

การวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามา
โดยการใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเชิล



การศึกษาค้นคว้าด้วยตนเอง เสนอเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษา
หลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชาภาษาอังกฤษ
พฤศจิกายน 2557
ลิขสิทธิ์เป็นของมหาวิทยาลัยรัตนนคร

อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาและหัวหน้าภาควิชาภาษาอังกฤษ ได้พิจารณาการศึกษาค้นคว้าด้วยตนเอง เรื่อง “การวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาโดยการใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเซิล” เห็นสมควรรับเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาภาษาอังกฤษ ของมหาวิทยาลัยนเรศวร

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หัวหน้าภาควิชาภาษาอังกฤษ

พฤศจิกายน 2557



ประกาศคุณูปการ

การศึกษาค้นคว้าด้วยตนเองฉบับนี้ สำเร็จลงได้ด้วยความกรุณาอย่างยิ่งจาก ดร. วรรณประภา สุขสวัสดิ์ อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาซึ่งได้กรุณาให้คำแนะนำ ปรึกษา ตลอดจนตรวจแก้ไข ข้อบกพร่องต่างๆ ด้วยความเอาใจใส่เป็นอย่างยิ่ง จนการศึกษาค้นคว้าด้วยตนเองสำเร็จสมบูรณ์ และมีคุณค่า ผู้ศึกษาค้นคว้าขอขอบพระคุณเป็นอย่างสูงไว้ ณ โอกาสนี้

ขอขอบพระคุณคณาจารย์ภาควิชาภาษาอังกฤษ คณะมนุษยศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยนเรศวรทุกท่านที่ได้วางพื้นฐานแนวคิดเกี่ยวกับการศึกษาจนทำให้ผู้ศึกษาสามารถนำความรู้ แนวคิดต่างๆ มาใช้ประโยชน์ในการศึกษาค้นคว้าด้วยตนเองฉบับนี้

ขอขอบพระคุณ ดร. ทำรงลักษณ์ เอื้อนครินทร์ หัวหน้าภาควิชาภาษาอังกฤษ คณะมนุษยศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยนเรศวร ที่กรุณาให้คำแนะนำ สนับสนุน และให้กำลังใจด้วยดีเสมอมา จนทำให้การศึกษาค้นคว้าครั้งนี้สมบูรณ์

คุณค่าและประโยชน์อันพึงมีจากการศึกษาค้นคว้าฉบับนี้ ผู้ศึกษาค้นคว้าขออุทิศแด่ผู้มีพระคุณทุกๆ ท่าน

พรรณนวดิ

อินทยศ

มหาวิทยาลัยนเรศวร

ชื่อเรื่อง	การวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามา โดยการใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพอร์เชิล
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คำสำคัญ	ประธานาธิบดีโอบามา สุนทรพจน์

บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษาค้นคว้าครั้งนี้ มีจุดมุ่งหมาย เพื่อวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามา โดยการใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพอร์เชิล โดยเลือกศึกษาบทสุนทรพจน์จำนวน 2 บท ได้แก่ Change Has Come to America และ A More Perfect Union และนำเสนอผลการศึกษาค้นคว้าโดยการพรรณนา วิเคราะห์ แสดงผลตารางเปรียบเทียบ

ผลการศึกษาค้นคว้าพบว่า ลักษณะคำคุณศัพท์ (Adjective) ที่ปรากฏในบทสุนทรพจน์ Change Has Come to America มีจำนวนทั้งหมด 84 คำ และบทสุนทรพจน์ A More Perfect Union มีจำนวนทั้งหมด 210 คำ สามารถวิเคราะห์คำโดยใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพอร์เชิลแบ่งออกเป็น 3 ประเภท ได้แก่ ด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) ด้านการส่งผลกระทบต่อ (Affect) และด้านการตัดสิน (Judgment) ซึ่งพบว่าบทสุนทรพจน์ Change Has Come to America มีคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) มากที่สุด จำนวน 49 คำ รองลงมาคือด้านการส่งผลกระทบต่อ (Affect) จำนวน 25 คำ และด้านการตัดสิน (Judgment) จำนวน 10 คำ ตามลำดับ และบทสุนทรพจน์ A More Perfect Union มีคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) มากที่สุด จำนวน 153 คำ รองลงมาคือด้านการตัดสิน (Judgment) จำนวน 40 คำ และด้านการส่งผลกระทบต่อ (Affect) จำนวน 17 คำ ตามลำดับ

การวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ตามประเภทของคำคุณศัพท์ในแต่ละด้าน พบว่าบทสุนทรพจน์ทั้ง 2 บท มีคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) มากที่สุด

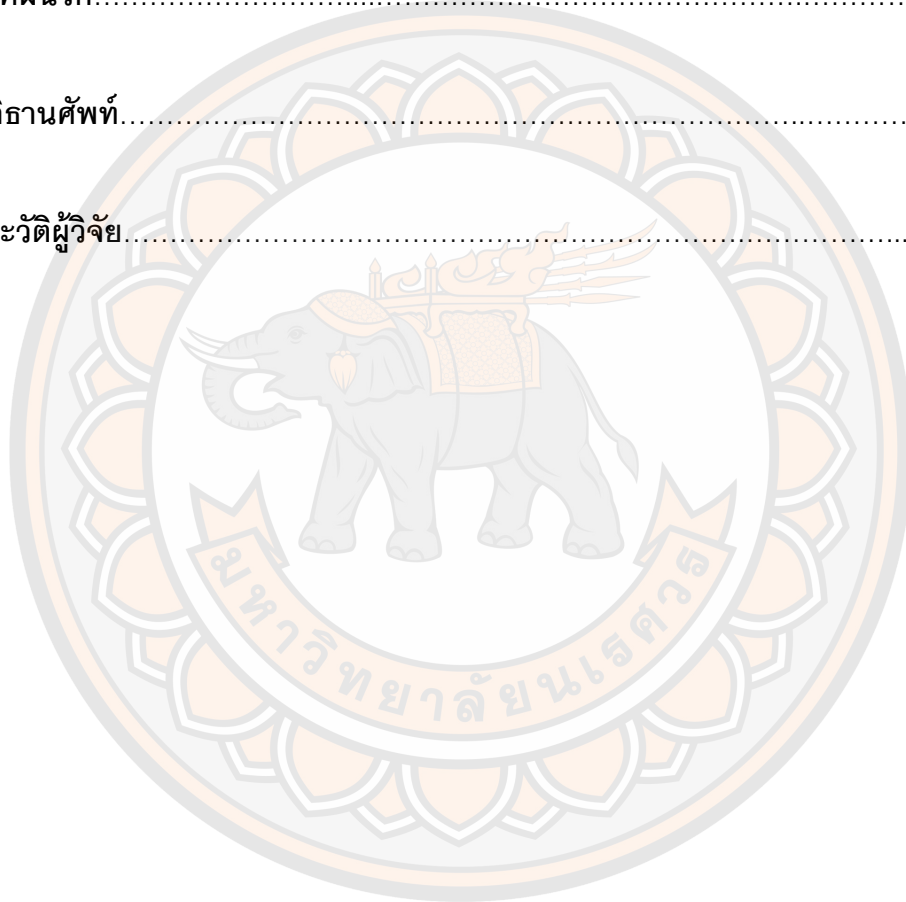
ผลการศึกษาค้นคว้าครั้งนี้แสดงให้เห็นว่า ประธานาธิบดีโอบามา กล่าวบทสุนทรพจน์โดยเลือกใช้ลักษณะคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) มากกว่าคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านอื่นๆ กล่าวได้ว่า บทสุนทรพจน์ทั้ง 2 บท มีการเลือกใช้ภาษาเพื่อสร้างสรรค์ให้เกิดทัศนคติที่ดีทั้งต่อผู้พูดและผู้ฟัง

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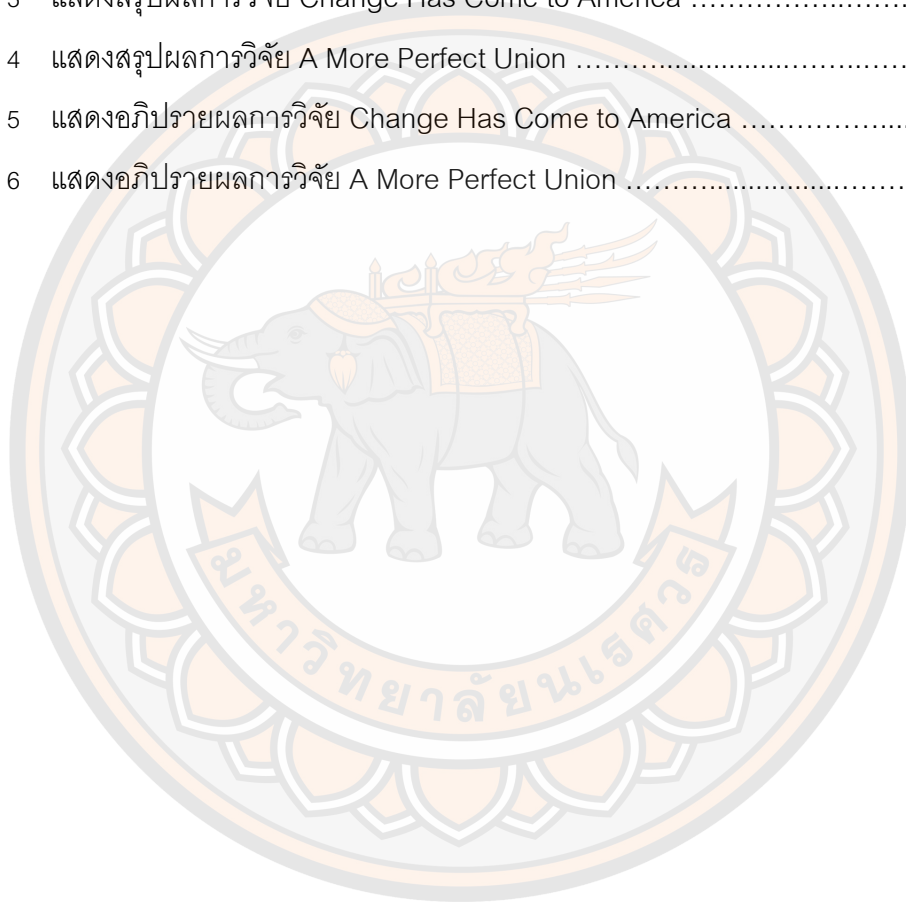
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บทที่ 1

บทนำ

ความเป็นมาของปัญหา

การพูดสุนทรพจน์ เป็นการพูดที่มีลักษณะของการใช้ถ้อยคำภาษาที่งดงามและสละสลวย เป็นการพูดในโอกาสสำคัญต่างๆ ที่มุ่งให้ความรู้และแสดงความคิดเห็น และถือเป็นการพูดในที่ ชุมนุมชน ผู้กล่าวสุนทรพจน์มักจะเป็นบุคคลสำคัญ บุคคลผู้มีชื่อเสียงเป็นที่เคารพศรัทธาหรือเป็นผู้ มีอาวุโส บทพูดสุนทรพจน์ควรใช้ถ้อยคำที่ถูกต้องเหมาะสมกับโอกาสและกาลเทศะ แล้วเลือก ถ้อยคำ ประโยค หรือข้อความที่ไพเราะ สละสลวย คมคาย เพื่อสร้างความประทับใจแก่ผู้ฟัง และ ควรแทรกความคิดเห็นที่เป็นคติเตือนใจ ชัยนันท์ นันทพันธ์ (2538, หน้า80) กล่าวว่า สุนทรพจน์ ของบุคคลสำคัญของโลก เช่น อับราฮัม ลินคอล์น อดีตประธานาธิบดีของสหรัฐอเมริกาเป็นนักพูด ฝีปากเอกของโลก มีการพิถีพิถันในการเลือกใช้ถ้อยคำมาก สุนทรพจน์ของท่านจึงมีถ้อยคำเป็น อมตะ ในการกล่าวสุนทรพจน์มักใช้วิธีการพูดแบบอ่านจากต้นฉบับ ทั้งนี้เพื่อความถูกต้องแม่นยำ แต่ก็ควรระมัดระวังว่าให้เป็นการพูดมิใช่การอ่าน และผู้พูดต้องฝึกซ้อมให้ดีก่อนการพูด จริง จึงจะทำให้การพูดการอ่านต้นฉบับนั้นราบรื่นไม่ติดขัด และน่าสนใจ ไม่ฟังเป็นเสียงอ่านจน มากเกินไป ชัยนันท์ นันทพันธ์ (2538, หน้า 75, 81) กล่าวว่า สุนทรพจน์หรือคำกล่าวปราศรัยที่ดี เริ่มต้นการใช้ถ้อยคำที่เรียกว่า “จจจุดไฟให้ลุกขึ้น” และพูดให้เห็นค้อยตาม มีตัวอย่างหรือ ข้อสนับสนุนเรียกร้องให้มีการกระทำตามที่พูด เมื่อพูดแล้วมีคนสนใจ ผู้ฟังมีความอยากรู้ ผู้ฟัง พอใจ หลับตาเห็นภาพ จนกระทั่งลงมือปฏิบัติตามก็ถือว่าประสบความสำเร็จในการพูด คำกล่าว ปราศรัยที่ดีไม่จำเป็นที่จะต้องใช้คำยืดยาวหรือคำที่มีหลายพยางค์ แต่การใช้คำสั้นๆ มีความหมาย นับว่าเป็นการสื่อสารที่มีประสิทธิภาพ ขณะเดียวกันท่าทางการพูดสุนทรพจน์โดยอ่านจากต้นฉบับ นั้น เราควรยกหน้าดูผู้ฟังเป็นระยะๆ ด้วย เพื่อให้ผู้ฟังเกิดความประทับใจ และแสดงถึงบุคลิกที่สง่า งาม ซึ่งท่านประธานาธิบดีสหรัฐอเมริกา “บารัค โอบามา” (Barack Obama) สามารถกล่าวสุนทร พจน์ได้อย่างสมบูรณ์แบบ หลังเข้าพิธีสาบานตนรับตำแหน่งประธานาธิบดีสหรัฐอเมริกาคนที่ 44 ท่ามกลางความสนใจของประชาชนทั่วทุกมุมโลก (ชัยชนะ อิงควัต 2552)

ด้วยเหตุนี้ ทำให้ผู้วิจัยเห็นว่าการใช้ภาษาสุนทรพจน์มีอิทธิพลต่อผู้พูดและผู้ฟังเป็นอย่างยิ่ง จึงเกิดความสนใจที่จะวิเคราะห์ภาษาในการกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีสหรัฐอเมริกา “บารัค โอบามา” อย่างละเอียดในการวิเคราะห์โครงสร้างไวยากรณ์ ลักษณะที่เลือกใช้ และความหมายโดยนัยที่สื่อถึงผู้รับสาร หรือผู้ฟังนั่นเอง โดยจะทำการศึกษาจากหนังสือ “President Barack OBAMA In His Own words” ซึ่งรวบรวมคำกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ที่สำคัญของท่านประธานาธิบดี สำหรับผลจากการวิจัยในครั้งนี้ จะทำให้เห็นลักษณะการใช้ภาษาในการพูดสุนทรพจน์ ซึ่งจะเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการนำไปศึกษาเกี่ยวกับการเลือกใช้ภาษา และอาจประยุกต์เพื่อสร้างสรรค์หรือพัฒนา ด้านการเขียนบทพูดสุนทรพจน์ต่อไป

จุดมุ่งหมายของการศึกษา

1. เพื่อศึกษาลักษณะโครงสร้างและศิลปะการใช้ภาษาของคำกล่าวสุนทรพจน์จำนวน 2 บท ได้แก่ Change Has Come to America และ A More Perfect Union ซึ่งปรากฏในหนังสือ “President Barack OBAMA In His Own words” ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาแห่งประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกา
2. เพื่อวิเคราะห์รูปแบบเฉพาะของการกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ในภาษาอังกฤษ (Genre) และศึกษาวัฒนธรรมที่อาจจะมีผลต่อการกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ในบริบทในสหรัฐอเมริกา

ความสำคัญของการวิจัย

งานวิจัยฉบับนี้ จะเป็นประโยชน์แก่การศึกษางานเขียนประเภทบทสุนทรพจน์ เนื่องจากแสดงตัวอย่างเกี่ยวกับการสร้างสรรค์ประโยคประเภทโน้มน้าวใจทำให้ผู้อ่านหรือผู้ฟังเกิดความรู้สึกคล้อยตามผู้พูดเป็นภาษาอังกฤษจากต้นฉบับ และแสดงการวิเคราะห์ภาษาอย่างละเอียด ซึ่งจะ เป็นประโยชน์อย่างมากกับผู้ที่ต้องกล่าวสุนทรพจน์เป็นภาษาอังกฤษและมีกลุ่มผู้ฟังเฉพาะกลุ่ม

