

## Appendix

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**Coding Rubric**

**2** A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

**1** A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

**0** A speech in this category uses few if any populist elements. Note that even if a speech expresses a Manichaeian worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.	The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections
Although Manichaeian, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.	Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.

<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

Super Tuesday Speech

**Date:** March 3, 2020

**Location:** Los Angeles, California

Hello. Hello. Hello. Hello. It's a good night. It's a good night, and it seems to be getting even better. They don't call it Super Tuesday for nothing. By the way, this is my little sister Valerie, and I'm Jill's husband. Oh no, this is Valerie. You switched on me. This my wife. This is my sister. They switched on me. Folks, it's still early, but things are looking awful, awful good. but things are looking off all from good. For those who've been knocked down, counted out, left behind, this is your campaign.

Just a few days ago, the press and the pundits had declared the campaign dead, and then came South Carolina and they had something to say about it. We were told "Well, when you got to Super Tuesday, it would be over." Well, it may be over for the other guy. Tell that to the folks in Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Minnesota, and maybe even Massachusetts, it's too close to call. We're still waiting for Texas and California, few other small states to come in. But it's looking good. So, I'm here to report, we are very much alive.

Make no mistake about it. This campaign will send Donald Trump packing. This campaign is taking off. Join us. For those folks, listen, go to [joebiden.com](https://joebiden.com). Sign up, volunteer, contribute if you can. We need you. We want you, and there's a place for you in this campaign. People are talking about a revolution. We started a movement. We even increased turnout. When the turnouts turn out for us, that can deliver us to a moment where we can do extraordinary, extraordinary things.

Look, our agenda is bold. It's progressive. It's a vision, where health care is affordable and available to everybody in America, where we bring drug prices down under control with no more surprise billing, access to hospitals in rural areas as well as urban areas, access to care. A bold vision. We're going to invest billions of dollars to find, and I promise you, cures for cancer, Alzheimer's and diabetes, standing up to beating the NRA and the gun manufacturers, and leading the world to take on the existential and that of climate change.

I'm going to start by rejoining an outfit I helped put together, the Paris Climate Accord, and we're to move it a long way. A country where the quality of education will not depend on your zip code, where they triple funding for low income school district providing raises for teachers, full-time school for three, four and five years old, and increasing exponentially the prospects of their success. Free community college providing credentials for every job for the 21st century, and significant reduction in the cost of going to college and your student debt. If you volunteer, you pay nothing.

Folks, we can do this. Let's get something straight. Wall Street didn't build this country, you built this country. The middle class built this country, and unions built the middle class, and the neighbors we come from- [inaudible]. We're going to go.

Look, the middle class is getting clobbered. The middle class is getting clobbered. Too many people in the neighborhoods that Jill and Val and I grew up in, [inaudible 00:05:58] are getting hurt. They're badly hurt, and guess what? They're the place where we come from. Many of you come from. It's where we're raised. The people. They're the reason why I'm running. There's a reason why I'm a Democrat in the first place.

These are people that build our bridges, repair our roads, keep our water safe, who teach our kids, look, who race into burning buildings to protect other people, who grow our food, build our cars, pick up our garbage, our streets, veterans, dreamers, single moms, and by the way, every dreamer, have hope, because I'm coming and you're not going anywhere.

Now, we're going to provide a pathway, a pathway for 11 million citizens. If the other guy had voted for the, well, I don't know if she can get into that. I won't get going. Look, the ironworkers, the steel workers, the boilermakers, the plumbers, the electrical work. These are the people that have been forgotten. I agree with you, man. Look, the people Trump forgot, the people I will never forget. I will always remember. Folks, that's where we need economy that rewards work, not just wealth, re-establishes the middle class, and this time brings everybody along, everybody regardless of their race, their ethnicity, whether their gender, their disabilities, economic state, Democrats, Republicans, Independents, every stripe.

Look, like we did in South Carolina, like we did across America today, like we'll do on our all the way to the White House. Look, that's why I was so proud yesterday being embraced by Amy Klobuchar. We won Minnesota because of Amy Klobuchar, and we're going well in Texas because of Beto O'Rourke. That's why I was so proud, so incredibly proud, to have Mayor Pete's endorsement as well. There's a man of character, intellect and courage. By the way, I was proud to be endorsed by Jim Clyburn, man, he is something else.

Look, our campaign reflects the diversity of this party in this nation, and that's how it should be, because we need to bring everybody along, everybody. We want a nominee who will beat Donald Trump, but also also keep Nancy Pelosi, the Speaker of the House, win back the United States Senate. If that's what you want, join us. You want a nominee who's a Democrat, a life long Democrat, a proud Democrat, an Obama Biden Democrat. Join us.

Look, this all starts with a revival of decency and honor and character. Trump has fanned the flames of hate and sought to divide us. He's insulted, demonized, and actually just the way he talks about people. He has not a single sense of empathy. He doesn't have any compassion, no regard for the values that made this country who we are, not the way you were raised by your moms and dads. He looks at honesty and decency and respect and he views it as a sign of weakness. He doesn't believe that we're the beacon to the world. He doesn't believe we're all part of something bigger than ourselves. That's why I've said from the moment I announced for this candidacy, we are literally in a battle for the soul of America,

Folks, winning means uniting America, not sowing seeds of division and anger and hate. We got to beat Donald Trump, but we will, but we can't become like him. We can't have a never ending war between the parties. We need a President who can fight, but make no mistake about it, I could fight, but look, we need this badly, as badly, someone who could heal.

Look, just look what we did when we passed Obamacare, what President Obama and I did saving the American automobile industry, or what we did to pass the Violence Against Women Act, but that's not enough. This is just a start. We need a President who can heal the country as well, and that is what I will do as your President. I promise you.

