

**Republic of Iraq**  
**University of Babylon**  
**College of Education for Human Sciences**  
**Department of English**



**Nastiness in the American Presidential Debates 2020:**  
**A Critical Pragmatic Study**

*A dissertation*

*Submitted to the Council of the College of Education*  
*for Human Sciences – University of Babylon*  
*in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of*  
*Doctorate of Philosophy of Education*  
*in English Language / Linguistics*

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*2022 AD*

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

"ادْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ وَجَادِلْهُمْ  
بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ ۚ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِمَنْ ضَلَّ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ ۚ  
وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ"

صدق الله العلي العظيم النحل (125)

“Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction, and argue with them in a way that is best. Indeed, your Lord is most knowing of who has strayed from his way, and He is most knowing of who is [rightly] guided. “ (Bees, 125)

*Sahih International Translation*

## **Dedication**

***TO***

*My inspiration, my daughters and sons...*

***And***

*In memory of my dearest friend '**Bobby Schuck**'*

*the best example of human nobility I've ever met...*

## **Acknowledgements**

Praise and thanks are to Almighty Allah for enthroning the efforts dedicated to this study with this accomplishment.

A special gratitude is due to Asst. Prof. Hussein Hameed Mayuuf, (PhD), Head of the Department of English, College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon, my supervisor, who monitored my progress step by step and enriched my knowledge and understanding in every stage of the study.

Special thanks to my professors; Prof. Qassim Abbas Dhayef, (PhD); Prof. Riyadh Tariq Al-Ameedi, (PhD); Prof. Hameed Hasson Al-Mas'udi, (PhD); Prof. Razzaq Nife, (PhD); Prof. Fareed Al-Hindawi, (PhD); Prof. Ahmed Saheb, (PhD); Prof. Qassim Obayes Al-Azzawi, (PhD) and Prof. Saleh Mahdi Adai, (PhD). I also would like to thank all my colleagues and staff at the Department of English, College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon for their academic, administrative support and advice.

I am also thankful to Prof. Alaa Hussain Oda', (PhD), University of Basra, College of Education for Human Sciences and to Prof. Mohammed Al-Saeedi, (PhD), University of Thi Qar, College of Education for Human Sciences for the scientific evaluation they provided to my work and for their notes that enriched my study.

My indebtedness is to Asst. Prof. Ahmed Jabur, (PhD) and Prof. Abed Ali Al-Saeedi, (PhD), Department of English, College of Arts, University of Thi Qar for their academic consultation and support.

I am thankful to all members of my family for their patience and support all the way through the years of my study, and thanks are to everyone who has contributed in one way or another in the process of doing this work.

## **Abstract**

This study qualitatively and quantitatively examines the notions of nastiness, conflict talk, persuasive strategies, critical pragmatics, personal attack argument (*Argumentum ad hominem*) and impoliteness in the American presidential debates 2020. Words are weapons that influence the general public and attack opponents, particularly in the political contexts. The study attempts to investigate nastiness in the conflict talk in the American presidential debates 2020 between Trump and Biden.

The study hypothesizes that nastiness is a successful ideology that reinforces linguistic power of the US president-post candidates. Other hypotheses include; personal attack argumentation is excessively used in the US presidential debates; bald on record (BOR) politeness strategy is mostly used in the American political debates; and ethos is the most prevailing persuasive strategy during the US presidential debates. The study aims at showing the importance of linguistic power, represented by nastiness, in persuasion; proving that the excessive use of nastiness in the presidential debates may lead to failure and exploring the status of impoliteness during the American presidential debates.

Utterances are to be analyzed from two perspectives; once as arguments and once again as speech acts. When taken as arguments, two models are applied; Walton's Informal Logic and Aristotle's Persuasive Strategies Trinity, and when taken as speech acts, Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory is to be applied to examine the level and strategies of impoliteness in this political context.

The data source of this study is the two debates conducted between Trump and Biden in September and October 2020 in their run for US president post. The main framework of the study is critical pragmatics and accordingly the main pillars are stance, critique and reproduction. The data analysis of this study takes nastiness as the stance to be discussed. The critique involves tracing the

argumentative, impolite and persuasive strategies employed during the debates. Argumentative strategies are being traced first in each utterance that expresses nastiness explicitly or implicitly. The second phase is to overview the impoliteness strategies employed in the same utterance and finally the persuasive strategies in the same are tracked till we reach an imaginative view of the reproduction of our main social problem, which is nastiness. A total of 58 different strategies are traced in this study; including 25 argumentative strategies, 14 impoliteness and 19 persuasive strategies. Personal attack argumentative strategy proved to be the most frequent one; followed by the speaker (S) wants to be rude impoliteness sub-strategy within bald on record (BOR) strategy. A timetable encompassing the frequency of each strategy is prepared along with a diagram to facilitate exploring the findings.

Conclusions of the study include the following; nastiness is a necessity in the world of politics as one way to manifest power and control. The study also concludes that the charges of having a hidden agenda or of holding a certain argumentation for personal gain are fundamental to be manifested through poisoning the well personal attack strategy; creating chaos and frequent interruptions play a great role in confusing and provoking the opponent; value argumentation proved to be most effective. It is the argumentation through which the opponent is dismantled of values and presented as a liar; and it also demonstrates that the use of direct and indirect tactics of impoliteness is effective and decisive in making the personal attack strategy work successfully and in attaining its targets.

There are many critical studies that have been done; dealing with political and social phenomena to lay bare the hidden relations of language, power, ideology and dominance. However, no other study has tackled nastiness as a critical phenomenon in the political context.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>BL</b>	Brown and Levinson
<b>BOR</b>	Bald on record
<b>CP</b>	Cooperative Principle
<b>D</b>	Distance
<b>FTA</b>	Face Threatening Act
<b>H</b>	Hearer
<b>OR</b>	Off record
<b>P</b>	Power
<b>+P</b>	Positive politeness
<b>-P</b>	Negative politeness
<b>-P/+P</b>	Hybrid strategy
<b>R</b>	Ranking of imposition
<b>S</b>	Speaker

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## **1.1 The Problem of the Study and its Significance**

Language is a fundamental tool for politicians as it resembles a bridge for them towards the hearts and brains of the general public. Politicians of the world often use language in a way to influence people. They aim at reflecting a wonderful image before others, thus they endeavor to build and win relationships and influence others through playing on words. However, it is not an easy task to persuade people by language only as politics is tightly pound to power and influence as well.

When people converse they engage in a form of linguistic communication and social confrontation. Speech is an aspect of social behavior (Wolfram, 1998), the functions of which vary from controlling other people's activities and influencing their thoughts, establishing or reinforcing social relations, obtaining information, or expressing feelings. However, there is a gap of research or not much literature on the linguistic, argumentative and persuasive strategies employed during the confrontation or conflict talk in the presidential debates.

In a multi-spectrum capitalist society like the USA, no wonder that the general public opinion gangs up on electing a charismatic and powerful president. This makes the competition over this position charged with the language of power and conflict talk. In other words, the struggle to attain power and status is resembled by a war over language. The American political discourse represents a battlefield. Words are weapons to be used and battle yards to be seized and protected by politicians. The language of political discourse is characterized by craftiness and deception. The more proficient politicians are in the word-game, the more is the effect of deception (Balogun and Murana, 2018). Thus, politics is defined as the art of lying. For sure, such a competitive environment will be feverish and rarely considers etiquette. Yet, different types of arguments, especially the argumentum ad hominem or 'personal attack', would be employed to ultimately attain but triumph.

Moreover, with the absence of polite talk and prominence of aggressive, humiliating, sarcastic and vilified styles, bad mouthing and foul language would be a prevailing characteristic in such a context.

This study critically examines the nasty language, foul language or badmouthing used during the 2020 presidential debates between Biden and Trump. Nastiness, foul language and badmouthing would be used interchangeably in this study. Utterances that contain badmouthing are to be subject to analysis, once as arguments and once again as face-threatening speech acts. When taken as arguments, a combination of Aristotle model of persuasive strategies (the trinity of logos, ethos, and pathos) and Walton's model of informal logic are to be applied for the analysis of the debates. On the other hand, when the utterances are taken as face-threatening speech acts, Brown and Levinson Politeness Theory is to be the model for the analysis as it involves politeness and impoliteness; taking into account that this theory is a combination of three notions which are Grice's CP, Goffman's facework and Austin's Speech Act.

The study focuses on the verbal implementation of power of coercion through bad mouthing in the conflict talk to persuade the audience and win the debate. The main objective of this study is to prove that nastiness can be a successful ideology in political contexts. The idea here is that political contexts require power in both personality and talk along with the ability to urge emotional, psychological and logical appeals to attract the support of general opinion and ultimately to achieve the main goal which is to gain and impose power and status.

The central problem to be addressed here is to explore the vital role played by nasty or foul language in the conflict talk during the US presidential debates in the persuasion of the public and in winning the conflict. Moreover, the study tries to prove or refute that the excessive use of nasty language can lead to

failure. This study deals with an up to date issue, which is the 2020 elections for US PM; and the language used in the debate between the two candidates, Trump and Biden is the main focus in this research. The study sheds much light on the linguistic strategies used by the candidates in their endeavor to attack opponent, defend own attitude or persuade the public which ultimately proved to be very vital and decisive in their run for PM post.

The significance of such a study lies in that it tries to demonstrate that persuasion of the public can be achieved by nasty language. The idea here is unfamiliar and opposes the normal way to convince others and there is a research gap in relation to this idea. Of course, there are many critical studies that have been done; dealing with political and social phenomena to lay bare the hidden relations of language, power, ideology and dominance. However, no other study has tackled nastiness as a critical phenomenon in the political context or in the presidential debates in particular.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

The current study is an attempt to solve the problem mentioned above and bridge this gap by answering the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between nastiness and contemporary politics?
2. What is the nature of the language of conflict talk?
3. What are the patterns of nasty language used in the presidential debates?
4. How is power manifested via nasty language?
5. What are the persuasive strategies employed during the presidential debates?
6. What are the main argumentations used during conflict talk?
7. To what extent personal attack argumentation is necessary in the presidential debates?
8. What impoliteness strategies used in the presidential debates?

### 1.3 Aims

The study aims at the following:

1. Showing the importance of linguistic power, represented by nastiness, in persuasion.
2. Proving that nasty language can be employed in the presidential debates to overcome an opponent and persuade the audience.
3. Affirming that the excessive use of nasty language may lead to failure.
4. Discovering the extent of power and control of each candidate in terms of the ability to criticize others publicly.
5. Tracing the persuasive strategies employed during the presidential debates.
6. Exploring the types of argumentation used during the presidential debates.
7. Proving the vitality of personal attack argumentation during conflict talk.
8. Exploring the status of impoliteness during the presidential debates.

### 1.4 Hypotheses

The study hypothesizes the following:

1. Nastiness is a successful ideology that reinforces linguistic power of the US president post candidates.
2. Persuasion of the presidential debates audience can be achieved via nasty language.
3. The excessive use of nastiness during presidential debates leads to failure.
4. Criticizing the opponents publicly, humiliating them with false charges and defamation are strategies to manifest power.
5. Personal attack argumentation is excessively used in the American presidential debates.

6. Bald on record (BOR) impoliteness strategy is mostly used in the American political debates.
7. Ethos is the most prevailing persuasive strategy during the American presidential debates.
8. Logos is the least strategy used for persuasion in political debates.

### 1.5 Procedures

The two debates between Trump and Biden in their run for PM elections 2020 are the materials or the data to be analyzed qualitatively then quantitatively in this study. (See appendices 1 and 2)

It would be a two-part analysis; nasty or foul language and the manifestation of power are to be analyzed first to discover their effectiveness and influence on the public as persuasive strategies. Utterances are taken first as arguments and are analyzed in terms of Walton's model of informal logic and Aristotle trinity of Logos, Ethos and Pathos.

The second part of analysis takes the utterances as face-threatening speech acts and focuses on the impoliteness strategies used during the debates. Utterances are analyzed in terms of Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory to see how the candidates endeavor to maintain face during conflict and to discover the status of politeness in such a context and what type of impoliteness strategies are used during the debates.

A supporting quantitative survey is conducted to calculate the frequencies of every sub-strategy used in the utterances selected for the study.

### 1.6 Limits

The selected utterances are taken from the transcripts of the only two debates between Trump and Biden that took place during the USA presidential elections

2020. The study is confined specifically to the subjects of nastiness and conflict talk in the two debates mentioned above.

An amalgamation of three models is adopted for data analysis, which encompasses Walton's Informal Logic Model, Aristotle's Persuasive Strategies and Brown & Levinson's Politeness Theory.

### 1.7 Definitions of Basic Terms

#### 1.7.1 Nastiness

Nasty talk is a style through which candidates express and impose their opinions and needs in a way that infringes others' rights. Nasty communication can be abusive either being verbal or physical. It is domineering, sarcastic, condescending and opportunistic and these characteristics are shown via bossy, arrogant, mean and lacking in appreciation behavior (The UK Violence Intervention and Prevention Centre). This notion is to be thoroughly examined in Chapter Two from different angles and perspectives; history, ethics, social psychology and most importantly, linguistics.

#### 1.7.2 Power

Politics is solidly linked to power and persuasion. Fairclough (1989: 4) defines politics as '*exercising power by manufacturing consent*'. In creating consent and making specific ideologies accepted, language plays a vital role (Thomas et al., 2004: 38). Others, like Edwards (1997: 154), go further to state that '*Whoever controls words controls the world*'.

Competing is a strategy that might be taken to manage a conflict and is associated with aggression as it involves the use of power. The latter might be coercive or non-coercive. Coercive power involves aggressive communication while the non-coercive involves persuading and requesting.

'Power is the control someone has over the outcomes of others' (Myers-Scotton, 2005: 199). Controlling language is a basis for all power. There are two types of power; social and individual. The latter is of two kinds; the power of coercion and the power of consent. The first is implemented by force, physically or verbally, whereas the second is executed by persuasion.

### 1.7.3 Conflict Talk

Conflict talk is a notion that is initiated by Grimshaw (1990). It occurs when the two candidates disagree on certain standpoints, beliefs, opinions or attitudes, and act opposing one another in a sequence of unfriendly turns; and this often involves negative emotions of the participants. Conflict talk and the hostility accompanying it may cause unpleasant consequences. This notion is taken into further details in Chapter Two.

### 1.7.4 Persuasive Strategies

Aristotle mentions three strategies of persuasion. *Ethos* (refers to the character of the speaker); *logos* (refers to the development of a logical argument), and *pathos* (refers to appealing to emotions).

Evidence and reasoning are the elements of 'logos'. However, for 'ethos' there are three reasons for a speaker to be persuasive: 'practical wisdom', 'virtue' and 'good will'. Lucas (2009:353) adds that ethos refers to the credibility of the speaker which is affected by two factors: first, competence: refers to intelligence, expertise, sincerity and knowledge of the speaker, second, character which is about how the audience considers the speaker's sincerity, trustworthiness, reputation, and physical appearance.

'Pathos' is the feeling or passion a speaker conveys in his/her subject. It means to demonstrate feeling, commitment and sympathy or suffering. Aristotle lists some of the emotions that frame the state of mind including: anger, calmness, friendly feeling, enmity, fear, shame, shamelessness, pity,

competition, love, goodwill, favor, indignation, envy, contempt, etc. Furthermore, in persuasion, attention must be paid to the style or language to be used (Smith and Petty, 1996:257).

Finally, words can be seen as loaded pistols and to facilitate the achievement of their political objectives, candidates use them to evoke the emotions of the public. Braddock (2018) argues that weaponized language has emerged as a powerful persuasive tool for extremists as well as for mainstream influencers.

### **1.7.5 Argumentum ad hominem (Personal Attack)**

Criticizing the arguer rather than his/her argument is a type of argument that puts the attacked individual's personal character, circumstances and trustworthiness into question. As a result of its hot appeal to personal emotions, argumentum ad hominem or personal attack may succeed to some extent as an argument tactic (Walton, 2008:109).

Personal attack is of three types; abusive, circumstantial and poisoning the well, where the sincerity and objectivity of the arguer are questioned.

### **1.7.6 Critical Pragmatics**

Critical pragmatics is concerned with the relationship between language, ideology and power. It focuses on the speaker's intentions and context of use rather than on texts. Speaking involves acting on a complex intention, while comprehension involves discovering that intention (Korta and Perry, 2011). The cornerstone of critical pragmatics is to uncover the implicit relationship between power and ideology on one hand and language use on the other hand by critically examining the social functioning of language and its different manifestations of use.

A critical pragmatic study focuses on a social problem in the form of an ideology. Here, the social problem is nastiness which is taken as an ideology that is established and developed during conflict to be a decisive factor in

winning the consent of the audience and consequently winning the elections. Thus, a stance is determined, followed by a critique then reproduction.

### 1.7.7 US Presidential Debates

A debate, according to Freeley and Steinberg (2008: 2) is '*the process of inquiry and advocacy; the seeking of a reasoned judgment on a proposition.*' The United States Presidential Debate is a habitual process that takes place during the US presidential campaigns; where the candidates encounter through a debate to discuss some certain topics. Of course, this is not a constitutional or obligatory procedure. The results of the elections are almost decided by such debates. The debates are not considered an intrinsic part of the election process. After the political parties nominate their candidates, the presidential debates are held, where the candidates meet in a big hall before an audience of citizens. The formats of the debates vary; sometimes in the shape of questions that are raised by journalists or by members of the audience. The debates are broadcast live on television, radio, and the web.

The viewers of the first debate, held in 1960 were over 66 million, making it one of the most-viewed broadcasts in the history of the U.S. television. Viewers of the 1980 debates were around 80 million, whereas the recent debates have attracted smaller audience, ranging from 46 million for the first 2000 debate to over 67 million for the first debate in 2012. Notably, the first 2016 debate between Trump and Clinton was a record-breaking one as the audience reached over 84 million. The first debate in 2020 drew around 73 million viewers and the second one attracted about 63 million audiences (CNN).

### 2.1 Nastiness – A Linguistic Phenomenon

Disagreement is a prevailing characteristic in politics. Therefore, the latter requires language to be obviously expressed and convincingly presented. Politics is viewed as a *'struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it'* (Chilton, 2004: 3). On his part, Van Dijk (1993) argues that power is regarded equal with influence and control. The American Ideology is prevailing in the American political, social and cultural systems. (Al-Hindawi & Jebur, 2019) It is a practice employed by language users to show the American lifestyle as the best in the globe. Therefore, the US Presidential debate is a genre that resembles and reflects the American ideology.

Crystal (1985: 240) sees that pragmatics refers to the study of those factors which govern people's choices of language such as their social awareness, their culture and sense of etiquette. Pragmatics focuses on how speakers employ their knowledge to convey meanings. People who study pragmatics deal with matters such as when language is used, where it is used, by whom it is used, how it is used, what is it used for, and how it gets interpreted (Bloomer, Griffiths & Marrison, 2006: 78). Pragmatic effects refer to what is being done and the manner it is done with; whether it is done nastily, politely, clearly, effectively, dubiously, etc.

Language use is a form of social behavior. The latter means doing something; however, language, as a kind of behavior, is meaning something. One definition of language then is to say that it is the sum of what can be meant, and of the sets of options available to speakers and hearers (Wallwork, 1978: 26). Britton (1970) sees language as a way for us to be with one another, to commune as well as to communicate. The word 'commune' means talk over or discuss; which encompasses conflict talk. Speech, according to McGinty (2001: 184), can be a social and political force.

During presidential debates, the dark side of language is mostly employed. Language is weaponized to attack the opponent, to distort his face, to refute his arguments and to unveil his defects publicly. Badmouthing is a prevailing characteristic of presidential debates. Language is used in different ways, sarcastically, dubiously, interrogatively, nastily or in a foxy way to attain only triumph at the end. Moreover, speech interruptions reflect disrespect, insignificance and unimportance of the opponent's talk. It is another way to assert dominance and control.

As a result of the rapid growth and development in all aspects of life, people go wild in their run for earning living. There is no time for emotions or etiquette. Gradually, the whole world is heading to gaining power with which, only, one can take his/her rights duly. To be powerful, one needs to use nasty language as a manifestation of power. It is not only politics that is getting nastier; one needs to employ badmouthing in the majority of the domains of life as it is the era of the powerful. Other people are seen as enemies and language needs to be employed to conflict with them.

### **2-1-1 A Historical Glimpse**

America in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was a flood of blood because of the conflict of civilizations and slavery. The first two centuries of the American colonial story were barbarous years although colonial Americans before 1689 hardly had an exclusive title to conflict and grotesque violence (Thomas, 2016: xii).

All over more than two centuries, the USA witnessed negative political campaigns. For instance, in 1800, a supporter of John Adams said: *'If Jefferson won, we would see our wives and daughters victims of legal prostitution.'* Therefore, incivility and savagery have their roots in the American political culture ([www.freedomforum.org](http://www.freedomforum.org)).

Politics in the past twenty five years was focused on but winning. Threats of violence and display of anger became normal strategies in the political discourse. During the 2008 presidential campaign, crowds at a rally of Sarah Palin shouted *'Kill him!'* referring to Obama. The latter was shown as the devil or the anti-Christ. Moreover, when a recently-elected member of Congress affirms at an anti-Trump rally, *'We're gonna sue the mother f-----,'* it's clear that there are civic and ethical problems in the American political discourse.

The trend to incivility did not start with Trump but he might have contributed to the rise of it. Opponents of Trump were given sarcastic names like 'Crazy Bernie,' 'Crooked Hillary,' and 'Lying Ted.' Rudeness and badmouthing are allowed at his propaganda. Also, meanness and incivility attitudes are encouraged. Thus, he has provided a shelter to the angry voices of Americans. Incivility is a piece of human nature and is as old as democracy itself.

The United States national politics is broadly deteriorating. Indications of democratic decline can be noticed everywhere; politicians who act worse than children on social media, the endeavor to stir calls to hate and violence, the drive to black out those with whom we disagree. Such trends make the situation aggravate. Kamber, 1997: xiii affirms that negativity poisons the political debate through ridiculous, irrelevant and irresponsible arguments. Carraro and Castelli (2010: 617) comment on negativity *'specifically, personal attacks towards the opposing candidate may backfire at the explicit level.'*

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet (2019) affirms that *'Politics is getting nastier'*. Politics simultaneously goes past the limit in terms of respect for others. Then we have the language factor. Most politicians do not understand that the other is not an enemy, and the use of language to destroy the opponent in many ways is unsuitable. She asserts that according to

historical standards *'Trump's transactional approach to foreign policy has been the norm for most of U.S. history; and his imprint could endure long after Trump himself is gone.'* [www.chathamhouse.org](http://www.chathamhouse.org)

America has always been an angry nation which is born of revolution. Conflicts on battlefields; in newspapers; or at the ballot box have been with the country all the way through. Anger is a prevailing conduct of the Americans whose tormented parties have settled their problems with guns rather than debate. Consequently, the American political system was cleverly designed to magnify the effects of anger. According to the Bill of Rights, Americans are allowed to argue in public squares, press, and in open courts. Governmental representatives arrive at policy through negotiation, disagreement, and accommodation. Even the country's mythology and the American dream are deeply rooted in anger of the circumstances and the difficult nature of life in the USA. Recently, the tendency to anger has become more persevering. People now desire not to be heard only, but to cause harm to others. Evidences of the demolishing power of anger are everywhere. *'This is the most unethical sham since I've been in politics,'* Republican Senator Lindsey Graham, on Sep. 27 2018, shouted at his Democratic colleagues. *'Boy, y'all want power. God, I hope you never get it.'* ([www.nbcnews.com](http://www.nbcnews.com)). Former Attorney General Eric Holder reported that *'When they go low, we kick 'em. That's what this new Democratic Party is about.'*

The majority of Americans see officials who express anger as competent, powerful, and the types of leaders who will overcome challenges. Anger motivates people to perform hard tasks. People are usually more creative when they are angry, because their outrage assists them see solutions they have disregarded. Keltner (2016: 67) affirms that *'When we become angry, we feel*

*like we're taking control, like we're getting power over something.*' Moreover, Dutton (2007: 5) postulates that rage and intimate abusiveness are tightly linked to issues in the early development of human beings. Rage, according to attachment theory, is the initial reaction to attachment disruption – the sustained absence of the source of security.

*'What if the rest of the world is just a nastier place than Americans realize?'* That was the thrust of Schadow, the architect of Trump's 2017 National Security Strategy ([www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com)). It became ostensible for a large extent that nastiness is a global trend and a prevailing strategy that is used in the daily lives of people all around the globe.

### **2.1.2 Nastiness as a Persuasive Strategy**

This sub-title may sound somehow weird but it is the thing that is to be proved by this study. Despite the fact that nastiness is offensive, impolite and is not adequate in normal situations, political contexts require power in both personality and talk along with the ability to urge emotional, psychological and logical appeals to attract the support of general opinion and ultimately to achieve the main goal which is imposing power and status. Wilson (2001) maintains that in order for politicians to persuade people, they need to share their values and view the world in a way that favors their political agendas. Moreover, they need to master language as a means of representation and nastiness is one way to master language and the whole political context.

Persuasion of the public can be achieved by nasty language because one of the main persuasive strategies according to Aristotle is 'Ethos' which refers to the charisma and competence of the candidate. Charisma, according to the Merriam Webster dictionary is *'the personal magic of leadership arousing*

*special popular loyalty or enthusiasm for a public figure.*' And as stated earlier that nastiness is deep-rooted in the American lifestyle, hence the use of badmouthing publicly would be something charming for the majority of the people of USA.

Although argument quality is one of the most manipulated variables in the contemporary social psychological literature on persuasion, relatively little is known about what makes a message persuasive. Barker (2002: 6-7) postulates four main categories of variables that influence whether and how persuasion will occur. They are source, recipient, context, and message characteristics. Source variables refer to individual aspects of the message sender such as credibility, including expertise and trustworthiness; physical attractiveness; likableness; perceptions of source power or position; speed of speech; gender; majority/minority status; and similarity to the receiver, either real or perceived.

Recipient variables refer to specific characteristics of the message receiver like attitudinal variables such as whether the attitudes are strong, how accessible the attitude is in memory, and issue-relevant knowledge; demographic variables, such as gender and age; intelligence; self-esteem; sensitivity to social cues; need for cognition; and mood. Context refers to factors that involve the setting where the communication takes place including distractions, audience reactions to the source, forewarning of the source's position, forewarning of persuasive intent, anticipated discussion or interaction.

Message characteristics refer to the aspects of the communication itself, which are controllable by a message sender. They encompass the quantity of the information presented, the presence of a causal explanation within an argument, the degree to which the consequences presented within an argument are likely and desirable, the positivity/ negativity of an argument, the degree of emotion versus reason in an argument, whether strongest arguments are placed at the

beginning or the end of a message, whether arguments are simple or complex, whether arguments are one sided or two sided, and how consequences of a proposed policy are interpreted.

Furthermore, it is an ideological must for a candidate to emphasize the positive things about him/her and de-emphasize the positive things about his opponents (Van Dijk, 2004). The medium used to destroy the image of opponents is language of course. Foul language is employed to distort the character of the opponent, hence attaining part of the ideology.

### 2.1.3 Nastiness as a Conflict Tool

During conflict, many types of argumentation can be used. According to logical theory, an argument is a set of propositions; no more no less. However, logical pragmatics sees an argument as a claim which should be relevant to establishing or proving the arguer's conclusion at issue according to appropriate procedures of reasonable dialogue. (Walton, 2008: 1) Argumentations, occurring in conversations of daily persuasive appeals are tightly linked to emotional suggestions and many political debates and controversies are decided in terms of emotional appeals and loyalties.

Schiffrin (1985) identifies two types of arguments; rhetorical and oppositional. In the first, the speaker presents a sound monologue that supports a disputable position; whereas in the second one or more speakers support openly disputed positions. For the speaker to support his/her position, s/he will try to undermine the other speaker's through continually negotiating of referential and social meanings. Nastiness during conflict talk might be represented through irony, jokes, stories or reported speech.

The personal quarrel is one context of dialogue which is characterized by aggressive personal attack, heightened appeal to emotions and the desire to win

the argument at all costs. The goal of the quarrel for each arguer is to attack or hit the argument of the opponent using any means, whether reasonable, fair or not.

According to Orsolini (1993), in a conflictive talk, speakers assume two interactional roles: denying the addressee's position and supplying some support for their own. Arguments that they employ as support normally indicate that speaker's position is grounded on implicit norms that are anticipated to be held by all participants. Thus, in a conflictive talk, supplying justifications means producing arguments that are able to render the speaker's position less disputed by the recipient.

The quarrel represents argument at its worst. It is not a friend of logic. Using any means, an arguer aims at attacking or hitting opponents at all costs. Thus, such conflict is characterized by the fallacious *ad hominem* attack, which means attack against the person, rather than the argument. It is a fight or adversarial confrontation where each party endeavors to attack and defeat the other. The quarrel represents heated argument and a tool for one-sided criticism. According to Walton (2008: 4) personal attack is successful as an argument tactic because of its hot appeal to personal emotions. Many arguments on controversial issues in politics and religion might be based on passionate conviction and this cannot be trusted as emotions like anger may be moved by trifling things. Therefore, in the context of debate, a successful argument is not necessarily a reasonable argument from the standpoint of logic. The main thing is to win the debate no matter appearing to have a reasonable argument or not.

Walton (2008: 171) reaffirms that the argument against the person can be powerfully convincing and an influential form of attack when it is successfully deployed by a clever arguer. *'In political debates, personal attack can be said to be the most powerful kind of argument.'* One of the effective ways to reply to a

personal attack is the ‘tu quoque’ or ‘you too’ rejoinder in argumentation which may imply ‘you are no better!’

According to Freeley and Steinberg (2008: 54), American debate involves three types of propositions; fact, value and policy. Al-Jama’wi (2013) built upon Freeley’s model and illustrated some major types of argumentative strategies during presidential debates. They are: variation of argumentation which includes de facto (fact) argumentation, value argumentation and authority (policy) argumentation; multiplicity of questions; pulling the opponent’s legs via an interrogative question and focalization of the discourse towards certain topics. Each one of the above-mentioned argumentative strategies has sub-strategies that can be easily allocated in the utterances of the debaters.

### **2.1.4 Nastiness as a Speech Act**

Badmouthing is used during conflict talk. It can be labeled under assertive speech acts when taken as a way to assert self; and can be categorized under commissive speech acts when it involves threat. The term speech act does not refer simply to the act of speaking, but to the whole communicative situation, including the context of the utterance and paralinguistic features which may contribute to the meaning of the interaction.

Speech act theory (Austin, 1962) reinforces the viewpoint of language function; that is, each utterance has certain function, which refers to the whole communicative situation, including the context of the utterance, the interlocutors and any verbal or physical interaction that comes before the utterance. Whenever an utterance is produced, we are engaged in three acts: A locutionary act, which is the production of a well-formed utterance in whatsoever language one is speaking. The illocutionary act, which represents the meaning a person wants to communicate; the illocutionary force attached to a locutionary act is the

meaning we intend to convey; finally the perlocutionary act, which is the effect of our words (Cruse, 2000: 329-30). Indirect speech acts are often used for reasons of politeness (Yule, 1996). However, the present study will prove that much of the indirect speech is employed for nastiness rather than politeness.

### 2.1.5 Face and Facework

Face and facework are part of everyday life. Face is a primary concept in the fields of sociology, sociolinguistics, semantics, politeness, psychology and political science. It has been used in a metaphoric way in different cultures for a long time, referring to the reputation or the standing in the society. It is originally a Chinese concept and one of the cornerstones of Confucianism.

Brown and Levinson's concept of face is derived from that of Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term, which ties face up with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated. Thus face is something which is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced and must be always under attention during interaction (BL, 1987: 61). Face is associated with the public self-image of a person, referring to individual qualities or abstract entities such as honor, reputation, respect, esteem, the standing in the society and the self. Goffman (1967) defines face as *'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact'*. Face is a universal phenomenon as everyone would like to be respected; everyone needs a sense of self-respect and anyone who does not wish to declare his/her social bankruptcy must show a regard for face: s/he must claim for himself/herself, and must extend to others, some degree of compliance, respect, and deference in order to maintain a minimum level of influential social functioning.

BL (1987: 65) postulate that *'every individual has two types of face, positive and negative'*. They define positive face as the individual's desire that her/his

wants be appreciated in social interaction, and negative face as the individual's desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition. The theory assumes that most speech acts, such as requests, offers and compliments, inherently threaten either the hearer's or the speaker's face-wants, and that politeness is involved in redressing those face threatening acts (FTAs).

The 'Locus of Face' is known as the degree of concern for self-face and the faces of others. It is important to observe locus of face because it represents the framework for studying face and facework as it is a direct indicator of how valuable it is to the individual to maintain face and it can directly affect the direction of the interaction. The locus of face reflects both self and other concerns for preserving face, and is relevant to the communicators when they go through an interaction or negotiation (Ting-Toomey, 1998).

One important term here is face threatening act - FTA, as face is usually at risk in most human interactions, and it is in general in participants' best interest to maintain face of each other. These FTAs need to be "*counterbalanced by appropriate doses of politeness*" (Kasper, 1994, as cited by Strecker C.L. 2001). Thus face has been associated with politeness phenomenon. Also, facework can be viewed as the process in which people try to keep a balance between multiple persons' faces in social encounters. Moreover, facework needs to be realized as a result of interactional effects.

### 2.2 Politeness and Impoliteness

Lakoff (1973) defines politeness as '*saying the socially correct thing*', and suggests that '*... politeness is developed by societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction*'. Leech (1980: 19) affirms this idea considering politeness as '*strategic conflict avoidance*'. This perspective of politeness is more similar to BL's definition of politeness as '*rational behavior aimed at the*

*strategic softening or mitigation of face-threatening acts*' (1978, 1987). On the other side, Hill *et al.* (1986) define politeness as *'one of the constraints on human interaction, whose purpose is to consider others' feelings, establish levels of mutual comfort, and promote rapport'*. On his part, Cruse (2000: 362) defines politeness as *'a matter of what is said, and not a matter of what is thought or believed.'* The present study values these views however it shows at the end that using a polite style during conflict talk or in political contexts in general will lead to nowhere. Impoliteness is most effective in political discourse.

There are three major pragmatic views of politeness. First, politeness explained in terms of principles and maxims. Lakoff (1990: 35) specifies three politeness rules: (1) Don't impose (Distance), (2) Give options (Deference) and (3) Be friendly (Camaraderie). Leech (1983: 131-32) adds the politeness principle which is divided into six different maxims (tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy). Second, politeness as the management of face, i.e. the face saving view, suggested by BL (1987) which is based on Grice's maxims theory and on Goffman's concept of face as *'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact'* (Goffman, 1967: 5). Finally, Fraser's conversational-contract view, which is principally based on Grice's CP and its maxims of Be Relevant, Be Precise, and less importantly for Grice Be Polite. This view is built upon the belief that in a given conversation, *'people assume tentative rights and obligations that will constrain their behavior'* (Fraser, 1976).

In addition to establishing and asserting identity and achieving goals, linguistic politeness is a means of studying social interaction to establish social, harmonious and friendly relationships among interactants. For example, there is an inherent impoliteness in being invited for a cup of coffee. It is an imposition,

which threatens our negative face. It makes demands upon our time, and, as Cook (1994: 117) suggests, *'it may seek to overturn our schemata, to change our minds about things we may hold dear'*. It may expose us to uncomfortable views of the world, show us the perspective of people with whom we profoundly disagree. In the character-to-character level we may have polite interactions; however, dialogues containing inherently polite interactions are not particularly easy to find, perhaps because they are not very interesting. However, we may have quarrels or impolite interactions, which are the focus of this study.

Many scholars built upon BL politeness theory and named strategies and classifications related to impoliteness. Culpeper (2011) for instance, suggested a model of impoliteness and divided it into affective, coercive and entertaining impoliteness. Segarra (2007) classified rudeness into rudeness of word, rudeness in action and rudeness inaction.

### 2.2.1 Brown & Levinson's Politeness Theory

Politeness is a major area of pragmatic research since 1978, when BL showed that politeness or impoliteness is manifested variously in different societies by their use of language, and that politeness tends to be either positive (requiring people to show interest in, or respect for, what others are, desire, have or stand for), or negative (requiring only that one person allows another a certain degree of freedom, some physical or psychological space, and that he apologizes after, or requests permission before, raiding that freedom) (BL, 1987: 70).

It might be questioned why this study relied on a politeness theory whereas the main topic is 'nastiness' which implies impoliteness. Leech (2004: 02) postulates that *'the best way to start theorizing about impoliteness is to build on a theory of politeness, which is clearly a closely related phenomenon.'* Furthermore, Brown and Levinson, themselves affirm that the model applies to both politeness and impoliteness. BL (1987) briefly assert that people are

motivated by their need to maintain their face (in the sociological sense, developed by Goffman 1967); the need to be approved of by others and to maintain sense of self-worth. Positive and negative face needs can readily conflict.

BL make the following assumptions: that all competent adult members of a society have and know each other to have face, which is the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting in two related aspects: negative face, which is the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition. And positive face, which is the positive consistent self-image or personality *'crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of'* claimed by interactants (BL, 1987: 61).

Based on these assumptions, five main strategies for performing speech acts are distinguished: bald on record (BOR), positive politeness (+P), negative politeness (-P), not doing the FTA and off-record (OR). Bald on record aims at expressing self directly and concisely without redressing the FTA. Positive politeness aims at supporting or enhancing the addressee's positive face, whereas negative politeness aims at softening the encroachment on the addressee's freedom of action or freedom from imposition. Off-record politeness, means violating one of the Gricean (1975) maxims (quality, quantity, relevance and manner) on the assumption that the addressee is able to infer the intended meaning.

Regarding 'not doing the FTA' strategy; it means staying silent, and silence has many implications. It might be considered a paralinguistic feature that is backed up by facial expressions, gestures and eye gaze.

The Gricean model of Co-operative Principle is another building block in BL's theory. The kind and amount of politeness that S applies to a certain

speech act are determined by the weightiness of this speech act. Speakers calculate the weight of their speech acts from three social variables: (D) the perceived social distance between H and S, (P) the perceived power of H over S, and (R) the cultural or situational ranking of the imposition. The latter is defined as the degree to which the FTA is perceived to be threatening within a specific culture or situation.

The present study holds the same view that impoliteness phenomenon have been considered as *'a means of characterizing the use of language to communicate'* (Grundy, 1995). BL's theory can obviously be considered a social psychological theory of language usage for two aspects; Firstly because *'the speakers use forms that are not determined in isolation but in terms of the face wants of H and S, and secondly, through the inclusion of the interpersonal variables of power and distance'* (Holtgraves & Yang, 1990: 719).

Any speech act is a face threatening act. FTAs that are threatening to S include those acts that offend S's negative face such as expressing thanks, acceptance of H's thanks or apology, excuses, acceptance of offers, responses to H's faux pas and unwilling promises and offers. However, the acts that directly damage S's positive face include apologies; acceptance of a compliment; breakdown of physical control over body, bodily leakage, stumbling or falling down; self-humiliation or acting stupid; confessions; and emotion leakage or non-control of laughter or tears (BL, 1987: 65-66).

Acts that threaten H's negative face wants include first those that predicate some future act of H or put some pressure on H such as orders, requests, suggestions, advice, reminding, threats, warnings and dares. Second; those that predicate some positive future act of S towards H including offers and promises. Third; those acts that predicate some desire of S toward H or H's goods such as

compliments, expressions of envy or admiration, expressions of strong negative emotion toward H such as hatred, anger or lust.

Acts that threaten H's positive face wants include first those acts showing that S has a negative evaluation of some aspect of H's positive face such as expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints and reprimands, accusations and insults, contradictions or disagreements and challenge. Second; those acts showing that S does not care about H's positive face such as expressions of violent out-of-control emotions, irreverence, mention of taboo topics; bringing of bad news about H or good news about S; raising of dangerously emotional topics e.g. politics, race, religion, women's liberation, blatant non-cooperation in any activity e.g. disruptively interrupting H's talk; use of address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters.

### **2.2.2 Strategies for Doing FTAs**

Despite the fact that BL suggested the five politeness strategies mentioned above, this section will focus mainly on the two strategies of impoliteness interrelated to the study.

#### **2.2.2.1 The Direct Bald on Record (BOR) Impoliteness Strategy**

According to BL (1987: 94-101), bald on record strategy is a direct way of saying things, without any minimization to the imposition, in a direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way, for example "Do X!". BOR strategy can be treated as speaking in conformity with Grice's maxims. BL (1987) claim that the primary reason for bald on record usage may be generally stated as whenever S wants to do FTA with maximum efficiency more than s/he wants to satisfy H's face, even to any degree, s/he will choose the bald on record strategy.

There are different kinds of bald on record (BOR) usage in different circumstances. This is because S can have different motives for her/his wants to do the FTA with minimum efficiency. The motives fall into the two classes below;

**i) Cases of non-minimization of the face threat;** where maximum efficiency is very important and no face redress is necessary.

First, in case of great urgency or desperation such as: Help! Get up, there is a snake! Listen, I've got an idea. Look, the point is... Second, in case of using imperatives in formulaic entreaties such as: Excuse me! Forgive me! Pardon me! Accept my thanks. Send me a postcard. Third, in case of communication difficulties exerting pressure to speak with maximum efficiency such as: Come home right now! Fourth, where the focus is task-oriented such as: Lend me a hand here. Give me the nails. Open the other end. Fifth, cases where the speaker is powerful and does not fear retaliation or non-cooperation from the hearer such as: In future, you must add the sugar after the tea. Or because the speaker wants to be rude or does not care about maintaining face, thus goes for teasing or joking such as: Cry, get angry. Sixth, in case of doing FTA for the interest of H and S shows that he cares about H such as: Your headlights are on! Careful! This man is dangerous. Within this comes a comforting advice such as: Don't be sad. And granting permission such as: Yes, you may go. The same can be seen in cliché farewell formulae such as: Enjoy yourself, Take care of yourself.

**ii) Cases of FTA-oriented bald on record usage;** where other demands override face concerns. Here S follows a polite way to alleviate H's anxieties through pre-emptive invitations such as: welcoming or post-greetings and offers, where S insists that H may impose on his negative face; farewells, where S insists that H may transgress on his positive face by taking his leave. Examples of such invitations: Come in, sit down, go, pass, come again, leave it to me,

don't bother, I'll clean it up. Wash your hands! Don't worry about me, Eat! Don't mind the mess. This usage might be emphasized by positive politeness hedges such as: Do come in, I insist, really! Do go first.

### **2.2.2.2 Off Record (OR) Strategy**

BL (1987: 211) define off record strategy as a communicative act which is done in such a way that is not possible to attribute one clear communicative intention to the act. In this case, the actor leaves her/himself “out” by providing her/himself with a number of defensible interpretations. S/he cannot be committed to just one particular interpretation of her/his act. In other words, BL claim that the actor leaves it up to the addressee to decide how to interpret the act. Off record utterances are essential in indirect use of language. One says something that is rather general. In this case, H must make some inference to recover what was intended. For example, if somebody says “It is hot in here”, the hidden meaning of the utterance can be a request to open the window or to switch on the air conditioner. BL (1987: 211-227) list 'inviting conversational implicatures' and 'being vague or ambiguous' as the two main classes of off record-ness. Below are the sub-strategies of the two classes;

#### **i) Invite Conversational Implicatures**

If S wants to do an FTA, and chooses to do it indirectly, he/she must give H some hints and hope that H picks them up and thereby interprets what S really means or intends to say. The basic way to do so is to invite conversational implicatures by violating, in some way, the Gricean Maxims of efficient communication.

**a) Give hints.** ‘His soup's a bit bland.’

**b) Give association clues.** ‘Oh God, I've got a headache again.’

- c) Presuppose. ‘It wasn't me who did it.’
- d) Understate. ‘That's a rather good painting’
- e) Overstate. ‘I called a hundred times, but there was no reply’
- f) Use tautologies. ‘Boys will be boys.’
- g) Use contradictions. ‘Are you upset about that?’ – ‘Well, I am and I'm not.’
- h) Be ironic. ‘Beautiful weather isn't it!’ (to a postman drenched in rainstorm)
- i) Use metaphors. ‘The main thing is that he eats kicks.’ (i.e. let him suffer)
- j) Use rhetorical questions. ‘What can I say?’ (i.e. nothing, it's so bad)

### **ii) Be vague or ambiguous: Violate the manner Maxim**

Five sub-strategies are used to attain this strategy. They are:

- a) Be ambiguous. ‘John's a very wise guy.’
- b) Be vague. ‘Perhaps someone did something naughty.’
- c) Over-generalize. ‘Grown-ups sometimes help do the dishes.’
- d) Displace H. ‘Honey, could you pass me the pepper please’ (a lady talking to her husband while another man is closer to the pepper).
- e) Be incomplete, use ellipsis. ‘If one leaves his tea on the table....●

● (All examples related to the impoliteness strategies are taken from BL, 1987)

## **2.3 Conflict Talk**

### **2.3.1 Why People Fight?**

To conflict means to oppose, clash, contend, fight, battle, struggle, or encounter and the antonym is to agree, coincide or harmonize (Urdang and Manser, 1982: 64). When the concerns of two people appear to be incompatible then there is a conflict situation. Conflict talk, or '*war language*' as Lakoff (2000) prefers to call it, is a notion initiated by Grimshaw (1990). Conflict talk arises when the two parties in interaction differ or disagree with each other on opinions, standpoints, beliefs or attitudes, and take actions to oppose one the other in successive unfriendly turns; and is often accompanied by the negative emotions of the participants. Conflict talk and the hostility accompanying it would cause unpleasant consequences.

According to Zhang (2019) conflict talk is a process of expressing, understanding, explaining and negotiating rationality in a confrontational way, thus it can also be labeled as a process of reasonableness. Moreover, it is intended to persuade the others by force via confrontation in emotions, or by reasonableness through communication and negotiation of rationality. The resolution of conflict lies in appropriate reasonableness in attitude and competence.

The behavior of individuals can be described along two dimensions; assertiveness, which is the extent to which the individual tries to satisfy his/her own concerns and cooperativeness, which is the extent to which the individual tries to fulfill the concerns of the other person (Thomas & Kilmann, 1976).

According to the Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument (KMI), there are five strategies for managing conflict or five modes for responding to conflict situations. They are competing, avoiding, accommodating, compromising and

collaborating. Competing is assertive and involves the use of power and this is the main focus of this study. It is a power-oriented strategy in which whatever appropriate power is used to win the individual's own position. This involves the use of the ability to argue, rank or economic sanctions. To 'compete' means to stand up for one's own rights, defending a position or trying to win. The power employed in competing can be coercive or non-coercive. The latter can be attained through requesting and persuading; and when we try to persuade, we give the conflict partner reasons to support our suggestions. It really matters how one may exert his/her power. Coercive power involves aggressive communication which is represented by nastiness or badmouthing. This kind of communication can be classified as a type of language crime; similar to insult, defamation, verbal abuse and verbal threat (Flayeh, 2021). So, badmouthing is rejected socially, morally and legally. Despite this fact, nastiness is taken as a political and linguistic strategy to persuade the public and to win conflicts.

Anastassov (2018: 14) affirms that human language communication exists on the base of imbalance of power between the interlocutors. It allows them to create narratives of manipulation for the sake of power imposition. *'It is the power of a discourse, created on the base of an antagonistic clash of these narratives with a division between a "stronger" and a "weaker" one'*.

To find the reason why people fight, Bertrand Russel (2004) delivered a group of lectures that were combined in a book entitled "Why Men Fight" in which he concluded that injustices and repressions in modern society are responsible for such deep unhappiness; therefore, people needed war to relieve their frustrations.

He believes that impulse has greater effect in molding men's lives. Impulses may be divided into possessive and creative. For him, the best life is the one built on creative impulses, and the worst is the most inspired by love of possession.

Russell (2004: 15) believes that:

*“All human activity springs from two sources: impulse and desire. Political philosophy has been almost entirely based upon desire as the source of human actions. However, in all the more instinctive part of our nature we are dominated by impulses and this includes..... quarrelling.”*

At the other end of the spectrum, in his book ‘The Farce of the Human Mind’, Al-Wardi (1956) refutes Aristotle’s idea that ‘man is civilian by nature’ and affirms that man is wild by nature and civilian by habit. The evidence is that whenever his/her interests, reputation, rank or fame is under threat, s/he would bully and show antagonism. According to Al-Wardi Utopia is a pseudo and unreal society. He believes that conflict and cooperation are the two main pillars for human communities. A human being cannot conflict with all the others unless having a psychological problem, as when conflicting with one group s/he is obliged to cooperate with another group. This is the way in which groups, parties, political masses and religious sects have emerged. He concludes that in the balanced societies, one may find equivalence between the forces of these two factors i.e. conflict and cooperation, where none of them surpasses the other. It is worthwhile mentioning here that Goodstadt and Hjelle (1973) found that there can be negative results when psychologically powerless people obtain positions of power.

According to the Great Man Theory, developed by Thomas Carlyle in 1841, great leaders are born, not made. This theory states that people in positions of power deserve to lead because of the characteristics they were born with (Geoghegan, 2017). However, the researcher thinks it is not only power and the way of using it what makes someone a great leader; as leaders can be trained to use the appropriate base of power for any given situation.

To functional theorists, power is “power to,” a responsibility to unite people and perform good deeds for all. To conflict theorists and those who are dominated, power is “power over,” which corrupts and is a source of social conflict rather than integration (Lenski, 1966; Sassenberg et al., 2014). Power is defined as the ability to control events in order to achieve one’s aims and according to Myers-Scotton (2005) ‘*Power is the control someone has over the outcomes of others.*’ So, power is a matter of control over others and controlling language is a basis for all power. Moreover, the struggle for power and status is played out as a war over language.

There are two types of power; social and individual. The latter is of two kinds; the power of coercion and the power of consent. The first is implemented by force physically or verbally, whereas the second is executed by persuasion. In his book “The Prince”, published in the 16th century, Machiavelli describes how leaders could use strategies to gain power and prestige. Judge et al (2009) cited in Towler (2020) stipulate that within the domain of leadership, ‘*those who score high on Machiavellianism tend to be cunning, manipulative and will use whatever means necessary to gain political power.*’ Machiavelli arouses leaders to lie, manipulate and use coercive persuasion to fulfill their own needs. Machiavellian leaders are skilled in impression management techniques and naturally talented in influencing others so as to maximize opportunities for their personal power (Hofmann et al, 2017).

According to Machiavellianism, politics is amoral and any means can justifiably be used to attain political power. Furthermore, political untruth can be considered virtual. So, it means the use of clever but often dishonest ways that deceive people is allowed for the sake of winning power or control.

Machiavellians rarely adhere to moral or ethical standards. Their focus is money, power and competition. They aim to win at any cost and practice flattery, deceit, coercion and abuse (Spielberger and Butcher, 2013).