ขอบเขตของงานวิจัย

การศึกษาครั้งนี้ ผู้วิจัยศึกษาลักษณะโครงสร้างและศิลปะการใช้ภาษาของคำกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ที่ปรากฏในหนังสือ “President Barack OBAMA In His Own words” ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาแห่งประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกา ฉบับพิมพ์ครั้งแรก ค.ศ. 2009 โดยกระทรวงการต่างประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกา โดยใช้วิธีวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพซึ่งศึกษาจากรอบความคิด Appraisal Analysis

นิยามศัพท์เฉพาะ

งานวิจัยฉบับนี้ ประกอบด้วยคำนิยามศัพท์เฉพาะทาง ดังนี้

1. ประธานาธิบดีโอบามา หรือ บาร์ค ฮุสเซน โอบามา (Barack Hussein Obama) เป็นประธานาธิบดีคนที่ 44 และคนปัจจุบันของสหรัฐอเมริกา เป็นชาวแอฟริกันอเมริกันคนแรกที่ได้รับเลือกให้ดำรงตำแหน่ง ก่อนหน้านั้นโอบามาเคยดำรงตำแหน่งสมาชิกวุฒิสภาจากรัฐอิลลินอยส์ ใน ค.ศ. 2005 (พ.ศ. 2548)จนถึงวันที่ 16 พฤศจิกายน ค.ศ. 2008 (พ.ศ. 2551)กระทั่งลาออกจากตำแหน่งหลังได้รับชัยชนะในการเลือกตั้งประธานาธิบดีสหรัฐอเมริกา ค.ศ. 2008 (พ.ศ. 2551) และผลการเลือกตั้งประธานาธิบดีสหรัฐฯ ค.ศ. 2012 (พ.ศ. 2555) ที่เพิ่งสิ้นสุดลงไปเมื่อวันที่ 6 พฤศจิกายน ค.ศ. 2012 (พ.ศ. 2555)ตามเวลาในสหรัฐฯ ตรงกับช่วงสายของวันที่ 7 พฤศจิกายน ตามเวลาของประเทศไทย ปรากฏว่า “ผู้นำหน้าเดิม” จากเมื่อ 4 ปีที่แล้ว อย่างประธานาธิบดีบาร์ค ฮุสเซน โอบามา ที่ 2 แห่งพรรคเดโมแครต วัย 51 ปี เป็นฝ่ายได้รับชัยชนะเหนือนายวิลลาร์ด มิตต์ รอมนีย์ คู่แข่งวัย 65 ปีจากพรรครีพับลิกันที่มีดีกรีเคยเป็นอดีตผู้ว่าการมลรัฐแมสซาชูเซตส์สมาาก่อน ส่งผลให้ประธานาธิบดีคนที่ 44 ในประวัติศาสตร์อเมริกันอย่างโอบามา จะได้อยู่ในตำแหน่งต่อไปอีก 4 ปี จนถึงปี ค.ศ. 2016 (พ.ศ. 2559)

2. สุนทรพจน์ (Speech) หมายถึง คำพูดที่ประธานหรือบุคคลสำคัญ กล่าวในพิธีการ หรือในโอกาสสำคัญต่าง ๆ เช่น นายกรัฐมนตรีกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ในที่ประชุมสมัชชาใหญ่สหประชาชาติ ในที่นี้หมายถึง คำกล่าวของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาแห่งประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกาที่ปรากฏในหนังสือ “President Barack OBAMA In His Own words” จำนวน 2 บท ได้แก่ Change Has Come to America และ A More Perfect Union

บทที่ 2

เอกสารและงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้อง

ในการวิจัยครั้งนี้ ผู้วิจัยได้นำเสนอเอกสารและผลงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการวิจัย โดยนำเสนอตามลำดับ

1. เอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้องกับความหมายของสุนทรพจน์
2. เอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้องกับบทสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามา
3. เอกสารและงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับทฤษฎี Appraisal

1. เอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้องกับความหมายของสุนทรพจน์

ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน (2542) ได้อธิบายความหมายของคำว่า สุนทรพจน์ [สุนทอนระ-, สุนทอระ-] น. หมายถึง คำพูดที่ประธานหรือบุคคลสำคัญเป็นต้น กล่าวในพิธีการหรือในโอกาสสำคัญต่าง ๆ เช่น นายกรัฐมนตรีกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ในที่ประชุมสมัชชาใหญ่สหประชาชาติ

นอกจากนี้ “สุนทรพจน์” หมายถึง คำพูดที่ดังกัมไพเราะจับใจ การพูดสุนทรพจน์มักมีในพิธีสำคัญ เช่น พิธีต้อนรับแขกเมืองคนสำคัญ พิธีได้รับตำแหน่งสำคัญ เช่น นายกรัฐมนตรี ประธานาธิบดีหรือกล่าวในงานฉลองระลึกถึงบุคคลสำคัญ วันสำคัญ ระดับชาติ หรือเป็นการกล่าวในเรื่องใดเรื่องหนึ่ง เพื่อสร้างสรรคจรรโลงใจ เป็นคำพูดที่แสดงความปรารถนาดีในทางการเมือง การกล่าวสุนทรพจน์เป็นเรื่องสำคัญยิ่ง มักได้รับการยกย่องว่าเป็นการพูดชั้นยอด

1. ลักษณะสุนทรพจน์
 - 1.1 ใช้ถ้อยคำไพเราะลึกซึ้งกินใจ จับใจ
 - 1.2 โนม่น้าวให้ผู้ฟังเห็นคล้อยตาม
 - 1.3 กระตุ้นผู้ฟัง มีความมั่นใจ และยินดีร่วมมือ
 - 1.4 สร้างบรรยากาศให้เกิดความหวัง และให้ความสุขแก่ผู้ฟัง
2. โครงสร้างทั่วไปของสุนทรพจน์
 - 2.1 ตอนเปิดเรื่อง กระตุ้นให้ผู้ฟังเห็นความสำคัญของเรื่องที่จะพูด
 - 2.2 ดำเนินเรื่อง ประกอบด้วยเนื้อหาสาระลำดับความสำคัญอย่างชัดเจน
 - 2.3 ตอนจบเรื่อง สรุปความทิ้งท้ายให้ผู้ฟังนำไปคิด หรือฝากไว้ในความทรงจำ

ตลอดไป

3. ลักษณะสุนทรพจน์ทางการเมือง

3.1 การอภิปราย ให้รัฐสภาหรือชุมชนกล่าวถึงปัญหาสำคัญที่เกี่ยวข้องกับส่วนได้ส่วนเสียของหมู่คณะ

3.2 การแถลงการณ์ เป็นการพูดจาในศาลระหว่างทนายโจทก์ ทนายจำเลย เพื่อชี้ประเด็นให้ผู้ฟัง ผู้พิพากษา เห็นข้างฝ่ายตน

3.3 การพูดประณาม เป็นการพูดยกย่องหรือตำหนิการกระทำของบุคคลสำคัญ ฝ่ายรัฐบาลหรือฝ่ายค้าน เป็นการชมเชยสนับสนุนหรือแสดงความไม่เห็นด้วย การพูดทางการเมืองจะประสบความสำเร็จ ต้องพูดให้ผู้ฟังสะดุดใจ ชวนฟัง ประกอบด้วยคารม ไหวพริบ ภาพพจน์ที่เตรียมไว้เป็นอย่างดี ถ้าจะให้ดียิ่งขึ้นต้องแทรกอารมณ์ขันช่วยผ่อนคลายความเครียดที่มา

ชยัณันท์ นันทพันธ์ (2539) กล่าวว่า “สุนทรพจน์” ซึ่งหมายถึงคำพูดที่ดีและไพเราะ กล่าวในโอกาสสำคัญของบุคคลผู้มีชื่อเสียง เป็นการพูดเพื่อให้เกิดความประทับใจ ซาบซึ้งใจแก่ผู้ฟัง เกิดอารมณ์ในการฟัง เป็นเรื่องน่าคิด เพื่อให้ผู้ฟังอยากจะปฏิบัติตาม ส่วน “คำกล่าวปราศรัย” อาจเป็นเรื่องปกติธรรมดา การพูดเพื่อให้เกิดความประทับใจในโอกาสต่างๆ เป็นการพูดของบุคคลที่ไม่ได้หวังผลจะให้เกิดความสะเทือนอารมณ์หรือโน้มน้าวใจมากนักแต่ก็จำเป็นที่จะต้องมีการกล่าวปราศรัย การแสดงออกถึงความในใจของผู้พูด การกล่าวสุนทรพจน์นั้นใช้ในโอกาสที่บุคคลสำคัญกล่าวคำปราศรัย เป็นงานที่ใหญ่และมีความสำคัญมากกว่าการกล่าวคำปราศรัยทั่วไป ในบางโอกาสจะเรียกคำปราศรัยในลักษณะที่แตกต่างกัน เช่น คำกล่าวเปิดงาน คำกล่าวต้อนรับ คำกล่าวปฏิญาณตนในพิธี เป็นต้น เนื้อหาสาระต้องมีความชัดเจนแจ่มแจ้ง และที่สำคัญต้องพิจารณาด้วยว่าผู้ที่จะนำไปกล่าวสุนทรพจน์หรือกล่าวคำปราศรัยนั้น สามารถพูดออกเสียงได้ชัดเจนเหมาะสมกับฐานะของผู้พูด นอกจากนี้แล้วก็ต้องเป็นคำพูดที่คนทั่วไปเข้าใจได้ ไม่ใช่เป็นคำศัพท์เฉพาะที่คนทั่วไปไม่อาจเข้าใจได้ ต้องเป็นคำพูดง่ายๆ ฟังแล้วไม่ต้องใช้ความคิดมากและเกิดความสับสน ฟังแล้วเกิดความเข้าใจประทับใจตลอดการฟัง

สุนทรพจน์เป็นคำสมาส มาจากคำว่า สุนทร + พจน์ แปลว่า ถ้อยคำที่มีความไพเราะและดีงาม ดังนั้นการพูดสุนทรพจน์จึงต้องเรียบเรียงถ้อยคำให้ไพเราะสละสลวย ให้ข้อคิดและจรรโลงใจผู้ฟัง การพูดสุนทรพจน์จัดเป็นการพูดอย่างเป็นทางการ ผู้พูดจึงต้องเตรียมเนื้อเรื่องให้เหมาะสมกับโอกาสหรือสถานการณ์ที่ได้รับเชิญ ในบางโอกาสก็ใช้การอ่านจากต้นฉบับ เพื่อให้ผู้ฟังได้รับสารที่จรรโลงใจและสัมผัสถ้อยคำภาษาที่มีความไพเราะสละสลวย โครงสร้างและขั้นตอนของสุนทรพจน์

คำนำ หรือการเริ่มต้น (Introduction) เป็นการบอกกล่าวว่าคุณพูดเป็นใคร พูดในฐานะอะไร ในโอกาสใด แล้วนำเข้าสู่เนื้อหาด้วยวิธีการที่เร้าความสนใจ เช่น ใช้สุภาษิต คำคม หรือเหตุการณ์ ปัจจุบันที่สอดคล้องกับเรื่องราวที่จะกล่าวต่อไป

เนื้อเรื่อง หรือสาระสำคัญของเรื่อง (Discussion) ควรแยกประเด็นเป็นข้อๆ โดยคำนึงถึง เอกภาพ คือความเป็นหนึ่งเดียวของเรื่อง สัมพันธภาพคือความเกี่ยวเนื่องกัน และสารัตถภาพ หรือ การเน้นย้ำประเด็นสำคัญของเรื่อง แต่ละประเด็นต้องมีข้อมูลหลักฐานอ้างอิงที่น่าเชื่อถือ และมี ตัวอย่างประกอบให้ชัดเจน

สรุปจบ หรือการลงท้าย (Conclusion) อาจทำได้หลายวิธี เช่น สรุปบททวนประเด็น เนื้อหาเสนอข้อคิด หรือแนวทางการปฏิบัติเน้นประเด็นสำคัญ และแสดงความหวังว่า น่าจะเป็น อย่างนั้น อย่างนี้ "ขึ้นต้นให้ตื่นเต้น ตอนกลางให้กลมกลืน และตอนจบให้จับใจ"

1. โดยแบ่งโครงสร้างของสุนทรพจน์เป็นส่วนได้ดังนี้
 - 1.1 คำนำ 5-10%
 - 1.2 เนื้อเรื่อง 80-90%
 - 1.3 สรุปจบ 5-10%
2. หลักในการขึ้นต้น
 - 2.1 ขึ้นต้นแบบพาดหัวข่าว (Headline)
 - 2.2 ขึ้นต้นด้วยคำถาม (Asking Question)
 - 2.3 ขึ้นต้นด้วยการทำให้ผู้ฟังสงสัย (Interest Arousing)
 - 2.4 ขึ้นต้นด้วยการอ้างบทกวี หรือวาตะของผู้มีชื่อเสียง (Quousing)
 - 2.5 ขึ้นต้นให้สนุกสนาน (Entertainment)
3. ข้อพึงหลีกเลี่ยงในการขึ้นต้น
 - 3.1 อย่าออกตัว
 - 3.2 อย่าขออภัย
 - 3.3 อย่าถ่อมตน
 - 3.4 อย่าอ้อมค้อม
4. ข้อพึงหลีกเลี่ยงในการสรุปจบ
 - 4.1 ขอจบ ขอยุติ
 - 4.2 ไม่มากก็น้อย
 - 4.3 ขออภัย ขอโทษขอบคุณ

5. หลักในการสรุปจบ
 - 5.1 ความหมายชัดเจน ไม่เลื่อนลอย
 - 5.2 สัมพันธ์กับเนื้อเรื่อง และหัวข้อเรื่อง
 - 5.3 กระชับรัดกุมไม่เยิ่นเย้อ พุ่งขึ้นสู่จุดสุดยอดของสุนทรพจน์
6. วิธีการสรุปจบที่ดีและได้ผล
 - 6.1 จบแบบสรุปความ
 - 6.2 จบแบบฝากให้ไปคิด
 - 6.3 จบแบบเปิดเผยตอนสำคัญ
 - 6.4 จบแบบชักชวนและเรียกร้อง
 - 6.5 จบด้วยคำคม คำพังเพย สุภาษิต

2. เอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้องกับบทสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามา

นายชัยชนะ อิงควัต อาจารย์ประจำคณะรัฐศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง (2552) กล่าวถึงพิธีสาบานตนเข้ารับตำแหน่งประธานาธิบดีสหรัฐอเมริกา คนที่ 44 ว่า “สุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามา มีนัยสำคัญ คือ เป็นการเตือนสติคนอเมริกันให้ลุกขึ้นมาช่วยกันสร้างประเทศ คล้ายกับสมัยของประธานาธิบดี "จอห์น เอฟ. เคนเนดี" ที่พยายามจะปลุกกระแสให้คนอเมริกันลุกขึ้นมาช่วยกันสร้างชาติ ขณะเดียวกันวลีที่ว่า "อเมริกาจะก้าวเข้าสู่ยุคแห่งความรับผิดชอบ" ยังเป็นการเตือนสติบริษัทชั้นนำของสหรัฐอเมริกา ที่มีส่วนเกี่ยวข้องที่ทำให้เกิดวิกฤติเศรษฐกิจขึ้น ถ้าเป็นข้อสอบต้องให้เอบววก” อาจารย์คณะรัฐศาสตร์ กล่าวอีกว่า “สุนทรพจน์ดังกล่าวมีจุดเด่น 3 ข้อ คือ ภาษาดี สะท้อนภาพปัญหาของสหรัฐอเมริกาในรอบหลายปีที่ผ่านมา และปลุกคนอเมริกันให้คิดถึงอนาคตข้างหน้าของประเทศ ทั้งนี้ แม้ว่าจะมีการเตรียมสคริปต์สุนทรพจน์มาเป็นอย่างดี แต่เมื่อต้องกล่าวจริงนายโอบามาก็ไม่ได้ดูสคริปต์มากสักเท่าใด เป็นการพูดด้วยใจ ซึ่งสิ่งที่เขาพูดตรงประเด็น เหมือนเป็นการสะท้อนให้เห็นว่า บทบาทที่ผิดพลาดของสหรัฐอเมริกาในสมัยประธานาธิบดีบุช แก้ไขไม่ได้ แต่จะมองไปข้างหน้า”