It's about delivering real results for you, your family and the community. It's not about me, Jill or Valerie. It's about you. It's about our families. To paraphrase the English poet Robert Browning and he said, "Our reach should exceed our grasp," and my reach does exceed our grasp because there's no doubt in my mind we can grasp whatever we reach for. Ladies and gentlemen, I quoted an English poet. Well, let me pull a real poet now, an Irish poet, Shamus Heaney, who wrote a poem called The Cure at Troy. Here's what he says, and I believe this to the bottom of my bean. He said, "History says, don't hope on this side of the grave, but then once in a lifetime, the long for tidal wave of justice rises up and hope and history rhyme." We can make hope and history rhyme because of what we sing.

There's nothing we can't do. This is about the future. It's not about the past. It's about our children and our grandchildren. It's about leading this country and leading the world once again.

Folks, we just have to remember who we are. My Lord, this is the United States of America, and it's time for America to get back up, and once again, fight for the proposition that we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men and women are created equal, and that by the creator with certain inalienable rights. We say it so often in school, we don't realize how profound it is. We've never lived up to those words, but up to this President, we've never walked away from it.

Ladies and gentlemen, I believe with every fiber of my being, that's who we are. So, let's get back up. We are a decent, brave, resilient people. We can believe again, but we are better than this moment. We are better than this President. So, get back up and take back this country, the United States of America. There's not a single thing we can't do. God bless you and may God protect our troops. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. We're going to do this, folks. Thank you.

**Title of Speech:** Super Tuesday Victory Speech

**Date of Speech:** Mar 3, 2020

**Coder:** A

**Date of grading:** December 23.

**Final Grade:** 0.4

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.	The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections

<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <p>“Look, the middle class is getting clobbered. The middle class is getting clobbered. Too many people in the neighborhoods that Jill and Val and I grew up in, [inaudible 00:05:58] are getting hurt. They’re badly hurt, and guess what? They’re the place where we come from. Many of you come from. It’s where we’re raised. The people. They’re the reason why I’m running.”</p> <p>“These are people that build our bridges, repair our roads, keep our water safe, who teach our kids, look, who race into burning buildings to protect other people, who grow our food, build our cars, pick up our garbage, our streets, veterans, dreamers, single moms, and by the way, every dreamer, have hope, because I’m coming and you’re not going anywhere.”</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <p>“that all men and women are created equal, and that by the creator with certain inalienable rights. We say it so often in school, we don’t realize how profound it is. We’ve never lived up to those words, but up to this President, we’ve never walked away from it.”</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <p>“and this time brings everybody along, everybody regardless of their race, their ethnicity, whether their gender, their disabilities, economic state, Democrats, Republicans, Independents, every stripe”</p> <p>“Trump has fanned the flames of hate and sought to divide us. He’s insulted, demonized, and actually just the way he talks about people. He has not a single sense of empathy. He doesn’t have any compassion, no regard for the values that made this country who we are, not the way you were raised by your moms and dads. He looks at honesty and decency and respect and he views it as a sign of weakness. He doesn’t believe that we’re the beacon to the world. He doesn’t believe we’re all part of something bigger than ourselves. That’s why</p>

	<p>I've said from the moment I announced for this candidacy, we are literally in a battle for the soul of America,</p> <p>Joe Biden: (09:50)</p> <p>Folks, winning means uniting America, not sowing seeds of division and anger and hate. We got to beat Donald Trump, but we will, but we can't become like him. We can't have a never ending war between the parties. We need a President who can fight, but make no mistake about it, I could fight, but look, we need this badly, as badly, someone who could heal."</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as "revolution" or "liberation" of the people from their "immiseration" or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <p>"Folks, we can do this. Let's get something straight. Wall Street didn't build this country, you built this country. The middle class built this country, and unions built the middle class,"</p> <p>"Look, the ironworkers, the steel workers, the boilermakers, the plumbers, the electrical work. These are the people that have been forgotten. I agree with you, man. Look, the people Trump forgot, the people I will never forget. I will always remember. Folks, that's where we need economy that rewards work, not just wealth, re-establishes the middle class"</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of "differences" rather than "hegemony."</p>



<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>
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**Overall Comments:**

Biden does a lot of romanticizing of the common man, and uses his recurring catchphrase - "Wall Street didn't build this country, the middle class built this country and Unions built the middle class." - Again, this is standard leftist populism, but Biden does not effectively demonize an elite to make this score higher than a 0.4 (a 0.5 would round up to a 1, which does not sound right). The only person who is attacked is Trump, who "forgot these people" -these people being the firefighters, welders, teachers, garbage collectors ect... And Biden will not forget these people. Trump is the extent of the elite who submerged the middle class through bad policy. Wall street isn't accredited with submerging the middle class, just taking credit for something they shouldn't. The republican party isn't the evil elite, because Biden employs pluralist language calling for a broad tent of his campaign to invite in republicans. This is why this speech is a 0.4

**Title of Speech:** Super Tuesday Speech

**Date of Speech:** March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2020

**Coder:** B

**Date of grading:** December, 2020

**Final Grade:** 0.2

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <p>-</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on <b>narrow, particular issues</b>. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing <b>cosmic proportions</b> to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to <b>national and religious leaders</b> that are generally revered.</p> <p>- This is about the future. It’s not about the past. It’s about our children and our grandchildren. It’s about leading this country and leading the world once again.</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p> <p>-</p>

<p>Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- These are the people that have been forgotten. I agree with you, man. Look, the people Trump forgot, the people I will never forget. I will always remember</li> </ul>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- These are people that build our bridges, repair our roads, keep our water safe, who teach our kids, look, who race into burning buildings to protect other people, who grow our food, build our cars, pick up our garbage, our streets, veterans, dreamers, single moms, and by the way, every dreamer, have hope, because I’m coming and you’re not going anywhere.</li> <li>-</li> </ul>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Trump has fanned the flames of hate and sought to divide us. He’s insulted, demonized, and actually just the way he talks about people. He has not a single sense of empathy. He doesn’t have any compassion, no regard for the values that made this country who we are, not the way you were raised by your moms and dads. He looks at honesty and decency and respect and he views it as a sign of weakness. He doesn’t believe that we’re the beacon to the world. He doesn’t believe we’re all part of something bigger than ourselves.</li> </ul>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- We want a nominee who will beat Donald Trump, but also also keep Nancy Pelosi, the Speaker of the House, win back the United States Senate. If that’s what you want, join us. You want a nominee who’s a Democrat, a life long Democrat, a proud Democrat, an Obama Biden Democrat. Join us.</li> </ul>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- This campaign will send Donald Trump packing. This campaign is taking off.</li> <li>- . A country where the quality of education will not depend on your zip code, where they triple funding for low income school district providing raises for teachers, full-time school for three, four and five years old, and increasing exponentially the prospects of their success.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- We got to beat Donald Trump, but we will, but we can't become like him. We can't have a never ending war between the parties.</li> </ul>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