### 2.3.2 Bases of Power

Under the umbrella of two categories (Formal and Personal), French and Raven (1959) described five bases of power. Formal power category included reward power, legitimate power and coercive power; whereas Personal power category included expert power and referent power. When influencing agents use the threat of force to gain compliance from targets of influence, we can say it is coercive power. Force can include social, emotional, physical, political, or economic means. Informational power is the sixth base of power, which was added later by Raven, who reaffirms that when people have the opportunity to exert power, they hold that all actions are possible, and can give priority to the use of force. Consequently, the successful use of coercive power might enhance one's self-esteem (Quain, 2019).

Aggressive communication is a style in which individuals express their feelings and standpoints in a way that violates the rights of others. Thus, aggressive communicators can be verbally or physically abusive. Aggressive communicators will often try to dominate others, use humiliation to control others, blame, criticize or attack others. They are very impulsive, have low frustration tolerance, speak in a loud, demanding, and overbearing voice and act threateningly and rudely. Moreover, they do not listen well, interrupt frequently and use 'you' pronoun excessively. Furthermore, they have an overbearing or frightening posture. The aggressive communicator will say or behave like "I'm loud, bossy and pushy." "I'm superior and right and you're inferior and wrong." "I can dominate and intimidate you.", "I can violate your rights." "You're not

worth anything.” “I’m entitled.” “You owe me.” “It’s all your fault.” (www.uky.edu) Furthermore, there are certain factors that influence the individual to act aggressively. These include his/her being overconfident, and his/her insist on getting the needs met and the opinion passed across. Also, such individuals did not learn how to respect or consider others’ viewpoints or how to listen and ask for input from others (www.kidshealth.org).

Strategy, in the language of war and as Gray (2007: 48) postulates, is *‘the use that is made of force and the threat of force for the ends of policy.’* It is worthwhile here to differentiate between the terms of ideology, strategy, tactic and policy. An ideology is the set of ideas and beliefs related to certain aspects of social reality. The other three levels of behavior, strategy, tactic and policy are intimately interdependent. Choice of policy must guide strategy selection, while that selection cannot help without influence, or even direct, tactical practices (Gray, 2007: 68).

One of the main language-power relations is its ability to create influence through single words such as metaphors, oratories, conversations and narratives in contexts such as political campaigns, terrorist narratives, emergence of leaders, and so forth.

### 2.3.3 Argumentation during Conflict Talk

According to Urdang & Manser (1982: 16) an argument means quarrel, dispute, disagreement or controversy. Logical theory defines an argument as a set of propositions and only the truthfulness or falsehood of the propositions is what really matters. Whereas logical pragmatics looks at the argument as a claim, which according to appropriate procedures of reasonable dialogue should be relevant to proving the arguer’s conclusion at issue (Walton, 2008: 1). According to Eemeren et al (2007) *‘argumentation is an attempt to resolve or prevent a difference of opinion by critically testing the acceptability of a*

*standpoint that is in doubt.*' Bringing forward standpoints and argumentation along with responding to the others' real or assumed standpoints and argumentation are seen as socially motivated turns in an accumulative process of conflict management.

Political speakers in the run for elections usually try to use the most powerful and variant linguistic tools to overcome, and persuade the public. But in such a powerful country like USA, the language of power or the power of coercion is the medium to attain triumph.

Political debates are institutionalized discourse activities built around conflict and there are certain argumentation strategies to be followed during political debates. An accumulative view about argumentative strategies employed during presidential debates is combined from Walton (2008), Freeley and Steinberg (2008) and Al-Jama'wi (2013). They are down-listed hereunder.

1. The variation of arguments: De facto argument, value argument and authority argument.
2. Asking several questions; the fallacy of many questions occurs where a question is raised in an overly aggressive manner in an attempt to trap or confuse the answerer into incurring damaging commitments that can be used to defeat him. Pulling the leg via questions proved to be successful during political debates.
3. Focalized discourse: Another form of power and a tactic mainly used by politicians which involves constraining the interpretation and the wording of events to particular meanings, while excluding others.
4. A tu quoque rejoinder implying 'You are no better' reply.
5. Emphasizing solidarity with the audience using the style 'I'm one of you'.
6. Personal attack which is taken into further detail hereunder.

### 2.3.4 Personal Attack

One context of dialogue is the personal quarrel, characterized by aggressive personal attack, heightened appeal to emotions, and the desire to win the argument at all costs. The quarrel is characterized by bitter recriminations, a loss of balanced perspective and afterwards most often regret for excessive personal attacks that were not meant or deserved. The quarrel is no friend of logic, and frequently represents argument at its worst. The goal of the quarrel is for each arguer to attack or hit one's opponent at all costs using any means, whether reasonable, fair, or not. Thus the quarrel is characterized by fallacious ad hominem attack (attack against the person, rather than the argument). It is the lowest level of argument, the heated one, the medium of one-sided criticism and when an argument descends to the level of the quarrel, it is usually in deep trouble (Walton, 2008: 4).

The basic purpose of a debate is to attain a verbal victory against your opponent by impressing the audience or the referee of the debate. Therefore, fallacious arguments and personal attacks are a good idea; i.e. that a successful argument in the context of debate is not necessarily a reasonable argument from the standpoint of logic.

Personal attack argumentation is of three types; abusive ad hominem argument, circumstantial ad hominem argument and poisoning the well argument. The first is the direct attack on a person in argument, including the questioning or the vilification of the character, motives or trustworthiness of the person. Circumstantial ad hominem argument questions or criticizes the personal circumstances of an arguer, allegedly revealed in his/her actions or previous commitments so as to prove that the arguer does not practice what s/he preaches. Poisoning the well involves questioning the sincerity and objectivity of an arguer by suggesting that s/he has something to gain by supporting the argument

s/he has advocated or s/he has had a hidden agenda and cannot be trusted. Sometimes the argumentum ad hominem is associated with the tu quoque or ‘you too’ or ‘you’re no better’.

The argument against the person is not always logically unreasonable or fallacious. It can be powerfully convincing or an influential form of attack when it is successfully employed by a clever arguer. It is actually a very common form of argument in political debates. Thus, one may say that it is the most powerful kind of argument in politics, and this is to be proved in this study. Furthermore, it is very important to be cautious and to know how to handle personal attack reasonably (Walton, 2008: 134)

### **2.3.5 Persuasive Strategies**

To persuade means to induce, convince or influence. Politicians strive to persuade the audience of their main claims for the sake of influencing people’s political and ideological views. Emotional language and simplification of reality are pivotal elements here. The degree of control and persuasion is important too. Creation of association between thoughts and the ideas and information the hearer is already acquainted with is another technique to persuade the public.

The art of persuasion goes back to more than two thousand years in the West. Aristotle defines rhetoric as the art or faculty of discovering the best possible means of persuasion. It is an activity in which a communicator endeavors to induce a change in the belief, attitude, or behavior of another. Persuasion is a form of power in that it is a means by which one actor makes another do something. Persuasion is the process of trying to move one or more people by using convincing information, evidence, reasoning, and emotional appeals to a new attitude, value, and behavior or change the belief.

Aristotle believes that there are three basic means in which persuasion can be accomplished, they are: Ethos, Pathos and Logos.

### 2.3.5.1 Ethos

Ethos refers to the credibility of the speaker, which is influenced by two factors; first, competence which involves intelligence, expertise, sincerity and knowledge; second, character which means how the audience consider the speaker's sincerity, worthiness, reputation and physical appearance. The credibility and sincerity of the person and the audience's perceptions of the trustworthiness of the speaker are two main factors for the ethos persuasive appeal. People feel confidence in persons of worth. There are three reasons for the speaker to be persuasive according to ethos appeal. They are practical wisdom, virtue and good will.

A speaker persuades by moral character when his speech is delivered in such a manner that renders him worthy of confidence. Moreover, s/he can persuade through character by creating common ground with the audience. Persuasion here can be attained when the speaker advertises for his background, explains his or her competence, viewpoint and experience.

Three types of credibility can be distinguished in the appeal to ethos; Initial credibility which is the credibility that audiences have before the speech starts; derived credibility is the one produced by the speaker during his/her speech; and terminal credibility which occurs at the end of the speech (Headley, 2008).

Ethos relates to personal history and personality traits.

There are certain strategies that come under the umbrella of ethos and can be used for persuasion purposes during debates. They are: referring to the values that matter the audience; using language through phrasing and imagery; referring to their experience or authority or referring to their own character. So, the speaker here tries to show good image through language and through the

message conveyed. Other strategies under the appeal of ethos include indigenous factor (physical appearance) and adventitious factor (knowledge about business), courage and righteousness. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning other strategies here such as showing reputation or credibility and showing awareness for the society.

### **2.3.5.2 Pathos**

The persuasive appeal of pathos is an appeal to an audience's sense of identity, their self-interest and their emotions. Pathos was considered by scholars over the centuries as the strongest of the appeals.

Persuasion from pathos appeal involves engaging the emotions of the readers or the listeners and establishing in the listener a state of reception for the ideas. Emotions of pity, contempt, envy or indignation can be provoked through vivid language, emotional language and numerous sensory details. An appeal to pathos causes an audience not just to respond emotionally, but to coop with the speaker's standpoint and to feel what s/he feels.

There are two types of pathos; rising up and falling down the emotion of audience. Under the umbrella of pathos, the following strategies can be employed; expressive description of people, places and events; vivid imagery, sharing personal stories, using emotion-laden vocabulary and using any information that will evoke an emotional response from the audience.

### **2.3.5.3 Logos**

Logos refers to persuading by the use of reasoning and evidence. The latter consists of supporting materials such as examples, statistics or testimony that can be used to prove or refute something. Evidence is complementary to reasoning which draws conclusions based on evidence. Reasoning can be made from specific instances; i.e. progress from a number of certain facts to a general

conclusion; or from principle; i.e. progress from general principle to a specific conclusion. Reasoning can also be analogical by comparing similar cases and infer what is true for the first case is also true for the second. If they are alike, then the analogy is valid. If not, then the analogy is invalid.

Reasoning can be causal through establishing the presence of causal relationships amongst events. Thus, the speaker tries to establish the relationship between the causes and effects (Lucas, 2009). According to Aristotle, *logos* relates to the speech itself or the internal consistency of the message.

Logical appeals rest on rational modes of thinking such as fair and valid comparison; cause/effect thinking; deductive reasoning, which means starting with broad general claims; inductive reasoning, which means using specific examples to make broad generalizations; exemplification; elaboration and coherent thought. Moreover, other strategies under *logos* encompass the use of factual data and statistics; the use of multiple sources; informal opinion; providing a solid and non-biased explanation; citation from experts and authorities; quotations; theoretical or abstract language; denotative meanings/reasons; literal and historical analogies and definitions.

At the other end of the spectrum, Johnstone (2008) suggests seven main strategies through which persuasion can be established. These strategies are used at various levels of generality within an argument and work in combination. They are:

1. Logic; speakers use logic to convince their audience by discussing the issue from different sides and show them the result of taking each side. Carefully crafted logic uses the language and structure of formal syllogistic reasoning, facts, statements and statistics (Hawthorne, 1987: 87).
2. Quasilogic; a term used by Perelman et al. (1969) to refer to arguments that use wordiness in forming logical argumentative discourse, but which are not

logical in the strict sense. Logically, if 'A' implies 'B', and 'B' implies 'C', this means that 'A' implies 'C'. But in quasilogic 'A' does not necessarily imply 'C'.

3. Presentation; which contrasts with quasilogical persuasion in that it is based on the assumption that being persuaded means being moved by the argument. It aims at making the persuader's claim present in the audience consciousness through repeating, paraphrasing and showing the aesthetic attention of the argument. The language of presentational argument is characterized by rhythmic flow of words, uses of parallel clauses and connected coordinate series. Deixis such as here, now, this, etc. can be used to create interpersonal involvement with the audience.

4. Analogy; involves the use of analogies created between the current issues and previous ones. Analogical persuasion convinces the audience through teaching, reminding them of time-tested values by having them make leaps between past events and lessons learned from them and the current issues.

5. Generalization; which assumes that what is true of a well-chosen sample is likely to hold for a larger group. It also assumes that certain things consistent with the sample can be inferred of the group (Andersen, 1971).

6. Sign/Clue; emerges from the notion that certain types of evidence are symptomatic of some wider principle or outcome. E.g. smoke is often considered to be a sign of fire.

7. Causality; which means arguing that a given occurrence or event is the result of, or is affected by factor "x". The writer or speaker seeks to choose a number of causal reasoning styles in order to attain his or her claim.

### 2.3.6 Credibility

In any televised presidential debate, the primary purpose of the candidate is to persuade the voters that he\she is the best choice for the office of president. A

key to this persuasive effort is the credibility of the candidate. According to Adler and Rodman (2006: 445), a commonly held definition of credibility is ‘*the believability of a speaker. Credibility isn’t an objective quality; rather, it is a perception in the minds of the audience*’. Credibility is a perception made up of competence, character, and intent or charisma. However, it cannot be accurately measured in all three dimensions. Credibility and trustworthiness are of crucial importance for those who wish to occupy the presidency office.

First, the source needs to be highly competent, so that the receiver can rely upon the expertise of the speaker. The nature of the argument itself is a factor in determining whether the receiver will accept the advocated position. The audience expects a strong argument from the source because they believe him/her to be intelligent and competent.

Character has to do with audiences' perception that a debater is honest and impartial. This dimension helps the audience in considering a given argument by the speaker and consequently they will advocate a position the same as the speaker's position. To achieve this, a speaker should find ways to talk about him/herself that demonstrate his/her integrity. In contrast, a person who has low character is said to be untrustworthy, and willing to deceive, manipulate, cheat, and persuade others to increase personal gain (Adler and Rodman, 2006).

The third dimension of credibility is good will, intent or charisma of the speaker through which the audience determines whether or not that person can be believed. Those three dimensions are highly connected to the above-mentioned Aristotle’s persuasive strategies (logos, ethos and pathos). As early mentioned, ethos is highly connected to credibility. Competence is also linked in a way to logos or reason; character and charisma are related to ethos; and all the three dimensions (competence, character and charisma) are integrated and directed towards the emotions of the audience, i.e. pathos.

The following lines would shed much light on the dimension of charisma as being one of the most influential characteristics of a president.

### 2.3.7 Charisma

‘Charisma’ as a term, has emerged in the early Christian church of the first century; and was progressed as a religious concept within the church by the end of the third century. When the term ‘Charisma’ was initially used in Christian circles in the middle of the first century, it conveyed some attributes, including miraculous spiritual powers, ranging from prophecy to healing and speaking in tongues.

It has meant different things in different cultures and at different times. Charisma; contemporarily means special innate quality that sets apart certain individuals and draws others to them. (Potts, 2009)

This definition is derived from the one provided by the sociologist Max Weber, in the early twentieth century, attesting to the power of his concept of charismatic leadership. However, the current meaning has shifted away from the confined range of charismatic authority elaborated in Weber’s sociology where it was primarily concerned with religious and political leaders. Charisma in the present culture is thought to be found in a wide variety of special individuals, such as entertainers and celebrities.

The term was skeptical as it might have emerged only from the imagination of Weber, who dreamt of an alternative to bureaucratic authority or perhaps it is nothing more than an inherited form of mysticism, removed from its original religious framework and applied to any unique individual.

The charisma of the 21<sup>st</sup> century relates to entertainment figures or politicians who are thought to possess attractive power or personal magnetism. It is not bestowed as a divine grace.

A charismatic leader should put much focus on the factor of communication. Human contact is the most effective form of communication for a leader to develop personal relationships and strengthen emotional bonds. Bill Clinton (Feb. 1992) cited by Phillips (2007: 71) affirmed that *'The key to being an effective leader is getting around. You've got to go find the facts for yourself, and many of the good ones come from outside your inner circle. There's too much you miss if you don't forage around yourself.'*

One of the main pillars of charisma is communication, which involves obtaining key information, understanding what people think and feel, keeping people informed and obtaining feedback. People need to learn to talk and listen to each other, not to talk past each other and to scream at one another.

Listening is important in leadership because it allows leaders to understand what people in the organization think, feel, and expect. It is also an important means of gathering specific information needed to make strategic decisions (Phillips: 2007). Moreover, listening shows interest and caring; it is a way to build trust, relationships, and to connect with people. When delivering a speech, a charismatic leader needs to be passionate, articulate, eloquent, and animated in his delivery. S/he should rise above the occasion of a normal speech by interacting with his audience, by touching on their personal concerns, by responding to their needs, and by truly engaging them.

Another pillar of charisma is conversation and storytelling. A leader needs to be committed to persuading through personal conversation in an easy-going manner. Storytelling during a speech is one of the most powerful weapons. A worthwhile example is Bill Clinton and members of his administration who told many horror stories experienced by average Americans from across the country. In this way, the nation's moral awareness has increased. Consequently, the issue of health care reform turned into nothing less than a difference between right and wrong.

Leaders need to possess the skills and talents necessary to convince others to motivate them to take action on their own initiative. Conversation and storytelling, when applied skillfully, are two of the most effective means of persuasion. Personal conversation makes people view leaders as having status and power, because it exhibits knowledge and skill.

Others consider it a sign of connection and rapport. Thus, personal conversation can be used as a strategic tool to influence thoughts, viewpoints, and patterns of behavior. Storytelling is also a powerful motivational tool that can spread loyalty, commitment, and enthusiasm. People tend to remember stories more than information. That's why they are often more influenced by a well-told story than with any other means of communication.

### **2.4 US Presidential Debates**

During the run for US president post, candidates are accustomed to engage in a debate. Elections are almost decided by these debates. The latter are not constitutionally mandated, but meanwhile considered fundamental in the election process. The debates target mainly the undecided voters; who do not support any political ideology or party. Presidential debates are held after the political parties have nominated their candidates; who meet in a large hall, often at a university, before an audience of citizens.

Debates have been broadcast live on television, radio, and recently, the web. The first debate for the 1960 elections drew over 66 million viewers out of a population of 179 million, being the most watched in U.S. television history. The 1980 debates attracted 80 million viewers out of a population of 226 million.

Recent debates have drawn smaller audiences, ranging from 46 million for the first 2000 debate to a high of over 67 million for the first debate in 2012. A

record-breaking audience of over 84 million people watched the first 2016 debate between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Recently, Trump-Biden first debate pulled in about 73 million viewers in 2020. (CNN)

Linguistic scholars and political analysts shed the light on the US presidential debates because of their influence on population. The televised US presidential debates have a decisive role in the outcomes of most of the presidential elections. Millions of people watch the US presidential debates every four years. Such debates are effective because of the importance of the candidates engaged in the debate, the various types of viewers, and the media and its role in telecasting and shaping the event.

Voters find debates useful when at least one of the candidates is relatively unknown, when many voters are undecided, when the race appears close, and when party allegiances are weak (Chaffee, 1978) cited in (McKinney and Carlin, 2004). In general, debates reinforce rather than change voters' minds. They facilitate the acquisition of issue information and the perception of candidates' character or image trait.

Linguistic strategies of attack and defense along with argumentative and persuasive strategies and propaganda language that focus on the speaker's ideological position can be powerful in influencing the attitudes, feelings and opinions of the public.

### **2.5 Previous Studies**

The American political context is full of speeches, debates or conversations that contain a good deal of violence, bullying, hostility, rudeness or badmouthing. Hence, there are some previous papers, theses or dissertations written on issues similar to the subject matter of this study. It is important to mention some of the previous studies as such attitudes or phenomena are widely spread in the American political context.

Al-Hindawi (2021) has written a paper entitled ‘The pragmatics of bullying in selected political speeches of Donald Trump’ and he demonstrated how language was used to manifest power and to express bullying.

Rega and Marchetti (2021) wrote an article entitled ‘The strategic use of incivility in contemporary politics: The case of the 2018 Italian general election on Facebook.’ In their paper, they analyzed citizen’s reactions to leader’s uncivil posts on Facebook during the 2018 Italian general election. The results of the study show that leaders’ use of uncivil messages trigger greater online participation (tandfonline.com).

Moreover, Flayeh, Z. (2021) has submitted a doctorate dissertation to the council of the College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon which was entitled ‘The Pragmatics of Verbal Offences in English and Arabic:

A Contrastive Study’ in which she defines verbal offences as language crimes that are committed by mere utterances of certain words or expressions whether they are accompanied by physical acts or not. They are blackmail, bribery, defamation, insulting, verbal abuse, etc.

### **3.1 Developing the Analytical Model**

The analysis method adopted in this study is qualitative and supported by a quantitative survey. Qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand the meaning individuals or groups attribute to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures. Data is collected through observing in the participant's setting then analyzed inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher makes interpretations of the meaning of the data (Creswell, 2014: 29).

A qualitative method uses words rather than numbers and uses open-ended questions. In the fields of linguistics and human studies, a qualitative method takes the shape of case studies. The present study relies mainly on the three analytic bases of critical pragmatics i.e. stance, critique and reproduction.

An eclectic model is formed to accurately combine all aspects of the study. It is known that in every debate there is an immediate goal which represents a certain end an interlocutor tries to reach in a particular moment. This step is taken forward to reach the intermediate goal which represents the objective of the overall scene or situation. The medium used to reach the immediate goal is called 'strategy'. Three sets of strategies are to be traced in this study to get an accumulative pragmatic worldview of the whole social problem and provide a clear-cut manifestation of it with a minute critique to reach an imaginative view of its reproduction at the end.

#### **Data Source**

There are two sessions of presidential debates between Trump and Biden. The atmosphere of the first session was full of squabble and conflict talk, which provide an amiable environment and give chance to display the stance of the study that is nastiness in the conflict talk. Besides, this atmosphere facilitates

the critique of such a social problem. The second session was a somewhat more rational and constructive with less interruptions.

The general framework of the study is based on the three analytic parameters of critical pragmatics; stance, critique and reproduction. Critical pragmatists aim at increasing the independence of language users by acquainting them to the linguistic conditions of power exercising in societies and institutions. It is an analytical paradigm that activates pragmatics in analyzing discourse. In addition, this approach is fruitful in the manifestation of critical issues and their implementation through the use of language. The aim, of course, is to oppose and criticize these issues and highlight the social functioning of language (Al-Hindawi and Mohammed, 2018).

### **Procedure**

Three sets of strategies are to be traced during the manifestation of the stance and critique. First, the argumentative strategies according to an amalgamation of three models; Walton's Informal Logic, Freeley's Argumentation and Debate and Al-Jama'wi's Argumentative strategies in presidential debates; second, impoliteness strategies according to Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory; third, Persuasive strategies by Aristotle. The amalgamation of these theories to develop the analytical model of the study and the sequence of these strategies is put on purpose; as it is logical to have an argument first and during the argument, certain impoliteness strategies are used to reach to an end which is the persuasion of the audience and winning the elections. So, it is a three-part study.

The first part of the study traces the argumentative strategies used by the interlocutors including the variation of arguments; which is sub-divided into de facto or fact argumentation, value argumentation and authority argumentation. The second type of argumentation is the multiplicity of questions. Third, pulling

the legs of the opponent through questions and leading him to make mistakes and lose the argument. The fourth type of argumentation is the focalization of the debate on certain topics that may embarrass the opponent. The fifth and final type of argumentation is the personal attack, where the attack is directed to the opponent's personally rather than to his argumentation.

The de facto argumentation involves false accusation, dispraise of statistics, providing evidence through numbers, belittling of the opponent's achievements, monkey-playing with numbers, magnification of statistics, blacking out of information, deliberate concealment and the citing of some well-known events.

Value argumentation encompasses inspiring and supporting the nation's balance of values such as freedom, justice, democracy and social scale; guaranteeing the reservation of civic identity; impertinence of the opponent; attempting to disqualify the opponent and dismantling him from the values or presenting him as a liar.

Authority or policy argumentation is represented in three forms; the authority of talk or being given the chance to express himself and show his competence and credibility before the audience; second, the centrality of ego; or stating very clearly and powerfully that he is a presidential candidate; third, recalling symbolic figures and trying to find any connection or relativity with such figures.

The second argumentative strategy is the multiplicity of questions, where many unexpected questions are posed to the opponent to confuse him and interrupt his communication with the audience. Succession of questions may let the opponent lose track of his ideas and lose the argument. Moreover, using a sarcastic way in posing questions stirs up the opponent and may refute him in front of the audience.

Thirdly, pulling the legs through a question, which is a main pillar in the debate as it causes embarrassment. Such a question is posed in a certain carefully-chosen moment and in the suitable context and insisting on an instant live answer. Such a question does not give the opponent any opportunity to take any maneuver or find any access. The goal is to confuse him and get his rapid response about minute issues. It is sometimes called the ‘interrogative argumentation’.

Forth is the focalization of the discourse towards certain topics rather than others. Focusing on internal issues contributes in differentiating one candidate from the other. Moreover, the concentration on the negative repertoire of the opponent during his ex-position and on his inability to attain his promises is another way to refute him and unveil his feebleness in fulfilling the needs of the nation.

Finally is the argumentum ad hominem or personal attack, where the arguer himself is criticized rather than his argument. The opponent’s personal circumstances, trustworthiness or character are under attack. Personal attack is of three types; abusive, circumstantial and poisoning the well. The abusive argument focuses the attack on the bad morals and character or the truthfulness of the individual. The circumstantial criticizes his actions, affiliations or previous commitments. The charge here is ‘you don’t practice what you preach.’ Finally, poisoning the well suggests that the attacked arguer has a hidden agenda and holding his argument for personal gain.

The second part of the study traces the impoliteness strategies employed by the candidates in their presidential debate.

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) suggested five types of strategies: Bald on record (BOR); Positive politeness (+P); Negative politeness (-P); A hybrid

strategy where negative politeness and positive politeness are combined (-P/+P) and Off record (OR).

Each one of the five strategies mentioned above is divided into classes then to sub-strategies. The sub-strategies can be easily-determined according to the style of the language used. Relative to this study is the linguistic choices that reflect nastiness or badmouthing. Under the BOR strategy there are cases of non-minimization of the face threat within which there are the cases where the speaker is powerful and doesn't fear retaliation or non-cooperation from the hearer; or because the speaker wants to be rude and doesn't care about maintaining face, thus goes far teasing and joking.

There is not many sub-strategies of Positive Politeness (+P) strategy related to the subject of this study neither of Negative Politeness (-P) strategy, consequently, they are ignored in this study.

Off record utterances are essential in the indirect use of language. There are two classes under OR strategy. First, invite conversational implicatures under which the following sub-strategies come; 'give hints', 'give association clues', 'presuppose', 'understate', 'overstate', 'use tautologies', 'use contradictions', 'be ironic' and 'use metaphor and rhetorical questions'. The second class is 'be vague or ambiguous'; violate the manner maxim; under which the following sub-strategies come; 'be ambiguous', 'be vague', 'over-generalize', 'displace H' and 'be incomplete or use ellipsis'.

The third part of the study traces the persuasive strategies used by the candidates. The Aristotle trinity encompasses logos, ethos and pathos. Under logos come several strategies such as 'giving an example', 'using factual data and statistics', 'providing a solid and non-biased explanation', 'citation from experts and authorities', 'quotations', 'theoretical or abstract language',

‘denotative meanings or reasons’, ‘literal and historical analogies’ and ‘definitions’.

Within ethos, there exist some strategies like ‘knowledge about business’, ‘physical appearance’, ‘courage’, ‘righteousness’, ‘showing reputation or credibility’ and ‘showing awareness of the society’.

Pathos includes some strategies such as ‘raising up the emotions’, ‘falling down the emotions’, ‘expressive description of people, places or events’, ‘vivid imagery’, ‘sharing personal stories’, ‘using emotion-laden vocabulary’ and using any information that will evoke an emotional response from the audience.

The following page contains a chart representing the model developed for the study, which is an amalgamation of three theories; Walton’s Informal Logic, Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory and Aristotle’s Persuasive Strategies.

*Chart 1: The Model of the Study*

<b>S T A N C E</b>	<b>P A R T I</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><b>Argumentative Strategies</b></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Variation of arguments suggested by Freely and Steinberg</b></li> </ul> <p>De facto, value and authority argumentations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Strategies suggested by Al-Jama’wi</b></li> </ul> <p>Multiplicity of questions; pulling the legs through a question; discourse focalization; posing questions sarcastically; focus on the negative repertoire of the opponent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Strategies suggested by Walton</b></li> </ul> <p>Personal attack (circumstantial, abusive and poisoning the well; tu quoque rejoinder</p>	<b>E U Q I T I C R E D I B I L I T Y</b>
	<b>P A R T II</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><b>Impoliteness strategies</b></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>BOR</b></li> </ul> <p>S wants to be rude; S is powerful</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>OR</b></li> </ul> <p>Give hints; give association clues; presuppose; understate; overstate; use tautologies; use contradictions; be ironic; use metaphor; use rhetorical questions; displace H; use ellipsis</p>	
	<b>P A R T III</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u><b>Persuasive strategies suggested by Aristotle</b></u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Logos</b></li> </ul> <p>Giving an example; using factual data and statistics; citation from experts and authorities; quotations; theoretical or abstract language; denotative meaning or reasons; literal and historical analogies; definitions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Ethos</b></li> </ul> <p>Knowledge about business; courage; righteousness; showing reputation or credibility; showing awareness of the society</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Pathos</b></li> </ul> <p>Expressive description of people, places or events; vivid imagery; sharing personal stories; using emotion-laden vocabulary; using information that will evoke emotional response of the audience</p>	
<b>R E P R O D U C T I O N</b>			

### 4.1 First Debate

The first presidential debate was held on Tuesday, September 29, 2020 from 9:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. GMT, at the Samson Pavilion, Cleveland Clinic in Cleveland. Chris Wallace of Fox News moderated the debate.

The data to be analyzed are extracts taken from a transcribed version of the first presidential debate of Donald Trump and Joe Biden in 2020 ([www.usatoday.com](http://www.usatoday.com)). This debate was chosen as it represents the American context of nastiness and conflict talk between two powerful candidates. Nastiness and conflict talk instances are looked for and critique is provided to them. The utterance is the unit of analysis. The most relevant contextual factors of the data are summarized as follows:

Setting: Tuesday, September 29, 2020 from 9:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. GMT, at the Samson Pavilion, Cleveland Clinic in Cleveland.

Participants Speakers: Trump & Biden

End: Elections

Instrumentalities: Spoken

Genre: Presidential debate

The eclectic model developed by this study and represented by the above-mentioned Figure 1 is the basic framework for the analysis.

This analysis will not take every single word in the debate; it will be selective. Only utterances containing explicit or implicit nastiness would be subjected to analysis. The stance would be nastiness as a social problem and the critique is represented by the different strategies used by the debaters to express nastiness. An utterance is a piece of speech; therefore every speech divides into utterances that are given numbers to facilitate the application of different strategies on the same.

### **PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP**

*“...We won the election, elections have consequences. We have the Senate, we have the White House, and we have a phenomenal nominee, respected by all top, top academic – good in every way, good in every way (1)...We have a professor at Notre Dame, highly respected by all, says she’s the single greatest student he’s ever had (2)...the Democrats, they wouldn’t even think about that, doing... So we won the election and we have the right to do it (3)”*

Trump starts with an authority argumentation of ‘the centrality of ego’ type; stating very clearly and powerfully that their party won the elections and asserting the qualification of their nominee for the Supreme Court, Amy Coney Barrett. (1)

A variety of impoliteness strategies are used in the first excerpt. There is first a case where the speaker is powerful and doesn’t fear retaliation or non-cooperation from the hearer; which comes under BOR strategy (1). Moreover, Egotism style is very clear here and it can be categorized under impoliteness.

For persuasion, also a variety of strategies were employed. Under logos, one may notice the employment of the ‘quotation from experts’ strategy. (2) Within ethos, the strategies of ‘courage’, and ‘showing reputation or credibility’ can be obviously seen in this speech.

### **JOE BIDEN**

*“Mr. President, (1) I – the American people have a right to have a say to who the Supreme Court nominee is (2)...Now, what’s at stake here is, the President’s made it clear, he wants to get rid of the Affordable Care Act. He’s been running on that, He ran on that and he’s been governing on that... which will strip 20 million people from having insurance, health insurance, now (3)...she seems like a very fine person. But she’s written before she went to the bench, which is her right, that she thinks that the Affordable Care Act is not constitutional...And there’s 100 million people who have pre-existing conditions, and they’ll be taken away as well. (4)”*

Here, there is a variation of argumentation strategies; as Biden starts with a respectful style (1) and shows emotional solidarity with the American people by introducing himself as one of them and as a representative of them. Showing exaggerated commitment to the American people is a logical fallacy within ad populum argumentation (appeal to popularity) (2).

The sudden transfer of talk and focalization of the discourse towards certain topics rather than others is one type of argumentative strategy. Biden's focus specifically on an internal issue (Affordable Care Act) contributes in differentiating himself from the other. Also, the concentration on the negative repertoire of the opponent during his ex-position and on the opponent's inability to attain his promises is another way to refute him and unveil his feebleness in fulfilling the needs of the nation. (3) Furthermore, there is an affirmation that the opponent's candidate to the Supreme Court considers the health insurance not constitutional; as if Biden wants to say that 'your party is against the people's interests and we care about people.' The strategy here is 'Poisoning the well' under personal attack argumentation which suggests that the attacked arguer has a hidden agenda and holding his argument for personal gain (*she's written before she went to the bench*). (4) So, it is obvious that Biden has started the attack by focalizing the talk towards health insurance and by personal attack.

Under de facto argumentative strategy, we can see Biden providing evidence through numbers (3 & 4), belittling of the opponent's achievements (3) and magnifying statistics (4).

Politeness sub-strategies employed here are *S* wants to be rude under BOR (3); understate (3), presuppose (3), give hints and association clues (4) within OR strategy.

Regarding persuasive strategies; the play was clear here on logos and pathos. Under logos one may see the usage of factual data and statistics (3 & 4), providing a solid explanation (3) and quotation (4). Within ethos, there are some

strategies like knowledge about business and showing awareness of the society (4). Under pathos, the whole speech involves rising up the emotions against opponent's party and using emotion-laden vocabulary such as (*strip, pre-existing conditions, he ran on that*) and using any information that will evoke an emotional response from the audience. (2 & 4)

### **TRUMP**

*There aren't 100 million people with pre-existing conditions (1) ... Justice Ginsburg said -- very powerfully, very strongly -- at some point, 10 years ago or so, she said a president and the Senate is elected for a period of time, but a president's elected for four years (2). We're not elected for three years -- I'm not elected for three years. So we have the Senate, we have a president (3)-*

Within de facto argumentation we have dispraise of statistics (1) and within authority argumentation, there is the centrality of ego; or stating very clearly and powerfully his being a presidential candidate; (3) plus recalling symbolic figures. (2) From the politeness perspective, Trump employs S is powerful sub-strategy within BOR strategy. (2 & 3) Persuasively, there is the 'citation from experts and authorities and quotations (2) under logos strategy.

### **BIDEN**

*Who's elected at the next election?*

We have here an interrogative argument represented by pulling the legs through a question, which is posed in a certain carefully-chosen moment in the suitable context and insisting on an instant live answer. Such a question does not give the opponent any opportunity to take any maneuver or find any access. The goal is to confuse him and get his rapid response about minute issues.

This question can be classified under 'be ironic' or 'understate' sub-strategies within OR politeness strategy. As far as persuasion concerned the use of such a question can be classified under logos. As if Biden is affirming that up to that

moment, the elected president is unknown, election is going on, so all what you say is premature.

### **TRUMP**

*-- Joe. The hundred million people is totally wrong. I don't know where you got that number. The bigger problem that you have is that you're going to extinguish 180 million people with their private health care –*

Here, under the de facto argumentation, we have a dispraise of statistics, providing evidence through numbers and magnification of statistics. It is also a maneuver to sidestep the ironic question raised earlier by changing the subject to a previous issue which is life insurance. ‘Using contradictions’ is a sub-strategy within OR impoliteness strategy and ‘using factual data and statistics’ is a sub-strategy under logos persuasive strategy.

### **BIDEN**

*... Now here's the deal. The deal is that this is going to wipe out pre-existing condition -- by the way, the 20, the 200 million, the 200,000 people that have died on his watch. How many of those have survived? Over 7 million people have contracted COVID. What does it mean for them going forward if you strike down the Affordable Care Act?*

### **TRUMP**

*Joe, you had 308,000 military people die because you couldn't provide them proper health care in the military, so don't tell me about this... And if you were here, it wouldn't be 200, it would be 2 million people, because you were very late on the draw. You didn't want me to ban China, which was heavily infected. You didn't want me to ban*

Argumentatively, both candidates provide evidence through numbers and magnification of statistics within de facto argumentation. The exchange of accusations of failure to reduce casualties and deaths because of covid-19 and in the military is the circumstantial type of personal attack strategy in which the actions and previous commitments of the opponent are criticized. Poisoning the

well type is clear in the utterance *'you didn't want me to ban China'* which suggests that Biden has a hidden agenda. The responses for the two-way personal attack came in the form of a tu quoque, 'you too' rejoinder or 'you are no better'. Moreover, Biden raised multiple questions which is an argumentative strategy to embarrass the opponent. Trump uses the discourse focalization strategy to steer it towards the deaths amongst military staff, and to flee the issue of life insurance. Both use the presenting of the opponent as a liar sub-strategy within value argumentation.

The use of S wants to be rude is obvious in pointing finger toward the opponent and in utterances such as *'on his watch'*, *'you were very late...'* It is within the BOR impoliteness strategy.

Under logos we have the use of factual data and statistics. Within ethos, one can see the show of awareness of the society. Also, the use of any information that will evoke an emotional response from the audience comes under pathos.

### ***BIDEN***

*Well, let me finish. The point is that the President also is opposed to Roe v. Wade. That's on the ballot as well, in the court in the court. And so that's also at stake, right now.*

### ***TRUMP***

*You don't know that's on the ballot. Why is it on the ballot, Why is it on the ballot. It's not on the ballot*

The argumentative strategies used here are the blacking out and deliberate concealment of information by Trump under de facto argumentation; presenting Biden as a liar within value argumentation. Trump's repetition of the question sarcastically: *'Why is it on the ballot?'* reflects denial and lack of knowledge of the opponent even though the information is quite right. Again personal attack is found here *'You don't know'* circumstantial type. Biden tried to focalize the discourse toward a new topic which is the 'Roe v. Wade' (the right for pregnant

women to abort fetus without legal accountability) constitution rejected by Trump. In this way, he uses value argumentation attempting to dismantle the opponent from the values of freedom, justice and democracy. Also, the constant interruption can be classified under the belittling of the opponent within de facto argumentation. Interruptions reflect disrespect, insignificant and unimportance of the opponent's talk. Moreover, it is a way to assert dominance and control.

Under BOR politeness strategy, Trump wants to be rude through interrupting Biden's talk and the recurrent use of the pronoun 'you'. This is shown in 'let me finish' utterance by Biden.

For persuasion, Biden uses factual data and gives example within logos and shows awareness of the society within ethos and evokes emotional response from the audience within pathos; whereas Trump tries to show his knowledge about business and courage within ethos and plays on the string of distorting the picture of the opponent to agitate the feelings of the audience against him within pathos.

In an answer to the reason for seeking to overturn Obamacare, or to end Obamacare, the response is:

### **TRUMP**

*Because I want to give good healthcare. Good healthcare...Yes I have put a plan. Of course I have. I'll get rid of the individual mandate which was added. That is absolutely a big thing; that was the worst part of Obamacare. The worst part of Obamacare. Well, I'll ask Joe. The individual mandate was the most unpopular aspect of Obamacare. I got rid of it.*

Pulling the legs through a question 'Well, I'll ask Joe' is one argumentative strategy employed here. Under de facto argumentation there is the belittling of the opponent's achievements. Under value argumentation there is the attempt to disqualify the opponent and showing support to the nation's interests by rejecting the individual mandate in Obamacare. Under authority argumentation Trump shows his competence and asserts that he had a plan for life insurance. The focalization of the discourse towards the individual mandate was to show

the inability of the democrats to attain their promises and unveil their feebleness in satisfying the needs of the nation. A circumstantial personal attack argumentation is employed in criticizing the previous commitments of the democrats. *'The worst part of Obamacare'* repeated twice to attract the attention of the audience.

For impoliteness, there is S wants to be rude sub-strategy within BOR and give hints and association clue under OR. Giving an example is under logos persuasive strategy; showing awareness and knowledge of business is ethos; using information that will evoke emotional response from the audience is pathos.

Answering the question 'what is the Trump healthcare plan?'

### **TRUMP**

*Let me just tell you something. That has nothing symbolic. I'm cutting drug prices, I'm going with favored nations which no president has encouraged to do because you're going against big pharma. Drug prices will be coming down, 80 or 90%. (1) You could have done it during your 47 year period in government but you didn't do it, nobody's done it. (2) So we're cutting health care, all of the things that we've done -- insulin. I'll give an example: insulin. It's going to, it was destroying families -- destroyed people, the cost -- 'I'm getting it for so cheap; it's like water.' You want to know the truth, so cheap. Take a look at all of the drugs that --- what we're doing, prescription drug prices, we're going to allow our governors now to go to other countries to buy drugs because when they make just a tiny fraction -- this is big stuff.(3)*

De facto argumentation is represented here by providing evidence through numbers (1), belittling of the opponent's achievements (2) and magnification of statistics (1); authority argumentation can be seen through showing competence and credibility and the centrality of ego. (*I'm getting it for so cheap*) Under the focalization of discourse there is the concentration on the negative repertoire of

the opponent during his ex-position and on his inability to attain his promises to unveil his feebleness in fulfilling the needs of the nation. (2)

In BOR there is the sub-strategy of S is powerful (2); under OR, give hint (*Nobody's done it*). Sub-strategies of give example, using factual data and statistics are under logos. Within ethos, there is knowledge about business sub-strategy and within pathos one can see the use of information evoking emotional response of the audience. (3)

### **TRUMP**

*So you agree with Bernie Sanders, who's left on the manifesto we call it, that gives you socialized medicine*

The citing of some well-known events comes under de facto argumentation. Poisoning the well sub-strategy under personal attack strategy is employed here argumentatively; reflecting an explicit accusation of having a hidden agenda. So, Biden trustworthiness is criticized here. It is a conflict between socialism and capitalism. Focalization of the discourse is clear here towards linking Biden with Bernie Sanders who is a democratic socialist independent senator.

Under BOR, there is S is powerful and does not fear retaliation of H. Within OR giving clear hint and presuppose that Biden supports socialism. Persuasively, under pathos, we have the use of information that will evoke the emotional response of the audience.

### **BIDEN**

*Tonight I'm going to -- here's the deal, here's the deal. The fact is that everything he's saying so far it's simply a lie. I'm not here to call out his lies; everybody knows he's a liar. I want to make sure -- I want to make the President...*

**WALLACE**

*Can you let him finish sir.*

**BIDEN**

*He doesn't know how to do that.*

**BIDEN**

*There is no manifesto --*

**TRUMP**

*You just lost the left. You just lost the left. You agreed with Bernie Sanders on a plan.*

**BIDEN**

*Folks, do we have any idea what this clown is doing?*

The above utterances show clearly the interruptions and the exchange of accusations and insults.

'Everybody knows he's a liar' is a clear value argumentation presenting the opponent as a liar and dismantle him from values. For impoliteness, Biden wants to be rude, showing that he is powerful and doesn't fear retaliation from Trump; two sub-strategies that come under BOR impoliteness strategy. Persuasively, the play here is on Pathos and the sub-strategy here is the expressive description of people and providing a vivid imagery of the opponent to evoke emotional response from the audience.

'You agreed with Bernie Sanders on a plan.' Trump uses give association clue under OR impoliteness strategy to assert a hidden agenda with the socialists which comes under poisoning the well and this is also one type of personal attack argumentation. So, he was first blood!

*'He doesn't know how to do that.'* Giving hint and giving reason under OR impoliteness strategy, that Trump will not give chance to others to express their ideas he is dominant by nature. This is related to the interruptions which are considered a de facto argumentation trying to belittle or disregard the opponent's ideas. Persuasively, the play here is on logos and the sub-strategy here is the use of denotative reasons.

*'Folks, do we have any idea what this clown is doing?'* This is an abusive personal attack argumentation where the focus is on Trump's personality describing him as a silly person or a clown. S wants to be rude which is under BOR impoliteness strategy. Biden is trying to be ironic which comes within OR. Also the use of rhetorical question and understate within OR. Though irrelevant to this study, claiming common grounds by using in group identity markers which is clear in 'Folks' is under +P. Within pathos, we have the use of passion-laden vocabulary, which is a way to create solidarity with the audience.

### **WALLACE**

*... Are you willing to tell the American people tonight, whether or not you will support either ending the filibuster or packing the court.*

### **BIDEN**

*Whatever position I take on that, that'll become the issue -- the issue is, the American people should speak. You should go out and vote. We're in voting now, vote and let your senators know how strongly you feel. Vote now, in fact let people know it is your senators. I'm not going to answer the question.*

### **TRUMP**

*Why won't you answer the question -- radical left -- well, listen.*

### **BIDEN**

*Would you shut up, man.*

### **TRUMP**

*Who is on your list?*

It is clear in the debate above that Biden tried to evade an interrogative question raised by the moderator. Pulling the leg through an interrogative question is an argumentative strategy. Then, there are the two cunning sarcastic questions of Trump accompanied by direct accusation of being a radical left in an abusive personal attack argumentation targeting the trustworthiness of Biden. It also can be considered a ‘poisoning the well’ strategy as it suggests a hidden agenda by Biden.

S wants to be rude is obvious in the utterances of both candidates and this is within BOR impoliteness strategy. Persuasively, there is the use of denotative reasons under logos; and the use of any information to evoke the audience under pathos.

### **TRUMP**

*That was a really productive segment, wasn't it?*

### **BIDEN**

*Keep yapping, man.*

Trump is ironic as he feels that the moderator was unfair. Argumentatively, the dispraise of the debate itself comes under de facto argumentation. Be ironic is a sub-strategy within OR impoliteness strategy. Biden follows an abusive personal attack argumentation in the last utterance insulting Trump. Biden wants to be rude and doesn't care about maintaining face, which is a sub-strategy within BOR impoliteness strategy.

### **BIDEN**

*Look, 200,000 dead. You said over 7 million infected in the United States. We in fact have 5% or 4% of the world's population, 20% of the deaths. 40,000 people a day are contracting COVID. In addition to that, about between 750*

*and 1000 people, they're dying (1). When he was presented with that number he said 'it is what it is' -- what it is what it is -- because you are who you are. That's why it is. The president has no plan. He hasn't laid out anything (2). He knew all the way back in February how serious this crisis was. He knew it was a deadly disease. What did he do? He's on tape as acknowledging he knew. He said he didn't tell us or give people a warning of it, because he didn't want to panic the American people. You don't panic, he panicked (3)... He did not even ask Xi to do that. He told us what a great job Xi was doing. He said we owe him a debt of gratitude for being so transparent with us (4). What did he do then? He then he waited and waited and waited. He still doesn't have a plan. I laid out or I could just watch, exactly what we should be doing. And I laid out again in July, what we should be doing. We should be providing all the protective gear plus, we should be providing the money (5).*

Biden started with the second person 'you' pronoun pointing finger at Trump, then he moved on talking to the audience using a third person 'he' several times, then he used the first person singular and plural 'I and we' to show first his achievements then what we should be doing. This sequence in the use of pronouns reflects the organized character of Biden.

Argumentatively, the accusation of the opponent (1); belittling the opponent's achievements (4); and the magnification of statistics (1) come under de facto argumentation. Within value argumentation, there is the impertinence of the opponent; attempting to disqualify him and presenting him as a liar (3). Centrality of ego within authority argumentation is clear in (5). The concentration on the negative repertoire of the opponent during his ex-position and on his inability to deal with the matter (2) comes under the focalization of the discourse argumentation. Abusive and circumstantial personal attack argumentations are ostensible presenting the arguer as ignorant. (2)

From the impoliteness perspective, S wants to be rude; he is powerful and doesn't fear retaliation of the hearer within BOR. The use of tautologies,

contradictions and being ironic (*'it is what it is' -- what it is what it is -- because you are who you are. That's why it is*) come under OR impoliteness strategy.

The persuasive strategies used here are using factual data and statistics, citation of the opponent's own talk (*You said over 7 million infected in the United States*) and giving examples under logos. Within ethos, there are the sub-strategies of knowledge about business, courage, showing credibility and showing awareness of the society. Under pathos there are the expressive description of people and events and the use of information that evoke emotional response from the audience.

### **TRUMP**

*The country would have been left wide open, Millions of people would have died, not 200,000. And one person is too much -- it's China's fault, it should have never happened. They stopped it from going in, but it was China's fault (1), by the way when you talk about numbers you know how many people died in Japan. How many people died in Russia. How many people died in India. They don't exactly give you a straight count, just so you understand (2). But if you look at what we've done. I closed it and you said he's xenophobic, he's a racist and xenophobic because you didn't close in our country. You didn't think we should have closed our country because you thought it was too -- it was terrible. You wouldn't have closed it for another two months (3). By my doing it early -- in fact Dr. Fauci said President Trump saved thousands of lives. Many of your Democrat governors said President Trump did a phenomenal job (4). We worked with the governors. Oh, really, go take a look. The governor said I did a phenomenal job... We did. We got the gowns, we got the masks, we made the ventilators -- you wouldn't have made ventilators -- and now we're weeks away from a vaccine... We've done a great job. The only thing I haven't done a good job, and that's because of the fake news, no matter what you say to them, they give you a bad press on, it's just fake news. They give you good press, they give me bad press, because that's the way it is, unfortunately. I don't care. I've gotten used to it. But I'll tell you, Joe, you could never have done the job that we did, you don't have it in your blood. You could have never done that yet (5).*

Trump began with the use of the third person plural ‘they’ to blame china, media and others and to display those who praised him and his deeds. He never admits mistakes and it is part of his character as a businessman. Then he uses the first person singular pronoun ‘I’ reflecting his arrogance and overconfidence. Indifference is clear in the utterance ‘*I don’t care.*’

Argumentatively, under de facto argumentation there are the false accusation; providing evidence through numbers (1); belittling the opponent’s achievements (5) and citing of some well-known events. Within value argumentation, there are the attempt to disqualify the opponent and presenting him as a liar (5). Under authority argumentation, there are the showing of competence and credibility (5), the centrality of ego and the recalling of symbolic figures. (*Dr. Fausi and the governor*) Trump belittles Biden’s achievements sarcastically to confuse and embarrass the opponent. ‘*Joe, you could never have done the job that we did, you don’t have it in your blood.*’ Clearly shows the abusive and circumstantial personal attack argumentation.

As for impoliteness, S wants to be rude and does not care about maintaining face under BOR. understatement, be ironic and giving association clues within OR.

Persuasively, under logos there are the use of factual data and statistics; citation from experts and authorities (4); quotation and providing denotative reasons. Showing reputation and credibility is obvious (4) and this is within ethos. Stressing the idea that fake news had destroyed their achievements was a tactic to attract the empathy of the public, which comes under pathos.

### ***BIDEN***

*I know how to do the job. I know how to get the job done.*

This is centrality of ego under authority argumentation stating very clearly and repeatedly the ability to accomplish such a job.