จากงานวิจัยดังกล่าว นักวิจัยเลยเกิดความสนใจที่จะศึกษาศิลปะการกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาเป็นพิเศษ เนื่องจากที่นายโอบามาจะได้รับคัดเลือกให้เป็นผู้นำประเทศที่เป็นคนผิวสีคนแรก ผู้วิจัยจึงอยากจะศึกษาว่าการกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาจะมีลักษณะพิเศษอะไรที่มีผลต่อการจูงใจ โน้มน้าวใจผู้ฟังอย่างไร

3. เอกสารและงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับทฤษฎี Appraisal

งานวิจัยฉบับนี้ มีความสนใจที่จะศึกษาภาษาที่ใช้ในการกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ นักวิจัยเลือกกรอบการวิเคราะห์ภาษา (Linguistic framework) จากทฤษฎีภาษาศาสตร์ Systemic Functional Linguistics เนื่องจาก งานวิจัยฉบับนี้มีจุดประสงค์ไม่เพียงแต่ศึกษารูปแบบของภาษาเท่านั้น หากแต่ สนใจในการศึกษาการใช้งาน และหน้าที่ของภาษาที่ผู้สื่อสารเลือกตามรูปแบบของการสื่อสารเฉพาะ (Genre) ดังจะเห็นได้ว่า Systemic Functional Linguistics เป็นทฤษฎีภาษาที่ให้ความสำคัญกับหน้าที่ของภาษาที่ใช้ในการสื่อสาร กับบริบทมากกว่าความถูกต้องของโครงสร้างไวยากรณ์ (Halliday, 1994) ในระบบการศึกษาทฤษฎีนี้ หน่วยย่อยที่ใช้ศึกษาภาษาพูดซึ่งแสดงให้เห็นถึงการมีส่วนร่วมของผู้ฟัง ทักษะคติของผู้พูดต่อผู้ฟัง และระดับการเน้นย้ำ นั่นคือ “ทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเชิล” มาร์ติน และ ไวท์ (Martin & White, 2005: 33) ได้กล่าวถึงทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเชิล (Appraisal Theory) ไว้ว่า ทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเชิลตั้งอยู่ในระบบความสัมพันธ์ในระดับของความหมายวาทกรรม แหล่งข้อมูลของทฤษฎีครอบคลุมสามส่วนซึ่งมีปฏิสัมพันธ์ที่แตกต่างของผู้เขียนโดยประเมินจากตำแหน่ง "การศึกษา (Graduation)", "ทัศนคติ (Attitude)" และ "การมีส่วนร่วม (Engagement)" ซึ่งการศึกษาเกี่ยวข้องกับความแข็งแรงของความรู้สึกโดยการปรับระดับของการประเมินผล (กำลัง, อำนาจ- Force) หรือโดยการปรับความแข็งแรงของขอบเขต (จุดโฟกัส- Focus) ทัศนคติเกี่ยวข้องกับการประเมินผลต่างๆ ของการประเมินผล: ความรู้สึก (ผล- Affect), การตัดสินของพฤติกรรม (การตัดสิน- Judgment) และการประเมินผลของสิ่งของ (การเห็นคุณค่า- Appreciation) การมีส่วนร่วม (Engagement) เกี่ยวข้องกับการวางตำแหน่งของผู้เขียน "โดยคำนึงถึงตำแหน่งที่เป็นค่าชั้นสูงและส่วนที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการตอบสนองที่มีศักยภาพไปยังตำแหน่งที่มีค่า"

ทอมป์สัน (Thompson, 2004: 75) กล่าวไว้ว่า เป็นการเน้นถึงความจำเป็นในการตรวจสอบการประเมินในการวิเคราะห์ข้อความ: "การประเมิน (appraisal) เป็นส่วนหนึ่งที่สำคัญของความหมายของข้อความใดๆ และการวิเคราะห์ความหมายระหว่างบุคคลของข้อความที่จะต้องนำไปเข้าสู่คำอธิบายหรือรายงาน"

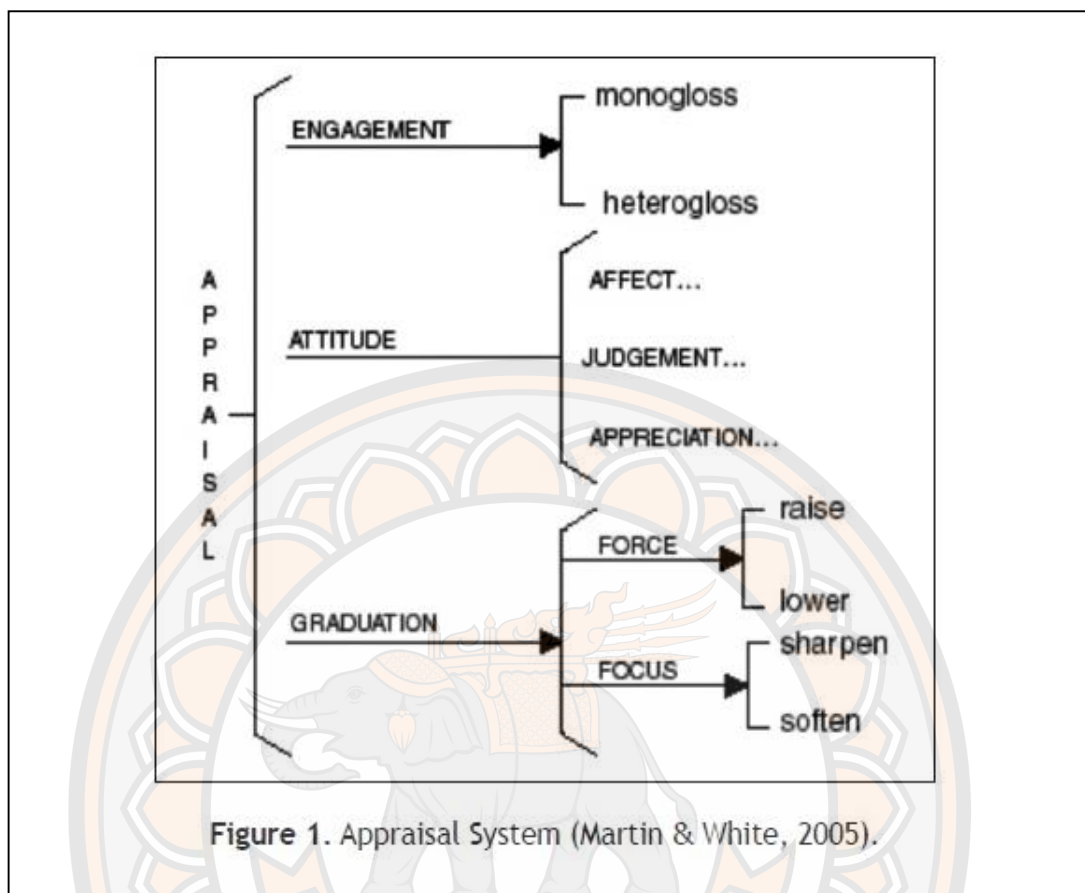


Figure 1. Appraisal System (Martin & White, 2005).

ภาพระบบของทฤษฎีแอฟเฟรเซิล

ที่มา: มาร์ติน และ ไวท์ (Martin & White, 2005)

จากกรอบการวิเคราะห์ภาษาข้างต้น นักวิจัยได้ระบบการวิเคราะห์ที่จะช่วยให้นักวิจัยเข้าใจสุนทรพจน์ของโอบามาในระดับคำและประโยค โดยสามารถวิเคราะห์ถึง การมีส่วนร่วมของผู้ฟัง (Engagement) ทศนคติของผู้พูด (Attitude) และการเน้นย้ำ (Graduation) ตัวอย่างและรูปแบบการวิเคราะห์โดยละเอียดจะกล่าวต่อไปใน บทที่ 4 การรายงานผลการวิจัย

บทที่ 3

วิธีดำเนินงานวิจัย

การวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาโดยการใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเซิล เพื่อศึกษาลักษณะโครงสร้างและศิลปะการใช้ภาษาของคำกล่าวสุนทรพจน์จำนวน 2 บท ได้แก่ Change Has Come to America และ A More Perfect Union ซึ่งปรากฏในหนังสือ “President Barack OBAMA In His Own words” ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาแห่งประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกา และเพื่อวิเคราะห์ลักษณะภาษาศาสตร์ที่ปรากฏในบทสุนทรพจน์ โดยมีวิธีดำเนินงานวิจัยดังต่อไปนี้

1. การศึกษาค้นคว้า
2. การเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูล
3. การวิเคราะห์ข้อมูล

1. การศึกษาค้นคว้า

- 1.1 ศึกษาเอกสารเกี่ยวข้องกับความหมายของสุนทรพจน์
- 1.2 ศึกษาเอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้องกับบทสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามา
- 1.3 ศึกษาเอกสารและงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับทฤษฎี Appraisal

2. การเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูล

ได้ดำเนินการเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลโดยรวบรวมบทสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามา จากหนังสือ “President Barack OBAMA In His Own words” โดยคัดเลือกเพียง 2 บท ได้แก่ “Change Has Come to America” และ “A More Perfect Union”

3. การวิเคราะห์ข้อมูล

การวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาโดยการใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเซิล เป็นการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลโดยใช้ตารางทฤษฎีดังกล่าววิเคราะห์จำนวนคำคุณศัพท์ (Adjective) ที่ปรากฏในบทสุนทรพจน์ทั้ง 2 บท ซึ่งตารางทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเซิล จำแนกคำคุณศัพท์ออกเป็น 3 ด้าน ได้แก่ ด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) ด้านการส่งผลกระทบต่อ (Affect) และด้านการตัดสิน (Judgment)

บทที่ 4

ผลการวิจัย

ผู้วิจัยได้ดำเนินการวิเคราะห์บทสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาจำนวน 2 บท ได้แก่ “Change Has Come to America” และ “A More Perfect Union” โดยใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพอร์เชิล เกี่ยวกับการวิเคราะห์คำคุณศัพท์ (Adjective) ที่ปรากฏในบทสุนทรพจน์ดังกล่าว ซึ่งสามารถ จำแนกขั้นตอนการวิเคราะห์ออกเป็น 3 ขั้นตอน คือ

1. จำแนกจำนวนประโยคทั้งหมด
2. จำแนกคำคุณศัพท์ที่ปรากฏในแต่ละประโยค
3. จำแนกคำคุณศัพท์ออกเป็น 3 ด้านโดยอาศัยหลักทฤษฎีแอฟเพอร์เชิล
ทั้งนี้ สามารถวิเคราะห์ผลการวิจัยออกมาในรูปแบบตารางได้ดังนี้

1. Change Has Come to America

Change Has Come to America

Move	Text
1	If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer.
2	It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen; by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the very first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different; that their voice could be that difference.
3	It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled-Americans who sent a message to the world that

Change Has Come to America

Move	Text
	we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America.
4	It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day.
5	It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, change has come to America.
6	I was never the likeliest candidate for this office.
7	We didn't start with much money or many endorsements.
8	Our campaign was not hatched in the halls of Washington – it began in the backyards of Des Moines and the living rooms of Concord and the front porches of Charleston.
9	It was built by working men and women who dug into what little savings they had to give five dollars and ten dollars and twenty dollars to this cause.
10	It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth.
11	This is your victory.
12	The road ahead will be long.
13	Our climb will be steep.

Change Has Come to America

Move	Text
14	We may not get there in one year or even one term, but America – I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there.
15	I promise you – we as a people will get there.
16	There will be setbacks and false starts.
17	There are many who won't agree with every decision or policy I make as President, and we know that government can't solve every problem.
18	But I will always be honest with you about the challenges we face.
19	I will listen to you, especially when we disagree.
20	And above all, I will ask you to join in the work of remaking this nation the only way it's been done in America for two – hundred and twenty – one years – block, brick by brick, calloused hand by calloused hand.
21	And to those Americans whose support I have yet to earn – I may not have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I need your help, and I will be your President too.
22	And to all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world – our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand.
23	To those who would tear this world down – we will defeat you.
24	To those who seek peace and security – we support you.
25	And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.
26	For that is the true genius of America – that America can change.
27	Our union can be perfected.

Change Has Come to America

Move	Text
28	And what we have already achieved gives us hope for what we can and must achieve tomorrow.
29	This is our moment.
30	This is our time – to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth – that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can’t, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can.
31	“Tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.”

Change Has Come to America

Move	Text													
1	If	there	is	anyone	out	there	who	still	doubts	that	America	is	a	place
	where	all	things	are	possible	who	still	wonders	if	the	dream	of	our	founders
	is	alive	in	our	time	who	still	questions	the	power	of	our	democracy	
	tonight	is	your	answer.										
2	It's	the	answer	told	by	lines	that	stretched	around	schools	and	churches	in	numbers
	this	nation	has	never	seen	by	people	who	waited	three	hours	and	four	hours
	many	for	the	very	first	time	in	their	lives	because	they	believed	that	this
	time	must	be	different	that	their	voice	could	be	that	difference.			
3	It's	the	answer	spoken	by	young	and	old	rich	and	poor	Democrat	and	Republican
	black	white	Latino	Asian	Native	American	gay	straight	disabled	and	not	disabled-Americans		
	who	sent	a	message	to	the	world	that	we	have	never	been	a	collection
	of	Red	States	and	Blue	States:	we	are	and	always	will	be	the	United
	States	of	America.											
4	It's	the	answer	that	led	those	who	have	been	told	for	so	long	by
	so	many	to	be	cynical	and	fearful	and	doubtful	of	what	we	can	achieve
	to	put	their	hands	on	the	arc	of	history	and	bend	it	once	more
	toward	the	hope	of	a	better	day.							

Change Has Come to America

Move	Text													
5	It's	been	a	long	time	coming	but	tonight	because	of	what	we	did	on
	this	day	in	this	election	at	this	defining	moment	change	has	come	to	America.
6	I	was	never	the	likeliest	candidate	for	this	office.					
7	We	didn't	start	with	much	money	or	many	endorsements.					
8	Our	campaign	was	not	hatched	in	the	halls	of	Washington	–	it	began	in
	the	backyards	of	Des	Moines	and	the	living	rooms	of	Concord	and	the	front
	porches	of	Charleston.											
9	It	was	built	by	working	men	and	women	who	dug	into	what	little	savings
	and	ten	dollars	they	had	to	give	five	dollars	and	twenty	dollars	to	this
	cause.													
10	It	grew	strength	from	the	young	people	who	rejected	the	myth	of	their	generation's
	apathy	who	left	their	homes	and	their	families	for	jobs	that	offered	little	pay
	and	less	sleep	from	the	not-so-young	people	who	braved	the	bitter cold		and	
	scorching heat		to	knock	on	the	doors	of	perfect	strangers	from	the	millions	of
	Americans	who	volunteered	and	organized	and	proved	that	more	than	two	centuries	later	a
	government	of	the	people	by	the	people	and	for	the	people	has	not	perished
	from	this	Earth.											

Change Has Come to America

Move	Text													
11	This	is	your	victory.										
12	The	road	ahead	will	be	long.								
13	Our	climb	will	be	steep.									
14	We	may	not	get	there	in	one	year	or	even	one	term	but	America
	–	I	have	never	been	more	hopeful	than	I	am	tonight	that	we	will
	get	there.												
15	I	promise	you	–	we	as	a	people	will	get	there.			
16	There	will	be	setbacks	and	FALSE	starts.							
17	There	are	many	who	won't	agree	with	every	decision	or	policy	I	make	as
	President	and	we	know	that	government	can't	solve	every	problem.				
18	But	I	will	always	be	honest	with	you	about	the	challenges	we	face.	
19	I	will	listen	to	you	especially	when	we	disagree.					
20	And	above	all	I	will	ask	you	to	join	in	the	work	of	remaking
	this	nation	the	only	way	it's	been	done	in	America	for	two	–	hundred
	and	twenty	–	one	years	–	block	brick	by	brick	calloused	hand	by	calloused
	hand.													
21	And	to	those	Americans	whose	support	I	have	yet	to	earn	–	I	may

Change Has Come to America

Move	Text													
	not	have	won	your	vote	but	I	hear	your	voices	I	need	your	help
	and	I	will	be	your	President	too.							
22	And	to	all	those	watching	tonight	from	beyond	our	shores	from	parliaments	and	palaces
	to	those	who	are	huddled	around	radios	in	the	forgotten	corners	of	our	world
	–	our	stories	are	singular	but	our	destiny	is	shared	and	a	new	dawn
	of	American	leadership	is	at	hand.								
23	To	those	who	would	tear	this	world	down	–	we	will	defeat	you.	
24	To	those	who	seek	peace	and	security	–	we	support	you.			
25	And	to	all	those	who	have	wondered	if	America's	beacon	still	burns	as	bright
	–	tonight	we	proved	once	more	that	the	TRUE	strength	or	our	nation	comes
	not	from	the	might	of	our	arms	or	the	scale	of	our	wealth	but
	from	the	enduring	power	of	our	ideals:	democracy	liberty	opportunity	and	unyielding	hope.	
26	For	that	is	the	TRUE	genius	of	America	–	that	America	can	change.	
27	Our	union	can	be	perfected.									
28	And	what	we	have	already	achieved	gives	us	hope	for	what	we	can	and
	must	achieve	tomorrow.											
29	This	is	our	moment.										