**Overall Comments:** N/A

Speech to the Democratic National Convention

**Date:** 20 August, 2020

**Location:** Wilmington, Delaware

Good evening. Ella Baker, a giant of the civil rights movement, left us with this wisdom: Give people light and they will find a way. Give people light. Those are words for our time. The current president has cloaked America in darkness for much too long. Too much anger. Too much fear. Too much division. Here and now, I give you my word: If you entrust me with the presidency, I will draw on the best of us not the worst. I will be an ally of the light not of the darkness. It's time for us, for We the People, to come together. For make no mistake. United we can, and will, overcome this season of darkness in America. We will choose hope over fear, facts over fiction, fairness over privilege. I am a proud Democrat and I will be proud to carry the banner of our party into the general election. So, it is with great honor and humility that I accept this nomination for President of the United States of America.

But while I will be a Democratic candidate, I will be an American president. I will work as hard for those who didn't support me as I will for those who did. That's the job of a president. To represent all of us, not just our base or our party. This is not a partisan moment. This must be an American moment. It's a moment that calls for hope and light and love. Hope for our futures, light to see our way forward, and love for one another. America isn't just a collection of clashing interests of Red States or Blue States. We're so much bigger than that. We're so much better than that.

Nearly a century ago, Franklin Roosevelt pledged a New Deal in a time of massive unemployment, uncertainty, and fear. Stricken by disease, stricken by a virus, FDR insisted that he would recover and prevail and he believed America could as well. And he did. And so can we. This campaign isn't just about winning votes. It's about winning the heart, and yes, the soul of America. Winning it for the generous among us, not the selfish. Winning it for the workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top. Winning it for those communities who have known the injustice of the "knee on the neck". For all the young people who have known only an America of rising inequity and shrinking opportunity. They deserve to experience America's promise in full.

No generation ever knows what history will ask of it. All we can ever know is whether we'll be ready when that moment arrives. And now history has delivered us to one of the most difficult moments America has ever faced. Four historic crises. All at the same time. A perfect storm. The worst pandemic in over 100 years. The worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. The most compelling call for racial justice since the 60's. And the undeniable realities and accelerating threats of climate change. So, the question for us is simple: Are we ready?

I believe we are. We must be. All elections are important. But we know in our bones this one is more consequential. America is at an inflection point. A time of real peril, but of extraordinary possibilities. We can choose the path of becoming angrier, less hopeful, and more divided. A path of shadow and suspicion. Or we can choose a different path, and together, take this chance to heal, to be reborn, to unite. A path of hope and light. This is a life-changing election that will determine America's future for a very long time. Character is on the ballot. Compassion is on the ballot. Decency, science, democracy. They are all on the ballot. Who we are as a nation. What we stand for. And, most importantly, who we want to be. That's all on the ballot.

And the choice could not be clearer. No rhetoric is needed. Just judge this president on the facts. 5 million Americans infected with COVID-19. More than 170,000 Americans have died. By far the worst performance of any nation on Earth. More than 50 million people have filed for unemployment this year. More than 10 million people are going to lose their health insurance this year. Nearly one in 6 small businesses have closed this year. If this president is re-elected we know what will happen. Cases and deaths will remain far too high. More mom and pop businesses will close their doors for good. Working families will struggle to get by, and yet, the wealthiest one percent will get tens of billions of dollars in new tax breaks. And the assault on the Affordable Care Act will

continue until its destroyed, taking insurance away from more than 20 million people – including more than 15 million people on Medicaid – and getting rid of the protections that President Obama and I passed for people who suffer from a pre-existing condition.

And speaking of President Obama, a man I was honored to serve alongside for 8 years as Vice President. Let me take this moment to say something we don't say nearly enough. Thank you, Mr. President. You were a great president. A president our children could – and did – look up to. No one will say that about the current occupant of the office. What we know about this president is if he's given four more years he will be what he's been the last four years. A president who takes no responsibility, refuses to lead, blames others, cozies up to dictators, and fans the flames of hate and division. He will wake up every day believing the job is all about him. Never about you. Is that the America you want for you, your family, your children?

I see a different America. One that is generous and strong. Selfless and humble. It's an America we can rebuild together. As president, the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus that's ruined so many lives. Because I understand something this president doesn't. We will never get our economy back on track, we will never get our kids safely back to school, we will never have our lives back, until we deal with this virus. The tragedy of where we are today is it didn't have to be this bad.

Just look around. It's not this bad in Canada. Or Europe. Or Japan. Or almost anywhere else in the world. The President keeps telling us the virus is going to disappear. He keeps waiting for a miracle. Well, I have news for him, no miracle is coming. We lead the world in confirmed cases. We lead the world in deaths. Our economy is in tatters, with Black, Latino, Asian American, and Native American communities bearing the brunt of it. And after all this time, the president still does not have a plan.

Well, I do. If I'm president on day one we'll implement the national strategy I've been laying out since March. We'll develop and deploy rapid tests with results available immediately. We'll make the medical supplies and protective equipment our country needs. And we'll make them here in America. So we will never again be at the mercy of China and other foreign countries in order to protect our own people. We'll make sure our schools have the resources they need to be open, safe, and effective. We'll put the politics aside and take the muzzle off our experts so the public gets the information they need and deserve. The honest, unvarnished truth. They can deal with that. We'll have a national mandate to wear a mask-not as a burden, but to protect each other. It's a patriotic duty. In short, I will do what we should have done from the very beginning.