### **TRUMP**

*Well you didn't do very well in swine flu. H1N1. A disaster.*

Under de facto argumentation, trying to belittle the opponent's achievements and citing a well-known event. Also, there is the attempt to disqualify the opponent, under value argumentation. Focalization of the discourse towards swine flu is another tactic and the circumstantial personal attack is clear here in describing the action taken by Biden as a disaster.

Impoliteness strategies used here are 'S wants to be rude' within BOR; understate and be ironic under OR. Persuasively, giving an example under logos and within pathos we have the use of information evoking emotional response from the audience.

### **BIDEN**

*14,000 people died, not 200,000. There was no economic recession. We didn't shut down the economy. This is his economy, it's been shut down (1). The reason it's shut down is because -- look you folks at home. How many of you got up this morning and had an empty chair at the kitchen table because someone died at COVID. How many of you are in a situation where you lost your mom or dad and you couldn't even speak to the nurse holding the phone up so you could in fact say goodbye (2). By the way, his own CDC director says, we could lose as many as another 200,000 people between now and the end of the year, and he held up he said, if we just wear a mask we can save half those numbers -- just just a mask (3). And by the way, in terms of the, the whole notion of a vaccine. We prefer a vaccine, but I don't trust him at all, and neither do you, I know you don't. What we trust is a scientist (4).*

Providing evidence through numbers (1) is a sub-strategy under de facto argumentation; along with the belittling of the opponent's achievements (3). 'This is his economy' a personal attack towards the truthfulness of the opponent; and poisoning the well by claiming a hidden agenda or personal gain. For impoliteness; 'I don't trust him at all' is a direct insult and S wants to be rude sub-strategy. Trump is presented here as ignorant and apathetic; because he sees the subject from the viewpoint of a businessman rather than consulting scientists to deal with the matter.

Persuasively, there are the following sub-strategies; the use of factual data and statistics (1 & 3), citations from experts, quotation within logos. Under ethos, there is showing awareness of the society; and within pathos there is the expressive description of events and the use of information and vocabulary that evoke emotional response from the audience such as *empty chair, your mom or dad, and say goodbye.*

### **TRUMP**

*You don't trust Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer?*

Pulling the legs through an interrogative question is an argumentative strategy to refute Biden's accusation of not consulting the experts. Within value argumentation, Biden is indirectly presented as a liar. The use of rhetorical question and contradictions are sub-strategies within OR impoliteness strategy.

Persuasively, the mention of two major companies in the field of pharmaceutical science comes under logos and showing knowledge of business under ethos. Within pathos, there is the use of information that evokes emotional response from the audience.

### **TRUMP**

*I spoke to the scientists that are in charge. They will have the vaccine very soon.*

### **BIDEN**

*Do you believe for a moment what he's telling you, in light of all the lies he's told you about the whole issue of COVID. He still hasn't even acknowledged that he knew this was happening, knew how dangerous it was going to be back in February, and he didn't even tell you. He's on record saying that he panicked, or he just looked at the stock market -- one of the two -- because guess what: a lot of people died, and a lot more are going to die unless he gets a lot smarter.*

### **TRUMP**

*Did you use the word smart? So you said you went to Delaware State, but you forgot the name of your college. You didn't go to Delaware State. You graduated*

*either the lowest or almost the lowest in your class. Don't ever use the word smart with me, don't ever use that word.*

### **BIDEN**

*Oh, give me a break.*

### **TRUMP**

*Because you know what, there's nothing smart about you, Joe. 47 years, you've done nothing.*

De facto argumentation: belittling of the opponent's achievements. Value argumentation: presenting the opponent as a liar and attempting to disqualify and defame him. Pulling the legs through an interrogative question and diverting the subject or focalization of the discourse to another subject to evade a question are other argumentative strategies used here. Also, there is the abusive and the circumstantial personal attacks where the truthfulness of both candidates is attacked.

For politeness, both employed S wants to be rude BOR strategy, be ironic, the use of tautologies and understate within OR impoliteness strategy.

Persuasively, the play here is on pathos where information is used to evoke emotional response from the audience.

### **WALLACE**

*...Vice President Biden, you have been much more reluctant than President Trump about reopening the economy and school. Why, sir?*

### **BIDEN**

*Because he doesn't have a plan. If I were running, I'd know what the plan is. You've got to provide these businesses the ability to have the money to be able to reopen with a PPE, as well as with sanitation they need. You have to provide --*

**TRUMP**

*Tell that to Nancy Pelosi.*

**BIDEN**

*Will he just shush for a minute.*

**TRUMP**

*Tell it to Nancy Pelosi. And Schumer.*

Successive interruptions and the exchange of accusations from both candidates reflecting conflict talk in its worst cases. The responses for the two-way personal attack came in the form of a tu quoque, ‘you too’ rejoinder or ‘you are no better’. The blacking out of information and impertinence of the opponent are clear within value argumentation. Also, belittling the opponents’ achievements and the citation of well-known events (Trump’s sitting in his golf course) under de facto argumentation can be seen obviously here. Moreover, a circumstantial personal attack is used here criticizing the opponent’s actions.

Under BOR, S wants to be rude is employed by both ‘Just shush’ by Biden and ‘Tell it to Nancy Pelosi’, by Trump. The latter can be classified under poisoning the well as accusing Biden of having a hidden agenda with those people.

**BIDEN**

*Nancy Pelosi and Schumer -- they have a plan. He won't even meet with them. The Republicans won't meet with them in the Senate. But he sits in his golf course -- I mean, literally, think about it --*

**TRUMP**

*You probably play more than I do, Joe.*

**TRUMP**

*Well, he wants to shut down this country. And I want to keep it open. And we did great --*

### **BIDEN**

*You need to shut it down –*

### **TRUMP**

*Wait a minute. Let me shut you down for a second, Joe. Just for one second... We want to -- he wants to shut down the country. We just went through it. We had to because we didn't know anything about the disease. Now, we've found that elderly people with heart problems and diabetes and different problems are very, very vulnerable. We learned a lot -- young children aren't, even younger people aren't. We've learned a lot. But he wants to shut it down. More people will be hurt by continuing -- if you look at Pennsylvania, if you look at certain states that have been shut down -- they have Democrat governors all. One of the reasons they're shut down is because they want to keep it shut down until after the election. This is political.*

### **WALLACE**

*I wonder what's --*

### **TRUMP**

*Those states, those states are not doing well that are shut down.*

The above debate is full of contradictions, lies and false indictments. Each one of the candidates is trying to blame the other for shutting down of some states because of COVID and giving reasons for that. Argumentatively, belittling the opponent's achievements is under de facto argumentation; dismantling the opponent from values and presenting him as a liar is within value argumentation. The utterance '*Let me shut you down for a second, Joe*' is abusive personal attack and it is noted all the way through the debate Trump calls Biden in his first name showing disrespect and humiliation.

S wants to be rude is the impoliteness sub-strategy used under BOR. Understate and be ironic are other sub-strategies within OR.

Persuasively, the play here is on pathos where information is used to evoke emotional response from the audience. Both candidates are busy with their golf courses showing indifference of important issues affecting the whole nation.

### **TRUMP**

*Nobody shows up to his rallies.*

*...people want to hear what I have to say, I mean, 25, 35,000 people show up at airports. We use airports.*

*...It's outside -- that's a big difference according to the experts. And we do them outside, we have tremendous crowds, as you see. I mean every -- and literally on 24 hours notice -- and Joe does the circles and has three people some place.*

### **BIDEN**

*By the way, did you see, one of the last reboot rallies he had -- a reporter came up to him to ask him a question, he said, 'No no no. Stand back. Put on your mask, put on a mask. Have you been tested? I'm way, way far away from those other people.' That's what he said...He's not worried about the people out there.*

### **TRUMP**

*We had no negative, no negative effect. We've had no negative effect, and we've had, 35 40,000, people at some of these rallies.*

### **BIDEN**

*He's been totally irresponsible the way in which he has handled the social distancing, and people wearing masks, basically encouraged them not to. And he's a fool on that.*

### **TRUMP**

*If you could get the crowds, you would've done the same thing, but you can't -- nobody cares, nobody cares.*

Providing evidence through numbers; monkey-playing with numbers and belittling the opponent's achievements are used within de facto argumentation.

Attempting to disqualify the opponent is employed within value argumentation. Showing competence and credibility and centrality of ego are sub-strategies used within authority argumentation. Also the concentration on the negative performance in his rallies is another strategy. Biden employed an abusive personal attack strategy in the utterance ‘*And he's a fool on that.*’ Directly describing Trump as a fool; S wants to be rude impoliteness sub-strategy within BOR is ostensible here. On the other hand, mocking the poor attendance to Biden’s rallies clear in the utterance ‘*Joe does the circles and has three people some place.*’ Which is ‘be ironic’ that comes under OR impoliteness strategy. Give hints is employed here under OR too.

Under logos, Trump’s use of factual data and statistics and citation from experts and authorities is obvious. Also Biden’s use of quotation comes under logos. Within ethos, showing reputation and credibility is explicit here and the expressive description of events under pathos.

### **TRUMP**

*So we built the greatest economy in history. We close it down because of the China plague, when the plague came in we closed it down, which was very hard, psychologically to do (1). He didn't think we should close it down, and he was wrong, again (2). To me it -- people would be dead now, instead of still 204,000 people is too much, one person is too much, should have never happened from China...We had 10.4 million people in a four month period that we've put back into the workforce. That's a record the likes of which nobody's ever seen before, and he wants to close down the -- he will shut it down again. He will destroy this country...they'll open up November 9. Why November 9? Because it's after the election. They think they're hurting us by keeping them closed. They're hurting people...You gotta open the states up. It's not fair (3). You're talking about almost like being in prison. And you look at what's going on with divorce, look at what's going on with alcoholism and drugs. It's a very, very sad thing. And he'll close down the whole country, this guy will close down the whole country and destroy our country. Our country is coming back incredibly well, setting records as it does it. We don't need somebody to come in and say let's shut it down (4).*

***BIDEN***

*The difference is millionaires and billionaires like him, in the middle of COVID crisis, have done very well. The billionaires array have made another \$300 billion. Because of his profligate tax proposal and you only focus on the market. But you folks at home, you folks living in Scranton and Claymont -- all the small towns and working class towns in America (5). How well are you doing? This guy paid a total of \$750 in taxes...He's in fact worked on this in a way that he's going to be the first president in the United States to leave office, I mean fewer jobs in his administration...The idea that he is consistent, that we go forward and open when you have almost half the states in America with a significant increase in...COVID cases in the United States of America, and he wants to open it up more. Why does he want to open it up? Why doesn't he take care of the American -- you can't fix the economy until you fix the COVID crisis, and he has no intention of doing anything about making it better for you all at home, in terms of your health and your safety (6). Schools -- why aren't schools open? Because it costs a lot of money to open them safely. You know, his administration was going to give the teachers and school students masks. Then they decided, no, couldn't do that, because it's not a national emergency, not a national emergency. They've done nothing to help small businesses, nothing. They're closing. One is six is now gone. He ought to get on the job, and take care of the needs of the American people, so we can open safely (7).*

Belittling of achievements Trump says ‘*and he was wrong, again.*’ Biden says ‘*Because of his profligate tax proposal*’ (2 & 5); the exchange of accusations is clear here within de facto argumentation reinforced by the use of numbers and statistics (3 & 5). Both used the value argumentation showing their solidarity and their being supportive to the nation’s economy (3 & 7). Centrality of ego within authority argumentation is clear as well. Multiplicity of questions in a sarcastic way is a strategy used here to defame the opponent (3 & 6). Focalization and deviation of the discourse towards certain topics like Trump’s tax proposal, schools, small businesses, divorce, alcoholism, etc... is another argumentative strategy.

Under logo there are several strategies used here such as giving an example, using factual data and statistics, quotations, denotative reasons and providing solid explanations.

The use of expressions such as *'our country'*, *'the United States of America'* and *'American people'* is also another sub-strategy of value argumentations reflecting that *'we care'*. *'this guy will close down the whole country'* Pointing finger to Biden is a sharp accusation within de facto argumentation in an impolite way S wants to be rude within BOR, playing with the emotions of the audience under pathos persuasive strategy.

*'Millionaires and billionaires like him, in the middle of COVID crisis, have done very well'* here, poisoning the well argumentative strategy under personal attack is clear reflecting that Trump is after personal gain. *'Why November 9? Because it's after the election.'* This utterance can also be classified as poisoning the well personal attack as it implies personal gain and a hidden agenda by Biden.

### **TRUMP**

*They'll be careful. But they want their schools -- I'm the one that brought back football, by the way, I brought it back Big Ten football. It was me, and I'm very happy to do it. People on all sides are very proud of me, and you don't want to --*

Centrality of ego within authority argumentation is obvious in the utterances *'I'm'*, *'I'*, *'It was me'* and *'me'*; reflecting a high degree of boast and arrogance in Trump's style. Overstate impoliteness sub-strategy within OR is explicit here as well. Within ethos, there are the sub-strategies of showing knowledge about business and showing awareness of the society and showing off.

### **WALLACE**

*Is it true that you paid \$750 in federal income taxes, each of those two years.*

### **TRUMP**

*I paid millions of dollars in taxes. Millions of dollars of income tax. And let me just tell you, there was a story in one of the papers. I paid \$38 million one year. I paid 27 million one year --*

### **BIDEN**

*Show us your tax returns.*

An interrogative embarrassing question is posed to Trump and Biden insisted on providing live evidence is one of the argumentative strategies used in this debate. Within value argumentation, Biden wanted to present his opponent as a liar while Trump used give reason under +P strategy and overstate within OR politeness strategy. The magnification of numbers is ostensible here, which is a sub-strategy under de facto argumentation. Repetition of ‘millions of dollars’ is a way to assert something that might be untrue; so it is a blacking out of information under de facto argumentation too. The use of quotation is under logos persuasive strategy.

### **BIDEN**

*You are the worst president America’s ever had*

### **TRUMP**

*Let me just say Joe I've done more in, in 47 months, I've done more than you've done in 47 years, Joe. We've done things that you never even thought of doing, including fixing the broken military that you gave me, to taking care of the vets--*

A direct abusive personal attack is obviously taken by Biden. S wants to be rude under BOR impoliteness strategy. A tu quoque response is an argumentative strategy used by Trump as if saying ‘*Me and my party are better than you.*’ Moreover, there is the belittling of opponent’s achievements under de facto argumentation.

### **TRUMP**

*They had the slowest recovery. Since 19 -- economic recovery, since 1929. It was the slowest recovery... If you got in, if you ever became president with your ideas -- You want to terminate my taxes? I'll tell you what, you'll lose half of the companies that have poured in here will leave. And plenty of companies that are already here they'll leave for other places. They will leave, and you will have a depression, the likes of which you've never seen.*

### **BIDEN**

*Look, we inherited the worst recession, short of a depression, in American history. I was asked to bring it back. We were able to have an economic recovery, the crazy jobs you're talking about. He comes in on a booming economy. He blew it. He blew it.*

### **TRUMP**

*It wasn't booming. It wasn't booming.*

Here, there is an exchange of accusations to belittle the achievements of the opponent within de facto argumentation. Both attempt to disqualify the opponent (value argumentation) and blame him for recession and the slow recovery of the economy. For persuasion, each candidate tries to show his knowledge of business (ethos). Both use literal and historical analogies (logos). They used information to evoke emotional response of the audience. They try to give association clues, understate and use contradictions within (OR) impoliteness strategy.

### **BIDEN**

*This guy --*

### **TRUMP**

*They said it was a miracle to bring back manufacturing, I brought back 700,000 jobs. They brought back nothing. They gave up on manufacturing --*

**BIDEN**

*We did not give up. I'm the guy who brought back the automobile industry.*

**TRUMP**

*He totally gave up on the auto industry --*

**BIDEN**

*We brought back, I was asked to bring back, Chrysler and General Motors. We brought them back right here in the state of Ohio and Michigan. He blew it. They're gone. He blew it. And in fact, they're going --*

**TRUMP**

*Ohio had the best year it's ever had last year. Michigan had the best year they've ever had --*

**BIDEN**

*That is not true.*

**TRUMP**

*Many car companies came in from Germany, from China. They went to Michigan, went to Ohio.*

Constant interruptions; Trump frequently uses the third person pronouns (he, they) which means he is attacking, whereas Biden uses (I, we) defending. Everyone is trying to give example about the success he and his party made in the subject of auto industry. Argumentatively, the following sub-strategies were employed; belittling the opponent's achievements and the magnification of statistics (de facto argumentation); presenting the opponent as a liar (value argumentation); showing competence and credibility (authority argumentation). Circumstantial personal attack is excessively used here where previous commitments of the opponent are criticized.

From the perspective of impoliteness, S wants to be rude (BOR), understate and overstate (OR) are the strategies used in this segment.

Persuasively, some sub-strategies like using factual data and statistics (logos), showing awareness and credibility (ethos), sharing personal stories (pathos) are employed here.

### **BIDEN**

*He talks about these great trade deals. You know, he talks about the art of the deal. China's made, perfected the art of the steel. We have a higher deficit with China now than we did before. We have the highest trade deficit with Mexico --*

### **TRUMP**

*China ate your lunch; China ate your lunch, Joe. No wonder your son goes in and he takes out what he takes out, billions of dollars. Takes out billions of dollars to manage. He makes millions of dollars. And also, while we're at it, why is it, just out of curiosity, the mayor of Moscow's wife gave your son \$3.5 million? What did he do to deserve it? What did he do --*

### **BIDEN**

*None of that is true.*

### **TRUMP**

*Oh, really?*

### **BIDEN**

*Totally discredited. Totally discredited and by the way --*

### **TRUMP**

*He did get \$3.5 million, Joe? He got \$3.5 million.*

### **BIDEN**

*That is not true.*

### **TRUMP**

*Oh, really? No. It's a fact.*

**BIDEN**

*Totally discredit --*

**TRUMP**

*-- \$183,000 a month? With no experience and energy?*

**BIDEN**

*My son did nothing wrong --*

**TRUMP**

*Yes, he did --*

**BIDEN**

*He doesn't want to let me answer because he knows I have the truth. His position has been totally, thoroughly discredited --*

When China was mentioned by Biden, Trump diverted and shifted the subject to a critical issue related to Biden's son; which was a successful tactic to evade embarrassment. It is a focalization of the discourse which is one of the effective argumentative strategies during conflict talk. Also, in the utterances 'China ate your lunch' 'Why did the mayor of Moscow's wife gave your son \$3.5 million?' Trumps poisoned the well assuming a hidden agenda with China and Russia, which is another type of personal attack argumentation. The latter question is a sort of an interrogative question, through which Biden's legs are pulled to admit the existence of a hidden agenda or personal gain; attacking in the same time the trustworthiness of the opponent. Each candidate tries to dismantle the opponent from values and to present him as a liar (value argumentation). Trump's monkey-playing with numbers is a sub-strategy under de facto argumentation. Repetition of 'this is not true', 'this is a fact' represents contradiction and a sterile discussion, leading to nowhere, and can be classified under the deliberate concealment of information (de facto argumentation). The

accusation of Biden's son of getting big money from Moscow's mayor wife is a circumstantial personal attack argumentation.

As far as impoliteness is concerned, be ironic, give hints, the use of tautologies are sub-strategies employed within OR impoliteness strategy. S wants to be rude (BOR) is an explicit sub-strategy employed by both candidates.

From a persuasive perspective, under logos, we have the use of factual data and statistics. Within ethos, there is showing credibility sub-strategy and within pathos, the use of information to influence emotional response of the audience is a clear-cut sub-strategy, along with the sharing of personal stories.

### **BIDEN**

*Well, it's hard to get any word with this clown, excuse me, this person.*

An abusive personal attack argumentation, for the second time, Biden directly describes Trump as a clown using the S wants to be rude sub-strategy within BOR impoliteness strategy.

### **BIDEN**

*-- when Mr. Floyd was killed, there was a peaceful protest in front of the White House. What did he do? He came out of his bunker, had the military to use tear gas on em so he could walk across to a church and hold up a bible. And then what happened after that? The Bishop of that very church said that it was a disgrace. The general who was with him said he only, all he ever wants to do is divide people, not unite people at all (1). This is a president who has used everything as a dog whistle to try to generate racist hatred, racist division. This is a man who in fact, he talks about helping African Americans, one in 1000 African Americans has been killed because of the coronavirus. And if he doesn't do something quickly by the end of the year, one in 500 will have been killed. One in 500 African Americans. This man? This man is a savior of African Americans? This man cares at all? This man has done virtually nothing. Look, the fact is that you have to look at what he talks about. You have to look at what*

*he did. And what it did has been disastrous for the African American community (2). So --*

False accusation and citing of well-known events are sub-strategies (1) within de facto argumentation obviously used in this utterance along with the belittling of the opponent's achievements. Biden's attempt to dismantle the opponent from the values of fairness and anti-racism is explicit here via the use of value argumentation (2). Within authority argumentation, the sub-strategy of recalling some symbolic figures is used too. Furthermore, there is the concentration on the negative repertoire of the opponent during his ex-position unveiling his feebleness in fulfilling the needs of the nation. Presenting Trump as a racist is a circumstantial personal attack where his actions are criticized.

For impoliteness, the utterance '*this is a president who has used everything as a dog whistle to try to generate racist hatred, racist division*' exemplifies the use of metaphor and rhetorical questions, be ironic and give hints and association clues (OR) '*This man is a savior of African Americans? This man cares at all?*' The sarcastic style is very clear in this utterance. Most of the questions were rhetorical and connotative of accusation of racism.

For persuasion, giving an example, using factual data citation from authorities and providing denotative reasons are sub-strategies of logos. Showing awareness of the society is a sub-strategy within ethos obviously employed in this segment. The expressive description of people, places and events and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary e.g. '*He came out of his bunker, had the military to use tear gas on em*' comes under pathos, where the audience's emotions of rage on the opponent's actions and character are evoked.

### **WALLACE**

*President Trump you have two minutes. Why should Americans trust you over your opponent to deal with race?*

### **TRUMP**

*He did a crime bill, 1994, where you call them super predators. African Americans are super predators. And they've never forgotten it. They've never*

*forgotten it, Joe...So you did that and they called you super predator. And I'm letting people out of jail now that -- You have treated the African American population, community -- You've treated the black community about as bad as anybody in this country (1). if you look at the polls, I'm doing better than any Republican has done in a long time...You called them super predators, and you've called them worse than that (2)...As far as the church is concerned and as far as the generals are concerned, we just got the support of 200-250 military leaders in total support. Law enforcement, almost every law enforcement group in the United States. I have Florida, I have Texas, I have, Ohio. I have every, excuse me. Portland, the sheriff just came out today and he said 'I support President Trump.' I don't think you have any law enforcement. You can't even say the word law enforcement because if you say those words, you're gonna lose all of your radical left supporters (3). And why aren't you saying those words, Joe? Why don't you say the words law enforcement? Because you know what, if they called us in Portland, we would put out that fire in a half an hour. But they won't do it because they're run by radical left Democrats...And they've got you wrapped around their finger, Joe. To a point where you don't say anything about law and order. And I'll tell you what, the people of this country want and demand law and order and you're afraid to even say it.(4)*

Trump did not give a clear reason why should Americans trust him over his opponent. Instead, he starts with a poisoning the well personal attack against Biden which is a tu quoque maneuver implying 'you are more racist than me'; 'You called them super predators'. (1) Under de facto argumentation, the sub-strategy of citing of well-known events is employed here. Dismantling the opponent from values is a sub-strategy within value argumentation which is obviously used too. Another argumentative strategy is posing an interrogative embarrassing question 'why aren't you saying those words, Joe? Why don't you say the words law enforcement?' (4) This was to pull Biden's legs to admit being a supporter of the radical left and against law enforcement.

S doesn't care about maintaining face thus goes far teasing his opponent, a sub-strategy under BOR impoliteness strategy. The use of metaphor is clear in this utterance 'And they've got you wrapped around their finger' which is under OR along with giving hints.

From a persuasive perspective, there is citation from experts and authorities under logos. Within pathos there is the expressive description of people, places and events and using information to evoke the emotions of the public.

### **WALLACE**

*Vice President Biden, after the grand jury in the Brianna Taylor case decided not to charge any of the police with homicide, you said it raises the question “Whether justice could be equally applied in America”. Do you believe that there is a separate but unequal system of justice for blacks in this country?*

### **BIDEN**

*Yes, there is a systemic injustice in this country. In education, in the law enforcement and the way in which it’s enforced. But look, the vast majority of police officers are good, decent honor men and women that risk their lives every day to take care of us (1). But there are some bad apples and when they occur, when they find them, they have to be sorted out. They have to be held accountable. They have to be held accountable. And what I’m going to do as president of the United States is call together, an entire group of people at the White House. Well, everything from the civil rights groups, to the police officers, to police chiefs, and we’re going to work this out. We’re going to work this out so we change the way in which we have more transparency. And when these things happen, these cops aren’t happy to see what happened to George Floyd. These cops aren’t happy to see what happened to Brown and Taylor. Most don’t like it, but we have to have a system report, held accountable. When, and by the way, violence in response is never appropriate. Never appropriate. Peaceful protests is. Violence is never appropriate. (2)*

De facto argumentation is used here via citing of some well-known events. Value argumentation is employed through guaranteeing the reservation of civil identity. Authority argumentation is explicit in the utterance ‘*And what I’m going to do as president of the United States is call together, an entire group of people at the White House.*’ where he states very clearly and powerfully his being a president.

For impoliteness, the use of metaphor comes under OR and it is ostensible in the utterance ‘*there are some bad apples*’. Persuasively, giving an example, the use of factual data and giving denotative reasons are sub-strategies used under logos. Showing knowledge and credibility comes under ethos and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary is within pathos.

### **TRUMP**

*What is peaceful protest? When they run through the middle of town and burned down your stores and kill people all over the place?*

### **BIDEN**

*Nobody’s doing that. He’s just, he’s racist. Here’s the deal, I know a lot more -- The fact is that there is racial insensitivity. People have to be made aware of what other people feel like, what insults them, what is demeaning to them. It’s important that people know they don’t want to, many people don’t want to hurt other people’s feelings. But it makes a big difference. It makes a gigantic difference in the way a child is able to grow up and have a sense of a sense of self-esteem. It’s a little bit like how this guy and his friends looked down on so many people. They look down their nose on people like Irish Catholics like me who grew up in Scranton. They look down on people who don’t have money. They look down on people who are of a different faith. They look down on people who are a different color. In fact, we’re all Americans. The only way we’re going to bring this country together is bring everybody. There’s nothing we cannot do, if we do it together. We can take this on and we can defeat racism.*

Trump’s intervention and interruption is a deliberate tactic to cut the explanation provided by Biden on how to defeat racism. ‘*It’s a little bit like how this guy and his friends looked down on so many people.*’ and ‘*he’s racist.*’ are abusive personal attacks that are used argumentatively benefiting from Trump’s interruption. They reflect impolite style that can be classified within S wants to be rude sub-strategy within BOR.

*'In fact, we're all Americans'* is an utterance showing solidarity and guaranteeing the reservation of civic identity which is a sub-strategy within value argumentation.

Giving examples, providing factual data with solid and non-biased explanation and the use of abstract language are sub-strategies within logos persuasive strategy that are employed in this segment. Showing awareness of the society and righteousness are sub-strategies within ethos. Share personal stories and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary come under pathos.

### **TRUMP**

*During the Obama-Biden administration, there was tremendous division. There was hatred, you look at Ferguson, you look at, you go to very many places. Look at Oakland. Look what happened in Oakland. Look what happened in Baltimore. Look what happened- Frankly, it was more violent than what I'm even seeing now,*

### **BIDEN**

*Oh my god, this is ridiculous.*

### **TRUMP**

*But the reason is that the Democrats that run these cities don't want to talk, like you, about law and order.*

### **BIDEN**

*Violent crime -- Violent crime --*

More interruptions and accusations that tease Biden, who replied with abusive personal attack argumentation; *'Oh my god, this is ridiculous.'* It is S wants to be rude sub-strategy within BOR. Trump uses de facto argumentation represented by belittling the achievements of his opponent and by giving examples to support his accusations to Obama-Biden administration. Also *'the Democrats that run these cities don't want to talk, like you, about law and order.'* is an abusive personal attack tactic pointing finger at Biden. Trump uses

emotion-laden vocabulary such as *'Look what happened'* repeatedly to evoke the audience; which is a sub-strategy within pathos persuasive strategy.

**TRUMP**

*You still haven't mentioned, are you in favor of law and order?*

**BIDEN**

*I'm in favor of law. You --*

**TRUMP**

*Are you in favor of law and order?*

**BIDEN**

*Law and order with justice where people get treated fairly. And the fact of the matter is violent crime went down 17%, 15% percent in our administration. It's gone up on his watch.*

Trump insists on an interrogative question as an argumentative strategy of pulling the legs via an embarrassing question. Biden replies providing factual data and statistics and uses tu quoque tactic implying that 'your record is worse'

*'I'm in favor of law. You --* 'One can imagine what word Biden intended to add! This utterance reflects to what degree Biden is annoyed and hardly controlling language. It is a tactic by Trump to trap and refute his opponent. Here, S reluctantly wants to be rude, which is under BOR impoliteness strategy.

**TRUMP**

*It's gone down much more...The places we had trouble with Democratic-run cities -- I think it's a party issue. You could bring in a couple of examples, but if you look at Chicago, what's going on in Chicago where 53 people were shot and eight died. Shot. If you look at New York where it's going up like these never seen anything. The numbers are going up 100, 150, 200% crime. It is crazy what's going on, and he doesn't want to say law and order because he can't. Because he'll lose his radical left supporters... But if he ever got to run this country, and they ran it the way he would want to run it, we would have -- Our*

*suburbs would be gone, our suburbs would be gone, and you would see problems like you've never-*

**BIDEN**

*He wouldn't know a suburb unless he took a wrong turn.*

**TRUMP**

*Oh, I know suburbs.*

**BIDEN**

*I was raised in the suburbs. This is not 1950. All of these dog whistles and racism don't work anymore. Suburbs are by and large integrated. There's many people today driving their kids to soccer practice, or to black and white and Hispanic in the same car, as there have been any time in the past. What really is the threat to the suburbs and their safety has to deal with COVID? They're dying in the suburbs. His failure to deal with the environment. They're being flooded. They're being burned out, because he has refusal to do anything. That's why the suburbs are in trouble.*

Trump starts with de facto argumentation giving examples, belittling the opponent's achievements, providing factual data and statistics or monkey-playing with numbers, magnifying statistics and blacking out information. Then he goes back to the accusation of being supported by the radical left. The use of the word 'suburbs' is connected to civilized societies; and Biden has played on this implication. '*He wouldn't know a suburb unless he took a wrong turn.*' Sarcastically connotating that Trump is uncivilized. S wants to be rude is a sub-strategy used here but in an ironic style which means it can be classified as 'be ironic' under OR impoliteness strategy plus the use of metaphor within OR too. Also, it is another tactic by Biden to divert the subject and flee the question related to law and order. Going on talking about suburbs, Biden found it a good chance to belittle the achievements of Trump's administration in certain issues such as COVID, floods and fires. This can be classified under the focalization of discourse argumentative strategy.

**WALLACE**

*...What does re-imagining policing mean? And do you support the Black Lives Matter call for community control of policing?*

**BIDEN**

*Look, what I support is the police having the opportunity to deal with the problems they face. And I'm not totally opposed to defending the police officers. Matter of fact, police, local police, they only want defunding in his budget calls for a \$400 million cut in local law enforcement assistance. They need more assistance. They need when they show up for a 911 call to have someone with him as a psychologist or psychiatrist to keep them from having to use force and be able to talk people down. We have to have community police, like we had before, where the officers get to know the people in the communities. That's when crime went down. It didn't go up, it went down. And so we have to be --*

**TRUMP**

*That's not what they're talking about, Chris. That's not what they're talking about. That's about defunding the police.*

**BIDEN**

That is not true.

**TRUMP**

*He doesn't have any law - He has no law enforced -*

**BIDEN**

*That is not true. That's not --*

**TRUMP**

*Oh really? Who do you have? Name one group that supports you. Name one group that came out and supported you, go ahead, like we have time.*

**BIDEN**

*We don't have time to do anything --*

Argumentatively, there is the belittling of the opponent's achievements and criticizing Trump's budget and Biden's law enforcement in the utterance '*He doesn't have any law - He has no law enforced*' along with providing evidence through numbers; all within de facto argumentation. Presenting the opponent as a liar is a strategy used by both under value argumentation. Trump tries pulling the legs strategy through questions and interruptions. Biden tries to focalize the discourse on Trump's budget. The use of poisoning the well sub-strategy under personal attack strategy is obvious here.

Both speakers want to be rude under BOR impoliteness strategy. Moreover, understate, give hints and the use of tautology sub-strategies are within OR impoliteness strategy.

The use of factual data and citation from the authorities are sub-strategies within logos and the use of information that evokes emotional response of the audience is a sub-strategy within pathos.

### **WALLACE**

*... Excuse me, sir. You've never called for the leaders in Portland, and in Oregon, to call in the national office and knock off 100 days of riots.*

### **BIDEN**

*They can, in fact, take care of it if he'd just stay out of the way. Look-*

### **TRUMP**

*Oh really? Oh really? -- The killer of a young man in the middle of the street and they shot him. For three days Portland didn't do anything... I had to send the US Marshals to take care of business --*

### **BIDEN**

*And by the way, you know, his own former spokesperson said, you know, riots and chaos and violence help his cause. That's what this is all about.*

### **TRUMP**

*I don't think she said that.*

### **BIDEN**

*She said that. And so here's, here's the point. The point is that is that that's what he is keeps trying to rile everything up. He doesn't want to calm things down. Instead of going in and talking to people and say, 'let's get everybody together, figuring out how to deal with this', what he does he do? He just poured gasoline on the fire. Constantly, at every single solitary time.*

Exchange of accusations is clear in this portion with a lot of interruptions. Each candidate tries to belittle the achievements of his opponent and to show the feebleness in dealing with the riot matter; which is under de facto argumentation. The utterance *'riots and chaos and violence help his cause.'* is an attempt to disqualify the opponent and present him as a supporter for chaos and violence; which is within value argumentation. A circumstantial personal attack strategy is explicit here as actions and previous commitments are criticized by both candidates. Also, poisoning the well strategy is there especially in the above-mentioned utterance.

For impoliteness, S wants to be rude is clear here from both candidates under BOR strategy. Within +P, there are 'assume or assert reciprocity' and 'give reason' sub-strategies. Moreover, within OR, there are the sub-strategies of 'give association clue', 'use tautologies' and the use of metaphor, specifically in the utterance *'He just poured gasoline on the fire.'*

Persuasively, using factual data and citation from authorities are sub-strategies within logos. Under ethos, there is showing awareness of the society and showing knowledge about business. The expressive description of events and places comes under pathos.

### **WALLACE**

*Okay, you have repeatedly criticized the Vice President for not specifically calling out antifa and other left-wing groups. But are you willing, tonight, to condemn white supremacists and militia groups? And to say that they need to*

*stand down and not add to the violence in a number of these cities, as we saw in Kenosha, as we've seen in Portland? Are you prepared specifically to do that?*

**TRUMP**

*Sure, I'm prepared to do it. I would say- I would say, almost everything I see is from the left-wing, not from the right wing-*

**WALLACE**

*So what do you, what do you say-*

**TRUMP**

*I'm willing to do anything I want to see peace.*

**WALLACE**

*Then do it, sir.*

**BIDEN**

*Say it, do it, say it.*

An interrogative embarrassing question is posed to Trump pulling his legs to confess that he wasn't able to do anything about violence. All his answers were unclear and repetitions reflecting the vitality of this argumentative strategy. The utterance '*Say it, do it, say it.*' asserts the feebleness of Trump's administration to deal with the matter.

Under OR impoliteness strategy, there are the 'use of tautologies' 'ask a question', 'be ironic', 'use contradictions' and 'understate'. For persuasion, the stress here is on pathos where the information is used to evoke the audience's emotions.

**TRUMP**

*What do you want to call them? Give me a name, give me --*

**WALLACE**

*White supremacists and, white supremacists and right-wing --*

**BIDEN**

*The Proud Boys.*

**TRUMP**

*Proud Boys, stand back and stand by. But I'll tell you what, I'll tell you what, somebody's got to do something about antifa and the left because this is not a right-wing problem. This is a left-wing problem*

**BIDEN**

*His own FBI director said -- white supremacists. Antifa is an idea not an organization. Militia --*

**TRUMP**

*Oh you've got to be kidding me*

**BIDEN**

*His FBI said -- Everybody in your administration tells you the truth that that's a bad to bad idea. You have no idea.*

**TRUMP**

*Antifa is a dangerous, radical group --*

*-- they overthrow you*

Presenting Trump as ignorant and attempting to disqualify him 'You have no idea.' is a sub-strategy under value argumentation. A circumstantial personal attack is clear here as the actions and commitments are criticized. Furthermore, poisoning the well personal attack strategy is used implying that Trump has a hidden agenda.

S wants to be rude under BOR impoliteness strategy is obvious in the utterance 'They overthrow you'. Be ironic under OR strategy is there in the

utterance ‘*Oh you’ve got to be kidding me*’. Also, give hint, the use of understatement and contradictions are sub-strategies under OR impoliteness strategy.

Citation from authorities is a persuasive sub-strategy under *logos* ‘FBI’; along with definition ‘*Antifa is a dangerous, radical group*’

### **WALLACE**

*...why should voters you, President over your opponent. In this segment, President Trump you'll go first. 10 minutes.*

### **TRUMP**

*Because there has never been an administration or president who has done more than I've done in a period of three and a half years, and that's despite the impeachment hoax... But despite going through all these things, where at a fight both flanks, behind me and above, there has never been an administration, that's done what I've done. The greatest, before COVID came in, the greatest economy in history. Lowest unemployment numbers. Everything was good, everything was go -- And by the way, there was unity (1). People were calling me. For the first time in years they were calling, and they were saying ‘it's time maybe’. And then what happened? We got hit but now we're building it back up again. A rebuilding of the military including space force and all of the other things. A fixing of the VA, which was a mess under him. 308,000 people died. They didn't have proper health care. He was a mess. And we now got a 91% approval rating at the VA. Our vets, we take care of our vets. But we've rebuilt our military. The job that we've done... by the end of the first term, I'll have approximately 300 federal judges, Court of Appeals judges 300. And hopefully, three great Supreme Court judges, justices. That is a record, the likes of which very few people- And you know one of the reasons I have so many judges (2)? Because President Obama and him left me 128 judges to fill. When you leave office, you don't leave any judges. That's like, you just don't do that. They left 128 openings. And if I were a member of his party, because they have a little different philosophy, I'd say ‘if you left us 128 openings, you can't be a good president. You can't be a good Vice President’. But I want to thank you because it gives us almost, it'll probably be above that by the end of this term, 300 judges. It's a record (3).*

Providing evidence through numbers, belittling of the opponent's achievements (2 & 3) and citing of some well-known events are sub-strategies within de facto argumentation strategy that are cleverly used here. Impertinence of the opponent and trying to disqualify him is a sub-strategy under value argumentation strategy (3). An authority argumentation is clear-cut all the way through this segment. There is the authority of talk or being given the chance to express his competence and credibility (1 & 2). There is also the centrality of ego as he states very clearly and powerfully his being a president and show off his deeds (2). Abusive and circumstantial personal attacks are included in this segment as argumentative strategies as well as in '*They didn't have proper health care. He was a mess.*'

S wants to be rude sub-strategy is clear in the utterances '*He was a mess*', '*you can't be a good president. You can't be a good Vice President*'. Give and ask for reason, offer or promise and be optimistic are sub-strategies used here under +P politeness strategy. Under OR strategy, there are 'give hints', 'give association clues' and 'be ironic' sub-strategies.

Under logos, there are the sub-strategies of giving examples (3), using factual data and statistics along with citation from experts. Within ethos, there is knowledge about business, showing reputation and credibility and showing awareness of the society. Expressive description of events and the use of information that may evoke the audience's emotions are sub-strategies within pathos.

### **BIDEN**

*Under this president we become weaker, sicker, poorer, more dividing and more violent. When I was Vice President, we inherited a recession. I was asked to fix it, I did. We left a booming economy, and he caused the recession. With regard to be weaker, the fact is that I've gone head to head with Putin and made it clear to him we're not going to take any of his stuff. He's Putin's puppy. He still refuses to even say anything to Putin about the bounty on the heads of American soldiers.*

### **TRUMP**

*Your son --*

### **WALLACE**

*Mr. President, your campaign agreed that both sides would get two answers uninterrupted.*

### **BIDEN**

*Never keeps his word.*

Achievements of the opponent are belittled; he is being accused of causing recession and weakness. Those are sub-strategies under de facto argumentation. The attempt to disqualify the opponent and dismantle him from the values comes within value argumentation. Centrality of ego is clear in the utterance ‘*We left a booming economy*’ which is under authority argumentation.

‘*He’s Putin’s puppy*’ obviously refers to having a hidden agenda which is under poisoning the well personal attack strategy. Trump’s interruption by the utterance ‘*Your son...*’ is a tu quoque strategy which implies that ‘you are no better’ as your son has been given big amounts of money from the Russians.

S wants to be rude in the utterance ‘*Never keeps his word*’ within BOR impoliteness strategy. The same is obvious in pointing finger to Trump in ‘*Under this president we become weaker, sicker, poorer, more dividing and more violent.*’ which is a clear accusation of being feeble and sterile in dealing with the above mentioned matters. Give hint, understate and give association clues within OR strategy are ostensible sub-strategies in this segment.

Using factual data, literal and historical analogies are two sub-strategies within logos. Within ethos, there are showing credibility and showing awareness of the society sub-strategies. Using information that will evoke emotional response of the audience is used here which is a sub-strategy within pathos.

### **BIDEN**

*...So, thirdly we're poorer. The billionaires have gotten much, much more wealthy by a tune of over four three to \$400 billion more, just since COVID. You in the home, you got less. You're in more trouble than you were before. In terms of being more violent, when we were in office there were 15% less violence in America than there is today. He's president of the United states. It's on his watch. And with regard to more divided, the nation can't stay divided. We can't be this way. And speaking of my son, the way you talk about the military, the way you talk about them be losers and being, and just being suckers. My son was in Iraq. He spent a year there. He got, he got the Bronze Star. He got the Conspicuous Service Medal. He was not a loser. He was a patriot. And the people left behind there were heroes.*

### **TRUMP**

*Really? You talking about Hunter? Are you talking about Hunter?*

### **BIDEN**

*and I resent -- I'm talking about my son, Beau Biden. You're talking about --*

### **TRUMP**

*I don't know Beau. I know Hunter. Hunter got thrown out of the military. He was thrown out, dishonorably discharged for cocaine use.*

### **BIDEN**

*That's not true, he wasn't dishonorably discharged. None of that is true.*

Biden belittles the achievements of his opponent and provides evidence through numbers. These are sub-strategies within de facto argumentation. Attempting to disqualify the opponent is another sub-strategy within value argumentation strategy employed by Biden. Trump's interruptions and the focalization of discourse towards one of Biden's sons is an argumentative tactic to evade the accusation of dereliction towards the matters of violence, health, poverty, division and recession. While Biden was glorifying the deeds of one of his sons, Trump brought the other spoiled son to the scene to refute and mortify

the pride of Biden. This is a provocative tactic aiming at the dispersal of the opponent's ideas and arguments. It can be classified within personal attack strategy, which is poisoning the well. The exchange of accusations is clear-cut in this segment and it is within de facto argumentation as well.

For impoliteness, S wants to be rude, within BOR impoliteness strategy, through pointing finger towards Trump in *'He's president of the United states. It's on his watch.'* In response; *'He was thrown out, dishonorably discharged for cocaine use.'* Under OR, there are sub-strategies such as give hint, use contradictions, overstate, understate and be ironic.

Persuasively, using factual data and statistics, denotative reasons and literal or historical analogies are sub-strategies under logos. Showing credibility and awareness of the society within ethos and expressive description of events and people along with sharing personal stories and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary are sub-strategies within pathos.

### **BIDEN**

*He's absolutely wrong...During our administration Recovery Act I was able to bring down the cost of renewable energy to cheaper than, or as cheap as coal, and gas, and oil...we're gonna put 500,000 charging stations in all of the highways that we're going to be building in the future... We can get to net zero in terms of energy production by 2035. Not only not costing people jobs, creating jobs. Creating millions of jobs. Not 15 bucks an hour, but prevailing wage. By having a new infrastructure that in fact is green... And talk about someone who has no no relationship with foreign policy (1). Brazil, the rainforest to Brazil are being torn down, are being ripped down. More, more carbon is absorbed in that rainforest than every bit of carbon that's admitted the United States...I would be gathering up and making sure we had the countries of the world coming up with 20 billion dollars (2). And say, 'Here's \$20 billion. Stop, stop, tearing down the forest. And if you don't, then you're going to have significant economic consequences... He wants to make sure that methane is not a problem... You could now emit more methane without it being a problem. Methane; this is a guy who says that we don't have to have mileage standards for automobiles that exist now. He says that, the fact that it's all true and here's the deal (3)--*

### **TRUMP**

*He's talking about the Green New Deal. And it's not 2 billion or 20 billion as you said, it's \$100 trillion... You wanna rip down buildings and rebuild the buildings -- where airplanes are out of business. Where there are two car systems or where they want to take out the cows.*

### **WALLACE**

*Let him finish, sir.*

### **BIDEN**

*He doesn't know how to do that. The fact it's going to create millions of good paying jobs. And these tax incentives to people to weatherize, where he wants to get her get rid of, is going to make the economy much safer. Look how much we're paying now to deal with the hurricanes, with a deal with- By the way he has an answer for hurricanes. He said, 'Maybe we should drop a nuclear weapon on them, they may' --*

### **TRUMP**

*I never said that you made it up. You make up a lot.*

Biden here accuses, plays with numbers and dispraises statistics. In the same time, he magnifies statistics related to his achievements (1 & 3). All this come under de facto argumentation. Disqualification of the opponent is obvious, which is a sub-strategy within value argumentation (2). Centrality of ego is there through the review of deeds, future plans and achievements. Trump's interruptions reflect attempts to show the opponent as a liar, within value argumentation. Lots of utterance express circumstantial personal attack argumentation such as '*talk about someone who has no no relationship with foreign policy*'; '*He wants to make sure that methane is not a problem*'; '*Stop, stop, tearing down the forest*'; '*he has an answer for hurricanes. He said, 'Maybe we should drop a nuclear weapon on them.* In these utterances Trump is presented as ignorant and indifferent of matters related to pollution and climate change. Notably, there is a concentration on the negative repertoire of the opponent, which is another argumentative strategy. One can add here the use of

poisoning the well personal attack strategy as presenting Trump as having a destructive hidden agenda or personal gain from the projects of tearing down the forest.

For impoliteness, there is be ironic, overstate, understate, the use of tautologies and contradictions within OR strategy. Persuasively, there is the use of factual data and statistics and providing solid explanations within logos; showing credibility and awareness of the society under ethos and the use of expressive description of events and evoking the audience through information within pathos.

### **TRUMP**

*Chris, so why didn't he do it for 47 years? You were vice president. Why didn't you get the world- China sends up real dirt into the air. Russia does. India does. They all do. We're supposed to be good. And by the way, he made a couple of statements, the Green New Deal is 100 trillion dollar plan --*

### **BIDEN**

*That is not my plan. The Green New Deal is not my plan.*

An interrogative question to pull Biden's legs and a tu quoque strategy which means you are also to blame for not doing anything about these matters during your 47 years of administration. Belittling the opponent's achievements within de facto argumentation and trying to present the opponent as a liar within value argumentation are sub-strategies used here. Understate, give association clues are sub-strategies used here within OR impoliteness strategy. For persuasion, giving examples is a sub-strategy employed here under logos; showing credibility within ethos and using information to evoke the emotions of the audience under pathos.

### **TRUMP**

*You said I said something about the military. He and his friends made it up, and then they went with it. I never said it. What he did is he said- He called the military stupid bastards...I would never say that.*

### **BIDEN**

*The final question is I can't remember which of all is real...The Green New Deal will pay for itself as we move forward. You're not going to build plants that in fact are great polluting plans.*

### **WALLACE**

*Do you support the Green New Deal?*

### **BIDEN**

*No, I don't support the Green New Deal.*

### **TRUMP**

*Oh you don't? Well that's a big statement. You just lost the radical left.*

### **BIDEN**

*I support the Biden plan that I put forward... The Biden Plan, which is different than what he calls the radical Green New Deal.*

To disperse the discourse and focalize it on another subject is an argumentative strategy taken by Trump, which is also a tu quoque reply strategy that involves false accusation. There is also a poisoning the well sub-strategy of personal attack which implies the charge of having a hidden agenda and personal gain in the Green New Deal. Presenting the opponent as a liar is a sub-strategy under value argumentation.

For impoliteness, the employment of be ironic, understate and give hint sub-strategies is clear in this segment; all of which are within OR strategy.

Trump tries to agitate the military against Biden through this utterance '*He called the military stupid bastards*' which works as the use of emotion-laden vocabulary under pathos.

### **BIDEN**

*Prepared to let people vote... His own Homeland Security director, as well as the FBI director, says there's no evidence at all that mail-in ballots are a source*

*of being manipulated and cheating. They said that. The fact is that they're going to be millions of people, because of COVID, that are going to be voting by mail-in ballots, like he does by the way. He sits behind the Resolute desk and sends his ballot to Florida, number one (1). Number two, we're going to make sure that those people who want to vote in person are able to vote because enough poll watchers are there to make sure they can socially distance, the polls are open on time and they'll pull stay open until the votes are counted. And this is all about trying to dissuade people from voting because he's trying to scare people into thinking that it's not gonna be legitimate. Show up and vote. You will determine the outcome of this election. Vote. Vote. Vote... He cannot stop you from being able to determine the outcome of this election. If I win, that will be accepted. If I lose, it will be accepted. But, by the way, if, in fact, he says he's not sure what he's gonna accept, let me tell you something, it doesn't matter. Because if we get the votes, it's going to be all over. He's going to go. He won't stay in power. It won't happen. It won't happen. So vote... Is it going to change or are we gonna get four more years of these lies (2)?*

Biden emphasizes that the election process would be legitimate and there will be no cheating and stirs people to vote. He tries to show Trump dissuading people from voting. A circumstantial personal attack strategy is employed here showing Trump as indifferent and enjoying power which is obvious in the utterance '*He sits behind the Resolute desk*'. Trying to disqualify and present the opponent as a liar is a sub-strategy within value argumentation (2). The utterance '*Vote. Vote. Vote*' strongly stresses the need for change which is in the hands of the public. It is within value argumentation where the reservation of civil identity is guaranteed. For persuasion, the latter utterance can be classified within ethos where courage, credibility and awareness of the society are shown. Furthermore, the use of factual data and provision of solid explanations are sub-strategies within logos.