Change Has Come to America

Move	Text													
30	This	is	our	time	–	to	put	our	people	back	to	work	and	open
	doors	of	opportunity	for	our	kids	to	restore	prosperity	and	promote	the	cause	of
	peace	to	reclaim	the	American	Dream	and	reaffirm	that	fundamental	truth	–	that	out
	of	many	we	are	one	that	while	we	breathe	we	hope	and	where	we
	are	met	with	cynicism	and	doubt	and	those	who	tell	us	that	we	can't
	we	will	respond	with	that	timeless	creed	that	sums	up	the	spirit	of	a
	people:	Yes	We	Can.										
31	"Tonight	we	proved	once	more	that	the	TRUE	strength	of	our	nation	comes	not
	from	the	might	of	our	arms	of	the	scale	of	our	wealth	but	from
	the	enduring	power	of	our	ideals:	democracy	liberty	opportunity	and	unyielding	hope."		

No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
1	still	4	<p>If there is anyone out there who <u>still</u> doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who <u>still</u> wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who <u>still</u> questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (1)</p>
			<p>And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon <u>still</u> burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope. (25)</p>
2	doubt	3	<p>If there is anyone out there who still <u>doubts</u> that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (1)</p>
			<p>It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and <u>doubtful</u> of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day. (4)</p>

			<p>This is our time – to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth – that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can. (30)</p>
3	all	4	<p>If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (1)</p>
			<p>And above all, I will ask you to join in the work of remaking this nation the only way it's been done in America for two – hundred and twenty – one years – block, brick by brick, calloused hand by calloused hand. (20)</p>
			<p>And to all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world – our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand. (22)</p>
			<p>And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope. (25)</p>

4	possible	1	If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are <u>possible</u> ; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (1)
5	wonder	2	If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still <u>wonders</u> if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (1)
		2	And to all those who have <u>wondered</u> if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope. (25)
6	alive	1	If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is <u>alive</u> in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (1)
7	question	1	If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still <u>questions</u> the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (1)

8	first	1	It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen; by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the very first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different; that their voice could be that difference. (2)
9	different	1	It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen; by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the very first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different ; that their voice could be that difference. (2)
10	young	3	<p>It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled-Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America. (3)</p> <p>It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)</p>

11	old	1	It's the answer spoken by young and old , rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled-Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America. (3)
12	rich	1	It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled-Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America. (3)
13	poor	1	It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor , Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled-Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America. (3)
14	straight	1	It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight , disabled and not disabled-Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America. (3)
15	disable	2	It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled -Americans who sent a message to the world that we have

			never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America. (3)
16	long	3	It's the answer that led those who have been told for so <u>long</u> by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day. (4)
			It's been a <u>long</u> time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, change has come to America. (5)
			The road ahead will be <u>long</u> . (12)
17	cynical	1	It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be <u>cynical</u> , and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day. (4)
18	fear	1	It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and <u>fearful</u> , and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day. (4)
19	achieve	3	It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can <u>achieve</u> to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day. (4)
			And what we have already <u>achieved</u> gives us hope for what we can and must <u>achieve</u> tomorrow. (28)
20	better	1	It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a <u>better</u> day. (4)

21	much	1	We didn't start with much money or many endorsements. (7)
22	many	1	It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen; by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the very first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different; that their voice could be that difference. (2)
			It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day. (4)
		5	We didn't start with much money or many endorsements. (7)
		There are many who won't agree with every decision or policy I make as President, and we know that government can't solve every problem. (17)	
		This is our time – to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth – that out of many , we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can. (30)	
23	front	1	Our campaign was not hatched in the halls of Washington – it began in the backyards of Des Moines and the living rooms of Concord and the front porches of Charleston. (8)

24	reject	1	<p>It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)</p>
25	little	2	<p>It was built by working men and women who dug into what little savings they had to give five dollars and ten dollars and twenty dollars to this cause. (9)</p> <p>It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)</p>
26	less	1	<p>It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries</p>

			later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)
27	brave	1	It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)
28	bitter	1	It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)
29	scorch	1	It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries

			later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)
30	perfect	2	It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)
			Our union can be perfected . (27)
31	more	5	It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day. (4)
			It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)
			We may not get there in one year or even one term, but America – I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there. (14)

			<p>And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope. (25)</p> <p>“Tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms of the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.” (31)</p>
32	later	1	<p>It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. (10)</p>
33	victory	1	This is your victory . (11)
34	steep	1	Our climb will be steep . (13)
35	hope	6	<p>It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day. (4)</p> <p>We may not get there in one year or even one term, but America – I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there. (14)</p>

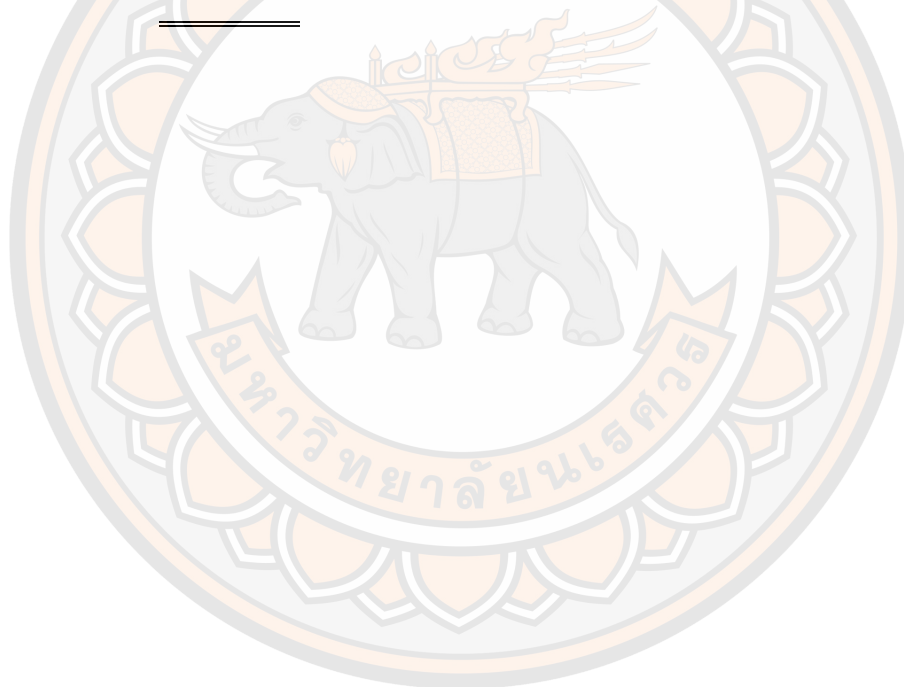
			<p>And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope. (25)</p>
			<p>And what we have already achieved gives us hope for what we can and must achieve tomorrow. (28)</p>
			<p>This is our time – to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth – that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can. (30)</p>
			<p>"Tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms of the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope." (31)</p>
36	false.	1	<p>There will be setbacks and false starts. (16)</p>
37	every	2	<p>There are many who won't agree with every decision or policy I make as President, and we know that government can't solve every problem. (17)</p>
38	honest	1	<p>But I will always be honest with you about the challenges we face. (18)</p>
39	above	1	<p>And above all, I will ask you to join in the work of remaking this nation the only way it's been done in America for two –</p>

			hundred and twenty – one years – block, brick by brick, calloused hand by calloused hand. (20)
40	singular	1	And to all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world – our stories are <u>singular</u> , but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand. (22)
41	callouse	2	And above all, I will ask you to join in the work of remaking this nation the only way it's been done in America for two – hundred and twenty – one years – block, brick by brick, <u>calloused</u> hand by <u>calloused</u> hand. (20)
42	new	1	And to all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world – our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a <u>new</u> dawn of American leadership is at hand. (22)
43	true.	3	And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the <u>true</u> strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope. (25)
			For that is the <u>true</u> genius of America – that America can change. (26)
			“Tonight we proved once more that the <u>true</u> strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms of the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.” (31)

44	back	1	<p>This is our time – to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth – that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can. (30)</p>
45	timeless	1	<p>This is our time – to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth – that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can. (30)</p>
46	enduring	2	<p>And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope. (25)</p> <p>“Tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms of the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.” (31)</p>

47	unyieldin g	2	<p>And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and <u>unyielding</u> hope. (25)</p> <p>“Tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms of the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and <u>unyielding</u> hope.” (31)</p>
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Total 84



Change Has Come to America

Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
Appreciation	reaction -	still (1), still (1), still (1), rejected (10), false (16)	5	5
	reaction +	different (2), long (12), steep (13), above (20), still (25), true (25), enduring (25), true (26), back (30)	9	4
	valuation -	long (4), many (4), long (5), much (7), many (7), little (9), little (10), less (10), many (17), every (17), every (17), calloused (20), calloused (20), singular (22), timeless (30)	15	2
	valuation +	all (1), possible (1), many (2), first (2), more (4), front (8), more (10), later (10), more (14), all (20), all (22), new (22), all (25), more (25), perfected (27), many (30), more (31), enduring (31), unyielding (25), unyielding (31)	20	1
Affect	unhappy	doubts (1), wonders (1), questions (1), fearful (4), doubtful (4), cynical (4), bitter cold (10), scorching heat (10), wondered (25), doubt (30)	10	3
	happy	alive (1), better (4), perfect (10)	3	6
	dissatisfaction	-	-	-
	satisfaction	achieve (4), hope (4), hopeful (14), hope (25), achieved (28), hope (28), achieve (28), hope (30), hope (31)	9	4
	insecurity	-	-	-

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Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
	security	braved (10), honest (18), true (31)	3	6
	desire -	-	-	-
	desire +	-	-	-
Judgment	social sanction -	poor (3), old (3)	2	7
	social sanction +	rich (3), young (3), young (10), young (10)	4	7
	social esteem -	disabled (3)	1	7
	social esteem +	not disabled (3), straight (3), victory (11)	3	6

 84

2. A More Perfect Union

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text
1	<p>“We the people, in order to form a more perfect union” Two hundred and twenty one years ago, in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words, launched America’s improbable experiment in democracy.</p>
2	<p>Farmers and scholars, statesmen and patriots who had traveled across an ocean to escape tyranny and persecution finally made real their declaration of independence at a Philadelphia convention that lasted through the spring of 1787.</p>
3	<p>The document they produced was eventually signed but ultimately unfinished.</p>
4	<p>It was stained by this nation’s original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations.</p>
5	<p>Of course, the answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our Constitution – a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law; a Constitution that promised its people liberty, and justice, and a union that could be and should be perfected over time.</p>
6	<p>And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide men and women of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States.</p>
7	<p>What would be needed were Americans in successive generations who were willing to do their part – through protests and struggle, on the streets and in the</p>

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text
	courts, through a civil war and civil disobedience and always at great risk – to narrow that gap between the promise of our ideals and the reality of their time.
8	This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign – to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America.
9	This belief comes from my unyielding faith in the decency and generosity of the American people.
10	But it also comes from my own American story.
11	I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas.
12	I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas.
13	I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations.
14	I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave owners – an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters.
15	I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.
16	It's a story that hasn't made me the most conventional candidate.
17	But it is a story that has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts – that out of many, we are truly one.

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text
18	Throughout the first year of this campaign, against all predictions to the contrary, we saw how hungry the American people were for this message of unity.
19	Despite the temptation to view my candidacy through a purely racial lens we built a powerful coalition of African Americans and white Americans.
20	“Working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union.
21	Race is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now.
22	The issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we’ve never really worked through – a part of our union that we have yet to perfect.
23	And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find good jobs for every American.
24	Understanding this reality requires a reminder of how we arrived at this point.
25	As William Faulkner once wrote, “The past isn’t dead and buried. In fact, it isn’t even past.”
26	We do need to remind ourselves that so many of the disparities that exist in the African – American community today can be directly traced to inequalities passed on from an earlier generation that suffered under the brutal legacy of slavery and [segregation laws known as] Jim Crow.
27	Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven’t fixed them, fifty years after Brown v. Board of Education, and the inferior education they

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text
	provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students.
28	Legalized discrimination – where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, of loans were not granted to African – American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments – meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations.
29	That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities.
30	A lack of economic opportunity among black men, and the shame and frustration that came from not being able to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families – a problem that welfare policies for many years may have worsened.
31	And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods – parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick-up and building code enforcement – all helped create a cycle of violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us.
32	In fact, a similar anger exists within segments of the white community.
33	Most working – and middle – class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race.
34	Their experience is the immigrant experience – as far as they're concerned, no one's handed them anything, they've built it from scratch.

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text
35	They've worked hard all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pension dumped after a lifetime of labor.
36	They are anxious about their futures, and feel their dreams slipping away; in an era of stagnant wages and global competition, opportunity comes to be seen as a zero sum game, in which your dreams come at my expense.
37	So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in urban neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced, resentment builds over time.
38	Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many.
39	And yet, to wish away the resentments of white Americans, to label them as misguided or even racist, without recognizing they are grounded in legitimate concerns – this too widens the racial divide, and blocks the path to understanding.
40	This is where we are right now.
41	It's a racial stalemate we've been stuck in for years.
42	Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy – particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own.

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text
43	But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union.
44	For the African – American community, that path means embracing the burdens of our past without becoming victims of our past.
45	It means continuing to insist on a full measure of justice in every aspect of American life.
46	But it also means binding our particular grievances – for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs – to the larger aspirations of all Americans – the white woman struggling to break the glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family.
47	And it means taking full responsibility for our own lives – by demanding more from our fathers, and spending more time with our children, and reading to them, and teaching them that while they may face challenges and discrimination in their own lives, they must never succumb to despair or cynicism; they must always believe that they can write their own destiny.
48	In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed.
49	Not just with words, but with deeds – by investing in our schools and our communities; by enforcing our civil rights laws and ensuring fairness in our

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text
	criminal justice system; by providing this generation with ladders of opportunity that were unavailable for previous generations.
50	It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of black and brown and white children will ultimately help all of America prosper.
51	We have a choice in this country.
52	We can accept a politics that breeds division, and conflict, and cynicism...But if we do, I can tell you that in the next election, we'll be talking about some other distraction.
53	And then another one.
54	And then another one.
55	And nothing will change.
56	That is one option.
57	Or, at this moment, in this election, we can come together and say, "Not this time."
58	This time we want to talk about the crumbling schools that are stealing the future of black children and white children and Asian children and Hispanic children and Native American children.
59	This time we want to reject the cynicism that tells us that these kids can't learn; that those kids who don't look like us are somebody else's problem.
60	The children of America are not those kids, they are our kids, and we will not let them fall behind in a 21 st century economy.
61	Not this time.
62	This time we want to talk about how the lines in the Emergency Room are filled with whites and blacks and Hispanics who do not have health care; who don't

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text
	have the power on their own to overcome the special interests in Washington, but who can take them on if we do it together.
63	This time we want to talk about the shuttered mills that once provided a decent life for men and women of every race, and the homes for sale that once belonged to Americans from every religion, every region, every walk of life.
64	This time we want to talk about the fact that the real problem is not that someone who doesn't look like you might take your job; it's that the corporation you work for will ship it overseas for nothing more than a profit.
65	This time we want to talk about the men and women of every color and creed who serve together, and fight together, and bleed together under the same proud flag.
66	We want to talk about how to bring them home from a war that never should've been authorized and never should've been waged, and we want to talk about how we'll show our patriotism by caring for them, and their families, and giving them the benefits they have earned.
67	I would not be running for President if I didn't believe with all my heart that this is what the vast majority of Americans want for this country.
68	This union may never be perfect, but generation after generation has shown that it can always be perfected.
69	And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the most hope is the next generation – the young people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election.