Our current president has failed in his most basic duty to this nation. He failed to protect us. He failed to protect America. And, my fellow Americans, that is unforgivable. As president, I will make you this promise: I will protect America. I will defend us from every attack. Seen. And unseen. Always. Without exception. Every time.

Look, I understand it's hard to have hope right now. On this summer night, let me take a moment to speak to those of you who have lost the most. I know how it feels to lose someone you love. I know that deep black hole that opens up in your chest. That you feel your whole being is sucked into it. I know how mean and cruel and unfair life can be sometimes.

But I've learned two things. First, your loved ones may have left this Earth but they never leave your heart. They will always be with you. And second, I found the best way through pain and loss and grief is to find purpose. As God's children each of us have a purpose in our lives. And we have a great purpose as a nation: To open the doors of opportunity to all Americans. To save our democracy. To be a light to the world once again. To finally live up to and make real the words written in the sacred documents that founded this nation that all men and women are created equal. Endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

You know, my Dad was an honorable, decent man. He got knocked down a few times pretty hard, but always got up. He worked hard and built a great middle-class life for our family. He used to say, “Joey, I don’t expect the government to solve my problems, but I expect it to understand them.” And then he would say: “Joey, a job is about a lot more than a paycheck. It’s about your dignity. It’s about respect. It’s about your place in your community. It’s about looking your kids in the eye and say, honey, it’s going to be okay.”

I’ve never forgotten those lessons. That’s why my economic plan is all about jobs, dignity, respect, and community. Together, we can, and we will, rebuild our economy. And when we do, we’ll not only build it back, we’ll build it back better. With modern roads, bridges, highways, broadband, ports and airports as a new foundation for economic growth. With pipes that transport clean water to every community. With 5 million new manufacturing and technology jobs so the future is made in America. With a health care system that lowers premiums, deductibles, and drug prices by building on the Affordable Care Act he’s trying to rip away. With an education system that trains our people for the best jobs of the 21st century, where cost doesn’t prevent young people from going to college, and student debt doesn’t crush them when they get out. With child care and elder care that make it possible for parents to go to work and for the elderly to stay in their homes with dignity. With an immigration system that powers our economy and reflects our values. With newly empowered labor unions. With equal pay for women. With rising wages you can raise a family on. Yes, we’re going to do more than praise our essential workers. We’re finally going to pay them.

We can, and we will, deal with climate change. It’s not only a crisis, it’s an enormous opportunity. An opportunity for America to lead the world in clean energy and create millions of new good-paying jobs in the process. And we can pay for these investments by ending loopholes and the president’s \$1.3 trillion tax giveaway to the wealthiest 1 percent and the biggest, most profitable corporations, some of which pay no tax at all. Because we don’t need a tax code that rewards wealth more than it rewards work. I’m not looking to punish anyone. Far from it. But it’s long past time the wealthiest people and the biggest corporations in this country paid their fair share.

For our seniors, Social Security is a sacred obligation, a sacred promise made. The current president is threatening to break that promise. He’s proposing to eliminate the tax that pays for almost half of Social Security without any way of making up for that lost revenue. I will not let it happen. If I’m your president, we’re going to protect Social Security and Medicare. You have my word.

One of the most powerful voices we hear in the country today is from our young people. They’re speaking to the inequity and injustice that has grown up in America. Economic injustice. Racial injustice. Environmental injustice. I hear their voices and if you listen, you can hear them too. And whether it’s the existential threat posed by climate change, the daily fear of being gunned down in school, or the inability to get started in their first job — it will be the work of the next president to restore the promise of America to everyone.

I won’t have to do it alone. Because I will have a great Vice President at my side. Senator Kamala Harris. She is a powerful voice for this nation. Her story is the American story. She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the left-out and left-behind. But she’s overcome every obstacle she’s ever faced. No one’s been tougher on the big banks or the gun lobby. No one’s been tougher in calling out this current administration for its extremism, its failure to follow the law, and its failure to simply tell the truth.

Kamala and I both draw strength from our families. For Kamala, it’s Doug and their families. For me, it’s Jill and ours. No man deserves one great love in his life. But I’ve known two. After losing my first wife in a car accident, Jill came into my life and put our family back together. She’s an educator. A mom. A military Mom. And an unstoppable force. If she puts her mind to it, just get out of the way. Because she’s going to get it done. She was a

great Second Lady and she will make a great First Lady for this nation, she loves this country so much. And I will have the strength that can only come from family. Hunter, Ashley and all our grandchildren, my brothers, my sister. They give me courage and lift me up.

And while he is no longer with us, Beau inspires me every day. Beau served our nation in uniform. A decorated Iraq war veteran. So I take very personally the profound responsibility of serving as Commander in Chief. I will be a president who will stand with our allies and friends. I will make it clear to our adversaries the days of cozying up to dictators are over. Under President Biden, America will not turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers. Nor will I put up with foreign interference in our most sacred democratic exercise – voting. I will stand always for our values of human rights and dignity. And I will work in common purpose for a more secure, peaceful, and prosperous world.

History has thrust one more urgent task on us. Will we be the generation that finally wipes the stain of racism from our national character? I believe we're up to it. I believe we're ready. Just a week ago yesterday was the third anniversary of the events in Charlottesville. Remember seeing those neo-Nazis and Klansmen and white supremacists coming out of the fields with lighted torches? Veins bulging? Spewing the same anti-Semitic bile heard across Europe in the '30s? Remember the violent clash that ensued between those spreading hate and those with the courage to stand against it?

Remember what the president said? There were quote, "very fine people on both sides." It was a wake-up call for us as a country. And for me, a call to action. At that moment, I knew I'd have to run. My father taught us that silence was complicity. And I could not remain silent or complicit. At the time, I said we were in a battle for the soul of this nation. And we are.

