, lax contributions to our critical military alliance (Trump, 2017).
154. ***Our whole nation*** prays and pays tribute to the incredible life and legacy of Detective Alvarez – how hard he worked and how much he suffered (Trump, July 2019).
155. ***Our nation owes each of you*** a profound debt that no words or deeds will ever repay (Trump, July 2019).
156. How should we deal with one another over the next 50 years and ensure a period of prosperity for all of our peoples, free of ***conflict between two very powerful nations***? (Tillerson, 2018).
157. But the outcome will be decisively influenced by two ***nations that are now failing to do enough***: the United States and China. [...] it should be absolutely clear that it is the two largest CO2 emitters – and most of all, my own country – that will need to make the boldest moves, or stand accountable before history for their failure to act (Gore, December 10, 2007).
158. And when large truths are genuinely inconvenient, ***whole societies can***, at least for a time, ***ignore*** them (Gore, December 10, 2007).
159. I am one of those who believe that ***free societies are more than capable of addressing*** the problems created by technology (Murdoch, 2008).
160. And I believe that ***societies that want to*** prosper in this new age need to cultivate a spirit of learning and flexibility and achievement (Murdoch, 2008).
161. A ***society*** that destroys rather than creates wealth, leaving a smaller pie to meet much greater needs (Koch, 1994).
162. To keep our ***society moving forward***, we have a generational challenge—to not only create new jobs, but a renewed sense of purpose (Zuckerberg, 2017).
163. We’re all going to make mistakes, so we need a ***society that focuses less on locking us up or stigmatizing us*** (Zuckerberg, 2017).
164. Whether our ***communities*** are houses or sports teams, churches or music groups, they give us that sense we are part of something bigger, that we are not alone; they give us the strength to expand our horizons (Zuckerberg, 2017).
165. You ***lift up our communities*** and you remind us all what it means to stand united as “one nation under God.” (Trump, July 2019).