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text										
1	"We	the	people	in	order	to	form	a	more	perfect	union"
	Two	hundred	and	twenty	one	years	ago	in	a	hall	that
	still	stands	across	the	street	a	group	of	men	gathered	and
	with	these	simple	words	launched	America's	improbable	experiment	in	democracy.	
2	Farmers	and	scholars	statesmen	and	patriots	who	had	traveled	across	an
	ocean	to	escape	tyranny	and	persecution	finally	made	real	their	declaration
	of	independence	at	a	Philadelphia	convention	that	lasted	through	the	spring
	of	1787									
3	The	document	they	produced	was	eventually	signed	but	ultimately	unfinished.	
4	It	was	stained	by	this	nation's	original	sin	of	slavery	a
	question	that	divided	the	colonies	and	brought	the	convention	to	a
	stalemate	until	the	founders	chose	to	allow	the	slave	trade	to
	continue	for	at	least	twenty	more	years	and	to	leave	any
	final	resolution	to	future	generations						
5	Of	course	the	answer	to	the	slavery	question	was	already	embedded
	within	our	Constitution	-	a	Constitution	that	had	at	is	very
	core	the	ideal	of	equal	citizenship	under	the	law	a	Constitution
	that	promised	its	people	liberty	and	justice	and	a	union	that
	could	be	and	should	be	perfected	over	time.			
6	And	yet	words	on	a	parchment	would	not	be	enough	to
	deliver	slaves	from	bondage	or	provide	men	and	women	of	every

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text										
	color	and	creed	their	full	rights	and	obligations	as	citizens	of
	the	United	States.								
7	What	would	be	needed	were	Americans	in	successive	generations	who	were
	willing	to	do	their	part	-	through	protests	and	struggle	on
	the	streets	and	in	the	courts	through	a	civil	war	and
	civil	disobedience	and	always	at	great	risk	-	to	narrow	that
	gap	between	the	promise	of	our	ideals	and	the	reality	of
	their	time.									
8	This	was	one	of	the	tasks	we	set	forth	at	the
	beginning	of	this	campaign	-	to	continue	the	long	march	of
	those	who	came	before	us	a	march	for	a	more	just
	more	equal	more	free	more	caring	and	more	prosperous	America.	
9	This	belief	comes	from	my	unyielding	faith	in	the	decency	and
	generosity	of	the	American	people.						
10	But	it	also	comes	from	my	own	American	story.		
11	I	am	the	son	of	a	black	man	from	Kenya	and
	a	white	woman	from	Kansas.						
12	I	was	raised	with	the	help	of	a	white	grandfather	who
	survived	a	Depression	to	serve	in	Patton's	Army	during	World	War
	ll	and	a	white	grandmother	who	worked	on	a	bomber	assembly
	line	at	Fort	Leavenworth	while	he	was	overseas.			

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text										
13	I've	gone	to	some	of	the	best	schools	in	America	and
	lived	in	one	of	the	world's	poorest	nations.			
14	I	am	married	to	a	black	American	who	carries	within	her
	the	blood	of	slaves	and	slave	owners	–	an	inheritance	we
	pass	on	to	our	two	precious	daughters.				
15	I	have	brothers	sisters	nieces	nephews	uncles	and	cousins	of	every
	race	and	every	hue	scattered	across	three	continents	and	for	as
	long	as	I	live	I	will	never	forget	that	in	no
	other	country	on	Earth	is	my	story	even	possible.		
16	It's	a	story	that	hasn't	made	me	the	most	conventional	candidate.
17	But	it	is	a	story	that	has	seared	into	my	genetic
	makeup	the	idea	that	this	nation	is	more	than	the	sum
	of	its	parts	–	that	out	of	many	we	are	truly
	one.										
18	Throughout	the	first	year	of	this	campaign	against	all	predictions	to
	the	contrary	we	saw	how	hungry	the	American	people	were	for
	this	message	of	unity.							
19	Despite	the	temptation	to	view	my	candidacy	through	a	purely	racial
	lens	we	built	a	powerful	coalition	of	African	Americans	and	white
	Americans.										
20	“Working	together	we	can	move	beyond	some	of	our	old	racial

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text										
	wounds	and	that	in	fact	we	have	no	choice	if	we
	are	to	continue	on	the	path	of	a	more	perfect	union.
21	Race	is	an	issue	that	I	believe	this	nation	cannot	afford
	to	ignore	right	now.							
22	The	issues	that	have	surfaced	over	the	last	few	weeks	reflect
	the	complexities	of	race	in	this	country	that	we've	never	really
	worked	through	–	a	part	of	our	union	that	we	have
	yet	to	perfect.								
23	And	if	we	walk	away	now	if	we	simply	retreat	into
	our	respective	corners	we	will	never	be	able	to	come	together
	and	solve	challenges	like	health	care	or	education	or	the	need
	to	find	good	jobs	for	every	American.				
24	Understanding	this	reality	requires	a	reminder	of	how	we	arrived	at
	this	point.									
25	As	William	Faulkner	once	wrote	"The	past	isn't	dead	and	buried.
	In	fact	it	isn't	even	past."					
26	We	do	need	to	remind	ourselves	that	so	many	of	the
	disparities	that	exist	in	the	African	–	American	community	today	can
	be	directly	traced	to	inequalities	passed	on	from	an	earlier	generation
	that	suffered	under	the	brutal	legacy	of	slavery	and	[segregation	laws
	known	as]	Jim	Crow.							

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Move	Text										
27	Segregated	schools	were	and	are	inferior	schools	we	still	haven't	fixed
	them	fifty	years	after	Brown	v.	Board	of	Education	and	the
	inferior	education	they	provided	then	and	now	helps	explain	the	pervasive
	achievement	gap	between	today's	black	and	white	students.			
28	Legalized	discrimination	–	where	blacks	were	prevented	often	through	violence	from
	owning	property	of	loans	were	not	granted	to	African	–	American
	business	owners	or	black	homeowners	could	not	access	FHA	mortgages	or
	blacks	were	excluded	from	unions	or	the	police	force	or	fire
	departments	–	meant	that	black	families	could	not	amass	any	meaningful
wealth	to	bequeath	to	future	generations.						
29	That	history	helps	explain	the	wealth	and	income	gap	between	black
	and	white	and	the	concentrated	pockets	of	poverty	that	persists	in
	so	many	of	today's	urban	and	rural	communities			
30	A	lack	of	economic	opportunity	among	black	men	and	the	shame
	and	frustration	that	came	from	not	being	able	to	provide	for
	one's	family	contributed	to	the	erosion	of	black	families	–	a
	problem	that	welfare	policies	for	many	years	may	have	worsened.	
31	And	the	lack	of	basic	services	in	so	many	urban	black
	neighborhoods	–	parks	for	kids	to	play	in	police	walking	the
	beat	regular	garbage	pick-up	and	building	code	enforcement	–	all	helped
	create	a	cycle	of	violence	blight	and	neglect	that	continue	to

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text										
	haunt	us.									
32	In	fact	a	similar	anger	exists	within	segments	of	the	white
	community.										
33	Most	working	–	and	middle	–	class	white	Americans	don't	feel
	that	they	have	been	particularly	privileged	by	their	race.		
34	Their	experience	is	the	immigrant	experience	–	as	far	as	they're
	concerned	no	one's	handed	them	anything	they've	built	it	from	scratch.
35	They've	worked	hard	all	their	lives	many	times	only	to	see
	their	jobs	shipped	overseas	or	their	pension	dumped	after	a	lifetime
	of	labor.									
36	They	are	anxious	about	their	futures	and	feel	their	dreams	slipping
	away	in	an	era	of	stagnant	wages	and	global	competition	opportunity
	comes	to	be	seen	as	a	zero	sum	game	in	which
	your	dreams	come	at	my	expense.					
37	So	when	they	are	told	to	bus	their	children	to	a
	school	across	town	when	they	hear	that	an	African	American	is
	getting	an	advantage	in	landing	a	good	job	or	a	spot
	in	a	good	college	because	of	an	injustice	that	they	themselves
	never	committed	when	they're	told	that	their	fears	about	crime	in
	urban	neighborhoods	are	somehow	prejudiced	resentment	builds	over	time.		
38	Just	as	black	anger	often	proved	Counter	so	have	these	white

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text										
							productive				
	resentments	distracted	attention	from	the	real	culprits	of	the	middle	class
	squeeze	–	a	corporate	culture	rife	with	inside	dealing	questionable	accounting
	practices	and	short-term	greed	a	Washington	dominated	by	lobby-lists	and	special
	interests	economic	policies	that	favor	the	few	over	the	many.	
39	And	yet	to	wish	away	the	resentments	of	white	Americans	to
	label	them	as	misguided	or	even	racist	without	recognizing	they	are
	grounded	in	legitimate	concerns	–	this	too	widens	the	racial	divide
	and	blocks	the	path	to	understanding					
40	This	is	where	we	are	right	now.				
41	It's	a	racial	stalemate	we've	been	stuck	in	for	years.	
42	Contrary	to	the	claims	of	some	of	my	critics	black	and
	white	I	have	never	been	so	naïve	as	to	believe	that
	can	get	beyond	our	racial	divisions	in	a	single	election	cycle
	or	with	a	single	candidacy	–	particularly	a	candidacy	as	imperfect
	as	my	own.								
43	But	I	have	asserted	a	firm	conviction	–	a	conviction	rooted
	in	my	faith	in	God	and	my	faith	in	the	American
	people	–	that	working	together	we	can	move	beyond	some	of
	our	old	racial	wounds	and	that	in	fact	we	have	no
	choice	if	we	are	to	continue	on	the	path	of	a

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text										
	more	perfect	union.								
44	For	the	African	–	American	community	that	path	means	embracing	the
	burdens	of	our	past	without	becoming	victims	of	our	past.	
45	It	means	continuing	to	insist	on	a	full	measure	of	justice
	in	every	aspect	of	American	life.					
46	But	it	also	means	binding	our	particular	grievances	–	for	better
	health	care	and	better	schools	and	better	jobs	–	to	the
	larger	aspirations	of	all	Americans	–	the	white	woman	struggling	to
	break	the	glass	ceiling	the	white	man	whose	been	laid	off
	the	immigrant	trying	to	feed	his	family.				
47	And	it	means	taking	full	responsibility	for	our	own	lives	–
	by	demanding	more	from	our	fathers	and	spending	more	time	with
	our	children	and	reading	to	them	and	teaching	them	that	while
	they	may	face	challenges	and	discrimination	in	their	own	lives	they
	must	never	succumb	to	despair	or	cynicism	they	must	always	believe
	that	they	can	write	their	own	destiny.				
48	In	the	white	community	the	path	to	a	more	perfect	union
	means	acknowledging	that	what	ails	the	African	–	American	community	does
	not	just	exist	in	the	minds	of	black	people	that	the
	legacy	of	discrimination	–	and	current	incidents	of	discrimination	while	less
	overt	than	in	the	past	–	are	real	and	must	be

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text										
	addressed.										
49	Not	just	with	words	but	with	deeds	-	by	investing	in
	our	schools	and	our	communities	by	enforcing	our	civil	rights	laws
	and	ensuring	fairness	in	our	criminal	justice	system	by	providing	this
	generation	with	ladders	of	opportunity	that	were	unavailable	for	previous	generations
50	It	requires	all	Americans	to	realize	that	your	dreams	do	not
	have	to	come	at	the	expense	of	my	dreams	that	investing
	in	the	health	welfare	and	education	of	black	and	brown	and
	white	children	will	ultimately	help	all	of	America	prosper.		
51	We	have	a	choice	in	this	country.				
52	We	can	accept	a	politics	that	breeds	division	and	conflict	and
	cynicism	But	if	we	do	I	can	tell	you	that	in
	the	next	election	we'll	be	talking	about	some	other	distraction.	
53	And	then	another	one.							
54	And	then	another	one.							
55	And	nothing	will	change.							
56	That	is	one	option.							
57	Or	at	this	moment	in	this	election	we	can	come	together
	and	say	"Not	this	time."						
58	This	time	we	want	to	talk	about	the	crumbling	schools	that
	are	stealing	the	future	of	black	children	and	white	children	and

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Move	Text										
	Asian	children	and	Hispanic	children	and	Native	American	children.		
59	This	time	we	want	to	reject	the	cynicism	that	tells	us
	that	these	kids	can't	learn	that	those	kids	who	don't	look
	like	us	are	somebody	else's	problem.					
60	The	children	of	America	are	not	those	kids	they	are	our
	kids	and	we	will	not	let	them	fall	behind	in	a
	21st	century	economy.								
61	Not	this	time.								
62	This	time	we	want	to	talk	about	how	the	lines	in
	the	Emergency	Room	are	filled	with	whites	and	blacks	and	Hispanics
	who	do	not	have	health	care	who	don't	have	the	power
	on	their	own	to	overcome	the	special	interests	in	Washington	but
	who	can	take	them	on	if	we	do	it	together.	
63	This	time	we	want	to	talk	about	the	shuttered	mills	that
	once	provided	a	decent	life	for	men	and	women	of	every
	race	and	the	homes	for	sale	that	once	belonged	to	Americans
	from	every	religion	every	region	every	walk	of	life.		
64	This	time	we	want	to	talk	about	the	fact	that	the
	real	problem	is	not	that	someone	who	doesn't	look	like	you
	might	take	your	job	it's	that	the	corporation	you	work	for
	will	ship	it	overseas	for	nothing	more	than	a	profit.	

A More Perfect Union

Move	Text										
65	This	time	we	want	to	talk	about	the	men	and	women
	of	every	color	and	creed	who	serve	together	and	fight	together
	and	bleed	together	under	the	same	proud	flag.			
66	We	want	to	talk	about	how	to	bring	them	home	from
	a	war	that	never	should've	been	authorized	and	never	should've	been
	waged	and	we	want	to	talk	about	how	we'll	show	our
	patriotism	by	caring	for	them	and	their	families	and	giving	them
	the	benefits	take	have	earned.						
67	I	would	not	be	running	for	President	if	I	didn't	believe
	with	all	my	heart	that	this	is	what	the	vast	majority
	of	Americans	want	for	this	country.					
68	This	union	may	never	be	perfect	but	generation	after	generation	has
	shown	that	it	can	always	be	perfected.				
69	And	today	whenever	I	find	myself	feeling	doubtful	or	cynical	about
	this	possibility	what	gives	me	the	most	hope	is	the	next
	generation	–	the	young	people	whose	attitudes	and	beliefs	and	openness
	to	change	have	already	made	history	in	this	election.		