### **TRUMP**

*So when I listened to Joe talking about a transition, there's been no transition from when I won. I won that election. And if you look at crooked Hillary Clinton, if you look at all of the different people, there was no transition.*

*Because they came after me trying to do a coup. They came after me spying on my campaign. They started on the day I won and even before I won. From the day I came down the escalator with the First Lady, they were a disaster, a grace to our country. And we've caught them. We've caught them all. We've got it all on tape... you gave the idea for the Logan act against General Flynn. You better take a look at that because we caught you in a sense. And President Obama was sitting in the Oval office. He knew about it too so don't tell me about a free transition (1). As far as the ballots is concerned, it's a disaster. A solicited ballot... You're soliciting... If you have an unsolicited, they're sending millions of ballots all over the country. There's fraud. They found them in creeks. They found some with the name Trump, just happen to have the name Trump, just the other day. In wastepaper baskets. They're being sent all over the place. They sent two, in a Democratic area they sent out 1000 ballots. Everybody got two ballots (2). This is going to be a fraud like you've never seen... They're losing 30 and 40%. A fraud, and it's a shame. And can you imagine where they say, 'you have to have your ballot in by November 10'. November 10. That means 7 days after the election, in theory, should have been announced. We have major states with that. All run by Democrats. All run by Democrats. It's a rigged election...Because what's happening is incredible. I just heard, I read today where 1% of the ballots for 2016 were invalidated. They, they take them 'we don't like them. we don't like them'... You do a solicited ballot... Did you see what's going on, take a look at West Virginia, mail-in ballots. They're being sold. They're being dumped in rivers. This is a horrible thing for our country. This is no -- This is not going to end well (3).*

Trump accuses the whole election process of fraud and as being rigged as if he feels in advance that he is going to lose it. This has a passive influence and weakens Trump's argumentation. He tries to magnify statistics (1); monkey-play with numbers to give evidence and citing of some well-known events within de facto argumentation. Within authority argumentation, there is the centrality of ego sub-strategy which is clear-cut in '*They came after me spying on my campaign*'. Focalization of discourse towards other subject is one argumentative strategy which is clear in '*you gave the idea for the Logan act against General Flynn*'(1). Also the use of abusive and circumstantial personal attack sub-

strategies is obvious in attacking the affiliates in *'Crooked Hillary Clinton'* and *'President Obama was sitting in the Oval office'*; *'All run by Democrats! It is a rigged election.'* Another argumentative strategy which is clear in this segment is the concentration on the negative repertoire of the opponent's administration

For impoliteness, S wants to be rude is an obvious sub-strategy here, which is under BOR and there are the sub-strategies of be ironic, understate, displace H, the use of metaphor and rhetorical question within OR impoliteness strategy. Give reason is a sub-strategy used within +P.

Persuasively, using factual data and statistics, citation from experts and authorities are sub-strategies employed under logos strategy. Showing courage and knowledge about business are sub-strategies within ethos. Furthermore, sharing personal stories, using emotion-laden vocabulary and information that stirs the audience are sub-strategies employed within pathos.

### **BIDEN**

*He's just afraid of counting the votes because-*

### **TRUMP**

*You're wrong. You're wrong...When you have 80 million ballots sent in and swamping the system -- You know it can't be done, you know it can't.*

*I'm urging my supporters to go into the polls and watch very carefully because that's what has to happen...They were thrown out. They weren't allowed to watch. You know why? Because bad things happen in Philadelphia. Bad things... It means you have a fraudulent election. You're not equipped to, these people aren't equipped to handle it, number one. Number two, they cheat. They cheat. Hey, they found balance in a wastepaper basket days ago and they all had the name, military fellas. They were military, they all had the name, Trump on them. You think that's good?*

### **BIDEN**

*He has no idea what he's talking about. Here's the deal, the fact is, I will accept it and he will too. Because you know why? Because once the winner is declared,*

*after all the, all the ballots are counted, all the votes are counted, that'll be the end of it. That'll be the end of it. And if it's me, in fact, fine. And if it's not me, I'll support the outcome. And I'll be a president, not just for the Democrats. I'll be president for Democrats and Republicans. And this guy --*

Biden tries to show his opponent as an ignorant and frightened person and by this he criticizes Trump's knowledge and courage which is a sub-strategy under value argumentation. Also, presenting the opponent as a liar comes under value argumentation. On the other hand, Trump wants to prove his idea that the election is rigged by false accusation and by monkey-playing with numbers which are sub-strategies under de facto argumentation. Belittling the achievements of the opponent in *'these people aren't equipped to handle it'* is another sub-strategy within de facto argumentation. Biden clearly and powerfully states his being a president which comes under authority argumentation; this is clear in *'And I'll be a president, not just for the Democrats. I'll be president for Democrats and Republicans.'*

For impoliteness, S wants to be rude in *'And this guy'* is under BOR strategy, the use of metaphor and rhetorical question and understate are sub-strategies within OR impoliteness strategy. For persuasion, giving example, the use of factual data and solid explanations within logos; showing credibility and awareness of the society under ethos and using information that evoke the emotions of the audience under pathos.

The next debate was scheduled on October 15 but was canceled due to Trump's COVID-19 diagnosis and his refusal to appear remotely rather than in person. As a result, 2020 had the fewest debates since 1996. The final debate took place on October 22.

### 4.2 Final Debate

The second and final 2020 presidential debate was held on Thursday, October 22, 2020 in Nashville, Tennessee. Kristen Welker of NBC News moderated the debate.

The data to be analyzed are extracts taken from a transcribed version of the final presidential debate of Donald Trump and Joe Biden in 2020. This debate was chosen as it represents the American context of nastiness and conflict talk between two powerful candidates. Nastiness and conflict talk instances are looked for and critique is provided to them. The utterance is the unit of analysis. The most relevant contextual factors of the data are summarized as follows:

Setting: Thursday, October 22, 2020; Nashville, Tennessee

Participants Speakers: Trump & Biden

End: Elections

Instrumentalities: Spoken

Genre: Presidential debate

The eclectic model developed by this study is the basic framework for the analysis relying mainly on Critical Pragmatics. The stance is the utterance itself and the critique is represented by the different strategies used by the debaters.

#### ***Donald Trump***

*So as you know, 2.2 million people modeled out, were expected to die. We closed up the greatest economy in the world in order to fight this horrible disease that came from China. It's a worldwide pandemic ... If you notice, the mortality rate is down 85%. The excess mortality rate is way down and much lower than almost any other country. And we're fighting it and we're fighting it hard...there was some spikes and surges and other places, they will soon be gone (1). We have a vaccine that's coming. It's ready. It's going to be announced within weeks ... I can tell you from personal experience, I was in the hospital. I had it and I got better... This is a worldwide problem, but I've been congratulated by the heads of many countries on what we've*

*been able to do... It will go away. And as I say, we're rounding the turn. We're rounding the corner. It's going away (2).*

Trump starts with a calm tone this time; he tries to provide evidence through numbers and in the same time to black out some information related to the extent of damage caused by COVID19 (1); this is within de facto argumentation. Under authority argumentation, there is centrality of ego and showing achievements (2).

For politeness, the following sub-strategies are used; give reason, offer and promise and be optimistic all of which are under +P. Persuasively, using factual data and statistics, citation from experts and authorities and quotations within logos. Showing credibility and awareness of the society are sub-strategies within ethos. Under pathos, there are some sub-strategies such as sharing personal stories, expressive description of events and the use of any information that may evoke the audience.

### ***Joe Biden***

*220,000 Americans dead... Anyone who is responsible for not taking control. In fact, not saying I take no responsibility initially. Anyone is responsible for that many deaths should not remain as president of the United States of America... A thousand deaths a day. And there are over 70,000 new cases per day. Compared to what's going on in Europe as the New England Medical Journal said, they're starting from a very low rate. We're starting from a very high rate (1)... The expectation is we'll have another 200,000 Americans dead between now and the end of the year (2). If we just wore these masks, the president's own advisors have told him, we can save a 100,000 lives. And we're in a circumstance where the president thus far and still has no plan, no comprehensive plan (3)... What I would do is make sure we have everyone encouraged to wear a mask all the time... I would make sure that we set up national standards as to how to open up schools and open*

*up businesses (4)... the New England Medical Journal, one of the serious, most serious journals in the whole world said for the first time ever that the way this president has responded to this crisis has been absolutely tragic. And so folks, I will take care of this. I will end this. I will make sure we have a plan (5).*

Biden is first blood here, as there are many utterances expressing abusive and circumstantial personal attack such as ‘*should not remain as president of the United States of America*’; ‘*the president thus far and still has no plan, no comprehensive plan*’ and ‘*the way this president has responded to this crisis has been absolutely tragic*’. He starts with accusation, magnifying of statistics, provide evidence through numbers and citing of well-known events along with using the opponent’s own words to convict him; all this is within de facto argumentation. Attempting to disqualify the opponent and presenting him as a liar (1) are sub-strategies within value argumentation. Showing competence and reliability is clear here, which is a sub-strategy under authority argumentation.

S wants to be rude is obvious here within BOR impoliteness strategy (5) as in ‘*the way this president has responded to this crisis has been absolutely tragic.*’ Under OR, there are the sub-strategies of give hint and understate. For persuasion, the use of factual data and statistics, providing a solid explanation; citation and quotation from experts under logos; knowledge about business, showing reputation and credibility and showing awareness of the society are sub-strategies used within ethos. The expressive description of events, showing solidarity and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary; ‘*folks*’ are sub-strategies within pathos.

### ***Donald Trump***

*No, I think my timeline is going to be more accurate.*

### **Joe Biden**

*... by the way, this is the same fellow who told you, "This is going to end by Easter" last time. This is the same fellow who told you that, "Don't worry, we're going to end this by the summer." We're about to go into a dark winter, a dark winter and he has no clear plan. And there's no prospect that there's going to be a vaccine available for the majority of the American people before the middle of next year.*

### **Donald Trump**

*I don't think we're going to have a dark winter at all. We're opening up our country. We've learned and studied and understand the disease... When I closed and banned China from coming... he was saying I was xenophobic. I did it too soon. Now he's saying, "Oh, I should have moved quicker," but he didn't move quicker. He was months behind me, many months behind me ... And frankly, he ran the H1N1 swine flu and it was a total disaster. Far less lethal, but it was a total disaster. Had that had this kind of numbers, 700,000 people would be dead right now, but it was a far less lethal disease. Look, his own person who ran that for him, who, as you know, was his chief of staff said, "It was catastrophic. It was horrible. We didn't know what we were doing." Now he comes up and he tells us how to do this.*

'This is the same fellow who told you... (so and so)' is a repeatedly employed utterance by Biden to present the opponent as a liar and unreliable under values argumentation. It is also a circumstantial personal attack strategy criticizing the opponent for not having a clear plan and for giving fake promises. Under de facto argumentation, Biden emphasizes the febleness of the opponent by belittling his achievements. Centrality of ego is clear in Trump's talk; he uses the tactic of focalization of discourse to divert the focus to another subject which is H1N1 swine flu within tu quoque strategy to express 'you are no better'.

Trump uses contradictions, understate and be ironic within OR impoliteness strategy. Biden uses S wants to be rude within BOR and give hints and association clues within OR impoliteness strategy.

Under logos, citation and quotations from experts and from the opponent's own talk are obvious sub-strategies in this segment. Courage and showing credibility and awareness of the society are sub-strategies within ethos. Under pathos, there is the expressive description of events and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary to evoke the audience.

### ***Donald Trump***

*... We've done all of it. But he was way behind us.*

### ***Joe Biden***

*... He is xenophobic, but not because he shutdown access from China. And he did it late after 40 countries had already done that. In addition to that, what he did, he made sure that we had 44 people that were in there in China trying to get the Wuhan to determine what exactly the source was. What did the president say in January? He said, "No." He said, "He's being transparent. The president of China is being transparent. We owe him a debt of gratitude. We have to thank him." ... He had nothing, he did virtually nothing. And then he gets out of the hospital and he talks about, "Oh, don't worry. It's all going to be over soon." Come on. There's not another serious scientist in the world who thinks it's going to be over soon.*

Trump is provocative here using abusive and circumstantial personal attack in his utterance 'he was way behind us.' A tu quoque response is performed by Biden who goes far in teasing his opponent. A sarcastic style is used by Biden hinting that Trump did not deal with the matter scientifically. This is classified within circumstantial personal attack while 'He is xenophobic'; is an abusive personal attack criticizing Trump's fear of China.

Values argumentation is employed here in attempting to disqualify the opponent and present him as a liar and ignorant.

Be ironic within OR impoliteness strategy is obvious in Biden's talk. He also uses rhetorical question, understate and contradictions within the same strategy. S wants to be rude is a sub-strategy under BOR which is clearly employed by both candidates.

Providing solid explanations, citation and quotation from experts and from the opponent's own talk are sub-strategies within logos persuasive strategy. Criticizing courage, reputation and credibility is a sub-strategy within ethos. The use of emotion-laden vocabulary to stir the audience is a sub-strategy within pathos.

### ***Donald Trump***

*I didn't say over soon. I say we're learning to live with it. We have no choice. We can't lock ourselves up in a basement like Joe does. He has the ability to lock himself up. I don't know. He's obviously made a lot of money someplace, but he has this thing about living in a basement. People can't do that. By the way I as the president couldn't do that. I'd love to put myself in the basement or in a beautiful room in the White House and go away for a year and a half until it disappears. I can't do that... every meeting I had... I said, "This is dangerous and you catch it." And I caught it. I learned a lot. I learned a lot. Great doctors, great hospitals. And now I recovered. 99.9 of young people recover...99% of people recover... We can't close up our nation. We have to open our school and we can't close up our nation, or you're not going to have a nation.*

Trump goes back to his normal tactic of personal attack, where poisoning the well sub-strategy is obvious in 'He's obviously made a lot of money someplace,' which suggests personal gain and a hidden agenda of the opponent. The utterance 'We can't lock ourselves up in a basement like Joe

*does*' is abusive personal attack presenting Biden as being afraid of the disease and as having a selfish thinking of protecting and isolating himself only. Within de facto argumentation, there are the following sub-strategies; false accusation and the magnification of statistics. Attempting to disqualify the opponent and presenting him as unreliable are sub-strategies under values argumentation. The centrality of ego is clear-cut here through the excessive use of the pronoun 'I'.

For impoliteness, there is S wants to be rude within BOR; give hint and association clues, be ironic, the use of contradictions, presuppose and understate within OR impoliteness strategy.

Using factual data and statistics; citation from experts, denotative reasons are sub-strategies within logos employed here. Under ethos, we have showing credibility and showing awareness of the society sub-strategies and within pathos, there are the following sub-strategies; sharing personal stories and the use of any information that may evoke the audience.

### ***Joe Biden***

*Number one, he says that we're learning to live with it. People are learning to die with it. You folks home will have an empty chair at the kitchen table this morning... Learning to live with it. Come on. We're dying with it, because he's never said. See, you said, "It's dangerous." When's the last time? Is it really dangerous still? Are we dangerous. You tell the people it's dangerous now. What should they do about the danger? And you say, "I take no responsibility."*

Under values argumentation, Biden tries to present opponent as a liar and indifferent or taking no responsibility towards COVID. Belittling the achievements of the opponent is a sub-strategy within de facto argumentation. '*When's the last time?*' is an interrogative question posed

here to refute and embarrass the opponent. Circumstantial personal attack is a strategy used here to criticize the trustworthiness of the opponent.

S wants to be rude within BOR and the use of contradictions, metaphor and rhetorical question under OR impoliteness strategy. Regarding persuasion, the use of the opponent's own quotations and providing historical analogies within logos. Under ethos, there is the sub-strategy of showing credibility, solidarity and awareness for the society. The use of emotion-laden vocabulary is within pathos.

### **Joe Biden**

*... Think about what the President knew in January and didn't tell the American people. He was told this was a serious virus that spread in the air, and it was much worse, much worse, than the flu. He went on record and said to one of your colleagues, recorded, that in fact he knew how dangerous it was but he didn't want to tell us. He didn't want to tell us because he didn't want us to panic. He didn't want us... Americans don't panic. He panicked. But guess what, in the meantime, we find out in the New York Times the other day, that in fact his folks went to Wall Street and said, "This is a really dangerous thing." And a memo out of that meeting — not from his administration, but from some of the brokers — said, "Sell short, because we've got to get moving. It's a dangerous problem."*

### **Donald Trump**

*I don't know. Somebody went through Wall Street. You're the one that takes all the money from Wall Street. I don't take it... Joe, you have raised a lot of money, tremendous amounts of money. And every time you raise money deals are made, Joe. I could raise so much more money. As President, and as somebody that knows most of those people, I could call the heads of Wall Street, the heads of every company in America. I would blow away every record. But I don't want to do that because it puts me in a bad position. And then you bring up Wall Street? You shouldn't be bringing up Wall Street,*

*because you're the one that takes the money from Wall Street, not me. I could blow away your records like you wouldn't believe. We don't need money. We have plenty of money. In fact, we beat Hillary Clinton with a tiny fraction of the money...*

Exchange of accusations, belittling of the opponent's achievements, blacking out or deliberate concealment of information are sub-strategies used within de facto argumentation. Attempting to disqualify the opponent, dismantling him from values and presenting him as a liar are within values argumentation. Trump states very clearly and powerfully his being a president, *'As President, and as somebody that knows most of those people,'* Also, here we have circumstantial personal attack strategy, where the affiliations of the opponent are criticized. Poisoning the well sub-strategy of personal attack is clear in the exchange of accusation of attaining personal gain from Wall Street. Focalization of the discourse towards Wall Street is another tactic by Biden to deviate the talk about his being far behind Trump in dealing with COVID. A tu quoque reply tactic is obvious as well which implies the expression of 'you are no better'. Furthermore, the use of sarcastic style in the utterance *'He didn't want to tell us because he didn't want us to panic.'* is another tactic within abusive personal attack strategy to refute and embarrass the opponent.

S wants to be rude sub-strategy within BOR is very obvious here from both candidates. Be ironic, use rhetorical question, give hint and association clues, understate and use contradictions are sub-strategies employed within OR impoliteness strategy.

Citation from experts and authorities and opponent's own quotes, and denotative meanings are sub-strategies used within logos. Under ethos, there are the sub-strategies of showing credibility and showing awareness of the

society. Within pathos, there is the expressive description of events and the use of information to stir the emotions of the audience.

### **Joe Biden**

*... Any country, no matter who it is, that interferes in American elections will pay a price. Russia has been involved, China's been involved to some degree, and now we learn that Iran is involved... I don't know why he hasn't said a word to Putin about it, and I don't know what he has recently said, if anything, to the Iranians... His own National Security Advisor told him that what is happening with his buddy... Rudy Giuliani. He's being used as a Russian pawn. He's being fed information that is Russian that is not true. And then what happens? Nothing happens. And then you find out that everything that's going on here, about Russia is wanting to make sure that I do not get elected the next President of the United States, because they know I know them, and they know me... I don't understand why this President is unwilling to take on Putin when he's actually paying bounties to kill American soldiers in Afghanistan, when he's engaged in activities that are trying to destabilize all of NATO. I don't know why he doesn't do it, but it's worth asking the question. Why isn't that being done? Any country that interferes with us will, in fact, pay a price, because they're affecting our sovereignty.*

The style of wondering '*I don't know why...*' is an indirect way of raising an embarrassing interrogative question that pulls the legs of the opponent, which is one of the argumentative strategies. In the same sense, it can be considered a poisoning the well type of personal attack hinting that the opponent has a hidden agenda. Many questions are posed here which is an argumentative strategy 'multiplicity of questions'. The following utterance '*his buddy... Rudy Giuliani. He's being used as a Russian pawn.*' is a circumstantial personal attack, criticizing an affiliate of the opponent. Also, it gives a hint that there is a hidden agenda with the Russians and this is within poisoning the well personal attack sub-strategy. Centrality of ego is

clear in *'Russia is wanting to make sure that I do not get elected the next President of the United States'* which is within authority argumentation.

S wants to be rude through pointing accusation finger towards the opponent; this is within BOR impoliteness strategy. Give hints and association clues, rhetorical questions and metaphor, presuppose, understate and the use of tautology in *'because they know I know them, and they know me'* are sub-strategies used in this segment within OR.

The use of denotative meanings and reasons under logos is obvious here. Within ethos, there are the sub-strategies of showing credibility, solidarity, patriotism and awareness of the society. Under pathos, there is the use of emotion-laden vocabulary and multiple interrogative questions.

### ***Donald Trump***

*... Joe got \$3.5 million from Russia and it came through Putin, because he was very friendly with the former mayor of Moscow and it was the mayor of Moscow's wife. And you got \$3.5 million. Your family got \$3.5 million. And someday you're going to have to explain, why did you get three and a half? I never got any money from Russia. I don't get money from Russia (1)... They both want you to lose because there has been nobody tougher to Russia between the sanctions, nobody tougher than me on Russia, between the sanctions, between all of what I've done with NATO. I've got the NATO countries to put up an extra \$130 billion going to \$420 billion a year. That's to guard against Russia. I sold, while he was selling pillows and sheets, I sold tank busters to Ukraine. There has been nobody tougher on Russia than Donald Trump (2)... And I'll tell you, they were so bad. They took over the submarine port, you remember that very well, during your term, during you and Barack Obama. They took over a big part of what should have been Ukraine. You handed it to them. But you were getting a lot of money from Russia. They were paying you a lot of money, and they probably still are... All of the emails, the emails, the horrible emails of the kind of money that*

*you were raking in, you and your family. And Joe, you were vice-president when some of this was happening, and it should have never happened. And I think you owe an explanation to the American people... I think you have to clean it up and talk to the American people. Maybe you can do it right now* (3).

A tu quoque tactic is clear here along with pointing the finger and accusation of having a hidden agenda with the Russians and getting bribed by them and of being droopy. The diverting of the subject and focalizing it on the money that has been taken from the Russians is an argumentative strategy to flee the opponent's question about the involvement of other countries in the elections and doing nothing about it. The 'you' pronoun is over-dominating in this segment. Providing evidence through numbers specifically in '*And you got \$3.5 million. Your family got \$3.5 million*' (1) is within de facto argumentation and this can also be classified within poisoning the well personal attack strategy. Belittling the achievements of the opponent is clear in many utterances e.g. '*while he was selling pillows and sheets, I sold tank busters to Ukraine.*' *during you and Barack Obama.*' Citing of well-known events is another sub-strategy within de facto argumentation. Pulling the legs through an interrogative question is clear-cut in this utterance '*why did you get three and a half?*' Authority argumentation is obvious in the centrality of ego utterance '*There has been nobody tougher on Russia than Donald Trump*'. Attempting to disqualify the opponent and dismantling him of values; presenting him as droopy and bribed are sub-strategies within values argumentation.

The use of metaphor is clear in '*while he was selling pillows and sheets,*' this is under OR along with other sub-strategies such as giving hint and association clue, understate, presuppose and the use of rhetorical questions. S

wants to be rude sub-strategy within BOR is so clear all the way through this segment.

Under logos, there are the sub-strategies of providing solid explanation, citation from experts and analogies. Within ethos, there is the showing of reputation, credibility, patriotism and solidarity with the American people. Expressive description of events and the use of information that may evoke the emotions of the audience are sub-strategies within pathos.

### ***Joe Biden***

*I have not taken a penny from any foreign source ever in my life. We learned that this president paid 50 times the tax in China as a secret bank account with China, does business in China, and in fact, is talking about me taking money? I have not taken a single penny from any country, whatsoever, ever, number one. Number two, this is a president... I have released all of my tax returns, 22 years, go look at them, 22 years of my tax return. You have not released a single solitary year of your tax return. What are you hiding? Why are you unwilling? The foreign countries are paying you a lot. Russia's paying you a lot. China's paying you a lot on your hotels and all your businesses all around the country, all around the world. And China's building a new road to a new golf course you have overseas. So, what's going on here? Release your tax return or stop talking about corruption.*

### ***Donald Trump***

*First of all, I called my accountants, underwrote it, I'm going to release them as soon as we can. I want to do it. And it'll show how successful, how great this company is... I prepaid my tax, over the last number of years, tens of millions of dollars, I prepaid... Whenever they write this, they keep talking about \$750, which I think is a filing fee, but let me just tell you, I prepaid millions and millions of dollars in taxes, number one... Number two, I don't make money from China. You do. I don't make money from Ukraine. You do. I don't make money from Russia. You made \$3.5 million, Joe, and your son*

*gave you, they even have a statement that we have to give 10% to the big man. You're the big man, I think... Joe, what's that all about? It's terrible.*

The following questions ‘*What are you hiding? Why are you unwilling? So, what's going on here? Joe, what's that all about?*’ are raised to pull the legs of the opponent as an argumentative tactic of provocation. De facto argumentation is represented by the exchange of accusations and monkey-playing with numbers. Impertinence of the opponent, trying to dismantle him of values and presenting him as a liar are sub-strategies within values argumentation. Authority argumentation is represented by the centrality of ego shown by both candidates. Focalization of discourse tactic is obvious here as Trump tries all the time to focus on the amount of money taken by Biden’s son from the Russians and Biden tries to emphasize Trump’s evade of tax payment. All types of personal attack are used in this segment; abusive, circumstantial and poisoning the well.

S wants to be rude within BOR impoliteness strategy is used all the way through this segment. Give hints and association clues, understate and be ironic are sub-strategies under OR that are spontaneously employed. Using factual data, citation and quotation from experts and making analogies are sub-strategies within logos that are used in this segment. Under ethos, there are knowledge about business, showing reputation, credibility and awareness of the society sub-strategies.

### ***Joe Biden***

*Why did he... he's been saying this for four years, show us, just show us, stop playing around. You've been saying for four years you're going to release your taxes.*

### ***Donald Trump***

*Everybody knows.*

### ***Joe Biden***

*Nobody knows, Mr. President. What they do know is you're not paying your taxes, or you're paying taxes that are so low, when last time he said, what he paid, he said, I only pay that little because I'm smart. I know how to game the system. Come on. Come on, folks.*

### ***Donald Trump***

*... They spied of my campaign. Mueller and 18 angry Democrats and FBI agents all over the place spent \$48 million. They went through everything I had, including my tax returns, and they found absolutely no collusion and nothing wrong. \$48 million. I guarantee you, if I spent \$1 million on you, Joe, I could find plenty wrong because the kind of things... that you've done and the kind of monies that your family has taken, I mean, your brother made money in Iraq... millions of dollars. Your other brother made a fortune, and it's all through you, Joe. And they say you get some of it. And you do live very well, you have houses all over the place. You live very well.*

The exchange of accusations continues; Trump is accused of not paying his taxes and Biden is accused of making illegal money and of spying on Trump's campaign. Here, there are the sub-strategies of monkey-playing with numbers, magnification of statistics and citing of well-known events are employed within de facto argumentation. Attempting to disqualify the opponent and dismantle him from values along with presenting him as a liar are sub-strategies within values argumentation. Centrality of ego under authority argumentation is obvious here. This segment is full of personal attacks; abusive '*stop playing around*', circumstantial '*your brother made money in Iraq*' and poisoning the well '*he said, I only pay that little because I'm smart. I know how to game the system*'. The latter is excessively used as the opponent is criticized for having a hidden agenda and for attaining personal gain out of his position. Focalization of the discourse is clear-cut when Trump diverts the subject to Biden's family members who made fortunes in Iraq and to spying on his campaign.

Concerning impoliteness, for both, the speaker is powerful and does not fear retaliation or non-cooperation from the hearer and does not care of maintaining face and going further in teasing his opponent. This is a sub-strategy under BOR strategy. Moreover, S wants to be rude is clear through the sarcastic and provocative style used in many occasions e.g. *'Mr. President' 'it's all through you, Joe'*. Under OR impoliteness strategy, there are be ironic, give hints and association clues, presuppose, use contradictions and the use of rhetorical questions.

Under logos, providing evidence from the opponent's own words and the use of data, numbers and denotative meanings and reasons are sub-strategies employed here. Showing courage, righteousness and reputation are sub-strategies within ethos. Under pathos, there is the use of emotion-laden vocabulary such as *'Come on. Come on. Folks'*

### ***Donald Trump***

*... He is the vice-president of the United States and his son, his brother, and his other brother are getting rich. They're like a vacuum cleaner. They're sucking up money.*

### ***Joe Biden***

*Not true.*

Trump employs a tu quoque tactic to accuse Biden and his family of making much money through his position. He tries to disqualify his opponent and dismantle him from values, within values argumentation. False accusation is a sub-strategy within de facto argumentation. It is an abusive and circumstantial personal attack criticizing the character of Biden himself and members of his family. Poisoning the well sub-strategy is clear here as a way of personal attack implying personal gain of the opponent.

S wants to be rude under BOR; give hint and association clue, use metaphor ‘*vacuum cleaner*’ are within OR impoliteness strategy. The use of abstract language and denotative meanings is within logos. Under pathos, the use of information to evoke the emotions of the public is clear-cut here.

### ***Joe Biden***

*... When I met with Xi and when I was still vice-president, he said we’re setting up air identification zones in the South China Sea. You can’t fly through them. I said we’re going to fly through them... They have to play by the rules. And what’s he do? He embraces guys like the thugs, like in North Korea and the Chinese president and Putin and others, and he pokes his finger... all of our friends, all of our allies. We make up only... 25% of the world’s economy. We need to be having the rest of our friends with us saying to China, “These are the rules. You play by them, or you’re going to pay the price for not playing by them economically.” ... That’s the way I will run it, and that’s what we did and upholding steel tariffs and a range of other things when we were president and vice-president.*

### ***Donald Trump***

*His son walked out with a billion and a half dollars from China to... after spending 10 minutes in office and being in Air Force Two. Number one. Number two, there’s a very strong email talking about your family wanting to make \$10 million a year for introductions.*

### ***Joe Biden***

*Not true.*

Biden wanted to prove that he was powerful in dealing with China but Trump dealt with the enemies from a weaker rank. False accusations, providing evidence through numbers and statistics and citing well-known events are sub-strategies used within de facto argumentation. Presenting the opponent as a liar and weak in utterances like ‘*He embraces guys like the thugs*’ ‘*and he pokes his finger... all of our friends,*’ express values

argumentation. Centrality of ego is clear in the utterances ‘*when I was still vice-president*’ ‘*That’s the way I will run it,*’ under authority argumentation. The focalization of discourse is obvious when Trump changes the subject to Biden’s son and brothers which is a tactic to divert attention to the defects of his opponent. Poisoning the well personal attack is used by Biden to imply that Trump has a hidden agenda with China, North Korea and Russia. Also, the same is used by Trump to imply that Biden has personal gain through his position as vice president.

The use of metaphor in words such as ‘*thugs*’ and ‘*pokes his finger*’ is a sub-strategy within OR impoliteness strategy. Moreover, give hints, understate and be ironic are used here within the same strategy. S wants to be rude under BOR is clear from both sides.

Within logos, using factual data, citation from experts and authorities and quotation from the opponent’s own talk are employed in this segment. Showing credibility and courage is a sub-strategy within ethos. The use of information that may evoke the audience’s emotions is used here as well under pathos.

### ***Joe Biden***

*My response is, look, there’s a reason why he’s bringing up all this malarkey. There’s a reason for it. He doesn’t want to talk about the substantive issues. It’s not about his family and my family. It’s about your family...*

### ***Donald Trump***

*That’s why I got elected. Let’s get off the subject of China. Let’s talk about sitting around the table. Come on, Joe. You could do better ... So when I met with Barack Obama, we sat in the White House, right at the beginning, had a great conversation. He said, “The biggest problem we have is North Korea.” He indicated we will be in a war with North Korea. Guess what? It would be*

*a nuclear war. And he does have plenty of nuclear capability. In the meantime, I have a very good relationship with him. Different kind of a guy, but he probably thinks the same thing about me. We have a different kind of a relationship. We have a very good relationship and there's no war... Look, instead of being in a war where millions of people, Seoul is 25 miles away, millions and millions, 32 million people. Millions of people would be dead right now. We don't have a war and I have a good relationship.*

Biden tries to let the audience pay attention to the tactics followed by Trump to disperse information and facts and to focalize the discourse towards Biden's family. So, Trump tries to evade substantive issues by talking about trivial things according to Biden. This is also a tactic by Biden to exonerate his family from the money issues. Centrality of ego within authority argumentation is clear in Trump's talk *'That's why I got elected.'* *'I have a very good relationship with him'*. Each candidate tries to belittle the achievements of the other, monkey-play with numbers and statistics and deliberately conceal information, which are sub-strategies within de facto argumentation. Presenting the opponent as a liar and trying to disqualify him are tactics within values argumentation.

S wants to be rude is a sub-strategy within BOR used by both. Be Ironic as in *'Come on, Joe. You could do better'*, and in mocking Obama's talk about a nuclear war, understate and the use of contradictions *'war'* and *'good relations'* are sub-strategies within OR impoliteness strategy.

Persuasively, the use of factual data and quotation from opponent's affiliates, along with the use of historical analogies are sub-strategies employed within logos. Showing reputation, credibility and awareness of the society are sub-strategies within ethos and sharing personal stories with expressive description of events go under pathos.

### **Joe Biden**

*Because I'd make it clear, which we were making clear to China, they had to be part of the deal... "Why are you continue to do military maneuvers with South Korea?" I said, "Because North Korea is a problem... We're going to make sure we can control them and make sure they cannot hurt us... What has he done? He's legitimized North Korea. He's talked about his good buddy, who's a thug, a thug... We had a good relationship with Hitler before he, in fact, invaded Europe, the rest of Europe. Come on. The reason he would not meet with President Obama is because President Obama said, "We're going to talk about denuclearization. We're not going to legitimize you and we're going to continue to push stronger and stronger sanctions on you." That's why he wouldn't meet with us.*

### **Donald Trump**

*... They left me a mess. North Korea was a mess, and in fact, if you remember the first two or three months. It was a very dangerous period in my first three months before we worked things out a little bit.*

### **Joe Biden**

*I say it's ridiculous... Look, the difference between the president and I... I think healthcare is not a privilege, it's a right. Everyone should have the right to have affordable healthcare, and I am very proud of my plan. It's gotten endorsed by all the major labor unions, as well as a whole range of other people who... are concerned in the medical field... We have to provide health insurance for people at an affordable rate, and that's what I do.*

### **Donald Trump**

*He was there... for 47 years. He didn't do it. He was now there as vice president for eight years. And it's not like it was 25 years ago. It was three and three quarters... It was just a little while ago, right? Less than four years ago. He didn't do anything. He didn't do it.*

False accusations, belittling of the opponent's achievements as in 'He didn't do anything' 'They left me a mess' are clear sub-strategies used here

within de facto argumentation. Centrality of ego is obvious in *'I am very proud of my plan'*, which is within authority argumentation. *'It's ridiculous'* is abusive circumstantial personal attack criticizing the opponent's performance in regard to health insurance. Presenting the opponent as a liar or as a person who never fulfills his promises is a sub-strategy used within values argumentation.

S wants to be rude is ostensible here within BOR impoliteness strategy. The use of contradictions as in *'healthcare is not a privilege, it's a right,'* be ironic and understate are sub-strategies used within OR.

Under logos, there are the citation from experts and providing factual data and solid explanation sub-strategies. Showing credibility and awareness of the society are sub-strategies within ethos. Under pathos, there is the use of emotion-laden vocabulary.

### ***Joe Biden***

*He's a very confused guy. He thinks he's running against somebody else. He's running against Joe Biden... And the idea that we're in a situation that is going to destroy Medicare... This is the guy that the actuary of Medicare said, ... "If in fact he continues his plan to withhold the tax on Social Security, Social Security will be bankrupt by 2023 with no way to make up for it." This is the guy who's tried to cut Medicare. The idea that Donald Trump is lecturing me on Social Security and Medicare? Come on.*

### ***Donald Trump***

*He tried to hurt Social Security years ago. Years ago. Go back and look at the records. He tried to hurt Social Security years ago. One thing. But this is the guy... They say the stock market will boom if I'm elected. If he's elected, the stock market will crash... The biggest analysts are saying that.*

Here, we have an exchange of direct indictment for destroying social security and this is within de facto argumentation. Presenting the opponent as

a liar and unreliable is a sub-strategy used within value argumentation. Abusive personal attack is clear in *'He's a very confused guy'* and in the repetition of the utterance *'He is the guy'* there is abusive and circumstantial personal attack. A very rude style is used by Biden in the utterance *'The idea that Donald Trump is lecturing me on Social Security and Medicare? Come on.'* as if he wants to say 'you are the last one who may talk about such issues.' S wants to be rude here within BOR impoliteness strategy.

Citation and quotation from experts and authorities is used in the utterance *'The biggest analysts are saying that'* which is under logos. Showing reputation, credibility and awareness of the society is a sub-strategy used within ethos. Sharing personal stories and the use of information that evoke the feeling of the public are sub-strategies within pathos

### ***Joe Biden***

*Look, the idea that the stock market is booming is his only measure of what's happening... the billionaires in this country made, according to Wall Street, 700 billion more dollars. 700 billion more dollars. Because that's his only measure. What happens to the ordinary people out there? What happens to them?*

### ***Donald Trump***

*401(k)s. Kristen, 401(k)s are through the roof... People's stock are through the roof.*

### ***Kristen Welker***

*As of tonight, more than 12 million people are out of work. And as of tonight, 8 million more Americans have fallen into poverty, and more families are going hungry every day. Those hit hardest are women and people of color. They see Washington fighting over a relief bill. Mr. President, why haven't you been able to get them the help they need? 30 seconds here.*

### ***Donald Trump***

*Because Nancy Pelosi doesn't want to approve it. I do.*

***Kristen Welker***

*But you're the president.*

***Donald Trump***

*I do. But I still have to get, unfortunately... That's one of the reasons I think we're going to take over the House, because of her. Nancy Pelosi doesn't want to approve anything because she'd love to have some victories on a date called November 3rd. Nancy Pelosi does not want to approve it. We are ready, willing, and able to do something... This one, she doesn't want. It's near the election. Because she thinks it helps her politically. I think it hurts her politically*

Trump uses a very nasty and abusive utterance here '*I think it hurts her politically*' targeting Nancy Pelosi, a republican congresswoman with sexual implications. It is an abusive and circumstantial personal attack. A tu quoque tactic is clear in Trump's reply to the incitement that stock market is his sole concern. Here there is an exchange of accusation of having a hidden agenda or personal gain which is within poisoning the well personal attack strategy. Under de facto argumentation, there are the sub-strategies of belittling of the opponent's achievements, monkey-playing with numbers, magnification of statistics. Within values argumentation, there are sub-strategies such as attempting to disqualify the opponent, dismantling him from the values and presenting him as a liar and an opportunistic. The utterances '*I do*' and '*we're going to take over the House*' represent authority argumentation as Trump states powerfully his being a president.

S wants to be rude is a sub-strategy within BOR and is obvious in utterances such as '*the stock market is booming is his only measure*' '*I think it hurts her politically*'. Giving hint and association clue, displace H, be ironic, use contradictions are sub-strategies employed here within OR impoliteness strategy.

Within logos, there are sub-strategies such as giving an example, citation from experts and the use of denotative reasons. Knowledge about business, showing righteousness and credibility are sub-strategies used

within ethos. Under pathos, there are the sharing of personal stories and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary such as *'What happens to the ordinary people out there? What happens to them?'*

### **Joe Biden**

*...When I was in charge of the recovery act with \$800 billion, I was able to get \$145 billion to local communities that have to balance their budgets and states that have to balance their budgets. And then they have to fire firefighters, teachers, first responders, law enforcement officers, so they could keep their cities and counties running. He will not support that. They have not done a thing for them. And Mitch McConnell said, "Let them go bankrupt. Let them go bankrupt." Come on. What's the matter with these guys?*

In showing his achievements regarding the matters of poverty, Biden tries to provide evidence through numbers. Also, pointing finger towards the opponent for being the one to blame for firing people from their jobs; and these are sub-strategies within de facto argumentation. Dismantling the opponent of values of humanity and mercy is obvious in the utterance *'Let them go bankrupt.'* Centrality of ego and stating his competence and his being in charge is under authority argumentation; e.g. *'When I was in charge'*. A circumstantial personal attack strategy is employed here through criticizing an affiliation of Trump.

S wants to be rude is clear in the utterance *'He will not support that'* which is under BOR strategy. Give hint and association clue and be ironic as in *'Come on. What's the matter with these guys?'* are sub-strategies used within OR impoliteness strategy.

Giving example, the use of factual data quotation from authorities are sub-strategies employed under logos. Showing credibility, righteousness and awareness of the society is under ethos. Expressive description of the situation and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary are sub-strategies within pathos.

### ***Donald Trump***

*The bill that was passed in the House was a bailout of badly run, high crime, Democrat, all run by Democrat cities and states. It was a way of getting a lot of money, billions and billions of dollars, to these guys. It was also a way of getting a lot of money from our people's pockets to people that come into our country illegally. We were going to take care of everything for them. And I'd love to do that. I'd love to help them. But what that does, everybody all over the world will start pouring into our country... But let me just tell you. Let me just tell you. They built cages. They used to say I built the cages, and then they had a picture in a certain newspaper, and it was the picture of these horrible cages and they said, "Look at these cages. President Trump built them." And then it was determined they were built in 2014. That was him. They built cages... Who built the cages, Joe?*

### ***Joe Biden***

*Let's talk about what we're talking about.*

Trump uses the sub-strategies of false accusation, belittling of the opponent's achievements and citing of well-known events, which are classified under de facto argumentation. Attempting to disqualify the opponent and presenting him as a liar and opportunist are sub-strategies within values argumentation. Centrality of ego and showing off are clear-cut in utterances such as *'We were going to take care of everything for them'*. Poisoning the well personal attack is used obviously to reflect that the Democrats are after personal gain. The use of an interrogative question *'Who built the cages, Joe?'* was a decisive and on-time strategy to pull the legs and embarrass the opponent and prove his maltreatment of immigrants. Biden evades the question about the cages and wanted to talk about the other subjects of the debate; which is a tactic to take time to find a suitable answer.

BOR impoliteness strategy is clearly represented by S wants to be rude sub-strategy. Give hint, understate, be ironic, the use contradictions are sub-strategies used within OR.

Under logos, giving example, providing a solid explanation and literal analogies are sub-strategies employed here. Showing credibility and awareness of the society under ethos and trying to evoke the audience's emotions with expressive description of people and events are sub-strategies employed within pathos.

### **Joe Biden**

*I never ever said what he accused me of saying. The fact of the matter is in 2000 though, after the crime bill had been in the law for a while, this is a guy who said, "The problem with the crime bill, there's not enough people in jail. There's not enough people in jail." And go on my website, get the quote, the date when he said it, "not enough people."(1) He talked about marauding gangs, young gangs, and the people who are going to maraud our cities. This is a guy who in the Central Park Five, five innocent black kids, he continued to push for making sure that they got the death penalty. None of them were guilty of the crimes they were suggested (2). Look and granted, he did in fact, let 20 people ... he commuted 20 people's sentences... We commuted over 1,000 people's sentences, over 1,000... we're in a situation here where the federal prison system was reduced by 38,000 people under our administration... I'm offering \$20 billion to states to change their state laws to eliminate minimum mandatories and set up drug courts. No one should be going to jail because they have a drug problem. They should be going to rehabilitation, not to jail. We should fundamentally change the system and that's what I'm going to do (3).*

### **Donald Trump**

*You know Joe, I ran because of you. I ran because of Barack Obama, because you did a poor job. If I thought you did a good job, I would've never run. I would've never run. I ran because of you. I'm looking at you now, you're a politician, I ran because of you.*

Here, there is an exchange of indictments related to commuting death penalty. Under de facto argumentation, there are the sub-strategies of belittling the opponent's achievements; magnification of statistics and

citation of some well-known events (Central Park) (1). The attempt to disqualify the opponent and to dismantle him from values is a sub-strategy within value argumentation. Within authority argumentation, there is the centrality of ego, which is clear in the utterances *'I ran because of you'*; *'under our administration... I'm offering \$20 billion to states to change their state laws'*. Circumstantial personal attack is obvious in *'because you did a poor job'*. A tu quoque tactic is ostensible here where the impression 'you are no better' is reflected.

S wants to be rude is a clear sub-strategy used under BOR in the talk of both candidates. Be ironic, give hints and understate are sub-strategies within OR strategy.

Under logos, one may find the sub-strategies of using factual data and statistics; quotation from the opponent's own talk as in *'There's not enough people in jail'* denotative reasons, e.g. *'No one should be going to jail because they have a drug problem.'* Within ethos, there are the showing of credibility and awareness of the society (3). Under pathos, there are some sub-strategies used here such as the expressive description of events and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary such as *'No one should be going to jail because of drugs'* and *'he commuted 20 people's sentences'*.

### **Joe Biden**

*Well, I'll tell you what I hope he does look at me because what's happening here is, you know who I am. You know who he is, you know his character, you know my character, you know our reputations for honor and telling the truth. I am anxious to have this race. I'm anxious to see this take place. I am ... The character of the country is on the ballot. Our character's on the ballot, look at us closely.*

### **Donald Trump**

*If this stuff is true about Russia, Ukraine, China, other countries, Iraq. If this is true, then he's a corrupt politician. So don't give me the stuff about how you're this innocent baby. Joe, that calling you a corrupt politician-*

**Joe Biden**

*Nobody's calling me-*

**Donald Trump**

*They're calling it the laptop from hell.*

**Joe Biden**

*There are 50 former national intelligence folks who said that what he's accusing me of is a Russian plant. They have said that this has all the ... five former heads of the CIA, both parties, say what he's saying is a bunch of garbage. Nobody believes it except him and his good friend, Rudy Giuliani.*

**Donald Trump**

*You mean the laptop is now another Russia, Russia, Russia hoax? You got to be kidding me... You have to be kidding, here we go again with the Russia. Boy, oh, boy... Can't believe that one.*

Abusive personal attack strategy is clear-cut here in the utterances 'what he's saying is a bunch of garbage.' ' , you know his character' and poisoning the well personal attack in 'here we go again with the Russia. Boy, oh, boy...'; where the suggestion of a hidden agenda with the Russians is obvious here. 'Nobody believes it except him and his good friend, Rudy Giuliani.'. The latter campaigned on 'tough on crime' platform. Providing evidence through numbers comes under de facto argumentation; inviting a comparison between the two characters is a tactic within values argumentation. Presenting the opponent as a liar is under values argumentation as well.

The focalization of discourse is a tactic used by Trump through the repetition of the utterance 'Russia' to sidestep the invitation to make a comparison between the two characters. It was successful as Biden has taken much effort to explain and provide clearing regarding the accusation of a hidden agenda with Russia.

Within BOR, S wants to be rude and does not care about maintain face sub-strategy is used by both candidates. We notice here that both appear powerful and not afraid of any retaliation of the opponent that is why they continue teasing each other. E.g. *'he's a corrupt politician'* *'what he's saying is a bunch of garbage.'* Giving hints and association clues, and be ironic are sub-strategies within OR impoliteness strategy.

Under logos, quotations of experts and authorities and denotative meanings or reasons are sub-strategies used here. Within ethos, showing righteousness, reputation or credibility and showing awareness of the society are sub-strategies employed here. Biden's emphasis on making a comparison between his and his opponent's characters is a sub-strategy within ethos because everyone knows the nature of Trump's character. Within pathos, there is the use of emotion-laden vocabulary and information that will evoke an emotional response from the audience.

### ***Donald Trump***

*I think I have great relationships with all people. I am the least racist person in this room... I don't know. I mean, I don't know what to say. I got criminal justice reform done and prison reform and Opportunity Zones... I took care of Black colleges and universities... It makes me sad, because I am the least racist person, I can't even see the audience because it's so dark, but I don't care who's in the audience, I'm the least racist person in this room.*

### ***Joe Biden***

*Abraham Lincoln here is one of the most racist presidents we've had in modern history, he pours fuel on every single racist fire, every single one. Started off his campaign coming down the escalator saying he's getting rid of those Mexican rapists, he's ban Muslims because they're Muslims, he has moved around and made everything worse across the board. He says to... About the Proud Boys, last time we were on stage here he said, "I tell them to stand down and stand ready." Come on, this guy has a dog whistle about as big as a foghorn.*

Exchange of indictments of racism is a tactic to destroy the face and reputation of the opponent. Under de facto argumentation, there are the sub-strategies of belittling the opponent's achievements, magnification of statistics, monkey-playing with numbers, deliberate concealment of information and citing of some well-known events along with confuting the opponent through his own talk. Within values argumentation, there are sub-strategies employed here such as the impertinence of the opponent, attempting to disqualify him and presenting him as a liar. Under authority argumentation, there is the centrality of ego and the recalling of symbolic figures 'Abraham Lincoln' sub-strategies that are employed here. Abusive personal attack is ostensible in this segment, specifically in utterances such as *'he is one of the most racist presidents we've had in modern history.'* *'Come on, this guy has a dog whistle about as big as a foghorn.'*

The use of S wants to be rude sub-strategy is clear-cut here within BOR impoliteness strategy. Be ironic and the use of metaphor is obvious in utterances such as *'this guy has a dog whistle about as big as a foghorn.'*, *'Abraham Lincoln'*, *'he pours fuel on every single racist fire'* which are sub-strategies within OR impoliteness strategy.

Giving example, using factual data, citation from own talk of the opponent and historical analogies and definitions are sub-strategies employed within logos. Showing credibility and stripping off the opponent of values are within ethos. Under pathos, there is the use of information that may stir the emotions of the audience.

### **Joe Biden**

*... We should not send anyone to jail for a pure drug offense, they should be going into treatment across the board, that's what we should be spending money. And that's why I set up drug courts which were never funded by our Republican friends... that's what I'm going to get done...*

### **Donald Trump**

*...  
One question, why didn't you do it in the eight years, a short time ago? Why didn't you do it? You just said, "I'm going to do that, I'm going to do this."*

*You put tens of thousands of mostly Black young men in prison, now you're saying you're going to get... You're going to undo that, why didn't you get it done? You had eight years with Obama. You know why, Joe? Because you're all talk and no action.*

### **Joe Biden**

*We had a Republican Congress, that's the answer.*

Most importantly here in regard to argumentation is pulling the legs through an interrogative question 'Why didn't you do it?' and the abusive personal attack as in 'You know why, Joe? Because you're all talk and no action.' Then the answer comes like a thunderbolt 'We had a Republican Congress' which means because your party is in control. It is a tu quoque tactic which is excessively used in political debates to confute the opponent. Within de facto argumentation, there is the provision of evidence through numbers, belittling of the opponent's achievements, blacking out of information and citing of some well-known events. Under values argumentation, there are sub-strategies employed in this segment which are attempting to disqualify the opponent and presenting him as a liar. Centrality of ego is clear in the talk of both candidates which is within authority argumentation.

S wants to be rude is a clear sub-strategy used here within BOR impoliteness strategy. Be ironic, the use of rhetorical question, give hints are sub-strategies within OR.