One of the most important conversations I've had this entire campaign is with someone who is too young to vote. I met with six-year old Gianna Floyd, a day before her Daddy George Floyd was laid to rest. She is incredibly brave. I'll never forget. When I leaned down to speak with her, she looked into my eyes and said "Daddy, changed the world." Her words burrowed deep into my heart. Maybe George Floyd's murder was the breaking point. Maybe John Lewis' passing the inspiration. However it has come to be, America is ready to in John's words, to lay down "the heavy burdens of hate at last" and to do the hard work of rooting out our systemic racism.

America's history tells us that it has been in our darkest moments that we've made our greatest progress. That we've found the light. And in this dark moment, I believe we are poised to make great progress again. That we can find the light once more.

I have always believed you can define America in one word: Possibilities. That in America, everyone, and I mean everyone, should be given the opportunity to go as far as their dreams and God-given ability will take them. We can never lose that. In times as challenging as these, I believe there is only one way forward. As a united America. United in our pursuit of a more perfect Union. United in our dreams of a better future for us and for our children. United in our determination to make the coming years bright.

Are we ready? I believe we are. This is a great nation. And we are a good and decent people. This is the United States of America. And there has never been anything we've been unable to accomplish when we've done it together.

The Irish poet Seamus Heaney once wrote: "History says/ Don't hope on this side of the grave/ But then, once in a lifetime/ The longed-for tidal wave/ Of justice can rise up/ And hope and history rhyme."



## TEAM POPULISM | Leader Profile Series

This is our moment to make hope and history rhyme. With passion and purpose, let us begin – you and I together, one nation, under God – united in our love for America and united in our love for each other. For love is more powerful than hate. Hope is more powerful than fear. Light is more powerful than dark. This is our moment. This is our mission.

May history be able to say that the end of this chapter of American darkness began here tonight as love and hope and light joined in the battle for the soul of the nation. And this is a battle that we, together, will win. I promise you. Thank you. And may God bless you. And may God protect our troops.

**Title of Speech: Democratic National Convention Acceptance Speech**

**Date of Speech: AUG 21 2020**

**Coder: A**

**Date of grading: Nov 5 2020**

**Final Grade: 0.6**

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <p>“Character is on the ballot. Compassion is on the ballot. Decency, science, democracy.</p> <p>They are all on the ballot.</p> <p>Who we are as a nation. What we stand for. And, most importantly, who we want to be.</p> <p>That’s all on the ballot. “</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections</p>

<p>Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <p>It’s time for us, for We the People, to come together.</p> <p>“You know, my Dad was an honorable, decent man.</p> <p>He got knocked down a few times pretty hard, but always got up.</p> <p>He worked hard and built a great middle-class life for our family.</p> <p>He used to say, “Joey, I don’t expect the government to solve my problems, but I expect it to understand them.”</p> <p>And then he would say: “Joey, a job is about a lot more than a paycheck. It’s about your dignity. It’s about respect. It’s about your place in your community. It’s about looking your kids in the eye and say, honey, it’s going to be okay.”</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <p>But while I will be a Democratic candidate, I will be an American president. I will work as hard for those who didn’t support me as I will for those who did.</p> <p>America isn’t just a collection of clashing interests of Red States or Blue States. We’re so much bigger than that. We’re so much better than that.</p> <p>“However it has come to be, America is ready to in John’s words, to lay down “the heavy burdens of hate at last” and to do the hard work of rooting out our systemic racism.”</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <p>“The current president has cloaked America in darkness for much too long. Too much anger. Too much fear. Too much division.”</p> <p>“Winning it for the generous among us, not the selfish. Winning it for the workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top. Winning it for those communities who have known the injustice of the “knee on the neck”. For all the young people who have known only an America of rising inequity and shrinking opportunity. “</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <p>“Or we can choose a different path, and together, take this chance to heal, to be reborn, to unite.”</p> <p>With passion and purpose, let us begin – you and I together, one nation, under God – united in our love for America and united in our love for each other.</p>

<p>"If this president is re-elected we know what will happen.</p> <p>Cases and deaths will remain far too high.</p> <p>More mom and pop businesses will close their doors for good.</p> <p>Working families will struggle to get by, and yet, the wealthiest one percent will get tens of billions of dollars in new tax breaks."</p> <p>"And we can pay for these investments by ending loopholes and the president's \$1.3 trillion tax giveaway to the wealthiest 1 percent and the biggest, most profitable corporations, some of which pay no tax at all."</p>	
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as "revolution" or "liberation" of the people from their "immiseration" or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <p>"He failed to protect us.</p> <p>He failed to protect America.</p> <p>And, my fellow Americans, that is unforgivable. "</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of "differences" rather than "hegemony."</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

**Overall Comments:**

Reasons: Biden includes some classic economic populism here – those at the top are not paying their taxes, we need to keep the mom-and-pop stores running. His folksy stories of his middle class Dad giving him moral lessons emphasize this. However, Biden stops short of demonizing the economic elite. He just tosses a little shame on them. He is also very critical of president Trump, however that criticism is very individually focused. He doesn't directly tie Trump to the rich class, though that may be implied. Trump is clearly an evil though, his actions "unforgivable," and needs to be removed from the office. The people have to come together and vote him out. However, Biden includes unity-themes in his speech. We must end hatred and division. He will be a president for those who voted for and against him, working equally hard for both of them.

**Title of Speech: Democratic National Conventions Acceptance Speech**

**Date of Speech: August 21 2020**

**Coder: B**

**Date of grading: November 5, 2020**

**Final Grade: 0.7**

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The current president has cloaked America in darkness for much too long. Too much anger. Too much fear. Too much division.</li> <li>- We will choose hope over fear, facts over fiction, fairness over privilege.</li> <li>- We can choose the path of becoming angrier, less hopeful, and more divided. A path of shadow and suspicion. Or we can choose a different path, and together, take this chance to heal, to be reborn, to unite. A path of hope and light</li> </ul>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on <b>narrow, particular issues</b>. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p> <p>-</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing <b>cosmic proportions</b> to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to <b>national and religious leaders</b> that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- And now history has delivered us to one of the most difficult moments America has ever faced.</li> <li>- More than 170,000 Americans have died. By far the worst performance of any nation on Earth.</li> <li>- As God’s children each of us have a purpose in our lives. And we have a great purpose as a nation: To open the doors of opportunity to all Americans. To save our democracy. To be a light to the world once again.</li> </ul>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p> <p>-</p>