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
1	still	2	<p>“We the people, in order to form a more perfect union”</p> <p>Two hundred and twenty one years ago, in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words, launched America’s improbable experiment in democracy. (1)</p>
			<p>Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven’t fixed them, fifty years after Brown v. Board of Education, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today’s black and white students. (27)</p>
2	unfinished	1	<p>The document they produced was eventually signed but ultimately unfinished. (3)</p>
3	stained	1	<p>It was stained by this nation’s original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations. (4)</p>
4	scattered	1	<p>I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible. (15)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
5	seared	1	But it is a story that has <u>seared</u> into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts – that out of many, we are truly one. (17)
6	against	1	Throughout the first year of this campaign, <u>against</u> all predictions to the contrary, we saw how hungry the American people were for this message of unity. (18)
7	able	2	And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be <u>able</u> to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find good jobs for every American. (23)
			A lack of economic opportunity among black men, and the shame and frustration that came from not being <u>able</u> to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families – a problem that welfare policies for many years may have worsened. (30)
8	dead	1	As William Faulkner once wrote, “The past isn't <u>dead</u> and buried. In fact, it isn't even past.” (25)
9	buried	1	As William Faulkner once wrote, “The past isn't dead and <u>buried</u> . In fact, it isn't even past.” (25)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
11	granted	1	Legalized discrimination – where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, of loans were not granted to African – American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments – meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations. (28)
12	concerned	1	Their experience is the immigrant experience – as far as they're concerned , no one's handed them anything, they've built it from scratch. (34)
13	after	3	Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty years after Brown v. Board of Education, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students. (27)
			They've worked hard all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pension dumped after a lifetime of labor. (35)
			This union may never be perfect, but generation after generation has shown that it can always be perfected. (68)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
14	stagnant	1	They are anxious about their futures, and feel their dreams slipping away; in an era of stagnant wages and global competition, opportunity comes to be seen as a zero sum game, in which your dreams come at my expense. (36)
15	prejudiced	1	So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in urban neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced , resentment builds over time. (37)
16	inside	1	Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)
17	single	2	Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy – particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own. (42)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
18	authorized	1	We want to talk about how to bring them home from a war that never should've been <u>authorized</u> and never should've been waged, and we want to talk about how we'll show our patriotism by caring for them, and their families, and giving them the benefits they have earned. (66)
19	embedded	1	Of course, the answer to the slavery question was already <u>embedded</u> within our Constitution – a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law; a Constitution that promised its people liberty, and justice, and a union that could be and should be perfected over time. (5)
20	genetic	1	But it is a story that has seared into my <u>genetic</u> makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts – that out of many, we are truly one. (17)
21	respective	1	And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our <u>respective</u> corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find good jobs for every American. (23)
22	concentrated	1	That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the <u>concentrated</u> pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities. (29)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
23	privileged	1	Most working – and middle – class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race. (33)
24	corporate	1	Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)
25	right	1	This is where we are right now. (40)
26	rooted	1	But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union. (43)
27	particular	1	But it also means binding our particular grievances – for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs – to the larger aspirations of all Americans – the white woman struggling to break the glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family. (46)
28	current	1	In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. (48)</p>
29	real	4	<p>Farmers and scholars, statesmen and patriots who had traveled across an ocean to escape tyranny and persecution finally made real their declaration of independence at a Philadelphia convention that lasted through the spring of 1787. (2)</p> <p>Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)</p> <p>In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. (48)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			This time we want to talk about the fact that the real problem is not that someone who doesn't look like you might take your job; it's that the corporation you work for will ship it overseas for nothing more than a profit. (64)
30	next	2	We can accept a politics that breeds division, and conflict, and cynicism...But if we do, I can tell you that in the next election, we'll be talking about some other distraction. (52)
			And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the most hope is the next generation – the young people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election. (69)
31	decent	1	This time we want to talk about the shuttered mills that once provided a decent life for men and women of every race, and the homes for sale that once belonged to Americans from every religion, every region, every walk of life. (63)
32	ago	1	"We the people, in order to form a more perfect union" Two hundred and twenty one years ago , in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words, launched America's improbable experiment in democracy. (1)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
33	improbable	1	<p>“We the people, in order to form a more perfect union”</p> <p>Two hundred and twenty one years ago, in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words, launched America’s improbable experiment in democracy. (1)</p>
34	original	1	<p>It was stained by this nation’s original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations. (4)</p>
35	more	14	<p>“We the people, in order to form a more perfect union”</p> <p>Two hundred and twenty one years ago, in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words, launched America’s improbable experiment in democracy. (1)</p> <p>It was stained by this nation’s original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations. (4)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign – to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America. (8)</p>
			<p>But it is a story that has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts – that out of many, we are truly one. (17)</p>
			<p>“Working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union. (20)</p>
			<p>But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union. (43)</p>
			<p>And it means taking full responsibility for our own lives – by demanding more from our fathers, and spending more time with our children, and reading to them, and teaching them that while they may face challenges and discrimination in their own lives, they must never succumb to despair or cynicism; they must</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>always believe that they can write their own destiny. (47)</p> <p>In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. (48)</p> <p>This time we want to talk about the fact that the real problem is not that someone who doesn't look like you might take your job; it's that the corporation you work for will ship it overseas for nothing more than a profit. (64)</p>
36	enough	1	<p>And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide men and women of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States. (6)</p>
37	great	1	<p>What would be needed were Americans in successive generations who were willing to do their part – through protests and struggle, on the streets and in the courts, through a civil war and civil disobedience and always at great risk – to narrow that gap between the promise of our ideals and the reality of their time. (7)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
38	poorest	1	I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. (13)
39	every	10	And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide men and women of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States. (6)
			I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible. (15)
			And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find good jobs for every American. (23)
			It means continuing to insist on a full measure of justice in every aspect of American life. (45)
			This time we want to talk about the shuttered mills that once provided a decent life for men and women of every race, and the homes for sale that once belonged to Americans from every religion, every region, every walk of life. (63)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			This time we want to talk about the men and women of <u>every</u> color and creed who serve together, and fight together, and bleed together under the same proud flag. (65)
40	long	2	<p>This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign – to continue the <u>long</u> march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America. (8)</p> <p>I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as <u>long</u> as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible. (15)</p>
41	first	1	Throughout the <u>first</u> year of this campaign, against all predictions to the contrary, we saw how hungry the American people were for this message of unity. (18)
42	all	7	Throughout the first year of this campaign, against <u>all</u> predictions to the contrary, we saw how hungry the American people were for this message of unity. (18)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods – parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick-up and building code enforcement – all helped create a cycle of violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us. (31)</p> <p>They've worked hard all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pension dumped after a lifetime of labor. (35)</p> <p>But it also means binding our particular grievances – for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs – to the larger aspirations of all Americans – the white woman struggling to break the glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family. (46)</p> <p>It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of black and brown and white children will ultimately help all of America prosper. (50)</p> <p>I would not be running for President if I didn't believe with all my heart that this is what the vast majority of Americans want for this country. (67)</p>
43	racial	5	Despite the temptation to view my candidacy through a purely racial lens we built a powerful

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>coalition of African Americans and white Americans. (19)</p> <p>“Working together we can move beyond some of our old <u>racial</u> wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union. (20)</p> <p>It’s a <u>racial</u> stalemate we’ve been stuck in for years. (41)</p> <p>Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that can get beyond our <u>racial</u> divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy – particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own. (42)</p> <p>But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old <u>racial</u> wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union. (43)</p>
44	old	2	<p>“Working together we can move beyond some of our <u>old</u> racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union. (20)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union. (43)</p>
45	over	4	<p>Of course, the answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our Constitution – a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law; a Constitution that promised its people liberty, and justice, and a union that could be and should be perfected over time. (5)</p> <p>The issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we've never really worked through – a part of our union that we have yet to perfect. (22)</p> <p>So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in urban neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced, resentment builds over time. (37)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few <u>over</u> the many. (38)
46	few	2	The issues that have surfaced over the last <u>few</u> weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we've never really worked through – a part of our union that we have yet to perfect. (22)
			Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the <u>few</u> over the many. (38)
47	past	5	As William Faulkner once wrote, “The <u>past</u> isn't dead and buried. In fact, it isn't even <u>past</u> .” (25)
			For the African – American community, that path means embracing the burdens of our <u>past</u> without becoming victims of our <u>past</u> . (44)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. (48)</p>
48	inferior	2	<p>Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty years after Brown v. Board of Education, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students. (27)</p>
49	future	2	<p>It was stained by this nation's original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations. (4)</p> <p>Legalized discrimination – where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, of loans were not granted to African – American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments – meant that black families could not</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations. (28)
50	rural	1	That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities. (29)
51	many	7	But it is a story that has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts – that out of many , we are truly one. (17)
			We do need to remind ourselves that so many of the disparities that exist in the African – American community today can be directly traced to inequalities passed on from an earlier generation that suffered under the brutal legacy of slavery and [segregation laws known as] Jim Crow. (26)
			That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities. (29)
			A lack of economic opportunity among black men, and the shame and frustration that came from not being able to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families – a problem that welfare policies for many years may have worsened. (30)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods – parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick-up and building code enforcement – all helped create a cycle of violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us. (31)</p>
			<p>They've worked hard all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pension dumped after a lifetime of labor. (35)</p>
			<p>Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)</p>
52	urban	3	<p>That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities. (29)</p> <p>And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods – parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick-up and building code enforcement – all helped create a cycle of</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us. (31)
			So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in <u>urban</u> neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced, resentment builds over time. (37)
53	similar	1	In fact, a <u>similar</u> anger exists within segments of the white community. (32)
54	far	1	Their experience is the immigrant experience – as <u>far</u> as they're concerned, no one's handed them anything, they've built it from scratch. (34)
55	hard	1	They've worked <u>hard</u> all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pension dumped after a lifetime of labor. (35)
56	imperfect	1	Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy – particularly a candidacy as <u>imperfect</u> as my own. (42)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
57	less	1	In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. (48)
58	previous	1	Not just with words, but with deeds – by investing in our schools and our communities; by enforcing our civil rights laws and ensuring fairness in our criminal justice system; by providing this generation with ladders of opportunity that were unavailable for previous generations. (49)
59	perfect	8	<p>“We the people, in order to form a more perfect union”</p> <p>Two hundred and twenty one years ago, in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words, launched America’s improbable experiment in democracy. (1)</p> <p>Of course, the answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our Constitution – a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law; a Constitution that promised its people liberty, and justice, and a union that could be and should be perfected over time. (5)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>“Working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more <u>perfect</u> union. (20)</p>
			<p>The issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we’ve never really worked through – a part of our union that we have yet to <u>perfect</u>. (22)</p>
			<p>But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more <u>perfect</u> union. (43)</p>
			<p>In the white community, the path to a more <u>perfect</u> union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. (48)</p>
			<p>This union may never be <u>perfect</u>, but generation after generation has shown that it can always be <u>perfected</u>. (68)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
60	any	2	It was stained by this nation's original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations. (4)
			Legalized discrimination – where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, of loans were not granted to African – American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments – meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations. (28)
61	final	1	It was stained by this nation's original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations. (4)
62	equal	2	Of course, the answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our Constitution – a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law; a Constitution that

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>promised its people liberty, and justice, and a union that could be and should be perfected over time. (5)</p> <p>This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign – to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America. (8)</p>
63	full	3	<p>And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide men and women of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States. (6)</p> <p>It means continuing to insist on a full measure of justice in every aspect of American life. (45)</p> <p>And it means taking full responsibility for our own lives – by demanding more from our fathers, and spending more time with our children, and reading to them, and teaching them that while they may face challenges and discrimination in their own lives, they must never succumb to despair or cynicism; they must always believe that they can write their own destiny. (47)</p>
64	best	1	<p>I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. (13)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
65	precious	1	I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave owners – an inheritance we pass on to our two <u>precious</u> daughters. (14)
66	most	3	It's a story that hasn't made me the <u>most</u> conventional candidate. (16)
			<u>Most</u> working – and middle – class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race. (33)
			And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the <u>most</u> hope is the next generation – the young people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election. (69)
67	good	3	And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find <u>good</u> jobs for every American. (23)
			So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a <u>good</u> job or a spot in a <u>good</u> college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in urban

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced, resentment builds over time. (37)
68	global	1	They are anxious about their futures, and feel their dreams slipping away; in an era of stagnant wages and global competition, opportunity comes to be seen as a zero sum game, in which your dreams come at my expense. (36)
69	rife	1	Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)
70	special	2	Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			This time we want to talk about how the lines in the Emergency Room are filled with whites and blacks and Hispanics who do not have health care; who don't have the power on their own to overcome the special interests in Washington, but who can take them on if we do it together. (62)
71	firm	1	But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union. (43)
72	better	3	But it also means binding our particular grievances – for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs – to the larger aspirations of all Americans – the white woman struggling to break the glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family. (46)
73	larger	1	But it also means binding our particular grievances – for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs – to the larger aspirations of all Americans – the white woman struggling to break the glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family. (46)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
74	overt	1	In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. (48)
75	same	1	This time we want to talk about the men and women of every color and creed who serve together, and fight together, and bleed together under the same proud flag. (65)
76	vast	1	I would not be running for President if I didn't believe with all my heart that this is what the vast majority of Americans want for this country. (67)
77	anxious	1	They are anxious about their futures, and feel their dreams slipping away; in an era of stagnant wages and global competition, opportunity comes to be seen as a zero sum game, in which your dreams come at my expense. (36)
78	questionable	1	Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)
79	doubtful	1	And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the most hope is the next generation – the young people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election. (69)
80	cynical	1	And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the most hope is the next generation – the young people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election. (69)
81	free	1	This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign – to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free , more caring and more prosperous America. (8)
82	prosperous	1	This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign – to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America. (8)
83	raised	1	I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. (12)
84	successive	1	What would be needed were Americans in successive generations who were willing to do their part – through protests and struggle, on the streets and in the courts, through a civil war and civil disobedience and always at great risk – to narrow that gap between the promise of our ideals and the reality of their time. (7)
85	overseas	1	I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas . (12)
86	immigrant	1	Their experience is the immigrant experience – as far as they're concerned, no one's handed them anything, they've built it from scratch. (34)
87	criminal	1	Not just with words, but with deeds – by investing in our schools and our communities; by enforcing our civil rights laws and ensuring fairness in our criminal justice system; by providing this generation with ladders of opportunity that were unavailable for previous generations. (49)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
88	caring	1	This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign – to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America. (8)
89	powerful	1	Despite the temptation to view my candidacy through a purely racial lens we built a powerful coalition of African Americans and white Americans. (19)
90	unyielding	1	This belief comes from my unyielding faith in the decency and generosity of the American people. (9)
91	unavailable	1	Not just with words, but with deeds – by investing in our schools and our communities; by enforcing our civil rights laws and ensuring fairness in our criminal justice system; by providing this generation with ladders of opportunity that were unavailable for previous generations. (49)
92	possible	1	I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible . (15)
93	black	17	I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. (11)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave owners – an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. (14)</p>
			<p>Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty years after Brown v. Board of Education, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students. (27)</p>
			<p>Legalized discrimination – where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, of loans were not granted to African – American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments – meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations. (28)</p>
			<p>That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities. (29)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>A lack of economic opportunity among black men, and the shame and frustration that came from not being able to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families – a problem that welfare policies for many years may have worsened. (30)</p>
			<p>And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods – parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick-up and building code enforcement – all helped create a cycle of violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us. (31)</p>
			<p>Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)</p>
			<p>Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy – particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own. (42)</p>

A More Perfect Union

No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. (48)</p>
			<p>It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of black and brown and white children will ultimately help all of America prosper. (50)</p>
			<p>This time we want to talk about the crumbling schools that are stealing the future of black children and white children and Asian children and Hispanic children and Native American children. (58)</p>
			<p>This time we want to talk about how the lines in the Emergency Room are filled with whites and blacks and Hispanics who do not have health care; who don't have the power on their own to overcome the special interests in Washington, but who can take them on if we do it together. (62)</p>
94	white	16	<p>I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. (11)</p>

A More Perfect Union

No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. (12)
			Despite the temptation to view my candidacy through a purely racial lens we built a powerful coalition of African Americans and white Americans. (19)
			Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty years after Brown v. Board of Education, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students. (27)
			That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white , and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities. (29)
			In fact, a similar anger exists within segments of the white community. (32)
			Most working – and middle – class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race. (33)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)</p>
			<p>And yet, to wish away the resentments of white Americans, to label them as misguided or even racist, without recognizing they are grounded in legitimate concerns – this too widens the racial divide, and blocks the path to understanding. (39)</p>
			<p>Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy – particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own. (42)</p>
			<p>But it also means binding our particular grievances – for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs – to the larger aspirations of all Americans – the white woman struggling to break the glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family. (46)</p>

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. (48)</p>
			<p>It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of black and brown and white children will ultimately help all of America prosper. (50)</p>
			<p>This time we want to talk about the crumbling schools that are stealing the future of black children and white children and Asian children and Hispanic children and Native American children. (58)</p>
			<p>This time we want to talk about how the lines in the Emergency Room are filled with whites and blacks and Hispanics who do not have health care; who don't have the power on their own to overcome the special interests in Washington, but who can take them on if we do it together. (62)</p>
95	middle	2	<p>Most working – and middle – class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race. (33)</p>