Using factual data and statistics, providing a solid explanation, citation from experts and authorities and denotative reasons are sub-strategies within logos. Showing awareness of the society is within ethos and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary is within pathos.

### **Donald Trump**

*So, we have the trillion trees program, we have so many different programs, I do love the environment, but what I want is that cleanest crystal clear water, the cleanest air. We have the best lowest number in carbon emissions,*

*which is a big standard that I noticed Obama goes with all the time, not Joe, I haven't heard Joe use the term because I'm not sure he knows what it represents or means, but I have heard Obama use it... We have done an incredible job environmentally, we have the cleanest air, the cleanest water, and the best carbon emission standards that we've seen in many, many years... And we haven't destroyed our industries.*

### **Joe Biden**

*Climate change, global warming is an existential threat to humanity. We have a moral obligation to deal with it. And we're told by all the leading scientists in the world we don't have much time, we're going to pass the point of no return within the next 8 to 10 years. Four more years of this man eliminating all the regulations that were put in by us to clean up the climate, to clean up... To limit the emissions, will put us in a position where we're going to be in real trouble... I was able to get both all the environmental organizations as well as the labor, the people worried about jobs, to support my climate plan... by the way, Wall Street firms indicated that my plan, my plan will in fact, create 18.6 million jobs, 7 million more than his. This is from Wall Street and I'll create \$1 trillion more in economic growth than his proposal does. Not on climate, just on economy.*

Every candidate expresses his vision and plans about the environment. Within de facto argumentation, we can find in this segment belittling of the opponent's achievements, dispraise of statistics, false accusation, providing evidence through numbers, blacking out of information and citing of some well-known events. Under values argumentation, there is the attempt to present the opponent as ignorant and liar and disqualify him, e.g. *'Four more years of this man... we're going to be in real trouble'*. Centrality of ego is within authority argumentation and is employed here by both candidates; e.g. *'I was able...'*, *'We have done an incredible job environmentally'*, *'I'll create \$1 trillion more in economic growth.'* Circumstantial personal attack is used here as a sub-strategy to criticize the opponent's affiliation and achievements. Abusive personal attack is clear in *'I noticed Obama goes*

*with all the time, not Joe’* where the knowledge of Biden about gas emission is belittled.

Both candidates employ S wants to be rude sub-strategy within BOR from time to time during the clarification of their plans. Give hints, be ironic are sub-strategies used within OR impoliteness strategy.

Within logos, providing a solid explanation, giving an example, using factual data and statistics, citation from experts as in ‘*we’re told by all the leading scientists in the world*’, ‘*Wall Street firms indicated that my plan...*’ under ethos, showing reputation, knowledge, credibility and care of the society are sub-strategies employed here. The use of any information that may evoke the audience’s emotions is a tactic employed here within pathos.

### ***Donald Trump***

*... His plan is an economic disaster. If you look at what he wants to do, if you look at his plan... his environmental plan, do you know who developed it? AOC plus three, they know nothing about the climate... When he says buildings, they want to take buildings down... This is the craziest plan that anybody has ever seen and this wasn’t done by smart people... They want to spend a hundred trillion dollars. That’s their real number. He’s trying to say it was six. It’s a hundred trillion dollars. They want to knock down buildings and build new buildings with little, tiny, small windows and many other things... And many other things... It is crazy... You’ll destroy our country.*

### ***Joe Biden***

*I don’t know where he comes from. I don’t know where he comes up with these numbers... A hundred trillion dollars, give me a break. This plan has been endorsed by every major, every major environmental group and every labor group, labor, because they know where the future lies... He thinks wind causes cancer, windmills. It’s the fastest growing jobs and they pay good prevailing wages, 45, 50 bucks an hour. We can grow and we can be cleaner if we go the route I’m proposing.*

To refute the opponent's argument, both candidates monkey-play with numbers, belittle the opponent's achievements and deliberately conceal information, which are sub-strategies employed within de facto argumentation. Under values argumentation, attempting to disqualify the opponent and dismantle him from the values and knowledge or present him as a liar are sub-strategies employed in this segment. There is circumstantial personal attack in *'This is the craziest plan'*, *'You'll destroy our country'*; where Biden's plan is criticized. Centrality of ego sub-strategy is also used here under authority argumentation. A focus on the negative repertoire of the opponent during his ex-position and on his inability to attain his promises is a tactic used by both candidates to refute the opponent. The repeated utterance *'and many other things'* implies a hidden agenda which is poisoning the well personal attack sub-strategy.

S wants to be rude is used within BOR and give hints and association clues, use rhetorical questions as in *'do you know who developed it?'* all within OR impoliteness strategy.

Persuasively, within logos, there is the use of factual data and statistics, providing a solid explanation and citation from experts as in *'This plan has been endorsed by every major, every major environmental group'* and the use of theoretical and abstract language. Under ethos, knowledge about business is reflected here, showing credibility as well. Within pathos, there is the use of vivid imagery, sharing of personal stories and the use of emotion-laden vocabulary.

### ***Donald Trump***

*Excuse me... We are energy independent for first time. We don't need all of these countries that we had to fight war over because we needed their energy... I know more about wind than you do. It's extremely expensive. Kills all the birds. It's very intermittent. It's got a lot of problems and they happen to make the windmills in both Germany and China and the fumes coming up, if you're a believer in carbon emission, the fumes coming up to make these*

*massive windmills is more than anything that we're talking about with natural gas, which is very clear.*

### **Joe Biden**

*Find me a scientist who says that.*

The exchange of accusation that the opponent lacks scientific knowledge is obvious here, which is a tactic under de facto argumentation; e.g. '*I know more about wind than you do*'. It is an attempt to disqualify the opponent within values argumentation. There is also a muscle show of credibility and knowledge, which is within ethos. Trump uses theoretical and abstract language and giving examples within logos, while Biden pulls the legs of the opponent through an interrogative question about a scientific proof.

For impoliteness, S wants to be rude within BOR in the utterance '*I know more about wind than you do*' and give hints, be ironic and raising a rhetorical question within OR impoliteness strategy as in '*Find me a scientist who says that.*' Under pathos, there is the use of emotion-laden expression '*Kills all the birds.*'

### **Donald Trump**

*And what about fracking?... Now we have to ask him about fracking.*

### **Joe Biden**

*I never said I oppose fracking... The fact of the matter is he's flat lying... What I will do with fracking over time is make sure that we can capture the emissions from the fracking, capture the emissions from gas. We can do that and we can do that by investing money in doing it, but it's a transition to that.*

### **Donald Trump**

*Excuse me. He was against fracking. He said it. I will show that to you tomorrow... I am against fracking...*

***Joe Biden***

*Fracking on federal land. I said, no fracking and/or oil on federal land.*

***Donald Trump***

*Would you close down the oil industry?*

***Joe Biden***

*By the way, I have a transition from the old industry, yes.*

***Donald Trump***

*Oh, that's a big statement.*

Trump tries to pull the legs of his opponent through an interrogative question 'And what about fracking?' Discourse here is focalized towards fracking (drilling deep to extract natural gas and oil) then he reinforces his argument with an incomplete statement of his opponent which is a quotation from the opponent's own words; a sub-strategy within logos. Presenting the opponent as a liar, a sub-strategy within values argumentation, is clear in the utterance 'he's flat lying' which is also an abusive personal attack by Biden.

Interruption is an obvious tactic here aiming at making the opponent lose track in defense, consequently his argument gets refuted. Interruption reflects lack of respect and makes the opponent feel insignificant; this also can be classified under centrality of ego as Trump wants to impose his own ideas and assert power and knowledge at the cost of his opponent. Be incomplete or cause ellipsis is a sub-strategy under violating the manner maxim class within OR impoliteness strategy. Biden's reply confutes his opponent as it would be a transition stage in the use of natural resources and what he said about it is a plan over time. It is also a poisoning the well personal attack as it implies that Biden has a hidden agenda behind preventing fracking.

***Joe Biden***

*I will transition. It is a big statement... Because the oil industry pollutes, significantly.*

**Donald Trump**

*Oh, I see. Okay.*

**Joe Biden**

*Well if you let me finish the statement, because it has to be replaced by renewable energy over time, over time, and I'd stopped giving to the oil industry, I'd stop giving them federal subsidies. You won't get federal subsidies to the gas, oh, excuse me to solar and wind.*

**Donald Trump**

*... We actually give it to solar and wind. That's maybe the biggest statement. In terms of business, that's the biggest statement... he is going to destroy the oil industry. Will you remember that Texas? Will you remember that Pennsylvania, Oklahoma?... Ohio.*

**Joe Biden**

*He takes everything out of context, but the point is, look, we have to move toward net zero emissions. The first place to do that by the year 2035 is in energy production, by 2050 totally.*

**Donald Trump**

*Is he going to get China to do it?*

**Joe Biden**

*No, I'm going to rejoin Paris Accord and make China abide by what they agreed to.*

The use of emotion-laden vocabulary under pathos is a tactic employed here to instigate the people against his opponent. *'he is going to destroy the oil industry. Will you remember that Texas? Will you remember that Pennsylvania, Oklahoma?... Ohio.'* False accusation is a sub-strategy within de facto argumentation. It is also a poisoning the well personal attack assuming that the opponent has a hidden agenda with China and will get personal gain out of it, which is obvious in the use of a rhetorical question in a sarcastic and foxy way *'Is he going to get China to do it?'*

Impoliteness is clear-cut here, directly and indirectly. S wants to be rude under BOR as in *'He takes everything out of context'*. Showing credibility and knowledge about business is used by both candidates within ethos. Using factual data and statistics and providing solid explanations are sub-strategies within logos employed here for persuasion.

### ***Donald Trump***

*... I'm cutting taxes, and he wants to raise everybody's taxes and he wants to put new regulations on everything. He will kill it. If he gets in, you will have a Depression, the likes of which you've never seen. Your 401(k)s will go to hell, and it'll be a very, very sad day for this country.*

### ***Joe Biden***

*I will say, I'm an American President. I represent all of you, whether you voted for me or against me, and I'm going to make sure that you're represented. I'm going to give you hope. We're going to move; we're going to choose science over fiction. We're going to choose hope over fear... what is on the ballot here is the character of this country. Decency, honor, respect. Treating people with dignity, making sure that everyone has an even chance. And I'm going to make sure you get that. You haven't been getting it the last four years.*

Trump ends with more accusations to ruin the reputation of his opponent. He tries to provide evidence through numbers and belittles the achievements of his opponent. All of these tactics are within de facto argumentation. Also, such a comparison implies an insult to the opponent. It is classified within abusive and circumstantial personal attack. At the other end of the spectrum, Biden focuses on building solidarity with the audience and gives promises of a prosperous future, which is a sub-strategy within +P. Biden ends his speech with a circumstantial personal attack *'You haven't been getting it the last four years.'* Hinting to the absence of some values such as *'Decency, honor, respect. Treating people with dignity, making sure that everyone has an even chance'* during Trump's administration. Displace H is a sub-strategy within the violation of manner maxim class; employed here within OR impoliteness

strategy. Pathos is represented here through the use of emotion-laden vocabulary. It is obvious at the end of Biden's speech that he tries to disqualify his opponent and dismantle him from the values, within values argumentation. That is a tu quoque tactic.

Trump, at the end and all the way through, focused on attacking his opponent and showing his defects in public whereas Biden seized the opportunity to build the bridges of solidarity with the public through promises and showing righteousness and credibility. This was a fundamental factor for him to win the elections.

**4.3 A Supporting Quantitative Survey**

In the following paragraphs, a word count process is conducted to explore the frequency of every single strategy employed in the selected utterances. Such a process may provide us with a clear picture about the strategies that make difference and lead to a triumphant situation.

Three timetables are shown hereunder tackling each set of strategies separately. First table displays the frequency of the argumentative strategies employed in the selected utterances. The second shows the frequency of the impoliteness strategies employed in the same and the third manifests the frequency of the persuasive strategies.

*Table 1: Frequency of the argumentative strategies*

	<b>Sub-strategy</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>De facto argumentation</b>	False accusation	<b>7</b>	<b>0.69%</b>
	Dispraise of statistics	<b>1</b>	<b>0.1%</b>
	Providing evidence through numbers	<b>19</b>	<b>1.87%</b>
	Belittling of the opponent's achievements	<b>32</b>	<b>3.15%</b>
	Monkey-playing with numbers	<b>11</b>	<b>1.08%</b>
	Magnification of statistics	<b>11</b>	<b>1.08%</b>
	Blacking out of information	<b>7</b>	<b>0.69%</b>
	Citing of well-known events	<b>18</b>	<b>1.77%</b>
	<b>Value argumentation</b>		
Impertinence of the opponent		<b>5</b>	<b>0.49%</b>
Attempting to disqualify the opponent		<b>30</b>	<b>2.95%</b>
Presenting the opponent as a liar		<b>31</b>	<b>3.05%</b>
Dismantling the opponent from values		<b>17</b>	<b>1.67%</b>

<b>Authority Argumentation</b>	<b>Sub-strategy</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
	Showing competence and credibility	<b>39</b>	<b>3.84%</b>
	Centrality of ego	<b>31</b>	<b>3.05%</b>
	Stating powerfully being a presidential candidate	<b>4</b>	<b>0.39%</b>
	Recalling symbolic figures	<b>3</b>	<b>0.29%</b>
<b>Other argumentative strategies</b>	Multiplicity of questions	<b>4</b>	<b>0.39%</b>
	Posing questions sarcastically	<b>10</b>	<b>0.98%</b>
	Pulling the legs through an interrogative question	<b>19</b>	<b>1.87%</b>
	Focalization of the discourse	<b>26</b>	<b>2.56%</b>
	Concentration on the negative repertoire of the opponent	<b>7</b>	<b>0.69%</b>
	Abusive personal attack	<b>33</b>	<b>3.25%</b>
	Circumstantial personal attack	<b>36</b>	<b>3.54%</b>
	Poisoning the well	<b>33</b>	<b>3.25%</b>
	Tu quoque	<b>17</b>	<b>1.67%</b>

*Table 2: Frequency of the impoliteness strategies*

<b>Bald On Record (BOR)</b>	<b>Sub-strategy</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
	S is powerful and does not fear H's retaliation or non-cooperation	<b>6</b>	<b>0.59%</b>
	S wants to be rude and does not care about maintaining face	<b>58</b>	<b>5.71%</b>

<b>Off Record (OR)</b>	Give hints	<b>38</b>	<b>3.74%</b>
	Give association clue	<b>22</b>	<b>2.16%</b>
	Presuppose	<b>4</b>	<b>0.39%</b>
	Understate	<b>22</b>	<b>2.16%</b>
	Overstate	<b>3</b>	<b>0.29%</b>
	Use tautologies	<b>8</b>	<b>0.78%</b>
	Use contradictions	<b>20</b>	<b>1.97%</b>
	Be ironic	<b>40</b>	<b>3.94%</b>
	Use metaphor	<b>13</b>	<b>1.28%</b>
	Use rhetorical questions	<b>16</b>	<b>1.57%</b>
	Displace H	<b>3</b>	<b>0.29%</b>
	Use ellipsis	<b>1</b>	<b>0.1%</b>

*Table 3: Frequency of the persuasive strategies*

<b>Logos</b>	<b>Sub-strategy</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
	Giving an example	<b>23</b>	<b>2.26%</b>
	Using factual data and statistics	<b>40</b>	<b>3.94%</b>
	Providing a solid explanation	<b>14</b>	<b>1.38%</b>
	Citation from experts and authorities	<b>30</b>	<b>2.95%</b>
	Quotations	<b>21</b>	<b>2.06%</b>
	Theoretical or abstract language	<b>3</b>	<b>0.29%</b>
	Denotative meaning or reasons	<b>16</b>	<b>1.57%</b>
	Literal and historical analogies	<b>9</b>	<b>0.88%</b>
	Definitions	<b>2</b>	<b>0.19%</b>

<b>Ethos</b>	<b>Sub-strategy</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
	Knowledge about business	<b>10</b>	<b>0.1%</b>
	Courage	<b>13</b>	<b>1.28%</b>
	Righteousness	<b>6</b>	<b>0.59%</b>
	Showing reputation or credibility	<b>16</b>	<b>1.57%</b>
	Showing awareness of the society	<b>33</b>	<b>3.25%</b>

<b>Pathos</b>	<b>Sub-strategy</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
	Expressive description of people, places or events	<b>19</b>	<b>1.87%</b>
	Vivid imagery	<b>2</b>	<b>0.19%</b>
	Sharing personal stories	<b>11</b>	<b>1.08%</b>
	Using emotion-laden vocabulary	<b>24</b>	<b>2.36%</b>
	Using information that will evoke emotional response of the audience	<b>18</b>	<b>1.77%</b>
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1015</b>	<b>100%</b>

The tables above included a total of 58 strategies. The total frequency of all strategies is 1015 (one thousand and fifteen). A primitive calculation operation is done here and has shown the following results. The most frequent strategy is ‘personal attack’ in its three types. This strategy was employed 102 times (33 abusive, 36 circumstantial and 33 poisoning the well) attaining a percentage of 10.05% which is the highest among the other strategies. ‘S wants to be rude’ within BOR impoliteness strategy comes next as it was employed 58 times with frequency percentage of 5.71%. After that, there are two strategies that are used 40 times. They are ‘Be ironic’ within OR impoliteness strategy and ‘using factual data and statistics’ within Logos persuasive strategy. ‘Showing competence and credibility’ sub-strategy, within authority argumentative strategy, was repeated 39 times with frequency percentage of 3.84%.

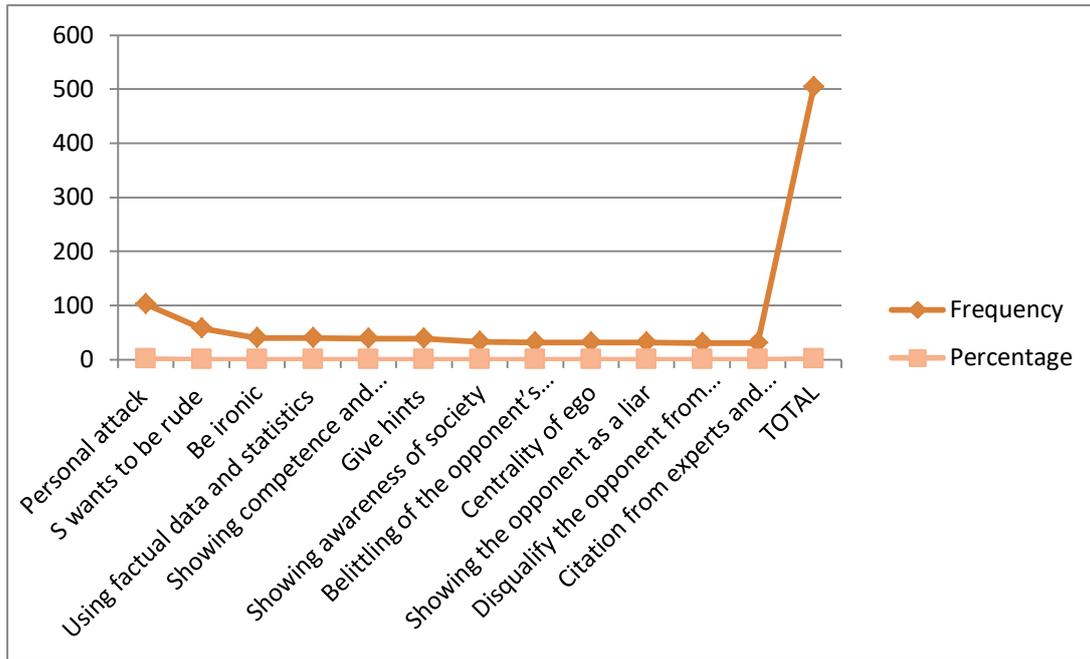
This quantitative survey proves that impoliteness strategies are making the difference and are mostly used during the presidential debates and this is a fact that supports the main topic of this study which is nastiness. Personal attack argumentative strategy has reached this high level of frequency due to the impolite language used by the candidates. Also, this result gives credit to the field of pragmatics as impoliteness phenomenon is one of its main concerns and is a cornerstone in the pragmatic studies. Therefore, critical pragmatics is more adequate in analyzing presidential debates. Moreover, the results of this survey convey that all three types of strategies are decisive in the presidential debates and in the political discourse in general.

The study will take the highly frequent strategies only, from 30 times on, and represent them on a scale to facilitate the study.

*Table 4: Strategies of high frequency*

<b>Sub-strategy</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Personal attack	<b>102</b>	<b>20.23%</b>
S wants to be rude	<b>58</b>	<b>11.55%</b>
Be ironic	<b>40</b>	<b>7.95%</b>
Using factual data and statistics	<b>40</b>	<b>7.95%</b>
Showing competence and credibility	<b>39</b>	<b>7.75%</b>
Give hints	<b>38</b>	<b>7.57%</b>
Showing awareness of society	<b>33</b>	<b>6.60%</b>
Belittling of the opponent's achievements	<b>32</b>	<b>6.00%</b>
Centrality of ego	<b>31</b>	<b>6.25%</b>
Showing the opponent as a liar	<b>31</b>	<b>6.25%</b>
Disqualify the opponent from values	<b>30</b>	<b>5.95%</b>
Citation from experts and authorities	<b>30</b>	<b>5.95%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>504</b>	<b>100%</b>

Figure 2: Distribution of the strategies of high frequency



## 4.4 Discussion of the Research Questions and the Hypotheses

### 4.4.1 Discussion of Research Questions

#### 1. What is the relationship between nastiness and contemporary politics?

Being nasty during political debates is something normal and habitual. Through provocation, pulling the legs via foxy questions or false accusations, political candidate's characters are put under the touchstone. Thus, all the arrows in his quiver appear. Moreover, this way of provocation reveals lots of facts and provides a clear vision for the audience to choose the right individual for the position of US president. So, nastiness in the political debates is a successful ideology and a fruitful phenomenon.

#### 2. What is the nature of the language of the conflict talk?

Conflict talk is an atmosphere where every single tactic is used; no matter it violates morals, etiquette or regulations. It is a setting of wild competition, where all linguistic weapons and choices are permitted. The most important

thing for the debater is to prove his own argumentations and refute the opponent's at any cost.

### *3. What are the patterns of nasty language used in the presidential debates?*

Nastiness is expressed directly and indirectly in conflict talk. Abusive personal attack is one argumentative tactic the purpose of which is to provoke the opponent and pull his legs to a muddy area where all his defects appear in public. There are several patterns to show badmouthing. It can be done explicitly and implicitly. Describing the opponent as being silly, ignorant, incompetent, liar or any other negative description can be done in a direct way, e.g. *he is a liar, do we have any idea what this clown is doing?, this man doesn't know what he's talking about, keep yapping, man, he was way behind us, etc.* badmouthing can be done indirectly through poisoning the well personal attack by hinting that the opponent has a hidden agenda or aiming at personal gain; or through circumstantial personal attack where the opponent's party, relatives, affiliations or achievements are criticized; or through displacing him, i.e. talking about something else while the talk is in fact intended to the opponent. Also, trying to connect the opponent to some well-known figures such as Bernie Sanders, Pelosi or some foe countries like Russia or North Korea, this is a hint to a hidden agenda.

### *4. How is power manifested via nasty language?*

Power is manifested through language in using the authority argumentation and centrality of ego. It is manifested by stating powerfully being a presidential candidate and talking proudly about personal and administrative achievements. Furthermore, it is manifested via the use of BOR impoliteness strategy where S wants to be rude and does not care about maintaining face and where he shows his being powerful and does not fear retaliation from H.

5. *What are the persuasive strategies employed during the presidential debates?*

Several strategies were employed by the candidates to attain persuasion of the audience. They are as follows; giving examples, using factual data and statistics, providing a solid explanation, citation from experts or authorities, quotation, theoretical or abstract language, denotative meanings or reasons, literal and historical analogies and definitions. All the above-mentioned tactics are within logos strategy. Under ethos, there are knowledge about business, physical appearance, showing courage, righteousness, reputation, credibility and awareness of the society. Within pathos, there are the tactics mentioned in the previous question to stir or evoke the audience's emotions.

6. *What are the main argumentations used during conflict talk?*

Several types of argumentation are used during conflict talk. (1) De facto argumentation including the sub-strategies of false accusation, dispraise of statistics, providing evidence through numbers, magnification of statistics, blacking out of information, belittling of the opponent's achievements, monkey-playing with numbers, deliberate concealment of information and citing of some well-known events. (2) Value argumentation which encompasses sub-strategies such as impertinence of the opponent, attempting to disqualify and dismantle him from values or presenting him as a liar. (3) Authority argumentation which involves showing competence and credibility, centrality of ego, stating very clearly and powerfully his being a presidential candidate and recalling of symbolic figures, e.g. Abraham Lincoln. (4) The multiplicity of questions to confuse the opponent and let him lose track of his ideas. (5) Posing questions sarcastically to provoke the opponent. (6) Focalization of the discourse towards certain topics, sensitive to the opponent and may embarrass him. (7) Personal

attack in its different types; abusive, circumstantial and poisoning the well. (8) Tu quoque tactic which implies ‘you are no better’ as a reply to any incitement.

*7. To what extent personal attack argumentation is necessary in the presidential debates?*

In the personal attack argumentation, the arguer himself is criticized rather than his argument. The opponent’s personal character, circumstances or trustworthiness are under attack. It is a tactic to distort the opponent’s reputation which is used to provoke him and stir his rage after the feel of insult. The reactions differ from one person to another. Some people choose to confront through the exchange of insult and humiliation and those would be easy to fall in the trap and commit a mistake during anger which is in favor of the one who starts insulting. So, it is a way to pull the legs of the arguer into a swamp, where logic and self-esteem are absent.

The study shows that it is pivotal and decisive to have personal attack argumentation in its different types; abusive, circumstantial and poisoning the well to win conflict talk. The most important thing for a debater is to show the defects of his opponent in public. Belittling of his character, affiliations and achievements along with presenting him as a liar, who has a hidden agenda or who is after personal gain are main targets in presidential debates; especially that such a confrontation would decide who is the next US president.

*8. What impoliteness strategies used in the presidential debates?*

There is BOR strategy, within which the sub-strategy of ‘S wants to be rude’, where badmouthing is practiced directly. Another sub-strategy within BOR is ‘S is powerful and does not fear retaliation or non-cooperation of the opponent.’ Most importantly, OR strategy which is highly connected to pragmatics, where hidden meanings and intentions are expressed indirectly. OR includes sub-

strategies like give hint, give association clues, displace H, be ironic, use metaphor and rhetorical questions, use contradictions and use tautologies.

### 4.4.2 Discussion of the Hypotheses

*1. Nastiness is a successful ideology that reinforces linguistic power of the US president post candidates.*

The data analysis proved this hypothesis as a great extent of the debates' segments involved the employment of personal attack in its different types; abusive, circumstantial and poisoning the well. It is not the time of highly elegant style; it is a conflict that requires a variety of powerful linguistic weapons. The use of badmouthing presents the defects of the opponent; humiliate him to pull his legs and to enrage him to fall into mistakes or positions of embarrassment. When the opponent's argumentations are refuted and his ideas are interrupted and confused with the feeling of insult, he is put on the touchstone and would be easy to fall, which gives more power to the badmouther as nastiness reinforces the latter's linguistic power. In many occasions, we noted Biden being first blood in the use of nasty expressions because he knows his opponent's nature very well and believes that attack is the best way for defense.

*2. Persuasion of the presidential debates audience can be achieved via nasty language.*

This hypothesis is proved as the majority of the utterances involved foxy questions or wicked hints along with nasty words; putting aside all the regulations of etiquette and polite style. Badmouthing atmosphere predominated most of the time of the debates and it was successful for candidates and the audience as well. Such an atmosphere reflects the actual nature and attitudes of the candidates in public and provides an amiable opportunity for the audience to

evaluate the candidates through the information they get about them and through the candidate's responses and reactions to the accusations and humiliations. Through nastiness, the argumentations of the opponent are weakened or refuted if he wasn't able to find access to slip away the situation.

Nasty language influences the audience from the three angles of persuasion; the logical presentation of the candidate's argumentations, the character of the candidate and the raising up or falling down of the audience's emotions. Providing factual data and statistics in a foxy way, giving examples and citations from experts to attack and refute the opponent and the use of abstract and theoretical language are sub-strategies within *logos*. All of which can be monkey-played with and presented through direct badmouthing or indirectly through giving hints and association clues for the sake of opponent's innuendo. Nasty language proves more effective within *ethos* persuasive strategy. When the opponent's knowledge, righteousness, reputation, credibility or awareness of the society is criticized, the only way to do so is by badmouthing. Within *pathos*, nasty language has its role in the wicked sharing of personal stories or information that may evoke the emotions of the audience. So, the study proves this hypothesis.

### *3. The excessive use of nastiness during presidential debates leads to failure.*

Nastiness is used by both candidates in almost equal amounts. However, Biden was first blood in many occasions. But at the end he won the elections. So, this hypothesis is refuted. It appears that excessive use of nasty language provides more power for the badmouther and might be considered a pivotal factor in triumphing conflict talk.

4. *Criticizing others publicly, humiliating them with false charges and disinformation are strategies to manifest power.*

Being powerful is a major characteristic for the leader of a strong nation like the USA. Any candidate would manifest his power and control to be approved by the audience. Some strategies and tactics need to be employed to manifest power. Criticizing opponents and humiliating them publicly is one of these strategies; classified within abusive personal attack argumentative strategies. So, this hypothesis is proved in the study.

5. *Personal attack argumentation is excessively used in the American presidential debates.*

Personal attack argumentation appears everywhere in the debates and considered one of the pillars to attain triumph in conflict talk. One can generalize that there is not any segment of the debate that is void of one or more types of personal attack. Abusive personal attack strategy is employed in many cases where the arguer's character, morals or truthfulness are criticized; in circumstantial personal attack argumentation, his actions, affiliations or previous commitments are criticized; whereas in poisoning the well it is suggested that the opponent has a hidden agenda or is holding his argument for personal gain. For sure, personal attack argumentation is predominating in conflict talk. So, the study proves this hypothesis as well.

6. *Bald on record (BOR) impoliteness strategy is mostly used in the American political debates.*

The nature and settings of political debates is that it is telecasted live, so it won't be strange that we would have lots of direct impolite sub-strategies or utterances employed during such a confrontation. Bald on record (BOR) is a prevailing strategy in political debates; specifically the use of S wants to be rude

sub-strategy. Every segment in the debates is hardly lacks BOR impoliteness strategy.

*7. Ethos is the most prevailing persuasive strategy during the American presidential debates.*

Showing knowledge about business, physical appearance, courage, righteousness, reputation, credibility or awareness of the society are predominating sub-strategies within ethos. Lots of utterances either stress that the arguer has the above mentioned qualities or present the opponent as lacking those features. Therefore, the study proves this hypothesis.

*8. Logos is the least strategy used for persuasion in political debates.*

This hypothesis is refuted as many sub-strategies under logos are used during the debates. Giving examples, using factual data and statistics, providing solid explanations, citation from experts, authorities and from the talk of the opponent himself, quotations, theoretical and abstract language, denotative meanings and reasons, literary and historical analogies are sub-strategies within logos that are plentifully employed during the debates.

### 5.1 Conclusions

The critique represented by tracing the strategies of argumentation, impoliteness and persuasion plus the quantitative survey that supports the study (see page 147) have shown a number of conclusions and asserted the importance of the impoliteness strategies in making the personal attack argument successful and workable.

The study concludes first that the debaters need to use nasty utterances to defend their arguments and to present the opponent as a liar, incompetent or unreliable. Using a nasty way in posing interrogative questions to embarrass the opponent is one tactic to refute his argumentation. It is very important to get weaponized with nastiness during conflict talk and political debates. It is the weapon that would reveal the defects of the opponent and would direct a coup de grace to him. Charges of having a hidden agenda or of holding a certain argumentation for personal gain are fundamental to be manifested through poisoning the well personal attack strategy.

Second, distorting the reputation of the opponent's party, affiliation, comrades, family members and previous achievements represents a circumstantial personal attack, which is an influential sub-strategy within personal attack. The frequency of which is 36 times, representing a percentage of 3.54% as the supporting quantitative survey has shown.

Third, all tactics, linguistic weapons and devices are allowed in conflict talk. The main target is to win the debate; it is a matter of proving character and reputation and distorting or dirtying the opponent's character, righteousness, reputation, credibility and awareness of the society.

Fourth, when a debater is in a position where s/he defends his or her arguments, a tu quoque tactic always represents a successful access and a widely-employed tactic to direct a reflexive strike to the opponent; expressing

that he is no better and his achievements proved to be worse during his administration.

Fifth, replying to a question with a multiplicity of questions is another tactic to flee and evade embarrassing questions.

Sixth, creating chaos and frequent interruptions plays a great role in confusing and provoking the opponent. He would lose track of his ideas and would not be able to complete any information that would reinforce his arguments. Lack of respect and self-centeredness are reflected via interruptions. The interrupted debater would feel insignificant or unimportant. Interrupters want priority to their questions or say over others' thoughts or opinions. In this way they assert power and knowledge at the cost of their opponents.

Seventh, value argumentation proved to be most effective. It is the argumentation through which the opponent is dismantled of values and is disqualified (frequency 30) and presented as a liar (frequency 31). Besides, the focalization of discourse towards certain topics that would provoke the opponent and stir the audience's emotions is another tactic to refute the opponent (frequency 26).

Eighth, the use of direct and indirect tactics of impoliteness proved to be effective and decisive in making the personal attack strategy work successfully and attain its targets. Impoliteness strategies such as BOR represented by S wants to be rude sub-strategy (frequency 58) and OR represented by be ironic (frequency 40), give hints (frequency 36), the use of metaphor or rhetorical questions, displace H, the use of contradictions, etc. reinforce all types of personal attack strategies; the abusive, circumstantial and poisoning the well.

Ninth, despite the fact that all the three types of strategies applied in this study (argumentative, impolite and persuasive) are integral, it can be added that one of the conclusions of this study is that there is a firm link between personal

attack argumentative strategy and the use of BOR and OR impoliteness strategies.

The study finally concludes that persuasion of the audience that the debater is the person who has the characteristics they require for a president; and his opponent lacks these characteristics, is the principal objective of the conflict talk. The efficient employment of logos, ethos, and pathos strategies grants the accomplishment of this objective.

Ethos, in particular, is vital as it includes sub-strategies such as knowledge about business, courage, righteousness, showing reputation or credibility (frequency 39) and showing awareness of the society (frequency 33). Notwithstanding, the use of emotion-laden vocabulary (frequency 24) and the use of information that may evoke the audience's emotions sub-strategies within pathos are very important in attaining persuasion of the audience.

### **5.2 Recommendations**

The study has reached an outcome where presidential debates provide the audience with a clear-cut picture or view of the presidential candidates if the debates were not moderated by a third party. So, it is recommended that the presidential debates be in the form of open discussions between the two candidates directly without intervention by any other person. In this way, everything would be presented naturally; let's have quarrels, direct threats, swears, badmouthing, foxy questions, ironic style, rhetorical questions, false accusations, loud voices, hints and association clues, monkey-playing with numbers and statistics, blacking out of information, deliberate concealment of data, chaos, etc. Let the inborn character of every candidate appears ostensibly in front of the whole world. Such an atmosphere would let everyone be

acquainted thoroughly and duly to the real characters of the candidates. So, it is an invitation to skip down the presence of a moderator to any presidential debate. Allowing the use of all linguistic weapons openly and without limits would reveal the genuine character of the presidential candidates. Consequently, it would be an easy task for the audience to take a decision who is best. Only in hectic situations, the pure nature of a human being appears.

### 5.3 Suggestions

Without doubt that physical appearance is important during conflict talk, specifically in terms of ethos persuasive strategy. For future studies to put much focus on the physical appearance of the candidates during conflict talk is pivotal in having a clear vision about any presidential candidates. So, it is suggested for similar studies to be backed up with a subsidiary study of the physical appearance of the two candidates. Moreover, this leads us to a more comprehensive study of the paralinguistic features manifested during conflict talk, where the focus is on some phenomena as eye gaze, body postures and movements, facial expressions, stress and intonation; the study of which would provide a clearer picture and an integrated view about any candidate.

Furthermore, tracing pauses and stops or any other tactics aiming at gaining more time to find an access to flee or avoid an embarrassing question or disgraceful information is necessary. It is suggested that such pauses and stops are to be counted in a subsidiary quantitative study and be considered as weakness points against the candidate.

Finally, it is suggested to follow the steps of this study in the analysis of oratories, speeches or debates in the political context as tracing the strategies of argumentation, impoliteness and persuasion would provide a clear perspective to the extent of nastiness in the language they use.

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## **Appendix I: First Debate**

*This is the full transcript from Tuesday night's first presidential debate between Republican President Donald Trump and Democrat Joe Biden. The debate was moderated by Fox News host Chris Wallace. Minutes and seconds are marked at various points for reference*

00:00 CHRIS WALLACE

The first of the 2020 presidential debates between President Donald J. Trump and former Vice President Joe Biden. This debate is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates. The Commission has designed the format: six, roughly 15 minute segments, with two minute answers and each candidate to the first question. Then open discussion for the rest of each segment. Both campaigns have agreed to these rules. For the record, I decided the topics, and the questions in each topic. I can assure you, none of the questions has been shared with the commission, or the two candidates. This debate is being conducted under health and safety protocols designed by the Cleveland Clinic, which is doing as a health security adviser to the commission for all four debates. As a precaution both campaigns have agreed that candidates will not shake hands at the beginning of tonight's debate. The audience here in the hall has pledged to remain silent: no cheers, no boo's, or other interruptions so we, and more importantly you, can focus on what the candidates have to say. No noise, except right now, as we welcome the Republican nominee, President Trump, and the Democratic nominee, Vice President Biden.

01:40 WALLACE

Gentlemen, a lot of people have been waiting for this night, so let's get going. Our first subject is the Supreme Court. President Trump you nominated Amy Coney Barrett over the weekend to succeed the late, Ruth Bader Ginsburg on the court. You say the Constitution is clear about your obligation and the Senate's to consider a nominee the court, Vice President Biden, you say that this is an effort by the president and Republicans to jam through and an appointment and what you call an 'abuse of power.' My first question to both of you tonight: Why are you right in the argument you make, and your opponent wrong and where do you think a Justice Barrett would take the court. President Trump, in this first segment you go first. Two minutes.

2:29 PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP

Thank you very much, Chris, I will tell you very simply. We won the election, elections have consequences. We have the Senate, we have the White House, and we have a phenomenal nominee, respected by all top, top academic -- good in every way, good in every way. In fact, some of her biggest endorsers are very liberal people from Notre Dame and other places so I think she's going to be fantastic. We have plenty of time. Even if we did it after the election itself, I have a lot of time after the election, as you know. So I think that she will be outstanding, she's going to be as good as anybody that has served on that court. We really feel that -- we have

a professor at Notre Dame, highly respected by all, says she's the single greatest student he's ever had. He's been a professor for a long time in a great school. And we just, we won the election, and therefore we have the right to choose her and very few people knowingly would say otherwise -- and by the way the Democrats, they wouldn't even think about that, doing it. If they had -- the only difference is they'd try and do it faster. There's no way they would give it up. They had Merrick Garland, but the problem is they didn't have the elections so they were stopped, and probably that would happen in reversal so definitely would happen reverse. So we won the election and we have the right to do it.

3:50 WALLACE

President Trump, Thank you. Same question to your Vice President Biden you have two minutes.

3:56 JOE BIDEN

First of all, thank you for doing this and looking forward to this, Mr. President. I -- the American people have a right to have a say to who the Supreme Court nominee is, and that say occurs when they vote for United States senators and when they vote for the President of the United States. They're not going to get that chance now because we're in the middle of an election already -- the election has already started. Tens of thousands of people have already voted. And so the thing that should happen is we should wait, we should wait and see what the outcome of this election is, because that's the only way the American people get to express their view, is by who they elect as president who they elect as vice president. Now, what's at stake here is, the President's made it clear, he wants to get rid of the Affordable Care Act. He's been running on that. He ran on that and he's been governing on that. He's in the Supreme Court right now trying to get rid of the Affordable Care Act, which will strip 20 million people from having insurance, health insurance, now, if they -- if it goes into court and, and the justice and I have nothing -- I'm not opposed to the justice, she seems like a very fine person. But she's written before she went to the bench, which is her right, that she thinks that the Affordable Care Act is not constitutional. The other thing is on the court -- if it's struck down, what happens? Women's rights are fundamentally changed. Once again, a woman could be held -- make more money because she has a pre-existing condition of pregnancy. We're able to, they're able to charge women more for the same exact procedure a man gets, and that ended when we, in fact, passed the Affordable Care Act. And there's 100 million people who have pre-existing conditions, and they'll be taken away as well. Those pre-existing conditions, insurance companies are going to love this. And so it's just not appropriate to do this before this election. If he wins the election and the senate is Democrat or Republican, then he goes forward; if not, we should wait until February.

6:01 TRUMP

There aren't 100 million people with pre-existing conditions. As far as the say is concerned, people already had their say. They -- okay, Justice Ginsburg said -- very powerfully, very strongly -- at some point, 10 years ago or so, she said a president and the Senate is elected for a period of time, but a president's elected for four years. We're not elected for three years -- I'm not elected for three years. So we have the Senate, we have a president --

BIDEN

Who's elected at the next election.

TRUMP

-- During that period of time, we have an opening. I'm not elected for three years; I'm elected for four years. --

BIDEN

The election's already started.

06:38 TRUMP

-- Joe. The hundred million people is totally wrong. I don't know where you got that number. The bigger problem that you have is that you're going to extinguish 180 million people with their private health care --

BIDEN

That's simply not true.

TRUMP

Well, you said

WALLACE

Gentleman, we're now into open discussion, open discussion. Yes, I agree. Vice President.

7:00 BIDEN

Number one. He knows that -- what I proposed. What I proposed is that we expand Obamacare, and we increase it, we do not wipe any -- and one of the big debates we had with 23 of my colleagues trying to win the nomination that I won, were saying that Biden wanted to allow people have private insurance still, they can they do, they will under my proposal.

7:25 TRUMP

Not what you said. That is not what you said. Your party wants to go Socialist. They're gonna dominate you, Joe, you know that.

7:36 BIDEN

I am the Democratic Party right now. The platform of the Democratic Party is what, I, in fact, approved of. What I approved of. Now here's the deal. The deal is that this is going to wipe out pre-existing condition -- by the way, the 20, the 200 million, the 200,000 people that have died on his watch. How many of those have survived? Over 7 million people have contracted COVID. What does it mean for them going forward if you strike down the Affordable Care Act?

8:05 TRUMP

Joe, you had 308,000 military people die because you couldn't provide them proper health care in the military, so don't tell me about this

BIDEN

I'm happy to talk about this

8:15 TRUMP

And if you were here, it wouldn't be 200, it would be 2 million people, because you were very late on the draw. You didn't want me to ban China, which was heavily infected. You didn't want me to ban

8:24 WALLACE

All right we're gonna jump in right now. Mr. President. Mr. President, there's a moderator. We are going to talk about COVID in the next segment, but go ahead.

8:36 BIDEN

Well, let me finish. The point is that the President also is opposed to Roe v Wade. That's on the ballot as well, in the court in the court. And so that's also at stake, right now.

8:52 TRUMP

You don't know that's on the ballot. Why is it on the ballot, Why is it on the ballot. It's not on the ballot

BIDEN

It's on the ballot in the court

TRUMP

I don't think so. There's nothing happening there. You don't know her view on Roe v Wade. All right.

BIDEN

I don't know --

9:06 WALLACE

All right, all right, let's talk here. We got a lot to unpack here, gentlemen, and we've got a lot of time. On health care. And with that, we'll come back to Roe v Wade. All right, Mr President, the Supreme Court will hear a case, a week after the election, in which the Trump administration, along with 18 state attorneys general are seeking to overturn Obamacare, to end Obamacare. You have sent the last --

TRUMP

Because I want to give good healthcare. Good healthcare.

WALLACE

If I may ask that question, sir. Over the last four years you have promised to repeal and replace Obamacare but you have never in these four years, come up with a plan, a comprehensive plan, to replace Obamacare.

09:51 TRUMP

Yes I have. Of course I have. I'll get rid of the individual mandate which was added. That is absolutely a big thing, that was the worst part of Obamacare. The worst part of Obamacare. Well, I'll ask Joe. The individual mandate was the most unpopular aspect of Obamacare. I got rid of it.

10:12 WALLACE

I am the moderator in this debate. And I would like you to let me ask my question and then you can answer.

10:18

Go ahead.

WALLACE

You, in the course of these four years, have never come up with a comprehensive plan to replace Obamacare, and just this last Thursday, you signed a largely symbolic executive order to protect

people with pre-existing conditions, five days before this debate. So my question sir is, what is the Trump healthcare plan.

TRUMP

Well, first of all, I guess I'm debating you not him, but that's okay, I'm not surprised. Let me just tell you something. That has nothing symbolic. I'm cutting drug prices, I'm going with favored nations which no president has encouraged to do because you're going against big pharma. Drug prices will be coming down, 80 or 90%. You could have done it during your 47 year period in government but you didn't do it, nobody's done it. So we're cutting health care, all of the things that we've done -- insulin. I'll give an example: insulin. It's going to, it was destroying families -- destroyed people, the cost -- 'I'm getting it for so cheap; it's like water.' You want to know the truth, so cheap. Take a look at all of the drugs that --- what we're doing, prescription drug prices, we're going to allow our governors now to go to other countries to buy drugs because when they make just a tiny fraction -- this is big stuff.

11:31 WALLACE

Mr. President, you'll be happy. I'm about to pick up on one of your points to ask the Vice President, which is he points out that you would like to add a public option to Obamacare, and the argument that he makes and other Republicans make, is that that is going to end private insurance.

BIDEN

It is not.

WALLACE

I am asking the question. That it will, it will end private insurance and create a government takeover of health care.

11:37 BIDEN

It does not. It's only for those people who are so poor they qualify for Medicaid, they can get that free. In most states, except governors who want to deny people are poor, Medicaid. Anyone who qualifies for Medicare -- excuse me, Medicaid -- would automatically be enrolled in the public option. The vast majority of the American people would still not be in that option. Number one --

12:22 TRUMP

So you agree with Bernie Sanders, who's left on the manifesto we call it, that gives you socialized medicine

12:31 BIDEN

Look. The fact of the matter is, I beat Bernie Sanders --

12:42 TRUMP

You got very lucky.

12:45 BIDEN

I got very lucky, I'm going to get very lucky tonight as well. And tonight I'm going to -- here's the deal, here's the deal. The fact is that everything he's saying so far it's simply a lie. I'm not here to call out his lies; everybody knows he's a liar. I want to make sure -- I want to make the President --

WALLACE

Can you let him finish sir.

BIDEN

He doesn't know how to do that.

BIDEN

There is no manifesto --

13:25 TRUMP

You just lost the left. You just lost the left. You agreed with Bernie Sanders on a plan.

13:31 BIDEN

Folks, do we have any idea what this clown is doing?

13:36 BIDEN

Let me tell you what. He is not for any help for people needing health care because he in fact already cost 10 million people their health care that they had from their employers, because of his recession, number one. Number two, there are 20 million people getting health care through Obamacare now he wants to take it away. He won't ever look in your eye and say that's what he wants to do. Take it away,

TRUMP

No, I want to give them better health care at a much much lower price because he has no, he doesn't know how to read fixed he has never already played it to an extent he has now.

14:16 WALLACE

I know you'll realize you're both speaking at the same time. Let the President's -- go ahead sir.

14:22 TRUMP

Obamacare is no good. We made it better and I had a choice to make very early on. We took away the individual mandate. We guaranteed pre existing conditions but took away the individual mandate. Listen, this is the way it is. And that destroyed, that they shouldn't even call it Obamacare. But I had a choice to make. Do I let my people run it really well, or badly. If I run it badly they'll probably blame him, but they'll blame me, but more importantly I want to help people. Okay, I said you got to run it so well. That's me, and I just had a meeting with them; they said, 'The problem is, no matter how well you run Obamacare, it's a disaster. It's too expensive, premiums are too high, that it doesn't work,' I suppose, people -- yes we do want to get rid of it. I want to get rid of something.

15:07 WALLACE

I have to give you roughly equal time, please let the vice president talk.

15:12 BIDEN

He has no plan for healthcare. He sends out wishful thinking, he has executive orders that have no power, he hasn't lowered drug costs for anybody, he's been promising a health care plan since he got elected. He has none. Like almost everything else he talks about, he does not have a plan. He doesn't have a plan. And the fact is, this man doesn't know what he's talking about.

WALLACE

One final question for you, Mr. Vice President, if Senate Republicans -- we were originally talking about the Supreme Court here -- if Senate Republicans, go ahead and confirm justice Barrett, there has been talk about ending the filibuster, or even packing the court, adding to the nine justices there. You call this a distraction by the president, but in fact it wasn't brought up by the President, it was brought up by some of your Democratic colleagues in Congress. So my question to you as you have refused in the past to talk about it: Are you willing to tell the American people tonight, whether or not you will support either ending the filibuster or packing the court.

16:16 BIDEN

Whatever position I take on that, that'll become the issue -- the issue is, the American people should speak. You should go out and vote. We're in voting now, vote and let your senators know how strongly you feel. Vote now, in fact let people know it is your senators. I'm not going to answer the question.

TRUMP

Why won't you answer the question -- radical left -- well, listen.

BIDEN

Would you shut up, man.

TRUMP

Who is on your list?

16:49 WALLACE

We have ended this segment. We're going to move on to the second segment.

16:52 BIDEN

That was a really productive segment, wasn't it.

16:57 BIDEN

Keep yapping, man.

TRUMP

The people understand, Joe. In 47 years, you've done nothing then just.

WALLACE

Alright. The second subject is a covid-19, which is an awfully serious subject, so let's try to be -- A million cases of coronavirus in the United States and more than 200,000 people have died. Even after we produce a vaccine, experts say that it could be months or even years before we come back toward anything approaching normal. My question for both of you is based on what you have said and done so far and what you have said you would do starting in 2021, why should the American people trust you more than your opponent to deal with this public health crisis going forward. In this case, the question goes to you first. Sir, two minutes uninterrupted.