<p>Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It’s time for us, for We the People, to come together</li> <li>- Winning it for the generous among us, not the selfish. Winning it for the workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top. Winning it for those communities who have known the injustice of the “knee on the neck”. For all the young people who have known only an America of rising inequity and shrinking opportunity.</li> </ul>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I will be an American president. I will work as hard for those who didn’t support me as I will for those who did.</li> <li>- That’s the job of a president. To represent all of us, not just our base or our party. This is not a partisan moment. This must be an American moment</li> <li>- I will stand always for our values of human rights and dignity. And I will work in common purpose for a more secure, peaceful, and prosperous world.</li> </ul>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Because we don’t need a tax code that rewards wealth more than it rewards work. I’m not looking to punish anyone. Far from it. But it’s long past time the wealthiest people and the biggest corporations in this country paid their fair share.</li> </ul>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- If I’m president on day one we’ll implement the national strategy I’ve been laying out since March. We’ll develop and deploy rapid tests with results available immediately.</li> <li>- That’s why my economic plan is all about jobs, dignity, respect, and community. Together, we can, and we will, rebuild our economy. And when we do, we’ll not only build it back, we’ll build it back better.</li> </ul>

<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>
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**Overall Comments (just a few sentences):**

In this speech Biden makes a couple of references to the people's will and how it needs to be respected and he includes himself as part of the people that need to bring about the change that the Nation needs. He also romanticizes the people by calling them hard workers and contrasting them to the top millionaires who have been privileged by a system that the people have not access to. Biden also constructs a Manichean view of the world by using repeated comparisons such as day and light, hopeful and divided, fear and facts, to refer to what he plans to do vs the Trump administration. This shows the reader that there is no shade of gray, is either the good or the bad, in the game for the presidency. Even though Biden has all of these elements and recognizes the privileges of the rich, uses cosmic proportions to refer to Trumps president as negative and the worst in history, he does not fully condemn companies or capitalism. Trump seems to be the enemy but not part of an evil elite trying to conspire against anyone. There is no call for anti-democratic means and liberties are respected. In fact, he even says that he will be the president of all Americans and that he doesn't plan on taking away the liberties of the millionaire companies he criticizes. He mentions the people but there is not a very strong evil elite that he mentions.



**Transcript of 1st Presidential Election Debate With President Donald Trump**

**DATE:** 29 September, 2020

**LOCATION:** Case Western Reserve University and Cleveland Clinic in Cleveland, Ohio.

**PARTICIPANTS:** Former Vice President Joe Biden (D) and President Donald Trump (R)

**MODERATOR:** Chris Wallace (Fox News)

WALLACE: Good evening from the Health Education Campus of Case Western Reserve University and the Cleveland Clinic. I'm Chris Wallace of Fox News and I welcome you to 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 from 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 serving as the health security advisor to the Commission for all four debates. As a precaution, both campaigns have agreed the candidates will not shake hands at the beginning of tonight's debate. The audience here in the hall has promised to remain silent. No cheers, no boos, 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.

BIDEN: How you doing, man?

TRUMP: How are you doing?

BIDEN: I'm well.

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 to the Court. Vice President Biden, you say that this is an effort by the President and Republicans to jam through on an appointment in 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.

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, said she's the single greatest student he's ever had. He's been a professor for a long time at a great school.

And 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 not doing it. 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 election so they were stopped. And probably that would happen in reverse, also. Definitely would happen in reverse. So we won the election and we have the right to do it, Chris.

WALLACE: President Trump, thank you. Same question to you, Vice President Biden. You have two minutes.

BIDEN: Well, first of all, thank you for doing this and looking forward to this, Mr. President.

TRUMP: Thank you, Joe.

BIDEN: The American people have a right to have a say in 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 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 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 and 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 health insurance now, if it goes into court. And the justice, I'm not opposed to the justice, she seems like a very fine person. But she's written, before she went in the bench, which is her right, that she thinks that the Affordable Care Act is not Constitutional. The other thing that's on the court, and if it's struck down, what happens? Women's rights are fundamentally changed. Once again, a woman could pay more money because she has a pre-existing condition of pregnancy. 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 a hundred 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 Republican, then he goes forward. If not, we should wait until February.

TRUMP: There aren't a hundred million people with pre-existing conditions. As far as a say is concerned, the people already had their say. 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 is 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: He's elected to the next election.

TRUMP: During that period of time, during that period of time, we have an opening. I'm not elected for three years. I'm elected for four years. 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, that they're very happy with.

BIDEN: That's simply not true.

TRUMP: Well, you're certainly going to socialist. You're going to socialist medicine-

WALLACE: Gentlemen, we're now into open discussion.

BIDEN: Open discussion.

WALLACE: Open discussion, yes, I agree. Go ahead, Vice President.

BIDEN: Number one, he knows 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 to have private insurance still. They can. They do. They will under my proposal.

TRUMP: That's not what you've said and it's not what your party is saying.

BIDEN: That is simply a lie.

TRUMP: Your party doesn't say it. Your party wants to go socialist medicine and socialist healthcare.

BIDEN: The party is me. Right now, I am the Democratic Party.

TRUMP: And they're going to dominate you, Joe. You know that.

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BIDEN: I am the Democratic Party right now.

TRUMP: Not according to Harris.

BIDEN: 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 it's going to wipe out pre-existing conditions. And, by the way, the 200,000 people that have died on his watch, how many of those have survived? Well, there's seven million people that contracted COVID. What does it mean for them going forward if you strike down the Affordable Care Act?

TRUMP: Joe, you've had 308,000 military people dying because you couldn't provide them proper healthcare in the military. So don't tell me about this.

BIDEN: I'm happy to talk about this.

TRUMP: And if you were here, it wouldn't be 200, it would be two 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 Europe.

WALLACE: All right, gentlemen, Mr. President.

TRUMP: You would have been much later, Joe, much later.