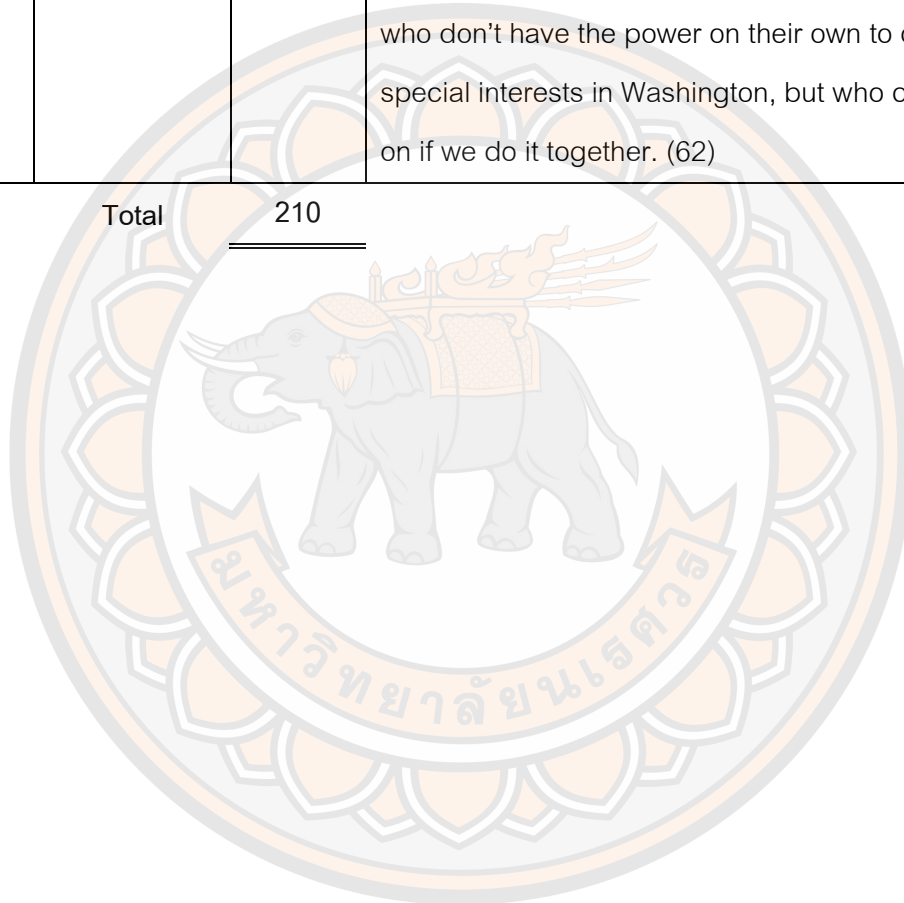
A More Perfect Union

No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the <u>middle</u> class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. (38)
96	brown	1	It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of black and <u>brown</u> and white children will ultimately help all of America prosper. (50)
97	young	1	And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the most hope is the next generation – the <u>young</u> people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election. (69)
98	conventional	1	It's a story that hasn't made me the most <u>conventional</u> candidate. (16)
99	hispanic	2	This time we want to talk about the crumbling schools that are stealing the future of black children and white children and Asian children and <u>Hispanic</u> children and Native American children. (58)

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No.	Word	Amount	Sentence
			<p>This time we want to talk about how the lines in the Emergency Room are filled with whites and blacks and Hispanics who do not have health care; who don't have the power on their own to overcome the special interests in Washington, but who can take them on if we do it together. (62)</p>

Total 210



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Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
Appreciation	reaction -	still (1), unfinished (3), stained (4), scattered (15), seared (17), against (18), able (23), dead (25), buried (25), still (27), granted (28), able (30), concerned (34), after (35), stagnant (36), prejudiced (37), inside (38), single (42), single (42), authorized (66)	20	4
	reaction +	embedded (5), genetic (17), respective (23), after (27), concentrated (29), privileged (33), corporate (38), right (40), rooted (43), particular (46), current (48), real (48), next (52), decent (63), after (68), next (69)	16	5
	valuation -	ago (1), improbable (1), original (4), more (4), enough (6), great (7), poorest (13), every (15), every (15), long (15), first (18), all (18), racial (19), old (20), racial (20), over (22), few (22), past (25), inferior (27), inferior (27), future (28), rural (29), many (30), many (31), urban (31), similar (32), far (34), hard (35), all (35), many (35), over (37), real (38), few (38), over (38), racial (39), racial (41), racial (42), imperfect (42), old (43), racial (43), past (44), past (44), less (48), past (48), previous (49), perfect (68)	46	2

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Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
	valuation +	more (1), perfect (1), real (2), any (4), final (4), future (4), equal (5), perfected (5), over (5), every (6), full (6), long (8), move (8), more (8), equal (8), more (8), more (8), more (8), best (13), precious (14), most (16), more (17), many (17), more (20), perfect (20), perfect (22), good (23), every (23), past (25), many (26), many (29), urban (29), all (31), most (33), global (36), good (37), good (37), rife (38), special (38), many (38), firm (43), more (43), perfect (43), full (45), every (45), better (46), better (46), better (46), larger (46), all (46), full (47), more (47), more (47), more (48), perfect (48), overt (48), all (50), all (50), special (62), every (63), every (63), every (63), every (63), real (64), more (64), every (65), same (65), all (67), vast (67), perfected (68), most (69)	71	1
Affect	unhappy	anxious (36), questionable (38), doubtful (69), cynical (69)	4	7
	happy	free (8), prosperous (8), raised (12)	3	8
	dissatisfaction	-	0	-
	satisfaction	successive (7)	1	10

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Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
	insecurity	overseas (12), immigrant (34), urban (37), criminal (49)	4	7
	security	caring (8), powerful (19)	2	9
	desire -	unyielding (9), unavailable (49)	2	9
	desire +	possible (15)	1	10
Judegement	social sanction -	black (11), black (14), blacks (28), black (28), blacks (28), black (28), black (29), black (30), black (30), black (31), black (38), black (42), black (48)	13	6
	social sanction +	white (11), white (12), white (19), black (27), white (27), white (29), white (32), middle (33), white (33), white (38), middle (38), white (39), white (42), white (46), white (46), white (48), black (50), brown (50), white (50), black (58), white (58), white (62), blacks (62), young (69)	24	3
	social esteem -	-	0	-
	social esteem +	conventional (16), hispanic (58), hispanic (62)	3	8

บทที่ 5

บทสรุป อภิปรายผล และข้อเสนอแนะ

การวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาโดยการใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเซิล จากหนังสือ "President Barack OBAMA In His Own words" จำนวน 2 บท ได้แก่ "Change Has Come to America" และ "A More Perfect Union" โดยสรุปดังต่อไปนี้

สรุปผลการวิจัย

จากผลการวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์พบว่า ลักษณะคำคุณศัพท์ (Adjective) ที่ปรากฏในบทสุนทรพจน์ Change Has Come to America มีจำนวนทั้งหมด 84 คำ และบทสุนทรพจน์ A More Perfect Union มีจำนวนทั้งหมด 210 คำ สามารถวิเคราะห์คำโดยใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเซิล แบ่งออกเป็น 3 ประเภท ได้แก่ ด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) ด้านการส่งผลกระทบ (Affect) และด้านการตัดสิน (Judgment) ซึ่งในแต่ละด้านสามารถจำแนกได้ดังนี้

1. ด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) แบ่งออกเป็น 4 ประเภท ได้แก่ การโต้ตอบด้านบวกและการโต้ตอบด้านลบ (Reaction +,-) การประเมินค่าด้านบวกและการประเมินค่าด้านลบ (Valuation +,-)
2. ด้านการส่งผลกระทบ (Affect) แบ่งออกเป็น 8 ประเภท ได้แก่ คำแสดงเกี่ยวกับการไม่มีความสุข (Unhappy) ความสุข (Happy) ความไม่พึงพอใจ (Dissatisfaction) ความพึงพอใจ (Satisfaction) ความไม่ปลอดภัย (Insecurity) ความปลอดภัย (Security) ความต้องการด้านบวกและความต้องการด้านลบ (Desire+,-)
3. ด้านการตัดสิน (Judgment) แบ่งออกเป็น 4 ประเภท ได้แก่ การลงโทษทางสังคม ด้านบวก และการลงโทษทางสังคมด้านลบ (Social sanction +,-) การเห็นคุณค่าในสังคมด้านบวก และการเห็นคุณค่าในสังคมด้านลบ (Social esteem +,-)

จากการวิเคราะห์คำโดยใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเพรเซิลพบว่าบทสุนทรพจน์ Change Has Come to America มีคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) มากที่สุด จำนวน 49 คำ รองลงมาคือด้านการส่งผลกระทบ (Affect) จำนวน 25 คำ และด้านการตัดสิน (Judgment) จำนวน 10 คำ ตามลำดับ และบทสุนทรพจน์ A More Perfect Union มีคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) มากที่สุด จำนวน 153 คำ รองลงมาคือด้านการตัดสิน

(Judgment) จำนวน 40 คำ และด้านการส่งผลกระทบต่อ (Affect) จำนวน 17 คำ ตามลำดับ ซึ่งการวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ตามประเภทของคำคุณศัพท์ในแต่ละด้าน พบว่าบทสุนทรพจน์ทั้ง 2 บทมีคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) มากที่สุด และจากผลการวิเคราะห์ภาษาสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีโอบามาโดยใช้ทฤษฎีแอฟเฟกซ์ สามารถสรุปผลการวิจัยโดยจำแนกผลตามตารางดังนี้

1. Change Has Come to America

Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
Appreciation	reaction -	still (1), still (1), still (1), rejected (10), false (16)	5	5
	reaction +	different (2), long (12), steep (13), above (20), still (25), true (25), enduring (25), true (26), back (30)	9	4
	valuation -	long (4), many (4), long (5), much (7), many (7), little (9), little (10), less (10), many (17), every (17), every (17), calloused (20), calloused (20), singular (22), timeless (30)	15	2
	valuation +	all (1), possible (1), many (2), first (2), more (4), front (8), more (10), later (10), more (14), all (20), all (22), new (22), all (25), more (25), perfected (27), many (30), more (31), enduring (31), unyielding (25), unyielding (31)	20	1
Affect	unhappy	doubts (1), wonders (1), questions (1), fearful (4), doubtful (4), cynical (4), bitter cold (10), scorching heat (10), wondered (25), doubt (30)	10	3
	happy	alive (1), better (4), perfect (10)	3	6
	dissatisfaction	-	-	-

Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
	satisfaction	achieve (4), hope (4), hopeful (14), hope (25), achieved (28), hope (28), achieve (28), hope (30), hope (31)	9	4
	insecurity	-	-	-
	security	braved (10), honest (18), true (31)	3	6
	desire -	-	-	-
	desire +	-	-	-
Judgment	social sanction -	poor (3), old (3)	2	7
	social sanction +	rich (3), young (3), young (10), young (10)	4	7
	social esteem -	disabled (3)	1	7
	social esteem +	not disabled (3), straight (3), victory (11)	3	6

2. A More Perfect Union

Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
Appreciation	reaction -	still (1), unfinished (3), stained (4), scattered (15), seared (17), against (18), able (23), dead (25), buried (25), still (27), granted (28), able (30), concerned (34), after (35), stagnant (36), prejudiced (37), inside (38), single (42), single (42), authorized (66)	20	4
	reaction +	embedded (5), genetic (17), respective (23), after (27), concentrated (29), privileged (33), corporate (38), right (40), rooted (43), particular (46), current (48), real (48), next (52), decent (63), after (68), next (69)	16	5
	valuation -	ago (1), improbable (1), original (4), more (4), enough (6), great (7), poorest (13), every (15), every (15), long (15), first (18), all (18), racial (19), old (20), racial (20), over (22), few (22), past (25), inferior (27), inferior (27), future (28), rural (29), many (30), many (31), urban (31), similar (32), far (34), hard (35), all (35), many (35), over (37), real (38), few (38), over (38), racial (39), racial (41), racial (42), imperfect (42), old (43), racial (43), past (44), past (44), less (48), past (48), previous (49), perfect (68)	46	2

Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
	valuation +	more (1), perfect (1), real (2), any (4), final (4), future (4), equal (5), perfected (5), over (5), every (6), full (6), long (8), move (8), more (8), equal (8), more (8), more (8), more (8), best (13), precious (14), most (16), more (17), many (17), more (20), perfect (20), perfect (22), good (23), every (23), past (25), many (26), many (29), urban (29), all (31), most (33), global (36), good (37), good (37), rife (38), special (38), many (38), firm (43), more (43), perfect (43), full (45), every (45), better (46), better (46), better (46), larger (46), all (46), full (47), more (47), more (47), more (48), perfect (48), overt (48), all (50), all (50), special (62), every (63), every (63), every (63), every (63), real (64), more (64), every (65), same (65), all (67), vast (67), perfected (68), most (69)	71	1
Affect	unhappy	anxious (36), questionable (38), doubtful (69), cynical (69)	4	7
	happy	free (8), prosperous (8), raised (12)	3	8
	dissatisfaction	-	0	-
	satisfaction	successive (7)	1	10
	insecurity	overseas (12), immigrant (34), urban (37), criminal (49)	4	7
	security	caring (8), powerful (19)	2	9
	desire -	unyielding (9), unavailable (49)	2	9
	desire +	possible (15)	1	10

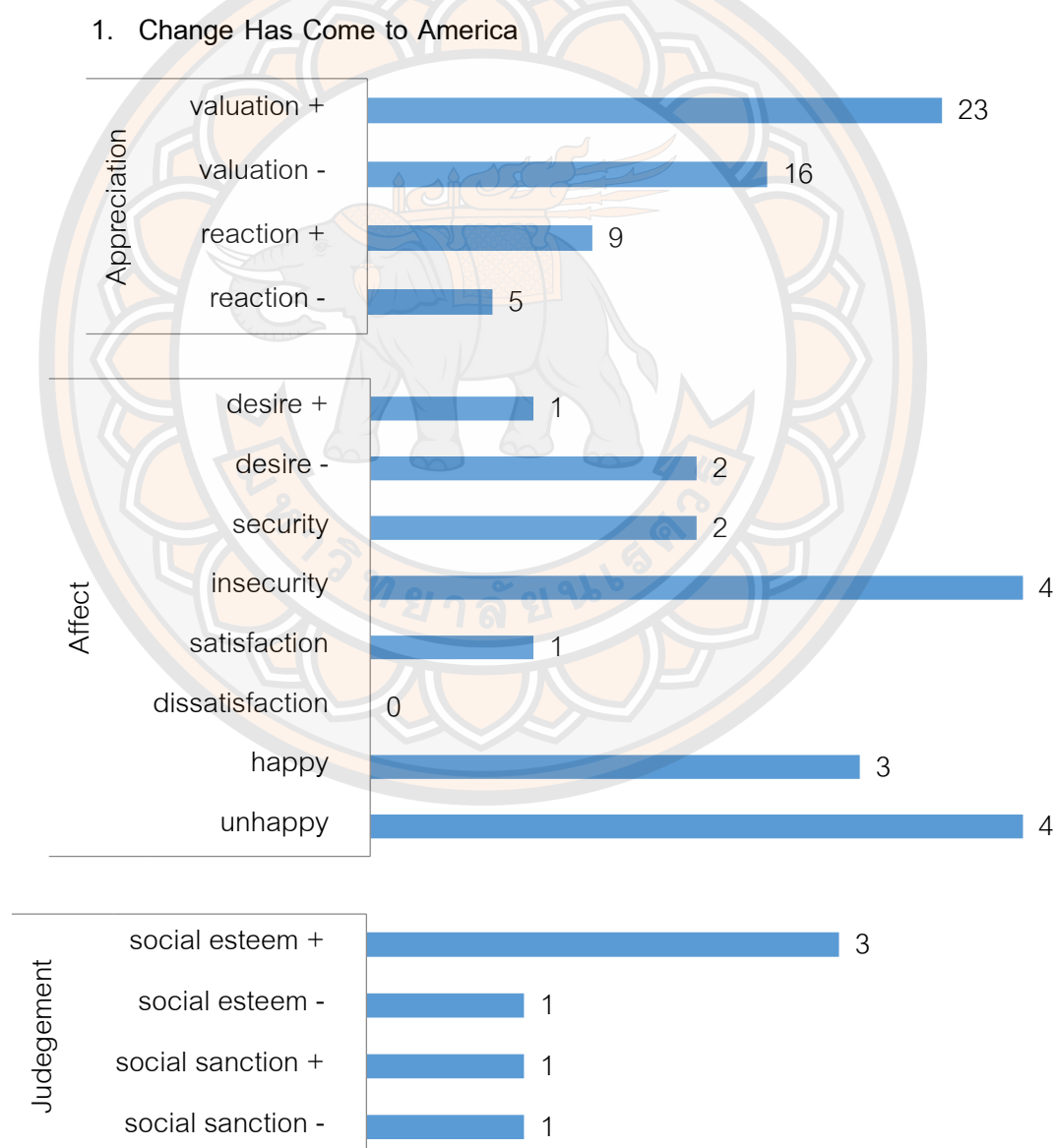
Appraisal Analysis: Attitude		Word Analysis	Total	Rank
Judgement	social sanction -	black (11), black (14), blacks (28), black (28), blacks (28), black (28), black (29), black (30), black (30), black (31), black (38), black (42), black (48)	13	6
	social sanction +	white (11), white (12), white (19), black (27), white (27), white (29), white (32), middle (33), white (33), white (38), middle (38), white (39), white (42), white (46), white (46), white (48), black (50), brown (50), white (50), black (58), white (58), white (62), blacks (62), young (69)	24	3
	social esteem -	-	0	-
	social esteem +	conventional (16), hispanic (58), hispanic (62)	3	8