17:54 BIDEN

Look, 200,000 dead. You said over 7 million infected in the United States. We in fact have 5% or 4% of the world's population, 20% of the deaths. 40,000 people a day are contracting COVID. In addition to that, about between 750 and 1000 people, they're dying. When he was presented with that number he said 'it is what it is' -- what it is what it is -- because you are who you are. That's why it is. The president has no plan. He hasn't laid out anything. He knew all the way back in February how serious this crisis was. He knew it was a deadly disease. What did he do? He's

on tape as acknowledging he knew. He said he didn't tell us or give people a warning of it, because he didn't want to panic the American people. You don't panic, he panicked. In addition to that, what did he do? He went in and he, we were insisting that the Chinese, the people we had on the ground in China should be able to go to watch, and determine for themselves, how dangerous this was. He did not even ask Xi to do that. He told us what a great job Xi was doing. He said we owe him a debt of gratitude for being so transparent with us. What did he do then? He then he waited and waited and waited. He still doesn't have a plan. I laid out or I could just watch, exactly what we should be doing. And I laid out again in July, what we should be doing. We should be providing all the protective gear plus, we should be providing the money the House has passed in order to be able to go out and get people to help they need to keep their businesses, open, open schools that cost a lot of money. You should get out of your bunker and get out of the sand trap, get people the help they need to keep their businesses, open, open schools that cost a lot of money. You should get out of your bunker and get out of the car, and in your golf course the golf course and going oval office

19:54 TRUMP

The country would have been left wide open, Millions of people would have died, not 200,000. And one person is too much -- it's China's fault, it should have never happened. They stopped it from going in, but it was China's fault, by the way when you talk about numbers you know how many people died in Japan. How many people died in Russia. How many people died in India. They don't exactly give you a straight count, just so you understand. But if you look at what we've done. I closed it and you said he's xenophobic, he's a racist and xenophobic because you didn't close in our country. You didn't think we should have closed our country because you thought it was too -- it was terrible. You wouldn't have closed it for another two months. By my doing it early -- in fact Dr. Fauci said President Trump saved thousands of lives. Many of your Democrat governors said President Trump did a phenomenal job. We worked with the governors. Oh, really, go take a look. The governor said I did a phenomenal job, most of them said that they attract people that would not be necessarily on my side, said that President Trump's a phenomenal job. We did. We got the gowns, we got the masks, we made the ventilators -- you wouldn't have made ventilators -- and now we're weeks away from a vaccine. We're doing therapeutics already, fewer people are dying when they get sick, far fewer people are dying. We've done a great job. The only thing I haven't done a good job, and that's because of the fake news, no matter what you say to them, they give you a bad press on, it's just fake news. They give you good press, they give me bad press, because that's the way it is, unfortunately. I don't care. I've gotten used to it. But I'll tell you, Joe, you could never have done the job that we did, you don't have it in your blood. You could have never done that yet.

21:30 BIDEN

I know how to do the job. I know how to get the job done.

TRUMP

Well you didn't do very well in swine flu. H1N1. A disaster.

21:38 BIDEN

14,000 people died, not 200,000. There was no economic recession. We didn't shut down the economy. This is his economy, it's been shut down. The reason it's shut down is because -- look you folks at home. How many of you got up this morning and had an empty chair at the kitchen table because someone died at COVID. How many of you are in a situation where you lost your mom or dad and you couldn't even speak to the nurse holding the phone up so you could in fact say goodbye. By the way, his own CDC director says, we could lose as many as another 200,000 people between now and the end of the year, and he held up he said, if we just wear a mask we can save half those numbers -- just just a mask. And by the way, in terms of the, the whole notion of a vaccine. We prefer a a vaccine, but I don't trust him at all, and neither do you, I know you don't. What we trust is a scientist.

TRUMP

You don't trust Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer?

22:44 WALLACE

And let me, let me move on to questions about the future, because you both have touched on one of the -- two of the questions I'm going to ask. Focusing on the future first, President Trump, you have repeatedly either contradicted or been at odds with some of your government's top scientists. The week before last, the head of the Centers for Disease Control, Dr. Redfield, said it would be summer before the vaccine would become generally available to the public. You said that he was confused and mistaken. Those are your two words. But Dr. Slaoui, the head of your operation warp speed, has said exactly the same thing. Are they both wrong?

23:24 TRUMP

Well I've spoken to the companies, and we can have it a lot sooner. It's a very political thing because people like this would rather make it political and save less. It is a very political thing I've spoken to Pfizer, I've spoken to all of the people that you have to speak to -- we have great -- Moderna, Johnson and Johnson, and others. They can go faster than that by lot. It can become very political, because the left or I don't know --

WALLACE

Head of your operation warp speed, Dr. Slaoui --

TRUMP

I disagree with him. No, I disagree with both of them. And he didn't say that. He said it could be there but it could also be -- I had him in my office two days ago.

23:58 WALLACE

He talked about the summer, sir, before -- it's generally available -- .

TRUMP

He said it's a possibility that we'll have the answer before November 1. It could also be after that. We're gonna deliver it right away. We have the military all set up -- logistically, they're all set up. We have our military that delivers soldiers, and they could do 200,000 a day. They're going to be --

BIDEN

This is the same man who told you--

TRUMP

It's all set up.

BIDEN

He said this would be gone away. Whether it'd be gone -- miraculously, like a miracle. By the way, maybe you could inject some bleach in your arm and that would take care of it.

24:32 TRUMP

That was said sarcastically, you know that. That was said sarcastically.

BIDEN

And so here's the deal. This man is talking about a vaccine. Every serious, every serious company is talking about, maybe having the vaccine done by the end of the year, but the distribution of that vaccine will not occur until sometime beginning or the middle of next year to get it out. If we get the vaccine. And pray to god we will. Pray god we will.

24:56 WALLACE

Mr. Vice President, I want to pick up one of the -- pick up on this question though. You say the public can trust the scientists, but they can't trust President Trump. In fact, you said that again tonight. Your running mate, Senator Harris, goes further, saying that public health experts "will be muzzled, will be suppressed. Given the fact that polls already show that people are concerned

about the vaccine and are reluctant to take it, are you and your running mate Senator Harris contributing to that fear?

25:26 BIDEN

No more than the question you just asked. You pointed it out. He puts pressure and disagrees with his own scientists. Well, no, no, you can trust the scientists. She didn't say that.

WALLACE

She said, the public experts, quote, "will be muzzled, will be suppressed."

TRUMP

She did say that.

BIDEN

Well, that's what he's going to try to do, but there's millions of scientists -- there's thousands of scientists out there, like here at this great hospital, that don't work for him. Their job doesn't depend on him. That's not -- they're the people, and by the way --

TRUMP

I spoke to the scientists that are in charge. They will have the vaccine very soon.

BIDEN

Do you believe for a moment what he's telling you, in light of all the lies he's told you about the whole issue of COVID. He still hasn't even acknowledged that he knew this was happening, knew how dangerous it was going to be back in February, and he didn't even tell you. He's on record saying that he panicked, or he just looked at the stock market -- one of the two -- because guess what: a lot of people died, and a lot more are going to die unless he gets a lot smarter.

26:35 TRUMP

Did you use the word smart? So you said you went to Delaware State, but you forgot the name of your college. You didn't go to Delaware State. You graduated, either the lowest or almost the lowest in your class. Don't ever use the word smart with me, don't ever use that word.

BIDEN

Oh, give me a break.

TRUMP

Because you know what, there's nothing smart about you, Joe. 47 years, you've done nothing.

BIDEN

Well, let's have this debate. You would've had --

TRUMP

Let me just tell you something. If you would have had the charge of what I was put through -- I had to close the greatest economy in the history of our country. And by the way, now it's being built again --

WALLACE

We'll talk about the economy in the next segment, sir.

TRUMP

It's going up fast --

WALLACE

Okay. When it comes to how the virus has been handled, so far, the two of you have taken very different approaches, and this is going to affect how the virus is handled going forward, by whichever of you ends up becoming the next president. I want to quickly go through several of those reopenings, Vice President Biden, you have been much more reluctant than President Trump about reopening the economy and school. Why, sir?

BIDEN

Because he doesn't have a plan. If I were running, I'd know what the plan is. You've got to provide these businesses the ability to have the money to be able to reopen with a PPE, as well as with sanitation they need. You have to provide --

TRUMP

Tell that to Nancy Pelosi.

27:51 BIDEN

Will he just shush for a minute.

TRUMP

Tell it to Nancy Pelosi. And Schumer.

27:59 BIDEN

Nancy Pelosi and Schumer -- they have a plan. He won't even meet with them. The Republicans won't meet with them in the Senate. But he sits in his golf course -- I mean, literally, think about it --

TRUMP

You probably play more than I do, Joe.

WALLACE

What about this question of reopenings, and the fact that --

TRUMP

Well, he wants to shut down this country. And I want to keep it open. And we did great --

BIDEN

You need to shut it down --

28:22 TRUMP

Wait a minute. Let me shut you down for a second, Joe. Just for one second.

28:26 TRUMP

We want to -- he wants to shut down the country. We just went through it. We had to because we didn't know anything about the disease. Now, we've found that elderly people with heart problems and diabetes and different problems are very, very vulnerable. We learned a lot -- young children aren't, even younger people aren't. We've learned a lot. But he wants to shut it down. More people will be hurt by continuing -- if you look at Pennsylvania, if you look at certain states that have been shut down -- they have Democrat governors all. One of the reasons they're shut down is because they want to keep it shut down until after the election. This is political.

WALLACE

I wonder what's --

TRUMP

Those states, those states are not doing well that are shut down.

WALLACE

Gentlemen, we're going to go on to another subject. You have begun to increasingly question the effectiveness of masks as a disease preventer, and in fact recently you have cited the, the issue of waiters touching their masks and touching plates. Are you questioning the effectiveness of masks?

TRUMP

No, you have to understand -- if you look, I mean, I have a mask right here. I put the mask on it, you know what I think I need it. As an example, everybody's had a test, and you've had social distancing and all of the things that you have to, but I wear a mask, when needed -- when needed, I wear masks. I don't -- I don't wear masks like him. Every time you see him, he's got a mask. He could be speaking 200 feet away from me, and he shows up with the biggest mask I've ever seen.

29:51 WALLACE

Vice President Biden, go ahead, sir.

BIDEN

Look, the way to open businesses is give them the wherewithal to be able to open. We provided money --

WALLACE

I was asking, sir, about masks.

BIDEN

Oh. Masks -- masks make a big difference. His own head of the CDC said if we just wore masks between now -- if everybody wore masks and social distancing between now and January, we'd probably save up to 100,000 lives. It matters,

TRUMP

And they've also said the opposite. They've also said the --

BIDEN

No serious person has said the opposite --

TRUMP

What about Dr. Fauci? Dr. Fauci said the opposite.

BIDEN

He did not say the opposite.

30:27 TRUMP

He said very strongly: Masks are not good. Then he changed his mind. He's admitted -- I'm ok with masks.

WALLACE

I want to talk about one last subject, because your different approaches have even affected the way that you have campaigned. President Trump, you're holding the large rallies, with crowds packed together thousands of people.

30:44 TRUMP

Outside.

WALLACE

Outside. Yes, sir. Great. Vice President Biden, you are holding much smaller events with --

TRUMP

Cause nobody will show up.

WALLACE.

People with --

TRUMP

Nobody shows up to his rallies.

WALLACE

In any case, why you're holding the big rallies, why you're not. You goes first, sir.

31:00 TRUMP

Because people want to hear what I have to say, I mean, 25, 35,000 people show up at airports. We use airports.

WALLACE

Are you not worried about the disease, though, sir.

31:13 TRUMP

Well, so far we have had no problem whatsoever. It's outside -- that's a big difference according to the experts. And we do them outside, we have tremendous crowds, as you see. I mean every -- and literally on 24 hours notice -- and Joe does the circles and has three people some place.

BIDEN

By the way, did you see, one of the last reboot rallies he had -- a reporter came up to him to ask him a question, he said, 'No no no. Stand back. Put on your mask, put on a mask. Have you been tested? I'm way, way far away from those other people.' That's what he said. I can't, I'm gonna be okay. He not worried about you. He's not worried about the people out there --

TRUMP

We had no negative, no negative effect. We've had no negative effect, and we've had, 35 40,000, people at some of these rallies.

WALLACE

Just finish off because I want to move on to our next --

BIDEN

Yes, I would. He's been totally irresponsible the way in which he has handled the social distancing, and people wearing masks, basically encouraged them not to. And he's a fool on that.

TRUMP

If you could get the crowds, you would've done the same thing, but you can't -- nobody cares, nobody cares.

WALLACE

Gentlemen, can we move on to the economy. The economy is, I think it's fair to say, is recovering faster than expected from the shutdown much in the second quarter. The unemployment rate fell to 8.4% last month. The Federal Reserve says the hit to growth which is going to be there is not going to be nearly as big as they had expected. President Trump, you say we are in a V shaped recovery. Vice President Biden you say it's more of a K shape. What difference does that mean to the American people in terms of the economy. President Trump, in this segment, you go first.

32:56 TRUMP

So we built the greatest economy in history. We close it down because of the China plague, when the plague came in we closed it down, which was very hard, psychologically to do. He

didn't think we should close it down, and he was wrong, again. To me it -- people would be dead now, instead of still 204,000 people is too much, one person is too much, should have never happened from China. But what happened is we've closed it down and now we're reopening, and we're doing record business. We had 10.4 million people in a four month period that we've put back into the workforce. That's a record the likes of which nobody's ever seen before, and he wants to close down the -- he will shut it down again. He will destroy this country, you know, a lot of people, between drugs and alcohol and depression, when you start shutting it down and you take a look at what's happening in some of your Democrat run states where they have these tough shutdowns, and I'm telling you it's because they don't want to open it. One of them came out last week, you saw that, said they'll open up November 9. Why November 9? Because it's after the election. They think they're hurting us by keeping them closed. They're hurting people. People know what to do. They can social distance, they can wash their hands, they can wear masks -- they can do whatever they want, but they can open these states up. When you look at North Carolina, when you look at -- these governors are under siege in Michigan and a couple of others. You gotta open the states up. It's not fair. You're talking about almost like being in prison. And you look at what's going on with divorce, look at what's going on with alcoholism and drugs. It's a very, very sad thing. And he'll close down the whole country, this guy will close down the whole country and destroy our country. Our country is coming back incredibly well, setting records as it does it. We don't need somebody to come in and say let's shut it down.

WALLACE

Alright, your two minute sir, we're now moved to you. As I, as I said posing the question, the president says it's a V shape recovery, you say it's a K shape recovery. What's the difference?

BIDEN

The difference is millionaires and billionaires like him, in the middle of COVID crisis, have done very well. The billionaires array have made another \$300 billion. Because of his profligate tax proposal and you only focus on the market. But you folks at home, you folks living in Scranton and Claymont -- all the small towns and working class towns in America. How well are you doing? This guy paid a total of \$750 in taxes.

WALLACE

I understand. You've agreed to the two minutes, so please let him have them.

BIDEN

I get my time back? The fact is that he is in fact worked on this in a way that he's going to be the first president in the United States to leave office, I mean fewer jobs in his administration than when he became president. Fewer jobs than when he became president. The first one in American history. Secondly, the people who have lost their jobs are those people who have been

on the front lines, those people who have been saving our lives, those people who have went out there dying, people who have been putting themselves in the way to make sure that we could all try to make it. The idea that he is consistent, that we go forward and open when you have almost half the states in America with a significant increase in COVID desks and COVID cases in the United States of America, and he wants to open it up more. Why does he want to open it up? Why doesn't he take care of the American -- you can't fix the economy until you fix the COVID crisis, and he has no intention of doing anything about making it better for you all at home, in terms of your health and your safety. Schools -- why aren't schools open? Because it costs a lot of money to open them safely. You know, they were going to give his administration was going to give the teachers and school students masks. Then they decided, no, couldn't do that, because it's not a national emergency, not a national emergency. They've done nothing to help small businesses, nothing. They're closing. One is six is now gone. He ought to get on the job, and take care of the needs of the American people, so we can open safely.

WALLACE

Right. Your time is up, sir.

TRUMP

I need to respond to that.

WALLACE

Well, you both have two minutes, sir.

37:02 TRUMP

Excuse me. He made a statement. People want their schools, no, people want their schools open. They don't want to be shut down. They don't want their state shut down. They want their restaurants. I look at New York. It's so sad what's happening in New York, it's almost like a ghost town. And I'm not sure I can ever recover what they've done in New York. People want their places open. They want to get back to their lives.

BIDEN

They want to be safe.

TRUMP

They'll be careful. But they want their schools -- I'm the one that brought back football, by the way, I brought it back Big Ten football. It was me, and I'm very happy to do it. People on all sides are very proud of me, and you don't want to --

WALLACE

Gentlemen, we're going to get to your economic plans going forward in a moment but first, Mr. President, As you well know, there's a new report that in 2016, the year you were elected president, and 2017, your first year as president, that you paid \$750 a year in federal income tax, each of those years. I know that you pay a lot of other taxes, but I'm asking you the specific question: Is it true that you paid \$750 in federal income taxes, each of those two years.

TRUMP

I paid millions of dollars in taxes. Millions of dollars of income tax. And let me just tell you, there was a story in one of the papers. I paid \$38 million one year. I paid 27 million one year --

BIDEN

Show us your tax returns.

TRUMP

I went -- you'll see it as soon as it's finished, you'll see it. You know, what you want to do -- go to the board of elections. There's 118 page or so report that says everything I have, every bank I have -- I'm totally underleveraged because the assets are extremely good, and we have a very, we have a --

WALLACE

I'm asking a specific question, a specific question, which is --

TRUMP

Let me tell you, that I understand --

38:49 WALLACE

No, Mr. President. I'm asking the question. Will you tell us how much you paid in federal income taxes in 2016 and 2017?

38:59 TRUMP

Millions of dollars.

39:00 WALLACE

You paid millions of dollars?

39:02 TRUMP

Millions of dollars. Millions of dollars. And you'll get to see it. And you'll get to see it.

39:05 BIDEN

When?

39:06 TRUMP

But let me tell you, Chris. Let me just say something. It was the tax laws-- I don't want to pay tax. Before I came here, I was a private developer. I was a private business people. Like every other private person, unless they're stupid, they go through the laws and that's what it is. He passed a tax bill that gave us all these privileges for depreciation, and for tax credits. We built a building and we get tax credits, like the hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. You get an asset, which by the way, was given to me by the Obama administration, if you can believe that. Now the man got fired up right after that happened but--

39:43 WALLACE

Vice President Biden, do you want to respond?

39:45 BIDEN

I do want to respond. Look, the tax code that made him, put him in a position that he pays less tax to the school teacher, make them, the money a school teacher makes. Is because of-- He says he's smart because he can take advantage of the tax code. And he does take advantage of the tax code, but that's why I'm going to eliminate the Trump tax cuts. And we're going to eliminate those tax cuts and make sure that we invest in the people who, in fact, need the help. People out there need help--

40:15 TRUMP

But why did you do it over the last 25 years? Why doesn't he do it over the last 25 years?

40:19 BIDEN

Because you were president-- Because you were president and destroyed things up.

40:22 TRUMP

You were a senator--

40:24 BIDEN

You are the worst president America's ever had

40:26 TRUMP

Let me just say Joe I've done more in, in 47 months, I've done more than you've done in 47 years, Joe. We've done things that you never even thought of doing, including fixing the broken military that you gave me, to taking care of the vets--

40:30 WALLACE

We're talking -- Mr. President, we're talking about the economy. I'd like to ask you about your plans going forward. Because Mr. Vice President, your economic plan, if you were to be elected president, focuses a lot on big government. Big taxes. Big spending. I want to focus first on the taxes. You propose more than \$4 trillion over a decade in new taxes on individuals making more than \$400,000 a year and on corporations. President Trump says that that kind of an increase in taxes is going to hurt the economy as it's just coming out of a recession.

41:14 BIDEN

Well, just take a look at what is the analysis done by Wall Street firms points out that my economic plan would create 7 million more jobs than his in four years, number one. And number two, it would create an additional \$1 trillion in economic growth because it would be about buying American. And we have to. We're gonna make-- The Federal government spends \$600 billion a year on everything from ships, to steel, to build, to the like. And under my proposal, we're going to make sure that every penny of that has to be made by a--

41:50 WALLACE

Respectfully, sir. I'm talking about taxes, not spending.

41:54 BIDEN

Well, by the way, I'm gonna eliminate a significant number of the tax. I'm gonna make the, the corporate tax 28%, shouldn't be 21%. You have 19 companies--91 companies, federal, I mean in the fortune 500, who don't pay a single penny in tax making billions of dollars.

42:11 TRUMP

Why didn't you do it when you were vice president with Obama?

42:15 BIDEN

Because, because you in fact passed that. That was your tax proposal.

42:18 TRUMP

I got it done and you know what happened? Our economy boomed like it's never boomed --

42:23 WALLACE

Mr. President, Mr. President, let me pick up on that. You would continue your free market approach, lower taxes, more deregulation, correct?

42:32 BIDEN

Not lower taxes for the American people.

42:46 WALLACE

But in Obama's economy booming. It turns out that in Obama's final three years as president more jobs were created. A million and a half more jobs than in the first three years of your presidency.

42:48 TRUMP

They had the slowest recovery. Since 19 -- economic recovery, since 1929. It was the slowest recovery. Also, they took over something that was down here. All you have to do is turn on the lights and you pick up a lot, but they had the slowest economic recovery since 1929. Let me tell you about the stock market. When the stock market goes up, that means jobs. It also means 401k's. If you got in, if you ever became president with your ideas -- You want to terminate my taxes? I'll tell you what, you'll lose half of the companies that have poured in here will leave. And plenty of companies that are already here they'll leave for other places. They will leave, and you will have a depression, the likes of which you've never seen.

43:29 BIDEN

Look, we inherited the worst recession, short of a depression, in American history. I was asked to bring it back. We were able to have an economic recovery, the crazy jobs you're talking about. He comes in on a booming economy. He blew it. He blew it.

43:44 TRUMP

It wasn't booming. It wasn't booming.

43:49 WALLACE

Sir, wait. Wait. Is it fair to say he blew it when, when there was record low unemployment before COVID?

43:57 BIDEN

Yeah. Yeah, because what he did, even before COVID, manufacturing went in the hole. Manufacturing went in the hole--

44:04 TRUMP

Excuse me, Chris. Wait, Chris. They said it would take?

44:05 BIDEN

Number one, number two, number three --

44:09 TRUMP

No, you're number two. Chris, Chris.

44:12 BIDEN

This guy --

44:13 TRUMP

They said it was a miracle to bring back manufacturing, I brought back 700,000 jobs. They brought back nothing. They gave up on manufacturing --

44:20 BIDEN

We did not give up. I'm the guy who brought back the automobile industry.

44:23 TRUMP

He totally gave up on the auto industry --

44:24 WALLACE

Alright, let him --

44:26 BIDEN

We brought back, I was asked to bring back, Chrysler and General Motors. We brought them back right here in the state of Ohio and Michigan. He blew it. They're gone. He blew it. And in fact, they're going --

44:34 TRUMP

Ohio had the best year it's ever had last year. Michigan had the best year they've ever had --

44:39 BIDEN

That is not true.

44:40 TRUMP

Many car companies came in from Germany, from China. They went to Michigan, went to Ohio.

44:47 WALLACE

Mr. Vice President --

44:48 BIDEN

And so, you take a look at what he's actually done. He's done very little. His trade deals are the same way. He talks about these great trade deals. You know, he talks about the art of the deal. China's made, perfected the art of the steel. We have a higher deficit with China now than we did before. We have the highest trade deficit with Mexico --

45:06 TRUMP

China ate your lunch --

45:07 WALLACE

Alright, gentlemen --

45:09 TRUMP

China ate your lunch, Joe. No wonder your son goes in and he takes out what he takes out, billions of dollars. Takes out billions of dollars to manage. He makes millions of dollars. And also, while we're at it, why is it, just out of curiosity, the mayor of Moscow's wife gave your son \$3.5 million? What did he do to deserve it? What did he do --

45:34 WALLACE

You asked a question. Let him answer.

45:36 BIDEN

None of that is true.

45:38 TRUMP

Oh, really?

45:39 WALLACE

Mr. President. Mr. President, please. You asked a question--

45:41 BIDEN

Totally discredited. Totally discredited and by the way --

45:46 TRUMP

He did get \$3.5 million, Joe?

45:48 WALLACE

Mr. Vice -- Mr. President --

45:49 TRUMP

He got \$3.5 million.

BIDEN

That is not true.

TRUMP

Oh, really?

45:52 WALLACE

Mr. President. It's an, it's an open discussion, please. You --

45:55 TRUMP

No. It's a fact.

45:57 WALLACE

Well, you've raised an issue. Let the vice president answer.

45:59 BIDEN

Totally discredit --

TRUMP

-- \$183,000 a month? With no experience and energy?

46:07 WALLACE

Mr. President, let him answer.

46:08 BIDEN

My son did nothing wrong --

46:09 TRUMP

Yes, he did --

46:10 WALLACE

Mr. President, let him answer.

46:12 BIDEN

He doesn't want to let me answer because he knows I have the truth. His position has been totally, thoroughly discredited --

46:17 TRUMP

By who? The media.

46:20 BIDEN

By everyone, well by the media, by our allies, by the World Bank, by eh- by everyone has discredited. Matter of fact.

46:30 WALLACE

Mr. President, please stop.

46:30 BIDEN

Matter of fact, even the people who testified under oath.

46:32 TRUMP

So let me ask you this --

46:39

He testified under oath and his administration said, I did my job and I did very well.

46:45 TRUMP

I don't know who they are --

46:46 BIDEN

Well I'll give you the list of the people who testified. Sir, you've already fired most of them because they did their jobs.

46:53 TRUMP

Well some people don't --

46:56 WALLACE

Wait a minute, you get the final word.

46:57 BIDEN

Well, it's hard to get any word with this clown, excuse me, this person.

47:00 TRUMP

Let me just say --

47:02 WALLACE

No, no, Mr. President. Mr. President.

47:06 BIDEN

That is simply not true.

47:07 TRUMP

Why did he deserve three and a half million for Moscow?

47:08 BIDEN

Look, here's the deal. I want to talk about families and ethics. I don't want to do that. I mean his family we could talk about all night. His family --

47:18 TRUMP

My family, my family lost a fortune coming down and helping us with government and

47:23 WALLACE

Mr. President.

47:24 TRUMP

Every single one of them lost --

47:26 BIDEN

This is not about his family or my family. It's about your family.

47:30 TRUMP

Three and a half million dollars.

47:31 Biden

That's not true. It doesn't want to talk about what you need, you, the American people. It's about you. That's what we're talking about.

47:41 WALLACE

Alright, that's the end of this segment. We're moving on. Mr. President --

47:47 TRUMP

Can I be honest? It's very important to --

47:49 BIDEN

Try to be honest.

47:50 WALLACE

No, the answer the question is no. No, I, sir.

47:54 TRUMP

-- with a billion dollars.

47:56 BIDEN

That is absolutely not true --

48:00 WALLACE

Gentleman I hate to raise my voice, but why should I be different than the two of you? So here's the deal, we have six segments. We have ended that segment, we're going to go to the next segment. In that segment, you each are gonna have two uninterrupted moments. In those two interrupted minutes, Mr. President, you can say anything you want. I can asked a question about race but if you want to answer about something else, go ahead. But we, I think that the country would be better served if we allowed both people to speak with fewer interruption. I'm appealing to you sir to do that.

48:34 TRUMP

Well, him too.

48:36 WALLACE

Well, frankly, you've been doing more interrupting-

48:38 TRUMP

Well that's alright, but he does plenty.

48:40 WALLACE

Well, less than, sir less than you have. Let's please continue on. The issue of race. Vice President Biden you say that President Trump's response to the violence in Charlottesville three years ago, when he talked about very fine people on both sides, was what directly led you to launch this run for president,

49:05 TRUMP

Oh yeah sure.

49:05 WALLACE

President Trump, you have often said that you believe you have done more for black Americans than any president with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln. My question for the two of you is why should voters trust you, rather than your opponent, to deal with the race issues facing this country over the next four years? Vice President Biden, you go first.

49:26 BIDEN

It's about equity and equality. It's about decency. It's about the Constitution. And we have never walked away from trying to quite require equity for everyone, equality for the whole America.

But we've never accomplished it, but we've never walked away from it like he has done. It is true, the reason I got into the race was with most people. Close your eyes. Remember what those people look like coming out in the fields carrying torches. Their veins bulgy. Spewing, just spewing anti Semitic bile and accompanied by the Ku Klux Klan. A young woman got killed and when they asked the president what he thought he said there were very fine people on both sides. No presidents ever said anything like that.

50:09 WALLACE

One second, sir.

50:10 BIDEN

Second point I'd make, is that when Floyd was killed -- when Mr. Floyd was killed, there was a peaceful protest in front of the White House. What did he do? He came out of his bunker, had the

military to use tear gas on em so he could walk across to a church and hold up a bible. And then what happened after that? The Bishop of that very church said that it was a disgrace. The general who was with him said he only, all he ever wants to do is divide people, not unite people at all. This is a president who has used everything as a dog whistle to try to generate racist hatred, racist division. This is a man who in fact, he talks about helping African Americans, one in 1000 African Americans has been killed because of the coronavirus. And if he doesn't do something quickly by the end of the year, one in 500 will have been killed. One in 500 African Americans. This man? This man is a savior of African Americans? This man cares at all? This man has done virtually nothing. Look, the fact is that you have to look at what he talks about. You have to look at what he did. And what it did has been disastrous for the African American community. So --

51:24 WALLACE

President Trump you have two minutes. Why should Americans trust you over your opponent to deal with race?

51:30 TRUMP

He did a crime bill, 1994, where you call them super predators. African Americans are super predators. And they've never forgotten it. They've never forgotten it, Joe.

51:40 WALLACE

Sir, it's his two minutes.

51:41 TRUMP

So you did that and they called you super predator. And I'm letting people out of jail now that -- You have treated the African American population, community -- You've treated the black community about as bad as anybody in this country. You did the 199 -- And that's why, if you look at the polls, I'm doing better than any Republican has done in a long time. Because they saw what you did. You called them super predators, and you've called them worse than that. Because you look back at your testimony over the years you've called them a lot worse than that. As far as the church is concerned and as far as the generals are concerned, we just got the support of 200-250 military leaders in total support. Law enforcement, almost every law enforcement group in the United States. I have Florida, I have Texas, I have, Ohio. I have every, excuse me. Portland, the sheriff just came out today and he said 'I support President Trump.' I don't think you have any law enforcement. You can't even say the word law enforcement because if you say those words, you're gonna lose all of your radical left supporters. And why aren't you saying those words, Joe? Why don't you say the words law enforcement? Because you know what, if they called us in Portland, we would put out that fire in a half an hour. But they won't do it because they're run by radical left Democrats. If you look at Chicago, if you look at any place you want to look, Seattle, they heard we were coming in the following day and they put up their hands and

we got back Seattle. Minneapolis, we got it back, Joe. Because we believe in law and order but you don't. The top 10 cities, and just about the top 40 cities are run by Democrats. Just radical left. And they've got you wrapped around their finger, Joe. To a point where you don't say anything about law and order. And I'll tell you what, the people of this country want and demand law and order and you're afraid to even say it.

53:30 WALLACE

Alright, I want to return to the question of race. Vice President Biden, after the grand jury in the Brianna Taylor case decided not to charge any of the police with homicide, you said it raises the question "Whether justice could be equally applied in America". Do you believe that there is a separate but unequal system of justice for blacks in this country?

53:54 BIDEN

Yes, there is a systemic injustice in this country. In education, in the law enforcement and the way in which it's enforced. But look, the vast majority of police officers are good, decent honor men and women that risk their lives every day to take care of us. But there are some bad apples and when they occur, when they find them, they have to be sorted out. They have to be held accountable. They have to be held accountable. And what I'm going to do is president of the United States is call together, an entire group of people at the White House. Well, everything from the civil rights groups, to the police officers, to police chiefs, and we're going to work this out. We're going to work this out so we change the way in which we have more transparency. And when these things happen, these cops aren't happy to see what happened to George Floyd. These cops aren't happy to see what happened to Brown and Taylor. Most don't like it, but we have to have a system report, held accountable. When, and by the way, violence in response is never appropriate. Never appropriate. Peaceful protests is. Violence is never appropriate.

55:00 TRUMP

What is peaceful protest? When they run through the middle of town and burned down your stores and kill people all over the place?

55:04 WALLACE

Mr. President, Mr. President. President Trump, I'd like to continue with this. I promise we're gonna get to the issue of law and order in a moment. Your administration directed federal agencies to end racial sensitivity training that addresses white privilege or critical race theory. Why did you decide to do that, end with sensitivity training? And do you believe that there is systemic racism in this country, sir?

55:37 TRUMP

I ended it because it's racist. I ended it because a lot of people were complaining that they were asked to do things that were absolutely insane. That it was a radical revolution that was taking place in our military, in our schools, all over the place. And you know it and so does everybody else. And he would know it.

55:54 WALLACE

What is radical -- What is radical about racial sensitivity training?

55:59 TRUMP

If you were a certain person, you had no status in life, it's sort of a reversal. And if you look at the people, we would pay people hundreds of thousands of dollars to teach very bad ideas and frankly very sick ideas. And really, they were teaching people to hate our country. And I'm not going to do that. I'm not going to allow that to happen. We have to go back to the core values of this country. They were teaching people that our country is a horrible place, it's a racist place, and they were teaching people to hate our country. And I'm not gonna allow that to happen.

56:31 WALLACE

Vice President Biden?

56:33 BIDEN

Nobody's doing that. He's just, he's racist. Here's the deal, I know a lot more --

56:38 WALLACE

Let him finish.

56:40 BIDEN

The fact is that there is racial insensitivity. People have to be made aware of what other people feel like, what insults them, what is demeaning to them. It's important that people know they don't want to, many people don't want to hurt other people's feelings. But it makes a big difference. It makes a gigantic difference in the way a child is able to grow up and have a sense of a sense of self esteem. It's a little bit like how this guy and his friends looked down on so many people. They look down their nose on people like Irish Catholics like me who grew up in Scranton. They look down on people who don't have money. They look down on people who are of a different faith. They look down on people who are a different color. In fact, we're all Americans. The only way we're going to bring this country together is bring everybody. There's nothing we cannot do, if we do it together. We can take this on and we can defeat racism.

57:35 WALLACE

Vice President -- I mean, President Trump, sir.

57:37 TRUMP

During the Obama-Biden administration, there was tremendous division. There was hatred, you look at Ferguson, you look at, you go to very many places. Look at Oakland. Look what happened in Oakland. Look what happened in Baltimore. Look what happened- Frankly, it was more violent than what I'm even seeing now,

57:55 BIDEN

Oh my god, this is ridiculous.

57:56 TRUMP

But the reason is that the Democrats that run these cities don't want to talk, like you, about law and order.

58:03 BIDEN

Violent crime -- Violent crime --

58:03 TRUMP

You still haven't mentioned, are you in favor of law and order?

58:04 BIDEN

I'm in favor of law. You --

58:07 TRUMP

Are you in favor of law and order?

58:13 BIDEN

Law and order with justice where people get treated fairly. And the fact of the matter is violent crime went down 17%, 15% percent in our administration. It's gone up on his watch.

58:24 TRUMP

It's gone down much more.

58:28 WALLACE

Alright, alright. Mr. President -- Mr. President, you're now gonna be very happy because we're gonna talk about law and order.

58:34 TRUMP

The places we had trouble with Democratic-run cities --

58:39 WALLACE

That's exactly my question. There have been a dramatic increase in homicides in America this summer, particularly. And you often blame that on Democratic mayors and Democratic governors, but in fact there have been equivalent spikes in Republican-led cities, like Tulsa, and Fort Worth. So the question is, is this really a party issue?

58:59 TRUMP

I think it's a party issue. You could bring in a couple of examples, but if you look at Chicago, what's going on in Chicago where 53 people were shot and eight died. Shot. If you look at New York where it's going up like these never seen anything. The numbers are going up 100, 150, 200% crime. It is crazy what's going on, and he doesn't want to say law and order because he can't. Because he'll lose his radical left supporters, and once he does that it's over with. But if he ever got to run this country, and they ran it the way he would want to run it, we would have -- Our suburbs would be gone, our suburbs would be gone, and you would see problems like you've never-

59:38: BIDEN

He wouldn't know a suburb unless he took a wrong turn.

59:39 TRUMP

Oh, I know suburbs.

55:43 BIDEN

I was raised in the suburbs. This is not 1950. All of these dog whistles and racism don't work anymore. Suburbs are by and large integrated. There's many people today driving their kids to soccer practice, or to black and white and Hispanic in the same car, as there have been any time in the past. What really is the threat to the suburbs and their safety has to deal with COVID? They're dying in the suburbs. His failure to deal with the environment. They're being flooded. They're being burned out, because he has refusal to do anything. That's why the suburbs are in trouble.

1:00:15 WALLACE

I do want to talk about this issue of law and order, though. And in the joint recommendation that came from the Biden-Bernie Sanders Task Force you talk about “reimagining policing”. First of all, what does re-imagining policing mean? And do you support- Let me finish the question. What does re-imagining policing mean? And do you support the Black Lives Matter call for for community control of policing?

1:00:46 BIDEN

Look, what I support is the police having the opportunity to deal with the problems they face. And I'm not totally opposed to defending the police officers. Matter of fact, police, local police, they only want defunding in his budget calls for a \$400 million cut in local law enforcement assistance. They need more assistance. They need when they show up for a 911 call to have someone with him as a psychologist or psychiatrist to keep them from having to use force and be able to talk people down. We have to have community police, like we had before, where the officers get to know the people in the communities. That's when crime went down. It didn't go up, it went down. And so we have to be --

1:01:25 TRUMP

That's not what they're talking about, Chris. That's not what they're talking about. That's about defunding the police.

1:01:31 BIDEN

That is not true.

1:01:35 TRUMP

He doesn't have any law - He has no law enforced -

1:01:39 BIDEN

That is not true. That's not --

1:01:39 TRUMP

Oh really? Who do you have? Name one group that supports you. Name one group that came out and supported you, go ahead, like we have time.

1:01:46 BIDEN

We don't have time to do anything --

1:01:53 WALLACE

Gentleman, I'm gonna take back control. And I want to get to another subject, which is the issue of protests in many cities that have turned violent. In Portland, Oregon, especially, we had more than 100 straight days of protests, which I think you would agree about peaceful protests. Many of those turned into riots. Mr. Vice President, you say that people who commit crimes should be held accountable. The question I have though is as the Democratic nominee, and earlier tonight you said that you are the Democratic Party right now. Have you ever called the Democratic mayor of Portland the Democratic governor of Oregon and said 'Hey, you gotta stop this. Bring in the National Guard. Do whatever it takes. That you'd stop the days and months of violence in Portland?

1:02:40 BIDEN

I don't hold public office now. I am a former Vice President. I've made it clear, I've made it clear in my public statements that the violence should be prosecuted. Anyone who committed it --

1:02:53 WALLACE

But you've never called for the people- Excuse me, sir. You've never called for the leaders in Portland, and in Oregon, to call in the national office and knock off 100 days of riots.

1:03:05 BIDEN

They can, in fact, take care of it if he'd just stay out of the way. Look-

1:03:11 TRUMP

Oh really? Oh really? -- The killer of a young man in the middle of the street and they shot him. For three days Portland didn't do anything.

1:03:18 WALLACE

President Trump. President Trump. I interrupt- President Trump

1:03:22 TRUMP

I had to send the US Marshals to take care of business --

1:03:24 WALLACE

Go ahead, sir

1:03:25 BIDEN

And by the way, you know, his own former spokesperson said, you know, riots and chaos and violence help his cause. That's what this is all about.

1:03:34 TRUMP

I don't know who said that.

1:03:35 BIDEN

I do.

1:03:35 TRUMP

Who?

1:03:36 BIDEN

I think it was Kellyanne Conway.

1:03:37 TRUMP

I don't think she said that.

1:03:39 BIDEN

She said that. And so here's, here's the point. The point is that is that that's what he is keeps trying to rile everything up. He doesn't want to calm things down. Instead of going in and talking to people and say, 'let's get everybody together, figuring out how to deal with this', what he does he do? He just poured gasoline on the fire. Constantly, at every single solitary time.

1:04:00 WALLACE

And to end this, button up this segment, I'm going to give you a minute to answer, sir. You have repeatedly warned us-

1:04:07 TRUMP

-answer his stuff.

1:04:08 WALLACE

You have- No, you've been talking-

1:04:11 TRUMP

He made a statement- I would love to end it.

1:04:12 WALLACE

I'm asking you- You know, sir- You know, if you want to switch seats-

1:04:17 TRUMP

Very quickly, we could do that but if - the National Guard it would be over. There'd be no problem, but they don't want to accept the national guard.

1:04:23 WALLACE

Okay, you have repeatedly criticized the Vice President for not specifically calling out antifa and other left-wing groups. But are you willing, tonight, to condemn white supremacists and militia groups? And to say that they need to stand down and not add to the violence in a number of these cities, as we saw in Kenosha, as we've seen in Portland? Are you prepared specifically to do that?

1:04:46 TRUMP

Sure, I'm prepared to do it. I would say- I would say, almost everything I see is from the left-wing, not from the right wing-

1:05:55 WALLACE

So what do you, what do you say-

1:04:56 TRUMP

I'm willing to do anything I want to see peace.

1:04:57 WALLACE

Then do it, sir.

1:04:59 BIDEN

Say it, do it, say it.

1:05:00 TRUMP

You want to call them -- What do you want to call them? Give me a name, give me --

1:05:04 WALLACE

White supremacists and, white supremacists and right-wing --

1:05:07 BIDEN

The Proud Boys.

1:05:07 TRUMP

Proud Boys, stand back and stand by. But I'll tell you what, I'll tell you what, somebody's got to do something about antifa and the left because this is not a right-wing problem. This is a left-wing problem

1:05:19 BIDEN

His own FBI director said -- white supremacists. Antifa is an idea not an organization. Militia --

1:05:27 TRUMP

Oh you've got to be kidding me

1:05:27 BIDEN

His FBI said --

1:05:28 TRUMP

Well then, you know what --

1:05:29 WALLACE

Gentlemen, we're done, sir. We're going to go on to the next-

1:05:39 BIDEN

Everybody in your administration tells you the truth that that's a bad to bad idea. You have no idea.

1:05:43 TRUMP

Antifa is a dangerous, radical group --

1:05:46 WALLACE

Gentleman, we're now moving on to the Trump and Biden records.

1:05:50 TRUMP

-- they overthrow you

1:05:51 WALLACE

President, I'm gonna ask you a question. When the President seats a second term, it's generally a referendum on his record. But Vice President Biden you'd like to quote your dad's sayings which is 'Don't compare me to the almighty, compare me to the alternative'. And in this case, sir, you are the alternative. Looking at both of your records, I'm going to ask each of you, why should voters you, President over your opponent. In this segment, President Trump you'll go first. 10 minutes.

1:06:19 TRUMP

Because there has never been an administration or president who has done more than I've done in a period of three and a half years, and that's despite the impeachment hoax. And you saw what happened today with Hillary Clinton where a whole big con job. But despite going through all these things, where at a fight both flanks, behind me and above, there has never been an administration, that's done what I've done. The greatest, before COVID came in, the greatest economy in history. Lowest unemployment numbers. Everything was good, everything was go -- And by the way, there was unity. People were calling me. For the first time in years they were calling, and they were saying 'it's time maybe'. And then what happened? We got hit but now we're building it back up again. A rebuilding of the military including space force and all of the other things. A fixing of the VA, which was a mess under him. 308,000 people died. They didn't have proper health care. He was a mess. And we now got a 91% approval rating at the VA. Our vets, we take care of our vets. But we've rebuilt our military. The job that we've done- And I'll tell you so some people say me the most important, by the end of the first term, I'll have approximately 300 federal judges, Court of Appeals judges 300. And hopefully, three great Supreme Court judges, justices. That is a record, the likes of which very few people- And you know one of the reasons I have so many judges? Because President Obama and him left me 128 judges to fill. When you leave office, you don't leave any judges. That's like, you just don't do that. They left 128 openings. And if I were a member of his party, because they have a little different philosophy, I'd say 'if you left us 128 openings, you can't be a good president. You can't be a good Vice President'. But I want to thank you because it gives us almost, it'll probably be above that by the end of this term, 300 judges. It's a record.

1:08:22 WALLACE

Looking at both your records, why should voters elect you president, as opposed to President Trump -- You get two minutes uninterrupted.

1:08:29 BIDEN

Under this president we become weaker, sicker. poorer, more dividing and more violent. When I was Vice President, we inherited a recession. I was asked to fix it, I did. We left a booming economy, and he caused the recession. With regard to be weaker, the fact is that I've gone head

to head with Putin and made it clear to him we're not going to take any of his stuff. He's Putin's puppy. He still refuses to even say anything to Putin about the bounty on the heads of American soldiers.

1:09:01 TRUMP

Your son --

1:09:02 WALLACE

No, no, no --

1:09:03 BIDEN

And by the way --

1:09:04 WALLACE

Mr. President. Wait a minute. Mr. President, your campaign agreed that both sides would get two answers uninterrupted. Your side agreed to it. Why don't you observe what your campaign agreed to as a ground rule. Okay, sir?

1:09:18 BIDEN

Never keeps his word.

1:09:19 WALLACE

No, I'm not asking. That was rhetorical question.

1:09:23 BIDEN

Can you go back 30 seconds?

1:09:25 WALLACE

Yeah, yes you may. Go ahead.

1:09:26 BIDEN

So, thirdly we're poorer. The billionaires have gotten much, much more wealthy by a tune of over four three to \$400 billion more, just since COVID. You in the home, you got less. You're in more trouble than you were before. In terms of being more violent, when we were in office there were 15% less violence in America than there is today. He's president of the United states. It's on his watch. And with regard to more divided, the nation can't stay divided. We can't be this way. And speaking of my son, the way you talk about the military, the way you talk about them be losers and being, and just being suckers. My son was in Iraq. He spent a year there. He got, he

got the Bronze Star. He got the Conspicuous Service Medal. He was not a loser. He was a patriot. And the people left behind there were heroes.

1:10:23 TRUMP

Really? You talking about Hunter? Are you talking about Hunter?

1:10:23 BIDEN

and I resent -- I'm talking about my son, Beau Biden. You're talking about --

1:10:30 TRUMP

I don't know Beau. I know Hunter. Hunter got thrown out of the military. He was thrown out, dishonorably discharged for cocaine use.

1:10:37 BIDEN

That's not true, he wasn't dishonorably discharged. None of that is true.

1:10:39 TRUMP

-- and he didn't have a job until you became vice president. Once you became vice president he made a fortune in Ukraine, in China, in Moscow and various other places --

1:10:48 BIDEN

That is simply not true.

1:10:49 TRUMP

He made a fortune and he didn't have a job.

1:10:50 BIDEN

My son -- My son -- My son, like a lot of people, like a lot of people you know I had a drug problem. He's overtaken it. He's fixed it. He's worked on it. And I'm proud of him.

1:11:02 TRUMP

But why was he given tens of millions of dollars?

1:11:05 BIDEN

He wasn't given tens of millions of dollars

1:11:08 WALLACE

President Trump you've --

1:11:11 BIDEN

Already been discredited

1:11:13 WALLACE

We've already been through this, I think the American people would rather hear about more substantial subjects. Well, you know, as the moderator sir I'm going to make a judgement call there.

1:11:20 TRUMP

-- 3.5 million dollars. Let's talk about Moscow --

1:11:24 BIDEN

That is not true. That report is totally discredited.

1:11:25 WALLACE

Gentlemen --

1:11:27 BIDEN

Mitt Romney on that committee said it wasn't worth taxpayers money. That report was written for political reasons.

1:11:33 WALLACE

You know, I'd like to talk about climate change.

1:11:36 BIDEN

So would I --

1:11:37 WALLACE

Okay, the forest fires in the West, are raging now. They have burned millions of acres. They have displaced hundreds of thousands of people. When state officials there blame the fires on climate change, Mr. President, you said, 'I don't think the science knows.' Over your four years, you have pulled the U.S. out of the Paris Climate accord. You have rolled back a number of Obama environmental records. What do you believe about the science of climate change? And what will you do in the next four years to confront it?

1:12:11 TRUMP

I want crystal clean water and air. I want beautiful clean air. We have now the lowest carbon, if you look at our numbers right now, we are doing phenomenally. But I haven't destroyed our businesses, our businesses are put out of commission. If you look at the Paris accord, it was a disaster from our standpoint. And people are actually very happy about what's going on, because our businesses are doing well as far as the fires are concerned, you need forest management, in addition to everything else. The forest floors are loaded up with trees, dead trees, that a years old and they're like Tinder, and leaves and everything else. You drop a cigarette and then the whole forest burns. You've got to have forest management-

1:12:52 WALLACE

What do you, what do you believe about the science of climate change, sir?

1:12:57 TRUMP

I believe that we have to do everything we can to have immaculate air, immaculate water and do whatever else we can that's good. You know we're planting a billion trees, the billion tree project, and it's very exciting.

1:13:08 WALLACE

Do you believe that human pollution, gashouse, greenhouse gas emissions contributes to the global warming of this planet?

1:13:15 TRUMP

I think a lot of things do, but I think to an extent yes. I think, to an extent, yes. But I also think we have to do better management of our forests. Every year, I get the call. 'California is burning California's burning.' If that was cleaned, if that were, if you had forest management, good forest management, you wouldn't be getting those calls. You know in Europe they live that, forest cities, they call forest cities. They maintain their forests. They manage their forests. I was with the head of a major country. It's a forest city. He said, 'Sir, we have trees that are far more, they ignite much easier than California, there shouldn't be that problem'. I spoke with the governor about it. I'm getting along very well with the governor, but he said you know at some point, he can't every year have hundreds of thousands of acres of land just burned to the ground. That's burning down because of a lack of management.

1:14:07 WALLACE

But sir, if you believe in the science of climate change, why have you rolled back the Obama Clean Power Plan, which limited carbon emissions in power plants? Why have you relaxed --

1:14:16 TRUMP

Because it was driving energy prices through the sky --

1:14:22 WALLACE

Why have you relaxed fuel economy standards that are going to create more pollution from cars?

1:14:27 TRUMP

Not really, because what's happening is the car is much less expensive and it's a much safer car. And you're talking about a tiny difference. And then what would happen, because of the cost of the car, you would have at least double and triple the number of cars purchased. We have the old slugs out there that are 10-12 years old. If you did that the car would be safer, it would be much cheaper-

1:14:48 WALLACE

In California, they simply ignored --

1:14:51 TRUMP

Take a lot of cars off the market because people would be able to afford a car. Now, so, and by the way we're gonna see how that turns out, but a lot of people agree with, many people. The car has gotten so expensive because they have computers all over the place for an extra little bit of gasoline. And I'm okay with electric cars too. I think I'm all for electric cars with big incentives or electric cars. But what they've done in California is just-

1:15:17 WALLACE

Vice President Biden I'd like you to respond to the President's climate change record, but I also want to ask you about a concern. You proposed \$2 trillion in green jobs you talk about new limits, not abolishing, but new limits on fracking. Ending the use of fossil fuels to generate electricity by 2035. And zero, net emission of greenhouse gases by 2050. The president says, a lot of these things would tank the economy and cost millions of jobs.

1:15:46 BIDEN

He's absolutely wrong, number one. Number two, if in fact, when -- During our administration Recovery Act I was able to bring down the cost of renewable energy to cheaper than, or as cheap as coal, and gas, and oil. Nobody's going to build another coal fire plant in America. No one's going to build another oil fire in America. They're going to move to renewable energy, number one. Number two, we're going to make sure that we are able to take the federal fleet and turn it into a fleet that's run on their electric vehicles. Making sure that they can do that we're gonna put 500,000 charging stations in all of the highways that we're going to be building in the future.