WALLACE: Mr. President.

TRUMP: We're talking about two million people.

BIDEN: You're not going to be able to shut him up.

WALLACE: Mr. President, as the moderator, we are going to talk about COVID in the next segment. But go ahead.

BIDEN: Let me finish. The point is that the President also is opposed to Roe V. Wade. That's on the ballot as well and the court, in the court, and so that's also at stake right now. And so the election is all-

TRUMP: You don't know what'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.

BIDEN: In the court.

TRUMP: There's nothing happening there.

BIDEN: Donald would you just be quiet for a minute.

TRUMP: You don't know her view on Roe V. Wade? You don't know her view.

WALLACE: Well, all right. All right. Let's talk. We've got a lot to unpack here, gentlemen. We've got a lot of time. On healthcare, and then we'll come back to Roe V. Wade.

BIDEN: All right.

WALLACE: Mr. President, the Supreme Court will hear a case a week after the election in which the Trump Administration, along with 18 state Attorney Generals are seeking to overturn Obamacare, to end Obamacare.

TRUMP: That's right.

WALLACE: You have spent the last week-

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TRUMP: Because they want to give good healthcare.

WALLACE: If I may ask my question, sir.

BIDEN: Good healthcare.

WALLACE: 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.

TRUMP: Yes, I have. Of course, I have. The individual mandate.

WALLACE: [*crosstalk*] when I finish I'm going to give an opportunity-

TRUMP: Excuse me. I got rid of the individual mandate, which was a big chunk of Obamacare.

WALLACE: That's not a comprehensive place.

TRUMP: That is absolutely a big thing. That was the worst part of Obamacare.

WALLACE: I didn't ask, sir.

TRUMP: Chris, that was the worst part of Obamacare.

WALLACE: You're debating him not me. Let me ask my question.

TRUMP: Well, I'll ask Joe. The individual mandate was the most unpopular aspect of Obamacare.

WALLACE: Mr. President.

TRUMP: I got rid of it. And we will protect people.

WALLACE: Mr. President, I'm the moderator of this debate and I would like you to let me ask my question and then you can answer.

TRUMP: 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. There's nothing symbolic. I'm cutting drug prices. I'm going with Favored Nations, which no President has the courage 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 healthcare.

WALLACE: What about pre-existing conditions?

TRUMP: All of the things that we've done.

BIDEN: He has not done healthcare.

TRUMP: I'll give you an example. Insulin, it was destroying families, destroying 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 paid just a tiny fraction of what we do.

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WALLACE: Okay, like I say, this is open discussion.

TRUMP: This is big stuff.

WALLACE: Sir, 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.

BIDEN: Yes.

WALLACE: And the argument that he makes and other Republicans make is that that is going to end private insurance.

BIDEN: It is not.

WALLACE: If I start asking the question.

TRUMP: That's not what your party says, by the way.

WALLACE: And it will end private insurance and create a government takeover of healthcare.

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 who are poor Medicaid. Anyone who qualifies for 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. Number two.

TRUMP: Joe, you agreed with Bernie Sanders, who's far left, on the manifesto, we call it. And that gives you socialized medicine.

BIDEN: Look, hey.

TRUMP: Are you saying you didn't agree?

BIDEN: I'm not going to listen to him. The fact of the matter is I beat Bernie Sanders.

TRUMP: Not by much.

BIDEN: I beat him by a whole hell of a lot.

TRUMP: Not by much.

BIDEN: I'm here standing facing you, old buddy.

TRUMP: If Pocahontas would have left two days early you would have lost every primary.

BIDEN: All he knows how to do-

TRUMP: On Super Tuesday, you got very lucky.

BIDEN: Look he's the deal. I got very lucky. I'm going to get very lucky tonight as well.

TRUMP: With what?

BIDEN: And tonight I'm going to make sure.

TRUMP: With what?

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BIDEN: Because here's the deal, here's the deal. The fact is that everything he's saying so far is simply a lie. I'm not here to call out his lies. Everybody knows he's a liar.

TRUMP: But you agree. Joe, you're the liar. You graduated last in your class not first in your class.

BIDEN: God, I want to make sure-

WALLACE: Mr. President, can you let him finish, sir?

BIDEN: No, he doesn't know how to do that.

TRUMP: You'd be surprised. You'd be surprised. Go ahead, Joe.

BIDEN: The wrong guy, the wrong night, at the wrong time.

TRUMP: Listen, you agreed with Bernie Sanders and the manifesto.

BIDEN: There is no manifesto, number one.

WALLACE: Please let him speak, Mr. President.

BIDEN: Number two.

TRUMP: He just lost the left.

BIDEN: Number two.

TRUMP: You just lost the left. You agreed with Bernie Sanders on a plan that you absolutely agreed to and under that plan [*crossstalk*], they call it socialized medicine.

WALLACE: Mr. President.

BIDEN: I'll tell you what, he is not for any help for people needing healthcare.

TRUMP: Who is, Bernie?

BIDEN: Because he, in fact, already has cost 10 million people their healthcare that they had from their employers because of his recession. Number one. Number two, there are 20 million people getting healthcare through Obamacare now that he wants to take it away. He won't ever look you in the eye and say that's what he wants to do. Take it away.

TRUMP: No, I want to give them better healthcare at a much lower price, because Obamacare is no good.

BIDEN: He doesn't know how. He doesn't know how to do that.

TRUMP: I've already fixed it.

BIDEN: He has never offered a plan.

TRUMP: We've already fixed it to an extent. Obamacare, as you might know but probably don't, Obamacare is no good.

WALLACE: Gentlemen, you realize if you're both speaking at the same time. Let the President. Go ahead, sir.

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 ... They shouldn't even call it Obamacare, then 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've got to run it so well." 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. So we do want to get rid of it. Chris, we want to get rid of that and give something that's cheaper and better.

WALLACE: I understand that, sir. But I have to give you roughly equal time.

TRUMP: Go ahead.

WALLACE: Please let the Vice President talk, sir.

TRUMP: Good.