 210

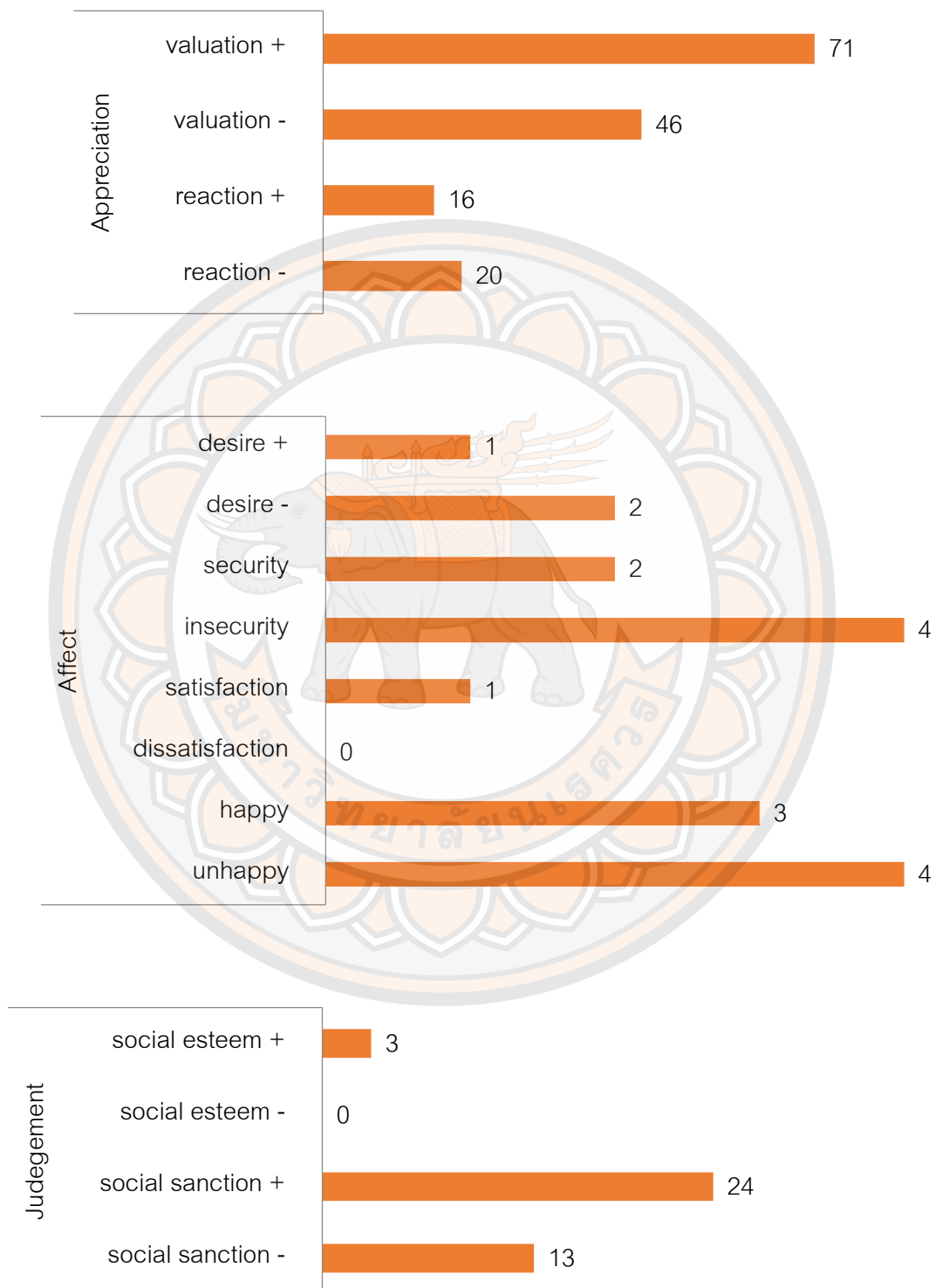
อภิปรายผล

ผลการศึกษาคำคุณศัพท์ในครั้งนี้แสดงให้เห็นว่า ประชานาธิปไตยอเมริกา กล่าวบทสุนทรพจน์โดยเลือกใช้ลักษณะคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านการชื่นชมหรือเล็งเห็นคุณค่า (Appreciation) มากกว่าคำคุณศัพท์ในด้านอื่นๆ กล่าวได้ว่า บทสุนทรพจน์ทั้ง 2 บท มีการเลือกใช้ภาษาเพื่อสร้างสรรค์ให้เกิดทัศนคติที่ดีต่อทั้งผู้พูดและผู้ฟัง

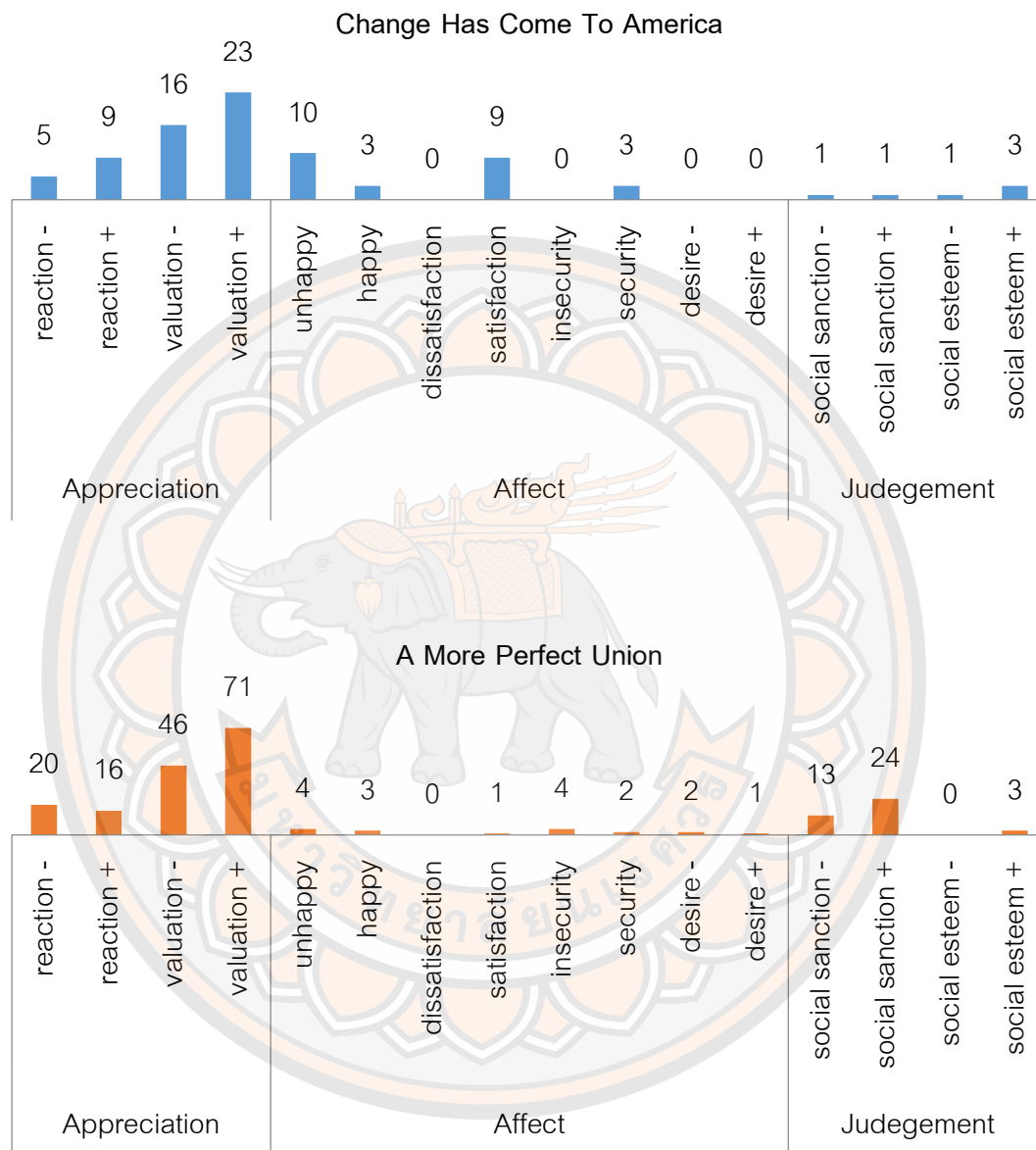
จากผลสรุปการวิจัยภาษาสุนทรพจน์ของประชานาธิปไตยอเมริกาโดยการใช้ทฤษฎีแอปเพรเซชัน สามารถอภิปรายผลการวิจัยในรูปแบบกราฟแท่งแสดงผลได้ดังนี้



2. A More Perfect Union



จากการวิเคราะห์บทสุนทรพจน์ทั้ง 2 บท สามารถจำแนกคำคุณศัพท์ที่ปรากฏในแต่ละด้านได้ตามแผนภูมิตารางดังนี้



ข้อเสนอแนะ

ควรมีการวิเคราะห์เพิ่มเติมเกี่ยวกับด้านการเมือง เศรษฐกิจ และสังคม ในระยะเวลาที่ประธานาธิบดีโอบามาพูดสุนทรพจน์เพื่อหาคะแนนเสียงในการเลือกตั้ง และอาจวิเคราะห์ Reflection of Barak Obama's attitude หรือแบบ Interpersonal อาจมีการเปรียบเทียบบทสุนทรพจน์ที่รับตำแหน่งแต่คนละสมัย แล้วเปรียบเทียบทัศนคติ (attitude)



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บรรณานุกรม

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บางกอกโพสต์และเดอะเนชั่น ในแง่ของความหมายของคำศัพท์ โครงสร้าง
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ภาคผนวก

มหาวิทยาลัยรัตนนคร

ภาคผนวก ก

Change Has Come to America

*Election night remarks**Chicago, Illinois, November 4, 2008*

If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer.

It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen; by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the very first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different; that their voice could be that difference.

It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled-Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America.

It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day.

It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, change has come to America.

...

I was never the likeliest candidate for this office. We didn't start with much money or many endorsements. Our campaign was not hatched in the halls of Washington – it began in the backyards of Des Moines and the living rooms of Concord and the front porches of Charleston.

It was built by working men and women who dug into what little savings they had to give five dollars and ten dollars and twenty dollars to this cause. It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young

people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. This is your victory.

...

The road ahead will be long. Our climb will be steep. We may not get there in one year or even one term, but America – I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there. I promise you – we as a people will get there.

There will be setbacks and false starts. There are many who won't agree with every decision or policy I make as President, and we know that government can't solve every problem. But I will always be honest with you about the challenges we face. I will listen to you, especially when we disagree. And above all, I will ask you to join in the work of remaking this nation the only way it's been done in America for two – hundred and twenty – one years – block, brick by brick, calloused hand by calloused hand.

...

And to those Americans whose support I have yet to earn – I may not have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I need your help, and I will be your President too.

And to all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world – our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand. To those who would tear this world down – we will defeat you. To those who seek peace and security – we support you. And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope. For that is the true genius of America – that America can change. Our union can be perfected. And what we have already achieved gives us hope for what we can and must achieve tomorrow.

...

This is our moment. This is our time – to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth – that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can.

“Tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.”



ภาคผนวก ข A More Perfect Union**A More Perfect Union**

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 18, 2008

“We the people, in order to form a more perfect union” Two hundred and twenty one years ago, in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words, launched America’s improbable experiment in democracy. Farmers and scholars, statesmen and patriots who had traveled across an ocean to escape tyranny and persecution finally made real their declaration of independence at a Philadelphia convention that lasted through the spring of 1787.

The document they produced was eventually signed but ultimately unfinished. It was stained by this nation’s original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations.

Of course, the answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our Constitution – a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law; a Constitution that promised its people liberty, and justice, and a union that could be and should be perfected over time.

And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide men and women of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States. What would be needed were Americans in successive generations who were willing to do their part – through protests and struggle, on the streets and in the courts, through a civil war and civil disobedience and always at great risk – to narrow that gap between the promise of our ideals and the reality of their time.

This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign – to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America.

...

This belief comes from my unyielding faith in the decency and generosity of the American people. But it also comes from my own American story.

I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave owners – an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.

It's a story that hasn't made me the most conventional candidate. But it is a story that has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts – that out of many, we are truly one.

Throughout the first year of this campaign, against all predictions to the contrary, we saw how hungry the American people were for this message of unity. Despite the temptation to view my candidacy through a purely racial lens we built a powerful coalition of African Americans and white Americans.

...

"Working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union. Race is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now. ... The issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we've never really worked through – a part of our union that we have yet to perfect. And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find good jobs for every American.

Understanding this reality requires a reminder of how we arrived at this point. As William Faulkner once wrote, "The past isn't dead and buried. In fact, it isn't even past."

We do need to remind ourselves that so many of the disparities that exist in the African – American community today can be directly traced to inequalities passed on from an earlier generation that suffered under the brutal legacy of slavery and [segregation laws known as] Jim Crow.

Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students.

Legalized discrimination – where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, or loans were not granted to African – American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments – meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations. That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities.

A lack of economic opportunity among black men, and the shame and frustration that came from not being able to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families – a problem that welfare policies for many years may have worsened. And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods – parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick-up and building code enforcement – all helped create a cycle of violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us.

...

In fact, a similar anger exists within segments of the white community. Most working – and middle – class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race. Their experience is the immigrant experience – as far as they're concerned, no one's handed them anything, they've built it from scratch. They've worked hard all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pension dumped after a lifetime of labor. They are anxious about their futures, and feel their dreams slipping away; in an era of stagnant wages and global competition, opportunity comes to

be seen as a zero sum game, in which your dreams come at my expense. So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in urban neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced, resentment builds over time.

...

Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze – a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobby-lists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. And yet, to wish away the resentments of white Americans, to label them as misguided or even racist, without recognizing they are grounded in legitimate concerns – this too widens the racial divide, and blocks the path to understanding.

This is where we are right now. It's a racial stalemate we've been stuck in for years. Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy – particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own.

But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union.

For the African – American community, that path means embracing the burdens of our past without becoming victims of our past. It means continuing to insist on a full measure of justice in every aspect of American life. But it also means binding our particular grievances – for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs – to the larger aspirations of all Americans – the white woman struggling to break the glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family. And it means taking

full responsibility for our own lives – by demanding more from our fathers, and spending more time with our children, and reading to them, and teaching them that while they may face challenges and discrimination in their own lives, they must never succumb to despair or cynicism; they must always believe that they can write their own destiny.

...

In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African – American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination – and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed. Not just with words, but with deeds – by investing in our schools and our communities; by enforcing our civil rights laws and ensuring fairness in our criminal justice system; by providing this generation with ladders of opportunity that were unavailable for previous generations. It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of black and brown and white children will ultimately help all of America prosper.

We have a choice in this country. We can accept a politics that breeds division, and conflict, and cynicism...But if we do, I can tell you that in the next election, we'll be talking about some other distraction. And then another one. And then another one. And nothing will change.

That is one option. Or, at this moment, in this election, we can come together and say, "Not this time." This time we want to talk about the crumbling schools that are stealing the future of black children and white children and Asian children and Hispanic children and Native American children. This time we want to reject the cynicism that tells us that these kids can't learn; that those kids who don't look like us are somebody else's problem. The children of America are not those kids, they are our kids, and we will not let them fall behind in a 21st century economy. Not this time.

This time we want to talk about how the lines in the Emergency Room are filled with whites and blacks and Hispanics who do not have health care; who don't have the power

on their own to overcome the special interests in Washington, but who can take them on if we do it together.

This time we want to talk about the shuttered mills that once provided a decent life for men and women of every race, and the homes for sale that once belonged to Americans from every religion, every region, every walk of life.

This time we want to talk about the fact that the real problem is not that someone who doesn't look like you might take your job; it's that the corporation you work for will ship it overseas for nothing more than a profit.

This time we want to talk about the men and women of every color and creed who serve together, and fight together, and bleed together under the same proud flag. We want to talk about how to bring them home from a war that never should've been authorized and never should've been waged, and we want to talk about how we'll show our patriotism by caring for them, and their families, and giving them the benefits they have earned.

I would not be running for President if I didn't believe with all my heart that this is what the vast majority of Americans want for this country. This union may never be perfect, but generation after generation has shown that it can always be perfected. And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the most hope is the next generation – the young people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election.



อภิธานศัพท์

อภิธานศัพท์

- ประธานาธิบดีโอบามา : ประธานาธิบดีโอบามา หรือ บาร์ค ฮุสเซน โอบามา (Barack Hussein Obama) เป็นประธานาธิบดีคนที่ 44 และคนปัจจุบันของสหรัฐอเมริกา
- สุนทรพจน์ (Speech) : คำพูดที่ประธานหรือบุคคลสำคัญ กล่าวในพิธีการ หรือ ในโอกาสสำคัญต่าง ๆ