We're going to build a economy, that in fact, is going to provide for the ability, us to take 4 million buildings and make sure that they in fact are weatherized. In a way that, in fact, they'll, they'll emit significantly less gas and oil because the heat will not be going out. There's so many things we can do now to create thousands and thousands of jobs. We can get to net zero in terms of energy production by 2035. Not only not costing people jobs, creating jobs. Creating millions of jobs. Not 15 bucks an hour, but prevailing wage. By having a new infrastructure that in fact is green. And the first thing I will do, I will rejoin the Paris accord. I will join the Paris accord because with us out look what's happening. It's all falling apart. And talk about someone who has no no relationship with foreign policy. Brazil, the rainforest to Brazil are being torn down, are being ripped down. More, more carbon is absorbed in that rainforest than every bit of carbon that's admitted the United States. Instead of doing something about that, I would be gathering up and making sure we had the countries of the world coming up with 20 billion dollars. And say, 'Here's \$20 billion. Stop, stop, tearing down the forest. And if you don't, then you're going to have significant economic consequences'.

1:17:52 WALLACE

What about the argument that President Trump basically says that you have to balance, environmental interests, and economic interests? And he's drawn a line

1:18:02 BIDEN

But if he hadn't drawn a line. He still, for example, makes sure that we- He wants to make sure that methane is not a problem. We could, you could now emit more methane without it being a problem. Methane. This is a guy who says that we don't have to have mileage standards for automobiles that exist now. He says that, the fact that it's all true and here's the deal --

1:18:22 TRUMP

He's talking about the Green New Deal. And it's not 2 billion or 20 billion as you said, it's \$100 trillion.

1:18:31 BIDEN

I'm talking about -

1:18:31 TRUMP

You wanna rip down buildings and rebuild the buildings -- where airplanes are out of business. Where there are two car systems or where they want to take out the cows.

1:18:40 BIDEN

That's not true. Not true. Not true. Not true.

1:18:43 TRUMP

That's not true either, right? Now, this is a, this is a 100. That's more money than our country could make in a hundred years.

1:18:50 BIDEN

That is simply not true.

1:18:55 WALLACE

Let me -- Let me -- Wait a minute, sir. I actually have studied your plan, and it includes upgrading 4 million buildings, weatherizing 2 million homes over four years, building one and a half million energy efficient homes. So the question becomes, the president said, I think some people who support the president would say, 'That sounds like it's going to cost a lot of money and hurt the economy.'

1:19:18 BIDEN

What it's gonna do, it's gonna create thousands and millions of jobs. Good-paying jobs-

1:19:22 WALLACE

Let him finish, sir.

1:19:23 BIDEN

He doesn't know how to do that. The fact it's going to create millions of good paying jobs. And these tax incentives to people to weatherize, where he wants to get her get rid of, is going to make the economy much safer. Look how much we're paying now to deal with the hurricanes, with a deal with- By the way he has an answer for hurricanes. He said, 'Maybe we should drop a nuclear weapon on them, they may' --

1:19:44 TRUMP

I never said that you made it up. You make up a lot.

1:19:46 BIDEN

And here's the deal, we are going to be in a position where we can create, hard, hard good jobs by making sure the environment is clean, and we all are in better shape. We spend billions of dollars now, billions of dollars, on floods, hurricanes rising seas. We're in real trouble. Look what's happened just in the Midwest with these storms that come through and wipe out entire sections and counties in Iowa. They didn't happen before. There because of global warming. We make up 15% of the world's problem. We in fact- But the rest of the world we got to get them to come along. That's why we have to get back into, back into the Paris accord.

1:20:32 WALLACE

All right, gentlemen.

1:20:33 TRUMP

Chris, so why didn't he do it for 47 years? You were vice president. Why didn't you get the world- China sends up real dirt into the air. Russia does. India does. They all do. We're supposed to be good. And by the way, he made a couple of statements, the Green New Deal is 100 trillion dollar plan --

1:20:48 BIDEN

That is not my plan. The Green New Deal is not my plan.

1:20:56 WALLACE

Gentlemen, gentleman --

1:20:58 TRUMP

You said I said something about the military. He and his friends made it up, and then they went with it. I never said it. What he did is he said- He called the military stupid bastards

1:21:06 WALLACE

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Vice President -- Please, stop.

1:21:15 TRUMP

I would never say that.

1:21:18 WALLACE

Mr. Vice President answer his question his final question.

1:21:21 BIDEN

The final question is I can't remember which of all is real.

1:21:24 WALLACE

I'm having a little trouble myself. But about the economy, and about this question of what it's going to cost. The Green New Deal and the idea of what, what your environmental changes to --

1:21:38 BIDEN

The Green New Deal will pay for itself as we move forward. You're not going to build plants that in fact are great polluting plans.

1:21:44 WALLACE

Do you support the Green New Deal?

1:21:46 BIDEN

Pardon me?

1:21:47 WALLACE

Do you support the Green New Deal?

1:21:49 BIDEN

No, I don't support the Green New Deal.

1:21:50 TRUMP

Oh you don't? Well that's a big statement. You just lost the radical left.

1:21:55 BIDEN

I support the Biden plan that I put forward.

1:21:59 WALLACE

OK.

1:22:00 BIDEN

The Biden Plan, which is different than what he calls the radical Green New Deal.

1:22:02 WALLACE

All right, gentlemen, final segment. Election integrity. As we meet tonight, millions of Americans are receiving mail-in ballots or going to vote early. How confident should we be that this will be a fair election and what are you prepared to do over the next five plus weeks, because it'll not only be the election day but also counting some ballots mailing ballots after election day. What are you prepared to do to reassure the American people that the next President will be the legitimate winner of this election? In this final segment, Mr. Vice President, you go first.

1:22:41 BIDEN

Prepared to let people vote. You should go to Iwillvote.com. Decide how they're going to vote, when they're going to vote and what means by which they're going to vote. His own Homeland Security director, as well as the FBI director, says there's no evidence at all that mail-in ballots are a source of being manipulated and cheating. They said that. The fact is that they're going to be millions of people, because of COVID, that are going to be voting by mail-in ballots, like he does by the way. He sits behind the Resolute desk and sends his ballot to Florida, number one. Number two, we're going to make sure that those people who want to vote in person are able to vote because enough poll watchers are there to make sure they can socially distance, the polls are open on time and they'll pull stay open until the votes are counted. And this is all about trying to dissuade people from voting because he's trying to scare people into thinking that it's not gonna be legitimate. Show up and vote. You will determine the outcome of this election. Vote. Vote. Vote. If you're able to vote early in your state, vote early. If you're able to vote in person, vote in person. Vote whatever way is the best way for you because you will- He cannot stop you from being able to determine the outcome of this election. Whether or not when the votes are counted, and they're all counted, that will be accepted. If I win, that will be accepted. If I lose, it will be accepted. But, by the way, if, in fact, he says he's not sure what he's gonna accept, let me tell you something, it doesn't matter. Because if we get the votes, it's going to be all over. He's going to go. He won't stay in power. It won't happen. It won't happen. So vote. Just make sure you understand you have it in your control to determine what this country is going to look like the next four years. Is it going to change or are we gonna get four more years of these lies?

1:24:31 WALLACE

Mr. President, two minutes.

1:24:32 TRUMP

So when I listened to Joe talking about a transition, there's been no transition from when I won. I won that election. And if you look at crooked Hillary Clinton, if you look at all of the different people, there was no transition. Because they came after me trying to do a coup. They came after me spying on my campaign. They started on the day I won and even before I won. From the day I came down the escalator with the First Lady, they were a disaster, a grace to our country. And we've caught them. We've caught them all. We've got it all on tape. We've caught them all. And by the way, you gave the idea for the Logan act against General Flynn. You better take a look at that because we caught you in a sense. And President Obama was sitting in the Oval office. He knew about it too so don't tell me about a free transition. As far as the ballots is concerned, it's a disaster. A solicited ballot. Okay, so listen it is okay. You're soliciting, you're asking they send it back, you send it back. I did that. If you have an unsolicited, they're sending millions of ballots all over the country. There's fraud. They found them in creeks. They found some with the name Trump, just happen to have the name Trump, just the other day. In wastepaper baskets. They're

being sent all over the place. They sent two, in a Democratic area they sent out 1000 ballots. Everybody got two ballots. This is going to be a fraud like you've never seen. The other thing, it's nice for November 3, you're watching and you see who won the election. And I think we're gonna do well because people are really happy with the job they've done. But you know what, we won't know, we might not know for months. Because these balances are going to be all over. Take a look at what happened in Manhattan. Take a look at what happened in New Jersey. Take a look at what happened in Virginia and other places. They're not losing 2%, 1%, which by the way is too much. An election can be won or lost with that. They're losing 30 and 40%. A fraud, and it's a shame. And can you imagine where they say, 'you have to have your ballot in by November 10'. November 10. That means 7 days after the election, in theory, should have been announced. We have major states with that. All run by Democrats. All run by Democrats. It's a rigged election.

1:26:40 WALLACE

Okay, okay, sir. President Trump, you're gonna be able to continue. You have been charging for months and mail-in balloting is going to be a disaster. You say it's going to lead to fraud. But in 2018, the last midterm election, 3, million people voted mail-in voting. That was a quarter, more than a quarter, of all the voters that year cast their ballots by mail. Now that millions of mail-in ballots have gone out, what are you going to do about it? And are you counting on the Supreme Court, including a justice Barrett, to settle on a dispute?

1:27:17 TRUMP

Yeah, I think we're getting them to look at the ballots, differently. I don't think I want them in terms of the election itself, but for the ballots I'd say. Because what's happening is incredible. I just heard, I read today where 1% of the ballots for 2016 were invalidated. They, they take them 'we don't like them. we don't like them'.

1:27:36 WALLACE

There are millions of ballots going out right now.

1:27:39 TRUMP

You do a solicited ballot.

1:27:42 WALLACE

No, no, I'm asking you about the fact that millions of people --

1:27:46 TRUMP

You go and vote. You go and vote, like they used to do. You either do a solicited ballot, where you're sending it in and sending it back in and your sending. We have mailmen with lots of a-

Did you see what's going on, take a look at West Virginia, mail-in ballots. They're being sold. They're being dumped in rivers. This is a horrible thing for our country. This is no -- This is not going to end well.

1:28:12 BIDEN

There is no evidence of that. Five states have had mail-in ballots in the last decade or so, including two republican states. And you don't have to solicit the ballot. It's sent to you, and sent to your home. All we're saying is, they're saying is, that there has to be a postmark, by the time by Election Day. If it just doesn't get in until the seventh, eighth, ninth, it still should be counted. He's just afraid of counting the votes because-

1:28:38 TRUMP

You're wrong. You're wrong

1:28:41 WALLACE

And I want to continue with you on this -- Vice President Biden --

1:28:44 TRUMP

Chris, he's so wrong when he makes a statement like that

1:28:45 WALLACE

Excuse me. Vice President Biden, the biggest problem, in fact, over the years, with mail-in voting has not been fraud, historically. It has been that sizable number, sometimes hundreds of thousands of ballots, are thrown out because they have not been properly filled out or there is some other irregularity they just see through that deadline. So the question I have is, are you concerned that the Supreme Court with a justice Barrett will settle any disputes?

1:29:12 BIDEN

I'm concerned that any court would settle this. Because here's the deal, when you, when you get a ballot and you fill it out, you're supposed to have an affidavit. If you didn't know, you have someone say that this is me. You should be able to, if in fact you can verify that's you when the, before the ballot is thrown out, that's sufficient to be able to count the ballot, because someone made a mistake in not dotting the correct i. Who they voted for, testify, say who they voted for, say to you 'that is totally legitimate'

1:29:46 WALLACE

Alright --

1:29:49 TRUMP

When you have 80 million ballots sent in and swamping the system -- You know it can't be done, you know it can't. And already there have been --

1:29:56 WALLACE

Alright, so wait a minute. Final question is, in eight states, election workers are prohibited, currently by law in eight states, from even beginning to process ballots, even take them out of the envelopes and flatten them, until Election Day. That means that it's likely, because there's going to be a huge increase in mail-in balloting, that we are not going to know on election night who the winner is. And it could be days, it could be weeks.

1:30:25 TRUMP

Could be months.

1:30:28 WALLACE

-- until we know who the new president is. So I first for you sir. Finally, for the, for the vice president. I hope neither of you will interrupt the other. Will you urge our supporters to stay calm during this extended period, not to engage in any civil unrest? Will you pledge tonight that you will not declare victory until the election has been independently certified? President Trump will go first.

1:30:54 TRUMP

I'm urging my supporters to go into the polls and watch very carefully because that's what has to happen. I am urging them to do it. As you know, today there was a big problem. In Philadelphia, they went into watch, they were called poll watchers, a very safe very nice thing. They were thrown out. They weren't allowed to watch. You know why? Because bad things happen in Philadelphia. Bad things. And I am urging, I am urging my people- I hope it's gonna be a fair election. If it's a fair election, I am 100% on board. But if I see 10s of thousands of ballots being manipulated. I can't go along with that.

1:32:31 WALLACE

Does that mean you are gonna tell your people to take to the streets?

1:32:32 TRUMP

I'll tell you what it means. It means you have a fraudulent election. You're not equipped to, these people aren't equipped to handle it, number one. Number two, they cheat. They cheat. Hey, they found balance in a wastepaper basket days ago and they all had the name, military fellas. They were military, they all had the name, Trump on them. You think that's good?

1:31:51 WALLACE

Vice President Biden, final question for you. Will you urge your supporters to stay calm while the vote is counted? And will you pledge not to declare victory until the election is independently certified?

1:32:05 BIDEN

Yes. Here's the deal, they count the ballots, as you pointed out some of these ballots in some states can't even be open until Election Day. And if there's thousands of ballots, it's gonna take time to do it. And by the way, our military. They've been voting, by ballots since the end of the Civil War in effect. And that's what's happened gonna happen. Why was it not, why is it for them to somehow not fraudulent? It's the same process. It's honest. No one has established at all, that there is fraud related to mail-in ballots. That somehow it's a fraudulent --

1:32:41 TRUMP

It's already been established. Look at --

1:32:45 WALLACE

You had an opportunity to respond. Go ahead.

1:32:48 BIDEN

He has no idea what he's talking about. Here's the deal, the fact is, I will accept it and he will too. Because you know why? Because once the winner is declared, after all the, all the ballots are counted, all the votes are counted, that'll be the end of it. That'll be the end of it. And if it's me, in fact, fine. And if it's not me, I'll support the outcome. And I'll be a president, not just for the Democrats. I'll be president for Democrats and Republicans. And this guy --

1:33:16 TRUMP

I want us to --

1:33:21 WALLACE

Gentlemen? Will you say that's the end of it? This is the end of this debate. We're going leave it there. To be continued in more debates as we move on. President Trump, Vice President Biden, it's been an interesting hour and a half. I want to thank you both for participating in the first of three debates that you have agreed to engage in. We want to thank Case Western Reserve University, and the Cleveland Clinic for hosting this event. The next debate, sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates, will be one week from tomorrow. October 7 at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. The two vice presidential nominees Vice President Mike

Pence and Senator Kamala Harris will debate at 9pm Eastern that we hope you watch. Until then, thank you and good night.

## Appendix II: Final Debate

*Here is the full transcript of the final presidential debate between President Donald Trump and former Vice President Joe Biden, moderated by Kristen Welker in Nashville on Oct. 22, 2020. Headers have been added for ease of reading.*

**[0:00] Welker:** A very good evening to both of you. This debate will cover six major topics. At the beginning of each section, each candidate will have two minutes, uninterrupted, to answer my first question. The debate commission will then turn on their microphone only when it is their turn to answer, and the commission will turn it off exactly when the two minutes have expired. After that, both microphones will remain on, but on behalf of the voters, I'm going to ask you to please speak one at a time. The goal is for you to hear each other and for the American people to hear every word of what you both have to say. And so with that, if you're ready, let's start.

And we will begin with the fight against the coronavirus. President Trump, the first question is for you. The country is heading into a dangerous new phase. More than 40,000 Americans are in the hospital tonight with COVID, including record numbers here in Tennessee. And since the two of you last shared a stage, 16,000 Americans have died from COVID. So please be specific: how would you leave the country during this next stage of the coronavirus crisis? Two minutes, uninterrupted.

### **Trump and Biden on COVID-19**

[1:03] Trump: So, as you know, more 2.2 million people, modeled out, were expected to die. We closed up the greatest economy in the world in order to fight this horrible disease that came from China. It's a worldwide pandemic. It's all over the world. You see the spikes in Europe and many other places right now. If you notice, the mortality rate is down, 85%. The excess mortality rate is way down, and much lower than almost any other country. And we're fighting it and we're fighting it hard. There is a spike. There was a spike in Florida, and it's now gone. There was a very big spike in Texas, it's now gone. There was a very big spike in Arizona, it's now gone. And there were some spikes and surges in other places. They will soon be gone. We have a vaccine that's coming, it's ready. It's going to be announced within weeks, and it's going to be delivered. We have Operation Warp Speed, which is the military, is going to distribute the vaccine. I can tell you from personal experience that I was in the hospital, I had it. And I got better and I will tell you that I had something that they gave me — a therapeutic, I guess they would call it. Some people could say it was a cure. But I was in for a short period of time and I got better very fast or I wouldn't be here tonight. And now they say I'm immune. Whether it's four months or a lifetime, nobody's been able to say that, but I'm immune. More and more people are getting better. We have a problem that's a worldwide problem. This is a worldwide problem, but I've been

congratulated by the heads of many countries on what we've been able to do with the — if you take a look at what we've done in terms of goggles and masks and gowns and everything else, and in particular, ventilators. We're now making ventilators. All over the world, thousands and thousands a month, distributing them all over the world, it will go away and as I say, we're rounding the turn, we're rounding the corner, it's going away.

**[3:05] Welker:** OK, former Vice President Biden, to you, how would you lead the country out of this crisis? You have two minutes uninterrupted.

**[3:12] Biden:** 220,000 Americans dead. If you hear nothing else I say tonight, hear this. Anyone who's responsible for not taking control — in fact, not saying, I take no responsibility, initially — anyone who is responsible for that many deaths should not remain as President of the United States of America. We're in a situation where there are thousands of deaths a day, a thousand deaths a day. And there are over 70,000 new cases per day. Compared to what's going on in Europe, as the New England Medical Journal said, they're starting from a very low rate. We're starting from a very high rate. The expectation is we'll have another 200,000 Americans dead by the time, between now and the end of the year. If we just wore these masks — the President's own advisors told them — we could save 100,000 lives. And we're in a circumstance where the President, thus far, still has no plan. No comprehensive plan. What I would do is make sure we have everyone encouraged to wear a mask, all the time. I would make sure we move in the direction of rapid testing, investing in rapid testing. I would make sure that we set up national standards as to how to open up schools and open up businesses so they can be safe, and give them the wherewithal and financial resources to be able to do that. We're in a situation now where the New England Medical Journal — one of the serious, most serious journals in the whole world — said for the first time ever that this, the way this President has responded to this crisis has been absolutely tragic. And so folks, I will take care of this, I will end this, I will make sure we have a plan.

**[5:00] Welker:** President Trump, I'd like to follow up with you and your comments. You talked about taking a therapeutic. I assume you're referencing Regeneron. You also said a vaccine will be coming within weeks. Is that a guarantee?

**[5:12] Trump:** It is not a guarantee but it will be by the end of the year, but I think it has a good chance. One or two companies, I think, within a matter of weeks, and it will be distributed very quickly.

**[5:21] Welker:** Can you tell us what companies?

**Trump:** Johnson and Johnson is doing very well. Moderna is doing very well. Pfizer is doing very well, and we have numerous others. And then we also have others that we're working on very closely with other countries, in particular Europe.

**[5:34] Welker:** Let me follow up with you, and because this is new information — You have said a vaccine is coming soon, within weeks now. Your own officials say it could take well into 2021 at the earliest for enough Americans to get vaccinated, and even then they say the country will be wearing masks and distancing into 2022. Is your timeline realistic?

**[5:52] Trump:** No, I think my timeline is going to be more accurate. I don't know that they're counting on the military the way I do, but we have our generals lined up, one in particular, that's the head of logistics. And this is a very easy distribution for him. He's ready to go as soon as we have the vaccine, and we expect to have 100 million vials as soon as we have the vaccine, he's ready to go.

**[6:12] Welker:** Vice President Biden, your reaction? Just 40% of Americans say they would definitely agree to take a coronavirus vaccine if it was approved by the government. What steps would you take to give Americans confidence in a vaccine if it were approved?

**[6:25] Biden:** Make sure it's totally transparent. Have the scientific world see, know, look at it, go through all the processes. And by the way, this is the same fellow who told you this is going to end by Easter last time. This the same fellow who told you that, don't worry, we're going to end this by the summer. We're about to go into a dark winter, a dark winter, and he has no clear plan and there's no prospect that there's going to be a vaccine available for the majority of the American people before the middle of next year.

**[6:53] Welker:** President Trump, your reaction? He says you have no plan.

**[6:55] Trump:** I don't think it's going to be a dark winter at all. We're opening up our country. We've learned and studied and understand the disease, which we didn't know at the beginning. When I closed and banned China from coming in heavily infected, and then ultimately Europe, but China was in January — months later he was saying I was xenophobic, I did it too soon. Now he's saying, 'Oh, I should have, I should have, you know, moved quicker.' But he didn't move quicker; he was months behind me, many months behind me. And frankly, he ran the H1N1 swine flu, and it was a total disaster. Far less lethal. But it was a total disaster. Had that had this kind of numbers, 700,000 people would be dead right now, but it was a far less lethal disease. Look, his own person who ran that for him who, as you know was his chief of staff, said 'It was catastrophic, it was horrible, we didn't know what we were doing.' Now he comes up and he tells us how to do this. Also everything that he said about the way — every single move that he said we should make — that's what we've done, we've done all of it, but he was way behind us.

**[8:09] Welker:** Vice President Biden, your response?

**[8:10] Biden:** My responses is, he is xenophobic but not because he shut down access from China. And he did it late, after 40 countries had already done that. In addition to that, what he did, he made sure that we had 44 people that were in there, in China, trying to get to Wuhan to

determine what exactly the source was. What did the President say in January? He said no, he said, this is — he's being transparent, the president of China is being transparent. We owe him a debt of gratitude. We have to thank him. And then what happened was, we started talking about using the Defense Act, to make sure we go out and get whatever is needed out there to protect people. And again, I go back to this, he had nothing. He did virtually nothing. And then he gets out of the hospital, and he talks about we're, this is, 'Oh, don't worry. This is all going to be over soon.' Come on, there's not another serious scientist in the world who thinks it's going to be over soon.

**[9:02] Welker:** President Trump, your reaction?

**[9:03] Trump:** I did not say over soon. I say we're learning to live with it. We have no choice. We can't lock ourselves up in a basement like Joe does. He has the ability to lock himself up. I don't know, he's obviously made a lot of money, someplace, but he has this thing about living in a basement. People can't do that. By the way, I, as the president, couldn't do that. I'd love to put myself in the basement or in a beautiful room in the White House and go away for a year and a half until it disappears. I can't do that. And here's — every, every meeting I had — every meeting I had — and I meet a lot of families, including Gold Star families and military families, every meeting I had — and I had to meet them, I had to, it would be horrible to have canceled everything. I said, you know, this is dangerous. And you catch it. And you know, I caught it. I learned a lot. I learned a lot, great doctors, great hospitals. And now, I recovered. 99.9 of young people recover. 99% of people recover. We have to recover. We can't close up our nation, we have to open our school, and we can't close up our nation, or you're not going to have a nation.

**[10:09] Welker:** And of course the CDC has said young people can get sick with COVID-19 and can pass it. Vice President Biden, I want to talk broadly about strategy, though.

**[10:19] Biden:** Can I respond to that?

**[10:20] Welker:** 30 seconds please, and then I have a question.

**[10:22] Biden:** Number one. He says that we're, you know, we're learning to live with it. People are learning to die with it. You folks home will have an empty chair at the kitchen table this morning. That man or wife going to bed tonight and reaching over to try to touch their, out of habit, where their wife or husband was, is gone. Learning to live with it? Come on. We're dying with it, because he's never said — he said it's dangerous. When's the last time? Is it really dangerous, still? Are we dangerous? Tell the people, is it dangerous now? What should they do about the danger? And you say, I take no responsibility.

**[10:55] Welker:** Let me talk about —

**[10:56] Trump:** Excuse me.

**[10:57] Welker:** Very quickly.

**[10:58] Trump:** I take full responsibility. It's not my fault that it came here. It's China's fault. You know what, it's not Joe's fault that it came here either. It's China's fault. They kept it from going into the rest of China, for the most part, but they didn't keep it from coming out to the world including Europe and ourselves

**[11:15] Welker:** Vice President Biden. as tracked is that when we knew was coming, when it hit.

**[11:16] Biden:** The fact is, when we knew it was coming, when it hit — What happened? What did the President say? He said don't worry, it's going to go away, it's going to be gone by Easter. Don't worry, the warm weather. Don't worry, maybe inject bleach — he said he was kidding when he said that, but a lot of people thought it was serious. A whole range of things the President said. And even today, he thinks we are in control. We're about to lose 200,000 more people

**[11:42] Welker:** President Trump.

**[11:43] Trump:** Look, perhaps just to finish this, I was kidding on that but just to finish this. When I closed, he said, I shouldn't have closed. And that went on for months. What Nancy Pelosi said the same thing. She was dancing on the streets in Chinatown in San Francisco. But when I closed, he said, this is a terrible thing. You're xenophobic. I think he called me racist, even, and because I was closing it to China. Now he says I should have closed it earlier. It just Joe, it doesn't —

**[12:12] Biden:** I didn't say either of those things.

**[12:13] Trump:** You certainly did.

**[12:16] Biden:** I talked about his xenophobia in a different context. It wasn't about closing the border to Chinese coming to the United States.

**[12:23] Welker:** All right, I want to talk about both of your different strategies to handling this.

**[12:26] Trump:** He thought I shouldn't have closed the border. That's obvious.

**[12:30] Welker:** Do you wanna respond to that quickly, vice president?

**[12:33] Biden:** No.

**[12:33] Welker:** OK, let's talk about your different strategies toward dealing with this. Mr. Vice President, you suggested you would support new shutdowns if scientists recommended it. What do you say to Americans who are fearful that the cost of shutdowns, the impact on the economy, the higher rates of hunger depression, domestic and substance abuse, outweighs the risk of exposure to the virus?

**[12:51] Biden:** What I would say is I'm going to shut down the virus, not the country. It's his ineptitude that caused the country to have to shut down in large part — why businesses have gone under, why schools are closed, why so many people have lost their living and why they're concerned. Those other concerns are real. That's why he should have been — instead of in a sand trap at his golf course — he should have been negotiating with Nancy Pelosi and the rest of the Democrats and Republicans about what to do about the acts they were passing for billions of dollars to make sure people had the capacity.

**[13:21] Welker:** You haven't ruled out more shutdowns

**[13:24] Biden:** Oh no, I'm not shutting down the nation but there are, look, they need standards. The standard is, if you have a reproduction rate in a community that's above a certain level, everybody says, slow up. More social distancing. Do not open bars and do not open gymnasiums. Do not open until you get this under control, under more control. But when you do open, give the people the capacity to be able to open and have the capacity to do it safely. For example schools — schools, they need a lot of money to open. They need to deal with ventilation systems, they need to deal with smaller classes, more teacher, more pods, and he's refused to support that money, or at least up to now

**[14:03] Welker:** Let's talk about schools. President Trump —

**[14:05] Trump:** Well, I think we have to respond, if I might.

**[14:07] Welker:** Please, and then I have a follow up.

**[14:08] Trump:** Thank you, and I appreciate that. Look, all he does is talk about shutdowns but forget about him. His democrat governors — Cuomo in New York, you look at what's going on in California, you look at Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Democrats, Democrats all — they are shut down so tight, and they're dying. They're dying. And he supports all these people. All he talks about is shutdowns No, we're not going to shut down, and we have to open our schools. And it's like, as an example, I have a young son. He also tested positive. By the time I spoke to the doctor, the second time, he was fine, it just went away. Young people, I guess it's their immune system.

**[14:46] Welker:** Let me follow up, President Trump. You've demanded schools open in person and insisted they can do it safely. But just yesterday, Boston became the latest city to move its public school system entirely online after a coronavirus spike. What is your message to parents who worry that sending their children to school will endanger not only their kids, but also their teachers and families?

**[15:04] Trump:** I want to open the schools. The transmittal rate to the teachers is very small, but I want to open the schools. We have to open our country. We're not going to have a country. You can't do this, we can't keep this country closed. It is a massive country with a massive economy.

People are losing their jobs, they're committing suicide. There's depression, alcohol, drugs at a level that nobody's ever seen before. There's abuse, tremendous abuse. We have to open our country. You know I've said it often — the cure cannot be worse than the problem itself, and that's what's happening, and he wants to close down. He'll close down the country if one person in our, in our massive bureaucracy says we should close it down.

**[15:49] Welker:** Vice President Biden, your —

**[15:51] Biden:** Simply not true. We're gonna be able to walk and chew gum at the same time. We ought to be able to safely open, but we need resources to open. You need to be able to, for example, if you're gonna open a business, have social distancing within the business. You need to have, if you have a restaurant, you need to have plexiglass dividers so people cannot infect one another. You need to be in a position where you can take testing rapidly and know whether a person is, in fact, infected. You need to be able to trace. You need to be able to provide all the resources that are needed to do this and that is not inconsistent with saying that we're going to make sure that we open safely. And by the way, all you teachers out there — not that many of you are going to die, so don't worry about it. Don't worry about it. Come on.

**[16:37] Welker:** President Trump, let me follow up with you quickly.

**[16:39] Trump:** I will say this, if you go and look at what's happened to New York, it's a ghost town. It's a ghost town. And when you talk about plexiglas — these are restaurants that are dying. These are businesses with no money. Putting the plexiglas is unbelievably expensive, and it's not the answer. I mean, you're going to sit there in a cubicle wrapped around with plastic? These are businesses that are dying, Joe, you can't do that to people, which again, take a look at New York and what's happened to my wonderful city. For so many years, I loved it. It was vibrant. It's dying. Everyone's leaving New York.

**[17:34] Welker:** Vice President.

**[17:34] Biden:** Take a look what New York has done in terms of turning the curve down, in terms of the number of people dying. And I don't look at this in terms of what he does, blue states and red states. They're all the United States. And look at the states that are having such a spike in the coronavirus. They're the red states. They are the states in the Midwest, they are the states in the upper Midwest, that's where the spike is occurring significantly, but they're all Americans. They're all Americans and what we have to do is say, wear these masks, number one, make sure we get the help that the businesses need. The money's already been passed to do that. It's been out there since the beginning of this summer and nothing's happened.

**Trump:** New York has lost more than 40,000 people. 11,000 people in nursing.

**[18:00] Welker:** President Trump, what about —

**[18:02] Trump:** When you say spike, take a look at what's happening in Pennsylvania, where they've had it closed. Take a look at what's happening with your friend in Michigan, where her husband's the only one allowed to do anything. It's been like a prison. Now it was just ruled unconstitutional. Take a look at North Carolina. They're having spikes and they've been closed, and they're getting killed financially. We can't let that happen, Joe, you can't let that happen. We have to open up and we understand that disease, we have to protect our seniors, we have to protect our elderly, we have to protect, especially, our seniors with heart problems and diabetes problems, and we will protect them. We have the best testing in the world by far. That's why we have so many cases.

**[18:42] Welker:** Let me follow up with you before we move on to our next section. President Trump, this week you called Dr. Anthony Fauci, the nation's best known infectious disease expert, “a disaster.” You described him and other medical experts as “idiots.” If you're not listening to them, who are you listening to?

**[18:58] Trump:** I'm listening to all of them, including Anthony. I get along very well with Anthony. But he did say, ‘don't wear masks.’ He did say, as you know, ‘this is not going to be a problem.’ I think he's a Democrat, but that's okay. He said, ‘this is not going to be a problem. We are not going to have a problem at all.’ When Joe says that, I said — Anthony Fauci said and others and many others. And I'm not knocking him. Nobody knew. Look, nobody knew what this thing was, nobody knew where it was coming from, what it was. We've learned a lot, but Anthony said, ‘don't wear masks.’ Now he wants to wear masks. Anthony also said, if you look back, exact words, here's his exact words: ‘This is no problem, this is going to go away soon.’ So he's allowed to make mistakes, he happens to be a good person.

**[19:43] Welker:** Vice President Biden, your response, quickly and then we're going to move on to the next section.

**[19:45] Biden:** My response is think about what the President knew in January and didn't tell the American people. He was told this was a serious virus that spread in the air, and it was much worse than — much worse — than the flu. He went on record and said to one of your colleagues, recorded, that in fact he knew how dangerous it was but he didn't want to tell us, didn't want to tell us because he didn't want us to panic. He didn't want us — Americans don't panic. He panicked. Well, guess what, in the meantime, we find out in the New York Times the other day that in fact, his folks went to Wall Street and said, ‘this is a really dangerous thing,’ and a memo out of that meeting — not from his administration, but from some of the brokers — had said, ‘sell short, because we gotta get moving. It's a dangerous problem.’

**[20:30] Trump:** Well this is —

**[20:31] Welker:** I'm going to give you 30 seconds to respond and then we're gonna move on.

**[20:33] Trump:** I don't know if somebody went to Wall Street. You're the one that takes all the money from Wall Street. I don't take it. You have raised a lot of money, tremendous amounts of money. And every time you raise money, deals are made. I could raise so much more money. As president and as somebody that knows most of those people, I could call the heads of Wall Street, the heads of every company in America, I would blow away every record. But I don't want to do that because it puts me in a bad position. And then you bring up Wall Street? You shouldn't be bringing up Wall Street. Because you're the one that takes the money from Wall Street, not me. I could blow away your records like you wouldn't believe. We don't need money. We have plenty of money. In fact, we beat Hillary Clinton with a tiny fraction of the money that she was able to get. Don't tell me about wall street.

**[21:15] Welker:** All right, gentlemen, we're gonna move on.

**[21:17] Biden:** Average contribution, \$43.

### **On national security**

**[21:18] Welker:** All right, we're gonna move on to our next section which is national security. And I do want to start with the security of our elections and some breaking news from overnight. Just last night, top intelligence officials confirmed again that both Russia and Iran are working to influence this election. Both countries have obtained U.S. voter registration information, these officials say, and Iran sent intimidating messages to Florida voters. This question goes to you, Mr. Vice President, what would you do to put an end to this threat? You have two minutes, uninterrupted.

**[21:48] Biden:** I made it clear. And I asked everyone else to take the pledge. I made it clear that any country, no matter who it is, that interferes in American elections will pay a price. They will pay the price. It has been overwhelmingly clear in this election — I won't even get into the last one — this election, that Russia has been involved. China has been involved to some degree, and now we learned that, that Iran is involved. They will pay a price if I'm elected. Interfering with American sovereignty. That's what's going on right now. They're interfering with American sovereignty. And to the best of my knowledge, I don't think the President said anything to Putin about it. I don't think he's talking a lot. I don't think he said a word. I don't know why he hasn't said a word to Putin about it. And I don't know what he has recently said, if anything, to the Iranians. My guess is he'd probably be more outspoken with regard to the Iranians. But the point is this, folks. We are in a situation where we have foreign countries trying to interfere in the outcome of our election. His own national security advisor told him that what is happening with his buddy — well, I won't, I shouldn't — I will — his buddy Rudy Giuliani. He's being used as a Russian pawn. He's being fed information that is Russian, that is not true. And then what happens? Nothing happens. And then you find out that everything is going on here about Russia is wanting to make sure that I do not get elected the next President of the United States because

they know I know them, and they know me. I don't understand why this President is unwilling to take on Putin when he's actually paying bounties to kill American soldiers in Afghanistan, when he's engaged in activities that are trying to destabilize all of NATO. I don't know why he doesn't do it but it's worth asking the question. Why isn't that being done? Any country that interferes with us will, in fact, pay a price because they're affecting our sovereignty.

**[23:45] Welker:** President Trump, same question to you. Let me, let me ask the question. You're gonna have two minutes to respond for two elections in a row now there has been substantial interference from foreign adversaries. What would you do in your next term to put an end to this? Two minutes, uninterrupted.

**[23:56] Trump:** Well, let me respond to the first part, as Joe answered. Joe got three and a half million dollars from Russia. And it came through Putin, because he was very friendly with the former mayor of Moscow and it was the mayor of Moscow's wife. He got three and a half million dollars. Your family got three and a half million dollars and you know someday, you're gonna have to explain — why did you get three and a half? I never got any money from Russia. I don't get money from Russia. Now, about your thing last night, I knew all about that, and through John — who is John Radcliffe, who is a fantastic DNI — he said, the one thing that's common to both of them, they both want you to lose. Because there has been nobody tougher to Russia. Between the sanctions, nobody tougher than me on Russia. Between the sanctions between all of what I've done with NATO. You know, I've got the NATO countries to put up an extra 130 billion, going to \$420 billion a year, that's to guard against Russia. I sold — while he was selling pillows and sheets — I sold tank busters to Ukraine. There has been nobody tougher on Russia than Donald Trump. And I'll tell you, they were so bad. They took over the, the submarine port. You remember that very well during your term, during you and Barack Obama. They took over a big part of what should have been Ukraine. You handed it to them. But you were getting a lot of money from Russia. They were paying you a lot of money and they probably still are, but now, with what came out today, it's even worse. All of the emails, the emails are horrible. The emails of the kind of money that you were raking in, you and your family. And Joe, you were vice president when some of this was happening. And it should have never happened. And I think you owe an explanation to the American people. Why is it, somebody just had a news conference a little while ago, who was essentially supposed to work with you and your family, but what he said was damning. And regardless of me, I think you have to clean it up and talk to the American people. Maybe you can do it right now.

**[26:01] Welker:** Vice President Biden, you may respond to follow up on the election security.

**[26:06] Biden:** I have not taken a penny from any foreign source ever in my life. We learn that this President paid 50 times the tax in China, as a secret bank account with China, does business in China, and in fact, is talking about me taking money? I have not taken a single penny from any country whatsoever, ever, number one. Number two, this is a president — I have released all of my tax returns. 22 years. Go look at them. 22 years of my tax return. You have not released a

single solitary year of your tax return. What are you hiding? Why are you unwilling? The foreign countries are paying you a lot. Russia is paying you a lot. China is paying a lot. And your hotels and all your businesses all around the country, all around the world. And China's building a new road to a new gas... a golf course you have overseas. So what's going on here? Why don't you release your tax return or stop talking about corruption?

**[27:04] Welker:** President Trump, your response.

**[27:06] Trump:** First of all, I called my accounts — under audit. I'm going to release them as soon as we can. I want to do it, and it will show how successful, how great this company is. But much more importantly than that, people were saying \$750. I asked them a week ago, I said, what did I pay? They said, sir, you pre-paid tens of millions of dollars. I prepaid my tax. Tens. Over the last number of years. Tens of millions of dollars, I prepaid, because at some point, they think, it's an estimate. They think I may have to pay tax. So, I already prepaid it. Nobody told me that.

**[27:42] Welker:** Did your accountant tell you —

**[27:44] Trump:** Excuse me. And it wasn't written whenever they write this. They keep talking about \$750, which I think is a filing fee. But let me just tell you, I prepaid millions and millions of dollars in taxes, number one. Number two, I don't make money from China, you do. I don't make money from Ukraine, you do. I don't make money from Russia. You made three and a half million dollars, Joe, and your son gave you. They even have a statement that we have to give 10% to the big man. You're the big man, I think. I don't know, maybe you're not. But you're the big man, I think. You son said that we have to give 10% to the big man. Joe, what's that all about? It's terrible.

**[28:22] Welker:** All right, gentlemen, I want to ask you both some questions about all of this. I'm gonna let you both respond, very quickly. You just said you spoke to your accountant about potentially releasing your taxes. Did he tell you when you can release them? Do you have a deadline for when you're going to release them to the American people?

**[28:35] Trump:** I get treated worse than the Tea Party got treated. A lot of people in there, deep down in the IRS, they treat me horribly. We made a deal, it was all settled, until I decided to run for president. I get treated very badly by the IRS, very unfairly, but we had a deal all done. As soon as we're completed with the deal, I want to release it. But I have paid millions and millions of dollars. And it's worse than paying. I paid in advance. It's called prepaying your taxes. I paid.

**[29:04] Welker:** I want to ask you both about questions regarding your potential foreign entanglements and questions that have been raised to give you both a chance to talk about this more broadly.

**[29:12] Biden:** At some point I want to respond.

**[29:13] Welker:** Respond very quickly, and then I'll get to my question.

**[29:15] Biden:** Why do he — He's been saying this for four years. Show us. Just show us. Stop playing around. You've been saying for four years you're going to release your taxes. Nobody knows, Mr. President, they do know is you're not paying your taxes or you're paying taxes that are so low. When last time he said what he paid, he said, 'I only pay that little because I'm smart. I know how to game the system.' Come on, come on, folks.

**[29:42] Welker:** Quickly, President Trump, and then I want to get to two questions to both of you.

**[29:46] Trump:** I was put through a phony witch hunt for three years. It started before I even got elected. They spied on my campaign. No president should ever have to go through what I went through. Let me just say this. Mueller and 18 angry Democrats, and FBI agents all over the place spent, \$48 million. They went through everything I had, including my tax returns, and they found absolutely no collusion and nothing wrong. \$48 million. I guarantee you, if I spent 1 million on you Joe, I could find plenty wrong, because the kind of things that you've done and the kind of monies that your family has taken — I mean, your brother made money in Iraq, millions of dollars. Your other brother made a fortune, and it's all through you, Joe. And they say you get some of it. And you do live very well. You have houses all over the place. You live very well.

**[30:41] Welker:** All right, gentlemen, let me just ask some questions about all of this broadly. Vice President Biden, there have been questions about the work your son has done in China, and for Ukrainian energy company when you were Vice President. In retrospect, was anything about those relationships inappropriate or unethical?

**[30:56] Biden:** Nothing was unethical. Here's what the deal. With regard to Ukraine, we had this whole question about whether or not, because he was on the board, I later learned, of Burisma, a company, that somehow I had done something wrong. Yet every single solitary person, when he was going through his impeachment, testifying under oath who worked for him, said I did my job impeccably. I carried out US policy. Not one, single, solitary thing was out of line. Not a single thing, number one. Number two, the guy who got in trouble in Ukraine was this guy, trying to bribe the Ukrainian government to say something negative about me, which they would not do, and did not do, because it never, ever, ever happened. My son has not made money in terms of this thing about — what are you talking about — China. I have not had it. The only guy that made money from China is this guy. He's the only one. Nobody else has made money from China.

**[31:58] Welker:** Let me ask my question to you.

**[32:00] Trump:** Could I just — one thing.

**[32:01] Welker:** Very quickly.

**[32:02] Trump:** His son didn't have a job for a long time, was sadly no longer in the military service, I won't get into that. And he didn't have a job. As soon as he became vice president, Burisma — not the best, not the best reputation in the world — I hear they paid him 183,000 a month. Listen to this, 183, and they gave him a \$3 million upfront payment, and he had no energy experience. That's 100% dishonest.

**[32:27] Welker:** I'm going to let the vice president respond to that quickly and then I have a question for you.

**[32:31] Biden:** No basis for that. Everybody investigated that, no one said anything he did was wrong in Ukraine.

**[32:35] Welker:** OK, President Trump, this is for you. Since you took office, you've never divested from your business. You've personally promoted your properties abroad. A report this week, which was referenced, does indicate that your company has a bank account in China. So how can voters know that you don't have any foreign conflicts of interest?

**[32:52] Trump:** I have many bank accounts and they're all listed and they're all over the place. I mean, I was a businessman doing business. The bank account you're referring to — which is, everybody knows about it, it's listed — the bank account was in 2013. That's what it was. It was opened. It was closed in 2015, I believe, and then I decided, because I was going to do, I was thinking about doing a deal in China, like millions of other people, I was thinking about it. And I decided I'm not going to do it, didn't like it, I decided not to do it, had an account open and I closed it.

**[32:26] Welker:** OK.

**[32:27] Trump:** Excuse me, and then unlike him, where he's Vice President, and he does business, I then decided to run for president after that. That was before. So I closed it before I even ran for president, let alone became president, big difference. He is the Vice President of the United States, and his son, his brother and his other brother are getting rich, they're like a vacuum cleaner, there's something —

**[33:54] Welker:** We do need to move on. I do want to ask you, Vice President Biden, about China. Let's talk about China more broadly. There have, of course, President Trump has said that they should pay for not being fully transparent in regards to the coronavirus. If you were president, would you make China pay and please be specific, what would that look like?

**Biden:** What I'd make China do is play by the international rules, not like he has done. He has caused the deficit in China to go up not down — with China, go up not down. We are making sure that in order to do business in China, you have to give all your intellectual property. You have to get/have a partner in China, it is 51%. We would not do that at all, number one. Number two, we're in a situation where China would have to play by the rules internationally as well.

When I met with Xi, and when I was still vice president, he said ‘we're setting up air identification zones in the South China Sea, you can't fly through them.’ I said, ‘we're gonna fly through them. We just flew B52/B1 bombers through it. We're not going to pay attention.’ They have to play by the rules, and what's he do? He embraces guys like the thugs like in North Korea, and, and, and the Chinese president and Putin and others, and he pokes his finger in the eye of all our friends, all of our allies. We make up only — we’ re 25%. 25% of the world's economy. We need to be having the rest of our friends with us, saying to China, these are the rules. You play by them or you're going to pay the price for not paying by them, economically. That's the way I will run it. And that's what we did and upholding steel tariffs and a range of other things when we were president and vice president.

[35:33] **Welker:** All right, let's talk about North Korea.

[35:35] **Trump:** Excuse me, no, I have to respond to this.

[35:37] **Welker:** OK, very quickly and then we're gonna have...

[35:39] **Trump:** His son walked out with a billion and a half dollars from China —

[35:41] **Biden:** Not true.

[35:42] **Trump:** — after spending 10 minutes in office and being an Air Force Two, number one. Number two, there's a very strong email, talking about your family wanting to make \$10 million a year for introductions.

[35:56] **Biden:** That is not true.

[35:56] **Welker:** President Trump, on China policy, though. What are you gonna do? What specifically are you going to do to make China pay?

[36:03] **Trump:** First of all, China is paying. They’re paying billions and billions of dollars. I just gave \$28 billion.

[36:07] **Welker:** Through sanctions?

[36:08] **Trump:** I just gave \$28 billion to our farmers.

[36:12] **Biden:** Taxpayers money.

[36:14] **Trump:** It’s what?

[36:15] **Biden:** Taxpayers money.

[36:16] **Trump:** No, the taxpayers. It's called China.

[36:20] **Biden:** Not true.

**[36:20] Trump:** China pays for \$28 billion and you know what they did to pay it, Joe? They devalued their currency and they also paid up, and you know who got the money? Our farmers. Our great farmers, because they would target it. You never charge them anything. Also, I charged them 25% on dumped steel, because they were killing our steel industry. We were not going to have a steel, and now we have a steel industry

**[36:42] Welker:** OK, Vice President Biden, your response, please?

**[36:49] Biden:** This isn't about me. There's a reason why he's bringing up all this malarkey. There's a reason for it. He doesn't want to talk about the substantive issues. It's not about his family and my family. It's about your family, and your family's hurting badly. If you're making less than, if you're a middle class family, you're getting hurt badly right now. You're sitting at the kitchen table this morning deciding, well, we can't get new tires, they're bald, because we have to wait another month. Or, so are we going to be able to pay the mortgage? Who's going to tell her, she can't go back to community college? They're the decisions you're making in the middle class families like I grew up in Scranton and Claymont. They're in trouble. We should be talking about your families but that's the last thing he wants to talk about.

**[37:26] Welker:** I wanted to say, I want to tell —

**[37:28] Trump:** That is a typical statement. Just 10 seconds, please.

**[37:29] Welker:** 10 seconds Mr President, 10 seconds.

**[37:31] Trump:** Just a typical political statement. Let's get off this China thing, and then he looks — the family, around the table, everything. Just a typical politician when I see that.

**[37:40] Welker:** All right, let's talk —

**[37:40] Trump:** I'm not a typical politician, that's why I got elected.

**[37:44] Welker:** Let's talk about —

**[37:44] Trump:** Let's get off the subject of China, let's talk around sitting around the table. Come on, Joe, you can do better.

**[37:48] Welker:** We're gonna talk about North Korea now. President Trump, you've met with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un's three times. You've talked about your beautiful letters with him, you've touted the fact that there hasn't been a war or a long range missile test, and yet North Korea recently rolled out its biggest ever intercontinental ballistic missile and continues to develop its nuclear arsenal. Do you see that as a betrayal of the relationship? Just 30 seconds here because we need to get on to the next topic.

**[38:12] Trump:** When I met with Barack Obama, we sat in the White House, right at the beginning had a great conversation, was supposed to be 15 minutes and it was well over an hour.

He said the biggest problem we have is North Korea. He indicated we will be in a war with North Korea. Guess what, it would be a nuclear war, and he does have plenty of nuclear capability. In the meantime, I have a very good relationship with him, different kind of a guy but he probably thinks the same thing about me. We have a different kind of relationship. We have a very good relationship, and there's no war. And you know, about two months ago, he broke into a certain area. They said, 'oh there's going to be trouble.' I said, 'No, they're not. Because he's not going to do that.' And I was right. Look, instead of being in a war where millions of people — Seoul, you know, is 25 miles away, millions and millions, 32 million people in Seoul — millions of people would be dead right now. We don't have a war, and I have a good relationship.

**[39:05] Welker:** Vice President Biden, North Korea conducted four nuclear tests under the Obama administration. Why do you think you would be able to rein in this persistent threat?

**[39:15] Biden:** Because I'd make it clear, which we were making clear to China, they had to be part of the deal, because here's the root. I made it clear, as a spokesperson for the administration when I went to China, they said, 'Why are you moving your missile defense up so close? Why are you moving more forces? Why are you continuing to do military maneuvers with South Korea?' I said, 'Because North Korea is a problem. And we're going to continue to do it so we can control them. We're going to make sure we can control them and make sure they can not hurt us. And so if you want to do something about it, step up. And help if not, it's going to continue.' What has he done? He's legitimized North Korea, he's talked about his good buddy who's a thug, a thug, and he talks about how we're better off, and they have much more capable missiles, able to reach U.S. territory, much more easily than ever did before.

**[40:05] Welker:** Let me follow up with you, Vice President Biden, you've said you wouldn't meet with Kim Jong Un without preconditions. Are there any conditions under which you would meet with him?

**[40:12] Biden:** On the condition that he would agree that he would be drawing down his nuclear capacity to get there. The Korean Peninsula should be a nuclear free zone.

**[40:21] Welker:** All right, let's move on to American families.

**[40:24] Trump:** Kristen, they tried to meet with him.

**[40:24] Welker:** Very quickly. 10 seconds, President Trump.

**Trump:** They tried to meet with him, he wouldn't do it. He didn't like Obama. He didn't like him. He wouldn't do it.

**[40:32] Welker:** OK, I've got to give him a chance to respond.

**[40:33] Trump:** They tried, he wouldn't do it. And that's okay. You know what, North Korea, we're not in a war. We have a good relationship. You know, people don't understand — having a good relationship with leaders of other countries is a good thing.

**[40:43] Welker:** President Trump, we have to move on. We have a lot of questions to get through.

**[40:43] Biden:** We had a good relationship with Hitler before he in fact invaded Europe, the rest of Europe. Come on. The reason he would not meet with President Obama is because President Obama said we're gonna talk about denuclearization, we're not gonna legitimize you, we're gonna continue to put stronger and stronger sanctions on you. That's why he wouldn't meet with us.

**[41:10] Trump:** And it didn't happen.

**[41:12] Welker:** Let's move on and talk about American families.

**[41:14] Trump:** Excuse me, he left me a mess, Kristen. They left me a mess. North Korea was a mess.

**[41:18] Welker:** We need to move on so that we have time to get to all our questions tonight, President Trump.

**[41:22] Trump:** Remember the first two or three months. There was a very dangerous period in my first three months, before we sort of worked things out a little bit. They left us a mess, and Obama would be — I think, the first to say — it was the single biggest problem, he thought, that our country had.

## **On the economy**

**[41:47] Welker:** All right, let's move on to American families and the economy. One of the issues that's most important to them is health care, as you both know. Today, there was a key vote on a new Supreme Court Justice Amy Coney Barrett, and healthcare is at the center of her confirmation fight. Over 20 million Americans get their health insurance through the Affordable Care Act. It's headed to the Supreme Court, and your administration, Mr. President, is advocating for the court to overturn it. If the supreme court does overturn that law, those 20 million Americans could lose their health insurance almost overnight. So what would you do if those people have their health insurance taken away? You have two minutes uninterrupted.

**Trump:** First of all, I've already done something that nobody thought was possible. Through the legislature, I terminated the individual mandate. That is the worst part of Obamacare, as we call it. The individual mandate -- we have to pay a fortune for the privilege of not having to pay for bad health insurance. I terminate it; it's gone. Now it's in court, because Obamacare is no good.

But then I made a decision, 'Run it as well as you can' -- to my people, great people -- 'Run it as well as you can.' I could have gone the other route and made everybody very unhappy. They ran it. Premiums are down, everything's down. Here's the problem. No matter how well you run it, it's no good. What we'd like to do is terminate it. We have the individual mandate done. I don't know that it's going to work. If we don't win, we will have to run it and we'll have Obamacare, but it will be better run. But it no longer is Obamacare. Because without the individual mandate, it is much different. Pre-existing conditions will always stay. What I would like to do is a much better health care, much better. We'll always protect people with pre existing -- so I'd like to terminate Obamacare, come up with a brand new beautiful health care. The Democrats will do it because there'll be tremendous pressure on them. And we might even have the House at that time. And I think we're going to win the House, okay? You'll see, but I think we're gonna win the House. But come up with a better health care, always protecting people with pre existing conditions -- and one thing very important. We have 180 million people out there that have great private health care, far more than we're talking about with Obamacare. Joe Biden is going to terminate all of those policies. These are people that love the health care, people that have been successful -- middle income people -- been successful. They have 180 million plans, 180 million people, families under what he wants to do, which will basically be socialized medicine. He won't even have a choice. They want to terminate 180 million plans. We have done an incredible job with health care. And we're going to do even better.

**45:12 Welker:** OK. Vice President Biden, yes, this is for you. Your health care plan calls for building on Obamacare. So my question is, what is your plan if the law is ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court? You have two minutes uninterrupted.

**Biden:** What I'm going to do is pass Obamacare with a public option -- become Bidencare. Public option is an option that says that if you, in fact, do not have the wherewithal to be -- if you qualify for Medicaid, and you do not have the wherewithal in your state to get Medicaid, you automatically are enrolled, providing competition for insurance companies. That's what's going to happen. Secondly, we're going to make sure we reduce the premiums and reduce drug prices by making sure that there's competition that doesn't exist now by allowing Medicare to negotiate drug prices with the insurance companies. Thirdly, the idea that I want to eliminate private insurance -- the reason why I had such a fight for, with 20 candidates for the nomination, was I support private insurance. That's why I did not -- not one single person, private insurance, would lose their insurance under my plan, nor did they under Obamacare. They did not lose their insurance, unless they chose they wanted to go to something else. Lastly, we're going to make sure we're in a situation that we've actually protect pre existing -- there's no way he can protect pre existing conditions. None, zero, you can't do it in the ether. He's been talking about this for a long time. There is no -- he's never come up with a plan. I guess we're gonna get the pre existing condition plan the same time we get the infrastructure plan that we waited since 17, 18, 19, 20. The fact that -- I still have a little, a few more minutes, I know you're getting anxious -- the fact is that he's already cost the American people because of his terrible handling of the COVID virus

and economic spillover. 10 million people have lost their private insurance, and he wants to take away 22 million more people who have been under Obamacare, and over 110 million people with pre existing conditions. And all the people from COVID are going to have pre existing conditions. What are they going to do?

**47:20 Welker:** I have a follow up for you, Vice President Biden, it relates to something that President Trump said. He's accusing you of wanting socialized medicine. What do you say to people who have concerns that your health care plan, which includes a government insurance option, takes the country one step closer to a health care system run entirely by the government?

**Biden:** What he's saying, it's ridiculous. It's like saying that, you know, we're the idea that, the fact that there's a public option that people can choose, that makes the socialist plan? Look, the difference between the president -- I think health care is not a privilege, it's a right. Everyone should have the right to have affordable health care. And I am very proud of my plan. It's gotten endorsed by all the major labor unions as well as, as well as a whole range of other people who in fact, are concerned in the medical field. This is something that's going to save people's lives. And this is going to give some people an opportunity, an opportunity to have health care for their children, how many of you home are worried and rolling around in bed at night wondering what in God's name are you going to do if you get sick? Because you've lost your home insurance, your health insurance, your company's gone under. We have to provide health insurance for people at an affordable rate, and that's what I do.

**Welker:** President Trump, your response.

**Trump:** Excuse me, he was there for 47 years -- he didn't do it. He was now there as Vice President for eight years. And it's not like it was 25 years ago, it was three and three quarters. It was just a little while ago, right? Less than four years ago. He didn't do anything. He didn't do it. He wants socialized medicine. And it's not that he wants it, his vice president -- I mean, she is more liberal than Bernie Sanders and wants it even more, Bernie Sanders wants it, the Democrats want it. You're going to have socialized medicine. Just like you went on with fracking -- 'We're not going to have fracking, we're going to stop fracking, we're going to stop fracking.' Then he goes to Pennsylvania after he gets the nomination -- well he got very lucky to get it. And he goes to Pennsylvania, and he says, 'Oh, we're gonna have fracking.' And you never asked a question. And by the way, so far, I respect very much the way you're handling this, I have to say. But by the way, somebody should ask the question. He goes for a year --

**49:24 Welker:** We do have a number of -- we have a number of topics.

**Trump:** No, no, but that's a question --

**Welker:** We're gonna get to it --

**Trump:** It's the same thing with socialized medicine.

**Welker:** Vice President, your response.

**Biden:** My response is people deserve to have affordable health care -- period. Period, period, period. And the Bidencare proposal will, in fact, provide for that affordable health care, lower premiums. What we're going to do is going to cost some money; it's going to cost over \$750 billion over 10 years to do it. And they're going to have lower premiums, you can buy into the better plans, the cheaper plans, lower your premiums, deal with unexpected billing, and have your drug prices drop significantly. He keeps talking about it. He hasn't done a thing for anybody on health care, not a thing.

**Trump:** Kristen, when he says --

**Welker:** Very quickly, then I want to talk about what's happening on Capitol Hill

**50:08 Trump:** When he says public health option, he is talking about socialized medicine and health care. When he talks about a public option, he's talking about destroying your Medicare, totally destroying -- he's destroying your Social Security. And this whole country will come down. You know, Bernie Sanders tried it in his state. His governor was a very liberal governor, they wanted to make it work --

**Welker:** Let's see if --

**50:31 Trump:** -- it was impossible --

**Welker:** Vice President Biden, your response.

**50:34 Biden:** He thinks he's running against someone else. He's running against Joe Biden. I beat all those other people because I disagreed with them. Joe Biden, he's running against. And the idea that we're in a situation and want to destroy Medicare -- this is the guy that the actuary of Medicare said, 'If in fact' -- and, social security -- 'If, in fact, he continues to withhold his plan to withhold the tax on Social Security, Social Security will be bankrupt by 2023, with no way to pay for it. This is a guy who's tried to cut Medicare. So I don't know. I mean, the idea that Donald Trump is lecturing me on Social Security and Medicare? Come on.

**Trump:** He tried to get rid of --

**Welker:** Vice Presiden, Mr. President, I'm going to have to go on to another question --

**Trump:** -- he tried to hurt Social Security years ago, years ago. Go back and look at the records. He tried to hurt Social Security you've got --

**51:28 Welker:** All right, let's move on to the next question.

**51:31 Trump:** They say the stock market will rule if I'm elected. If he's elected, the stock market will crash.

**Welker:** OK, let's move on to the next question.

**Biden:** May I respond?

**Welker:** Very quickly.

**51:40 Biden:** The idea that the stock market is booming is his only measure of what's happening. Where I come from, in Scranton and Claymont, the people don't live off of the stock market. Just in the last three, three years during this crisis, the billionaires in this country made, according to the Wall Street, \$700 billion more dollars. \$700 billion more dollars. Because that's his only measure. What happens to the ordinary people out there? What happens to them?

**52:11 Trump:** 401k's are through the roof. 401k --

**Welker:** All right, let's move on.

**52:14 Trump:** -- are through the roof. And he doesn't come from Scranton. That's like, what -- he lived there for a short period of time before he even knew --

**Welker:** We're gonna move on --

**Trump:** And he left. And the people of Pennsylvania will tell you that.

**Welker:** -- to my next question, gentlemen. As of tonight, more than 12 million people are out of work. And as of tonight, 8 million more homes have fallen into poverty, and more families are going hungry every day. Those hit hardest are women and people of color. They see Washington fighting over a relief bill. Mr. President, why haven't you been able to get them the help they need? 30 seconds here.

**Trump:** Because Nancy Pelosi doesn't want to approve it. I do.

**Welker:** But you're the president.

**Trump:** I do. But I still have to get, unfortunate -- that's one of the reasons I think we're going to take over the House, because of her. Nancy Pelosi doesn't want to approve anything. She'd love to have some victories on a date called November 3. Nancy Pelosi does not want to approve it. We are ready, willing and able to do something. Don't forget, we've already approved three plans. And it's gone through, including the Democrats, in all fairness. This one she doesn't want. It's near the election, because she thinks it helps her politically. I think it hurts her politically.

**Welker:** All right, Mr. Vice President --

**Biden:** You know, the Republican leader in the United States Senate said he can't -- he will not pass it. He does not have Republican votes. Why isn't he talking to his Republican friends?

**Welker:** Let me follow up with you, Vice President

**Trump:** If we made a deal, we'd have --

**53:32 Welker:** Let me ask Vice President Biden the question. You are the leader of the Democratic Party. Why have you not [] Democrats to get a deal for the American people?

**Biden:** Well, I have and they have pushed it. Look, they passed this act all the way back in the beginning of the summer. This is like -- it's not new. It's been out there. The HEROES Act has been sitting there. And look at what's happening. When I was in charge of the Recovery Act with \$800 billion, I was able to get \$145 billion to local communities that have to balance their budget to states that have to balance their budgets, so then they have to fire fire -- they have to fire firefighters, teachers, first responders, law enforcement officers, so they can keep their cities and counties running. He will not support that. They have not done a thing for them. And Mitch McConnell said, 'Let him go bankrupt. Let him go bankrupt.' Come on. What's the matter with these --

**Trump:** The bill that was passed in the House was a bailout of badly run high crime, Democrat, all run by Democrats, cities and states. It was a way of getting a lot of money, billions and billions of dollars to these cities. It was also a way of getting a lot of money from our people's pockets to people that come into our country illegally. We were going to take care of everything for them. And what that does, and I'd love to do that, I'd love to help them. But what that does, everybody all over the world will start pouring into our country. We can't do it. This was a way of taking care of them. This was a way of sending them things that had nothing to do with COVID, as for your question, but it was really a big bailout for badly run Democrat cities and states.

**Welker:** I want --

**Biden:** All right, if I get elected, I'm not gonna -- I'm running as a proud Democrat, but I'm gonna be an American president. I don't see red states and blue states. What I see is American United States. And folks, every single state out there finds themselves in trouble. They're going to start laying off, whether they're red or blue. Cops, firefighters, first responders, teachers -- because they have to balance their budget. And the founders were smart. They allowed the federal government to deficit spend to compensate for the United States of America.

**Welker:** I want to talk about the minimum wage, gentlemen. Mr. Vice President, we are talking a lot about struggling small businesses and business owners today. Do you think this is the right time to ask them to raise the minimum wage? You, of course, support a \$15 minimum wage.

**Biden:** I do, because I think one of the things we're gonna have to do is we're gonna have to bail them out, too. We should be bailing them out now, those small businesses. You've got one in six of them going under. They're not going to be able to make it back. They passed a package that allows us to be able to call PPP, money that's supposed to go to help them do everything from organize how they could deal with their businesses being open safely. Schools, how they can

make classrooms smaller, how they can hire more teachers, how they can put ventilation systems in. They need the help, the businesses, as well as the schools, need the help. But this, these guys will not help them. He is not giving them any of the money.

**Welker:** We are going to move on --

**56:35 Trump:** For small businesses -- by raising the minimum wage and helping, I think it should be a state option. Alabama is different than New York, New York is different from Vermont. Every state is different. It should be a state option. So it's very important. We have to help our small business --

**Welker:** You said --

**Trump:** How are you helping small businesses, when you're forcing wages. What's going to happen and what's been proven to happen is when you do that these firemen

**57:03 Welker:** Well you said you would consider raising the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour --

**Trump:** Say again?

**Welker:** You said recently you would consider raising the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour. Is that still the case?

**57:10 Trump:** What I'd really like, I would consider it to an extent. I really like what I -- in a second administration -- but not to a level that's going to put all these businesses out of business. It should be a state option. Look, I have a read on different places, I know different places. They're all different. Some places, \$15 is not so bad. In other places, other states, \$15 --

**Welker:** OK, President Trump, thank you. Quick response, Vice President Biden

**Biden:** Two jobs, one job below poverty. People are making 6, 7, 8 bucks an hour. These first responders we all clap for as they come down the street, because they've allowed us to make it. What's happening? They deserve a minimum wage of \$15. Anything below that put you below the poverty level. And there is no evidence that when you raise the minimum wage, business has gone out of business. That is simply not true.

## **On immigration**

**Welker:** We're going to talk about immigration. We're going to talk about immigration, now, gentlemen, and we're going to talk about families within this context. Mr. President, your administration separated children from their parents at the border, at least 4000 kids, You've since reversed your zero tolerance policy, but the United States can't locate the parents of more than 500 children. So how will these families ever be reunited?

**Trump:** Children are brought here by coyotes and lots of bad people, cartels, and they're brought here and it's easy to use them to get into our country. We now have a stronger border as we've ever had. We're over 400 miles of brand new wall, you see the numbers, and we let people in, but they have to come in legally.

**Welker:** But how will you reunite these kids with their families?

**58:48 Trump:** Let me just say. They built cages. You know, they used to say I built the cages. And then they had a picture in the newspaper. There was a picture of these horrible cages and they said, 'Look at these cages, President Trump built them.' And then it was determined they were built in 2014. That was him.

**Welker:** Do you have a plan to reunite the kids?

**59:08 Trump:** Yes, we're working on a very -- we're trying very hard. But a lot of these kids come up without the parents, they come over through cartels and the coyotes and through gangs.

**Welker:** Vice President Biden, let me bring you into this conversation. Quick response and then another question to you.

**Biden:** These 500 plus kids came with parents. They separated them at the border to make it a disincentive to come to begin with. Big real tough, really strong. And guess what? They cannot -- it's not coyotes that bring them over, their parents were with them. They got separated from their parents. And it makes us a laughingstock and violates every judge of who we are as a nation.

**Welker:** Let me ask you a follow up --

**Trump:** Kristen, they did it, we changed the policy. They did it. We changed it. They set up the cages. They -- who built the cages?

**Biden:** So let's talk about --

**Trump:** Who built the cages, Joe?

**59:58 Biden:** Let's talk about what we're talking about. What happened? Parents were ripped -- their kids were ripped from their arms and separated. And now they cannot find over 500 sets of those parents and those kids are alone. Nowhere to go, nowhere to go. It's criminal. It's criminal.

**Welker:** Let me just --

**Trump:** Let me say this. They worked it out, we brought reporters and everything. They are so well taken care of. They're in facilities that were so clean --

**Welker:** But some of them haven't been reunited --

**Trump:** But just answer one question. Who built the cages? A big ask of that, who built the cages?

**Welker:** Let me ask about your immigration policy, Mr. Vice President. The Obama administration did fail to deliver immigration reform, which had been a key promise during the administration. It also presided over record deportations as well as family detentions at the border before changing course. So why should voters trust you with an immigration overhaul now?

**Biden:** Because we made a mistake. It took too long to get it right. Too long to get it right. I'll be President of the United States, not Vice President of the United States. And the fact is, and I've made it very clear, within 100 days, I'm going to send to the United States Congress a pathway to citizenship for over 11 million undocumented people. And all those so called Dreamers, those DACA kids, they're going to be legally certified again, to be able to stay in this country, and put on a path to citizenship. The idea that they are being sent home by this guy, and they want to do, that is they go to a country they've never seen before. I can imagine you're five years old, your parents are taking you across the Rio Grande River and it's and it's illegal. You say 'Oh, no, Mom, leave me here. I'm not gonna go with you.' They've been here. Many of them are model citizens. 20,000 are first responders out there taking care of people during this crisis. We owe them. We owe them.

**1:01:51 Welker:** President Trump, your response.

**Trump:** He had eight years to do what he said he was going to do. And I've changed without having a specific -- we get rid of catch and release, got rid of a lot of horrible things that they put in and that they live with. But he had eight years he was vice president. He did nothing except build cages to keep children in.

**Welker:** Vice President, what's your response?

**Biden:** The catch and release, you know what he's talking about there? If in fact, you had family, came across, they're arrested. They, in fact, were given a date to show up for their hearing. They were released. And guess what, they showed up for the hearing. This is the first President in the history of the United States of America that anybody seeking asylum has to do it in another country. That's never happened before. That's never happened before in our country. You come to the United States and you make your case. That's how you seek asylum, based on the following premise, why I deserve it under American law. They're sitting in squalor on the other side of the river.

**1:02:55 Welker:** President Trump, there is --

**Trump:** It's so important. It shows that he has no understanding of immigration of the laws. Catch and release is a disaster. A murderer would come in, a rapist would come in, a very bad

person would come in -- we would take their name, we have to release them into our country. And then you say they come back. Less than 1% of the people come back.

**Biden:** Not true.

**Trump:** We have to send ICE out and Border Patrol out to find them. We would say, 'Come back in two years, three years -- we're going to give you a court case. You did Perry Mason, we're going to give you a court case. When you say they come back, they don't come back, Joe. They never come back. Only the really -- I hate to say this -- but those with the lowest IQ, they might come back.

**Welker:** OK, President Trump, let's give Vice President Biden a chance to respond, and then we're going to move on to the next section.

**Trump:** You don't know the law, Joe.

**Welker:** Vice President Biden, your response.

**Biden:** I know the law. What he's telling you is simply not true.

**Trump:** They don't come back.

**Biden:** Check it out.

**Welker:** All right, let's move on --

**Trump:** But we don't have to worry about it because I terminated it. So we don't have to worry about it

**1:03:59 Welker:** All right, let's move on to the next section --

**1:04:04 Biden:** You have 525 kids not knowing where in God's name they're going to be and lost their parents.

**Trump:** Go ahead.

### **On race in America**

**Welker:** All right. Let's talk about our next section, which is race in America. And I want to talk about the way Black and Brown Americans experience race in this country. Part of that experience is something called "the talk." It happens regardless of class and income -- parents who feel they have no choice but to prepare their children for the chance that they could be targeted, including by the police, for no reason other than the color of their skin. Mr. Vice President, in the next two minutes, I want you to speak directly to these families. Do you understand why these parents fear for their children?

**Biden:** I do. I do. You know, my daughter is a social worker. And she's written a lot about this. She's got a graduate degree from the University of Pennsylvania in social work. So, one of the reasons why I ended up working on the East side of Wilmington, Delaware, which is 90 percent African American, was to learn more about what was going on. When I didn't -- I never had to tell my daughter if she's pulled over, make sure she puts, for traffic stop, puts both hands on top of the wheel. And don't reach for the glove box because someone may shoot you. But a Black parent, no matter how wealthy or how poor they are, has to teach their child, when you're walking down the street, don't have a hoodie on when you go across the street, making sure that you, in fact, if you get pulled over, just Yes or No sir, just hands on top of the wheel. Because you are in fact, the victim, whether you're a person making 300,000 -- \$300,000-a-year person, or someone who's on food stamps. The fact of the matter is there is institutional racism in America. And we have always said we've never lived up to it. Do we hold these truths to be sovereign, are all men and women are created equal? Guess what -- we have never ever lived up to it. We have constantly been moving the needle further and further between inclusion and exclusion. This is the first president come along and says that's the end of that. We're not going to do that anymore. We have to provide for economic opportunity, better education, better health care, better access to schooling, better access to opportunity to borrow money to start businesses. All the things we can do. And I've laid out a clear plan as to how to do those things. Just to give people a shot. It's about accumulating the ability to have wealth, as well as it is to be free from violence.

**1:06:32 Welker:** President Trump, same question to you. And let me remind you of the question, I would like you to speak directly to these families. Do you understand why these parents fear for their children?

**Trump:** Yes, I do. And again, he's been in government 47 years. He never did a thing except in 1994, when he did such harm to the Black community. And they were called, and he called them, super predators. And he said that, he said it -- super predators. And they can never live that down. 1994, your crime bill, the super predators. Nobody has done more for the Black community than Donald Trump. And if you look, with the exception of Abraham Lincoln--possible exception, but the exception of Abraham Lincoln, nobody has done what I've done. Criminal justice reform, Obama and Joe didn't do it. I don't even think they tried because they had no chance at doing it. They might have wanted to do it. But if you had to see the arms I had a twist to get that done, it was not a pretty picture. And everybody knows it including some very liberal people that cried in my office--they cried in the Oval Office. Two weeks later, they're out saying, 'Gee, we have to defeat him.' Criminal justice reform, prison reform, opportunity zones with Tim Scott, a great senator from South Carolina. He came in with this incredible idea for opportunity zones. It's one of the most successful programs. People don't talk about it. Tremendous investment is being made. Biggest beneficiary, the Black and Hispanic communities and then historically Black colleges and universities. After three years of coming to the office, I love some of those guys, they were great, they came into the office. And they said-- I said, 'What

are you doing after three years?' I said, 'Why do you keep coming back?' 'Because we have no funding'. I said, 'You don't have to come back every year', 'We have to come back', because President Obama would never give them long term funding. And I did. Ten-year, long term funding, and I give them more money than they asked for, because I said, 'I think you need more'. And I said, 'The only bad part about this is I may never see you again', because I got very friendly with them and they like me and I like them. But I saved colleges and universities.

**[1:08:28] Welker:** OK. And we're going to talk about both of your records, but your response to that Vice President?

**[1:08:33] Biden:** My response to that is I never, ever said what he accused me of saying. The fact of the matter is, in 2000 though, after the crime bill had been in the law for a while, this is the guy who said, 'The problem with the crime bill, there's not enough people in jail. There's not enough people in jail,' and go on my website, get the quote the date when he said it, 'not enough people'. He talked about marauding gangs, young gangs, the people who are going to maraud our cities. This is a guy who when the Central Park five, five innocent Black kids, he continued to push for making sure that they got the death penalty. None of them were-- none of them were guilty of what the crime, of the crimes that were suggested. Look, and talk about he, granted, he did in fact let 20 people-- he committed 20 people's sentences. We committed over 1,000 people's sentences. Over 1,000. The very law he's talking about is a law that, in fact, initiated by Barack Obama. And secondly, we're in a situation here where we-- the federal prison system was reduced by 38,000 people under our administration. And one of the things we should be doing is there should be no, no minimum mandatories in the law. That's why I'm offering \$20 billion to states to change their state laws to eliminate minimum mandatories and set up drug courts. Nobody should be going to jail because they have a drug problem. They should be going to rehabilitation, not to jail. We should fundamentally change the system and that's what I'm going to do.

**[1:10:04] Trump:** But why didn't he do it four years ago? Why didn't you do that four years ago, even less than that? Why didn't you--

**[1:10:10] Biden:** I am not--

**[1:10:10] Trump:** You were vice president. You keep talking about all these things you're going to do and you're going to do this. But you were there just a short time ago and you guys did nothing.

**[1:10:19] Biden:** We did--

**[1:10:20] Trump:** You know, Joe, I ran because of you. I ran because of Barack Obama, because you did a poor job. If I said you did a good job, I would have never run. I would've never run. I ran because of you. I'm looking at you now, you're a politician. I ran because of you.

**[1:10:34] Welker:** All right, Vice President Biden, your response to that? And then I do have some questions for both of you.

**[1:10:38] Biden:** Well, I'll tell you what, I hope he does look at me because what's happening here is you know who I am, you know who he is, you know his character, you know my character, you know our reputations for honor and telling the truth. I am anxious to have this race. I'm anxious to see this take place. I am-- the character of the country is on the ballot. Our character is on the ballot. Look at us closely.

**[1:11:00] Welker:** Let me ask them some follow--

**[1:11:01] Trump:** Excuse me--

**[1:11:04] Welker:** Please respond and then we're gonna have follow up questions.

**[1:11:05] Trump:** If this stuff is true about Russia, Ukraine, China, other countries, a wreck-- If this is true, then he's a corrupt politician. So don't give me the stuff about how you're this innocent baby. Joe, they're calling you a corrupt politician--

**[1:11:19] Biden:** Nobody says--

**[1:11:20] Welker:** President Trump, I want to stay on the issue of race. We're talking about the issue--

**[1:11:21] Trump:** It's the laptop from hell. The laptop from hell.

**[1:11:25] Welker:** President Trump, we're talking about race right now and I do want to speak on the issue of race. President Trump---

**[1:11:29] Biden:** Nobody-- Kristen, I have to respond to that.

**[1:11:30] Welker:** Please, very quickly.

**[1:11:32] Biden:** Look, there are 50 former National Intelligence folks who said that what this, he's accusing me of is a Russian plan. They have said that this has all the characteristics-- four-- five former heads of the CIA, both parties, say what he's saying is a bunch of garbage. Nobody believes it except him, his, and his good friend Rudy Giuliani.

**[1:11:51] Trump:** You mean, the laptop is now another Russia, Russia, Russia hoax? You gotta be--

**[1:11:58] Biden:** That's exactly what-- That's exactly what--

**[1:12:00] Trump:** Is this where you're going? This is where he's going. The laptop is Russia, Russia, Russia?

**[1:12:03] Welker:** Gentleman, I want to stay on the issue of race, okay--

**[1:12:05] Trump:** You have to be kidding here. Here we go again with Russia.

**[1:12:09] Welker:** Mr. President, we're gonna continue on the issue of race. Mr. President, you've described the Black Lives Matter movement as a symbol of hate. You've shared a video of a man chanting white power to millions of your supporters. You've said that Black professional athletes exercising their first amendment rights should be fired. What do you say to Americans who say that kind of language from a president is contributing to a climate of hate and racial strife?

**[1:12:32] Trump:** Well you have to understand the first time I ever heard of Black Lives Matter they were chanting 'Pigs in a blanket', talking about police, 'Pigs, Pigs', talking about our police, 'Pigs in a blanket, fry' em like bacon'. I said, 'That's a horrible thing'. And they were marching down the street. And that was my first glimpse of Black Lives Matter. I thought it was a terrible thing. As far as my relationships with all people, I think I have great relationships with all people. I am the least racist person in this room.

**[1:13:03] Welker:** What do you say to men who are concerned by that rhetoric?

**[1:12:06] Trump:** I don't, I don't know what to say. I got criminal justice reform done, and prison reform, and opportunity zones. I took care of Black colleges and universities. I don't know what to say. They can say anything. I mean, they can say anything. It's a very-- it makes me sad because I am the least racist person. I can't even see the audience because it's so dark, but I don't care who's in the audience. I'm the least racist person in this room.

**[1:13:35] Welker:** OK. Vice President Biden, let me ask you, very quickly, and then I have a follow up question for you.

**[1:13:39] Biden:** Abraham Lincoln. Here is one of the most racist presidents we've had in modern history. He pours fuel on every single racist fire, every single one. He started off his campaign coming down the escalator saying he's gonna get rid of those Mexican rapists. He's banned Muslims because they're Muslims. He has moved around and made everything worse across the board. He says to them about the 'Poor Boys', last time we were on stage here. He said, 'I told him to stand down and stand ready'. Come on. This guy has a dog whistle about as big as a fog horn.

**[1:14:12] Welker:** President Trump, I'm going to give you 10 seconds to respond and then have a follow up question.

**[1:14:16] Trump:** He made a reference to Abraham Lincoln. Where did that come in? I mean--

**[1:14:19] Biden:** You said you were Abraham Lincoln.

**[1:14:21] Trump:** No, no. I said not since Abraham Lincoln has anybody done what I've done for the Black community. I didn't say 'I'm Abraham Lincoln'. I said, 'Not since Abraham Lincoln has anybody done but what I've done for the Black community'. Now you have done nothing other than the crime bill, which put--

**[1:14:42] Biden:** Oh, God.

**[1:14:42] Trump:** Tens of thousands of Black men, mostly, in jail. And you know what? They remember it because if you look at what's happening with the voting right now, they remember that you treated them very, very badly. Just take a look at what's happening out there.

**[1:14:50] Welker:** All right, let me-- Let me ask Vice President Biden about-- Vice President Biden, let me give you a chance to respond within this context. Crime bill that you supported in the 80s and 90s contributed to the incarceration of tens of thousands of young Black men who had small amounts of drugs in their possession. They are sons, they are brothers, they are fathers, they're uncles whose families are still to this day, some of them, suffering the consequences. So speak to those families, why should they vote for you?

**[1:15:20] Biden:** One of the things that is said, in the '80s, we passed 100%, all 100 senators voted for it, a bill on drugs and how to deal with drugs. It was a mistake. I've been trying to change it since then, particularly the portion on cocaine. That's why I've been arguing that, in fact, we should not send anyone to jail for a pure drug offense. They should be going into treatment across the board. That's what we should be spending money on. That's why I set up drug courts which were never funded by republican friends. They should not be going to jail for a drug or an alcohol problem. They should be going into treatment. Treatment. That's what we've been trying to do. That's what I'm going to get done because they may-- the American people have now seen that in fact, it was a mistake to pass those laws where they do the drug. But they were not in the crime bill.

**[1:16:12] Trump:** But why didn't he get it done? See, it's all talk no action with these politicians. Why didn't he get it? 'That's what I'm gonna do when I become president'. You were vice president, along with Obama as your President, your leader, for eight years. Why didn't you get it done? You had eight years to get it done? Now, you're saying you're gonna get it done because you're all talk and no action, Joe.

**[1:16:34] Biden:** We got a lot of it done. We released 38,000-- We got 38,000 prisoners left from--

**[1:16:39] Trump:** You got nothing done

**[1:16:40] Biden:** 38,000 prisoners were released from federal prison. We have-- there were over 1000 people who were given clemency. We-- in fact, we're the ones that put in the legislation saying we could look at pattern of practice of the police departments and what they were doing,

how they were conducting themselves. I could go on, but we began the process. We began the process. We lost an election. That's why I'm running to win back that election and change his terrible policy.

**[1:1:08] Trump:** I just ask-- I just ask one question: why didn't you do it in the eight years, a short time ago? Why didn't you do it? You just said, 'I'm going to do that. I'm going to do this.' You put tens of thousands of mostly Black young men in prison. Now you're saying you're going to get-- you're going to undo that. Why didn't you get it done? You had eight years with Obama? You know why, Joe, because you're all talk and no action.

**[1:17:29] Welker:** All right, Vice President Biden and then we're gonna move on to the next section.

**[1:17:34] Biden:** We had a Republican Congress. That's the answer.

**[1:17:37] Welker:** OK.

**[1:17:39] Trump:** Well, you gotta talk-- you gotta talk 'em into it, Joe. Sometimes you gotta talk 'em into it.

**[1:17:43] Welker:** All right, we're gonna move on to our next section which is climate change-

**[1:17:44] Trump:** Like I did with criminal justice reform. I had to talk Democrats into it.

### **On climate change**

**[1:17:48] Welker:** Gentlemen, we're running out of time so we gotta get on to climate change, please. You both have very different visions on climate change. President Trump, you say that environmental regulations have hurt jobs in the energy sector. Vice President Biden, you have said you see addressing climate change as an opportunity to create new jobs. For each of you, how would you both combat climate change and support job growth at the same time? Starting with you, President Trump, you have two minutes uninterrupted.

**[1:18:15] Trump:** So we have the trillion trees program, we have so many different programs. I do love the environment, but what I want the cleanest, crystal clear water, the cleanest air. We have the best, lowest number in carbon emissions, which is a big standard that I noticed Obama goes with all the time. Not Joe. I haven't heard him use the term because I'm not sure he knows what it represents or means, but I have heard Obama use it. And we have the best carbon emission numbers that we've had in 35 years. Under this administration, we are working so well with industry, but what we can't do-- Look at China, how filthy it is. Look at Russia. Look at India. It's filthy. The air is filthy. The Paris Accord, I took us out because we were going to have to spend trillions of dollars and we were treated very unfairly. When they put us in there, they did us a great disservice. They were going to take away our businesses. I will not sacrifice tens of

millions of jobs, thousands and thousands of companies because of the Paris Accord. It was so unfair. China doesn't kick in until 2030. Russia goes back to a low standard and we kicked in right away. It would-- It would have been-- It would have destroyed our businesses. So, you ready? We have done an incredible job environmentally. We have the cleanest air, the cleanest water and the best carbon emission standards that we've seen in many, many years.

**[1:19:50] Welker:** Vice President, Biden--

**[1:19:51] Trump:** And we haven't destroyed our industries.

**[1:19:52] Welker:** Vice President Biden, two minutes to you uninterrupted.

**[1:19:55] Biden:** Climate change, climate warming, global warming is an existential threat to humanity. We have a moral obligation to deal with it. And we're told by all the leading scientists in the world that we don't have much time. We're going to pass the point of no return within the next eight to 10 years. Four years of this man eliminating all the regulations that were put in by us to clean up the climate, to clean up-- to limit the-- limit of admissions will put us in a position where we're going to be in real trouble. Here's where we have a great opportunity, I was able to get both all the environmental organizations as well as labor, people worried about jobs, to support my climate plan. Because what it does, it will create millions of new, good-paying jobs. We're going to invest in, for example, 500,000-- 50,000, excuse me, 50,000 charging stations on our highways so that we can own the electric car market in the future. In the meantime, China's doing that. We're going to be in a position where we're going to see to it that we're going to take 4 million existing billion, buildings and 2 million existing homes and retrofit them so they don't leak as much energy, saving hundreds of millions of barrels of oil in the process and creating a significant number of jobs. And by the way, the whole idea of what this is all going to do, it's going to create millions of jobs and it's going to clean the environment. Our health and our jobs are at stake. That's what's happening. And we-- right now, by the way, Wall Street firm has indicated that my plan-- My plan will, in fact, create 18.6 million jobs, 7 million more than his. This from Wall Street and I'll create \$1 trillion more in economic growth than his proposal does, not on climate just on the economy.

**[1:21:47] Trump:** President Trump, your response --

**[1:21:48] Trump:** They came out and said very strongly, '\$6,500 will be taken away from families under his plan', that his plan is an economic disaster. If you look at what he wants to do, you know if you look at his plan, you know, you know who developed it? AOC+3. They know nothing about the climate. I mean, she's got a good line of stuff, but she knows nothing about the climate. And they're all hopping through hoops for AOC+3. Look, they're real play costs \$100 trillion. If we had the best year in the history of our country for 100 years, we would not even come close to a number like that. When he says buildings, they want to take buildings down because they want to make bigger windows into smaller windows. As far as they're concerned, if

you had no window it would be a lovely thing. This is the craziest plan that anybody has ever seen. And this wasn't done by smart people. This wasn't done by anybody. Frankly, I don't even know how it can be good politically. They want to spend \$100 trillion. That's their real number. He's trying to say it was six. It's \$100 trillion. They want to knock down buildings and build new buildings with little tiny, small windows and many other things. And many other things--

[1:22:47] **Welker:** All right-- Okay, let me have the vice president respond and we're running out of time and we have a lot more questions. So let's hear from the Vice President. I have a number of more questions.

[1:23:11] **Biden:** I don't know where he comes from. I don't know where he comes up with these numbers. \$100 trillion? Give me a break. This plan was-- This plan has been endorsed by every major-- every major environmental group and every labor group. Labor. Because they know the future lies, the future lies in us being able to breath. And they know they're good jobs in getting us there. And by the way, the fastest growing industry in America are--is, is, is the electric--excuse me, solar energy and wind. He thinks wind causes cancer, windmills. It's the fastest growing jobs and they pay good prevailing wages, 45-50 bucks an hour. We can grow and we can be cleaner, if we go the route I'm proposing.

[1:24:00] **Welker:** President Trump-- Please respond and then I have a follow up.

[1:24:00] **Trump:** Excuse me. We are energy independent for the first time. We don't need all of these countries that we had a fight war over because we needed their energy. We are energy independent. I know more about wind than you do. It's extremely expensive, kills all the birds, it's very intermittent. It's got a lot of problems and they happen to make the windmills in both Germany and China. And the fumes coming up-- If you're a believer in carbon emission, the fumes coming up to make-- make these massive windmills is more than anything that we're talking about with natural gas, which is very clean. One other thing--

[1:24:36] **Biden:** Find me a scientist that says that.

[1:24:38] **Trump:** Solar. I love solar, but solar doesn't quite have it yet. It's not powerful enough yet to-- to really run our big beautiful factories that we need to compete with the world--

[1:24:47] **Biden:** False.

[1:24:47] **Trump:** So, it's all a pipe dream, but you know what we'll do? We're gonna have the greatest economy in the world. But if you want to kill the economy, get rid of your oil industry. You want-- And what about fracking?

[1:25:01] **Welker:** All right. Let me allow Vice President Biden to respond--

[1:25:04] **Biden:** I have never said I oppose fracking.

[1:25:06] **Trump:** You said it on tape.

[1:25:08] **Biden:** I did? Show the tape. Put it on your website.

[1:25:10] **Trump:** I'll put it on.

[1:25:11] **Biden:** Put it on the website. The fact of the matter is he's flat lying.

[1:25:15] **Welker:** Would you rule out banning fracking?

[1:25:17] **Biden:** I do rule out banning fracking because the answer we need-- We need other industries to transition to get to, ultimately, a complete zero emissions by 2025. What I will do with fracking over time is make sure that we can capture the emissions from the fracking. Capture the emissions from gas. We can do that and we can do that by investing money into-- It's a transition to that.

[1:25:44] **Welker:** I have one more question--

[1:25:48] **Trump:** Excuse me. He was against fracking. He said it. I will show that to you tomorrow. 'I am against fracking', until he got the nomination, went to Pennsylvania than he said-- You know what, Pennsylvania? He'll be against it very soon because his party is totally against it.

[1:26:00] **Biden:** Fracking on federal Land, I said. No fracking or oil on federal land--

[1:26:05] **Welker:** Let me ask this final question in this section and then I want to move on to our final section. President Trump, people of color are much more likely to live near oil refineries and chemical plants. In Texas there are families who worry the plants near them are making them sick. Your administration has rolled back regulations on these kinds of facilities. Why should these families give you another four years in office?

[1:26:26] **Trump:** The families that we're talking about are employed heavily and they are making a lot of money, more money than they've ever made. If you look at the kind of numbers that we produce for Hispanic, or Black, or Asian, it's nice times greater, the percentage gain than it was under-- in three years-- than it was under eight years of the two of them, to put it nicely. Nine times more. Now, somebody lives-- I have not heard the numbers or the statistics that you're saying-- But they're making a tremendous amount of money. Economically, we saved it. And I saved it again a number of months ago when oil was crashing because of the pandemic. We saved it. We got-- Say what you want of that relationship, we got Saudi Arabia, Mexico and Russia to cut back, way back. We saved our oil industry and now it's very vibrant and everybody has very inexpensive gasoline. Remember that.

[1:27:22] **Welker:** Vice President Biden, your response and then we're going to have a final question for both of you.

[1:27:26] **Biden:** My response is that those people live on what they call ‘Fence Lines’. He doesn't understand this. They live near chemical plants that, in fact, pollute. Chemical plants, and oil plants and refineries that pollute. I used to live near that when I was growing up in Claremont, Delaware. And all the more oil refineries in Marcus Hook and the Delaware River than there is anyplace, including in Houston at the time. When my mom would get the car when they're first frost to drive me to school, turned on the windshield wipers there'd be oil slick in the window. That's why so many people in my state were dying and getting cancer. The fact is those frontline communities, it doesn't matter what you're paying them. It matters how you keep them safe. What do you do? And you impose restrictions on the pollution, that the pollutants coming out of those fenceline communities.

[1:28:12] **Welker:** OK, I have one final question--

[1:28:14] **Trump:** Would you close down the-- Would you close down the oil industry?

[1:28:17] **Biden:** I would transition from the oil industry. Yes.

[1:28:19] **Trump:** Oh, transition.

[1:28:21] **Biden:** It is a big statement because I would stop--

[1:28:22] **Welker:** Why would you do that?

[1:28:24] **Biden:** Because the oil industry significantly — but here's the deal —

[1:28:27] **Trump:** That's a big statement.

[1:28:31] **Biden:** Well, if you let me finish the statement, because it has to be replaced by renewable energy over time. Over time. And I'd stop giving to the oil industry-- I'd stop giving them federal subsidies. You won't give federal subsidies to the gas and, excuse me, to solar and wind. Why are we giving it to the oil industry?

[1:28:52] **Trump:** We actually do give it to solar and wind--

[1:28:54] **Welker:** All right, we have one final question--

[1:28:56] **Trump:** That's the biggest statement. In terms of business. that's the biggest statement.

[1:28:59] **Welker:** All right, we have one final question-- Mr. President--

[1:29:00] **Trump:** Because basically what he's saying is he's going to destroy the oil industry. Will you remember that Texas? Will you remember that Pennsylvania? Oklahoma? Ohio?

[1:29:07] **Welker:** Vice President Biden, let me give you ten seconds to respond and then I have to get to the final question. Vice President Biden?

[1:29:12] **Biden:** He takes everything out of context, but the point is, look, we have to move toward a net zero emissions. The first place to do that by the year 2025 is in energy production. By 2050, totally.

[1:29:25] **Welker:** All right. One final question--

[1:29:26] **Trump:** Is he gonna get China to do it? Is he going to get China to do it?

[1:29:27] **Welker:** No, we're finished with this. We have to move on to our final question.

[1:29:30] **Biden:** No, I'm going to rejoin the Paris Accord and get China to abide by what they agreed to

[1:29:33] **Trump:** But that'll cost you \$1 trillion.

### **Final question**

[1:29:34] **Welker:** This is about leadership, gentlemen, and this first question does go to you, President Trump.. Imagine this is your Inauguration Day. What will you say in your address to Americans who did not vote for you? You'll each have one minute, starting with you.

[1:29:50] **Trump:** We have to make our country totally successful, as it was prior to the plague coming in from China. Now we're rebuilding it and we're doing record numbers, 11.4 million jobs in a short period of time etc.. But, I will tell you, go back before the plague came in, just before, I was getting calls from people that were not normally people that would call me. They wanted to get together. We had the best Black unemployment numbers in the history of our country, Hispanic, women, Asian, people with diplomas, with no diplomas MIT graduates, number one in the class-- everybody had the best numbers. And you know what? The other side wanted to get together. They wanted to unify. Success is going to bring us together. We are on the road to success. But I'm cutting taxes and he wants to raise everybody's taxes. And he wants to put new regulations on everything. He will kill it. If he gets in, you will have a depression, the likes of which you've never seen. Your 401K's will go to hell and it'll be a very, very sad day for this country.

[1:30:50] **Welker:** All right. Vice President Biden, same question to you. What will you say during your inaugural address to Americans who did not vote for you?

[1:31:00] **Biden:** I will say, 'I'm the American president. I represent all of you whether you voted for me or against me. And I'm going to make sure that you're represented. I'm going to give you hope. We're going to move. We're going to choose science over fiction. We're going to choose hope over fear. We're going to choose to move forward because we have enormous opportunities, enormous opportunities to make things better. We can grow this economy. We can deal with a systemic racism. At the same time, we can make sure that our economy is being

run, and moved, and motivated by clean energy, creating millions of new jobs. And that's the fact, that's what we're going to do. And I'm going to say, as I said at the beginning, what is on the ballot here is the character of this country. Decency. Honor. Respect. Treating people with dignity. Making sure that everyone has an even chance. Now, I'm going to make sure you get that. You haven't been getting it the last four years.

**[1:32:00] Welker:** All right. I want to thank you both for a very robust hour and a half, a fantastic debate. Really appreciate it. President Trump, former Vice President Joe Biden. Thank you to Belmont University for hosting us tonight and most late thank you to those watching tonight. Election Day is November 3rd. Don't forget to vote. Thank you everyone and have a great night.

## المستخلص

تتناول هذه الدراسة مفاهيم البذاءة والحرب الكلامية واستراتيجيات الاقناع والتداولية النقدية والهجوم الشخصي كاستراتيجية حجاج وعدم اللياقة. أحد المحاور الرئيسية التي تركز عليها الدراسة هو كيفية توظيف الكلمات للتأثير في عامة الجمهور وفي مهاجمة الخصوم شخصياً أو مهاجمة حججهم.

افتترضت الدراسة أن البذاءة من الايديولوجيات الناجحة التي تعزز قوة اللغة، وأنه يمكن اقناع الآخرين باستخدام الألفاظ البذيئة، وقد كان من بين الفرضيات أيضاً أن استراتيجية الهجوم الشخصي هي السائدة في الحرب الكلامية وأكدت من جديد أن التداولية النقدية إطار عمل يمكن التعويل عليه في تحليل السلوك الاجتماعي. وقد نفذت الدراسة ضمن إطار المناظرتين الرئاسيتين بين ترامب وبايدن خلال انتخابات الرئاسة الأمريكية لعام 2020.

تم خلال هذه الدراسة تحليل الألفاظ وفق منظورين، الأول باعتبارها حججاً والثاني باعتبارها افعالاً كلامية. عند اعتبار الألفاظ حججاً تم تطبيق نظريتين هما نظرية المنطق اللا شكلي لوالتون وثالث استراتيجيات الاقناع لأرسطو، وعند اعتبار الألفاظ أفعالاً كلامية تم تطبيق نظرية الحديث غير اللائق لبراون وليفنسون لتحديد استراتيجيات عدم اللياقة التي تم توظيفها في السياقات السياسية. لقد تم توظيف اللغة خلال المناظرات الرئاسية باستخدام عدة طرق مثل الهجوم الشخصي والايخبار الكاذبة والتظليل والاتهامات الباطلة للخصم، وخلق أجواء الفوضى عبر المقاطعة المتكررة أثناء حديث الخصم وتأجيج مشاعر الحضور، واستخدام الأسلوب الساخر والمتغطرس مع التلاعب بالمفردات. وكانت الغاية من وراء توظيف مثل هذه الاستراتيجيات هي تشويه سمعة الخصم وغسل أدمغة الحضور.

وخلال عملية تحليل البيانات تتبع الباحث استراتيجيات الحجاج أولاً في كل الألفاظ التي عبرت عن البذاءة صراحة أو بشكل ضمني. وتطرقت المرحلة الثانية من التحليل لاستراتيجيات

## المستخلص

الحديث غير اللائق التي تم توظيفها في الألفاظ ذاتها وأخيراً تم تتبع استراتيجيات الاقناع في الجزء ذاته.

أثبتت الدراسة أن البذاءة ضرورة في عالم السياسة كوسيلة لاستعراض القوة والسيطرة، حيث أن توظيف الألفاظ البذيئة يضمن الفوز خلال الحرب الكلامية والمناظرات السياسية. إنها السلاح الذي يمكن أن يكشف عيوب الخصم ويوجه ضربة قاضية له. كما أن الاتهام بوجود جدول أعمال خفي أو بتبني حجة معينة من أجل منفعة شخصية من الاستراتيجيات الجوهرية التي يعرضها تكتيك وضع السم في البئر، أحد أساليب الهجوم الشخصي على الخصم، كما أن خلق الفوضى بمقاطعة حديث الخصم بشكل متكرر يلعب دوراً مؤثراً في استنزاف الخصم وجعله مضطرباً. ومن جهة أخرى، فقد ثبت أن توظيف أساليب عدم اللياقة في الحديث، المباشرة منها وغير المباشرة، من الاستراتيجيات الفعالة والحاسمة في جعل حجة الهجوم الشخصي تحقق أهدافها بنجاح فائق.

وقد أوصت الدراسة بأنه سيكون من المثمر أن تقام المناظرات الرئاسية على شكل نقاش مفتوح بين مرشحي الرئاسة وبمواجهة مباشرة دون تدخل أي أطراف أخرى فبهذه الطريقة ستكون الأمور على سجيتها الطبيعية وليكن هناك شجارات أو تهديدات مباشرة أو شتائم أو بذاءة أو أسئلة ماكرة أو أسلوب ساخر أو أسئلة محرجة أو اتهامات باطلة أو أصوات عالية أو تلميحات أو تزييف في الأرقام والاحصائيات أو تعميم للمعلومات أو فوضى وما إلى ذلك... فلتظهر شخصيات مرشحي الرئاسة على حقيقتها بشكل جلي أمام الجميع.



جمهورية العراق

جامعة بابل

كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية

قسم اللغة الانجليزية

البداءة في المناظرات الرئاسية الأمريكية 2020:

دراسة تداولية نقدية

أطروحة قَدِّمها إلى مجلس كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية – جامعة بابل

كجزء من متطلبات نيل شهادة الدكتوراة في فلسفة التربية

في اللغة الانجليزية / علم اللغة

الطالب

علي عفراوي فهد

بإشراف

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2022 م

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