BIDEN: He has no plan for healthcare.

TRUMP: Of course, we do.

WALLACE: Please.

BIDEN: 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 healthcare 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: All right, I have one final question for you.

BIDEN: Sure.

WALLACE: Mr. Vice President, if Senate Republicans, we were talking originally 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 the Congress. So my question to you is, 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?

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. You're voting now. Vote and let your Senators know how strongly you feel.

TRUMP: Are you going to pack the court?

BIDEN: Vote now.

TRUMP: Are you going to pack the court?

BIDEN: Make sure you, in fact, let people know, your Senators.

TRUMP: He doesn't want to answer the question.

BIDEN: I'm not going to answer the question.

TRUMP: Why wouldn't you answer that question? You want to put a lot of new Supreme Court Justices. Radical left.

BIDEN: Will you shut up, man?

TRUMP: Listen, who is on your list, Joe? Who's on your list?

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WALLACE: Gentlemen, I think we've ended this-

BIDEN: This is so un-Presidential.

TRUMP: He's going to pack the court. He is not going to give a list.

WALLACE: We have ended the segment. We're going to move on to the second segment.

BIDEN: That was really a productive segment, wasn't it? Keep yapping, man.

TRUMP: The people understand, Joe.

BIDEN: They sure do.

TRUMP: 47 years, you've done nothing. They understand.

WALLACE: All right, the second subject is COVID-19, which is an awfully serious subject. So let's try to be serious about it. We have had more than seven 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 to 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.

BIDEN: Good luck. 200,000 dead. As you said, over seven million infected in the United States. We, in fact, have 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 a day are dying. When he was presented with that number, he said, "It is what it is." Well, 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 it. 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?

BIDEN: He went in and we were insisting that the people we had in the ground in China should be able to go to Wuhan and determine for themselves how dangerous this was. He did not even ask Xi to do that.

TRUMP: Wrong.

BIDEN: 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. And what did he do then? He then did nothing. He waited and waited and waited. He still doesn't have a plan.

TRUMP: Wrong.

WALLACE: Sir, it's his two minutes.

TRUMP: It's so wrong.

BIDEN: I laid out back in March, 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 possible. We should be providing the money the House has passed in order to be able to go out and get people the help they need to keep their businesses open. Open schools cost a lot of money. You should get out of your bunker and get out of the sand trap in your golf course and go in the Oval Office and bring together the Democrats and Republicans and fund what needs to be done now to save lives.

TRUMP: So, if we would have listened to you.

WALLACE: Wait, wait. You have two minutes, sir.



TRUMP: If we would've listened to you, 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. And, by the way, when you talk about numbers, you don't know how many people died in China. You don't know how many people died in Russia. You don't know 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 he's xenophobic," because you didn't think I should have closed our country. Wait a minute.

WALLACE: Sir, it's his two minutes.

TRUMP: You didn't think we should have closed our country because you thought 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 Governor. Oh really, go take a look. The Governors said I did a phenomenal job. Most of them said that. In fact, people that would not be necessarily on my side said that, "President Trump 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're doing therapeutics already. Fewer people are dying when they get sick. Far fewer people are dying. We've done a great job.

TRUMP: 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. It's just fake news. They give you good press, they give me bad press because that's the way it is, unfortunately. But let me just say something. 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've never done that, Joe.

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. H1-N1, you were a disaster. Your own Chief of Staff said you were a disaster.

BIDEN: 14,000 people died, not 200,000.

TRUMP: A far less lethal disease, by the way.

WALLACE: Sir, you made a point. Let him answer it.

BIDEN: And there was no one ... We didn't shut down the economy. This is his economy he 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 of COVID? How many of you are in a situation where you lost your mom or dad and you couldn't even speak to them, you had a nurse holding a phone up so you could in fact say goodbye?

TRUMP: We would have lost far more people, far more people. You would have been months late. You're months behind me, Joe.

BIDEN: 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 said, if we just wear a mask, we can save half those numbers. Just a mask. And by the way, in terms of the whole notion of a vaccine, we're for a vaccine, but I don't trust him at all. Nor do you. I know you don't. What we trust is a scientist.

TRUMP: You don't trust Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer?

WALLACE: Okay, gentlemen, gentlemen. Let me move on to questions about the future because you both have touched on 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 governments own 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

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generally available to the public. You said that he was confused and mistaken. Those were your two words. But Dr. Slaoui, the head of your Operation Warp Speed, has said exactly the same thing. Are they both wrong?

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 than save lives.

BIDEN: God.

TRUMP: 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, Moderna, Johnson & Johnson, and others. They can go faster than that by a lot. It's become very political because the left... Or I don't know if I call them left, I don't know what I call them.

WALLACE: So you're suggesting that the 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 much sooner. I had him in my office two days ago.

WALLACE: He talked about the summer, sir, before it's generally available, just like Dr. Redfield.

TRUMP: Because he said it's a possibility that we'll have the answer before November 1st. It could also be after that.

WALLACE: I'm talking about when it's generally available, not-

TRUMP: Well, we're going to 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 can do 200,000 a day. They're going to be delivering-

BIDEN: This is the same man who told you-

TRUMP: It's all set up.

BIDEN: ... by Easter, this would be gone away. By the warm weather, it'd be gone. Miraculous, like a miracle. And by the way, maybe you could inject some bleach in your arm, and that would take care of it. This is the same man.

TRUMP: That was said sarcastically, and you know that. That was said sarcastically.

BIDEN: So here's the deal. This man is talking about a vaccine. Every serious company is talking about maybe having a vaccine done by the end of the year, but the distribution of that vaccine will not occur until sometime beginning of the middle of next year to get it out, if we get the vaccine. And pray God we will. Pray God we will.

WALLACE: Mr. Vice President, I want to pick up-

TRUMP: You'll have the vaccine sooner than that.

WALLACE: I want to 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 quote, "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?

BIDEN: No more than the question you just asked him. You pointed out he puts pressure and disagrees with his own scientists.

WALLACE: But you're saying you can't-

BIDEN: Everybody knows-

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WALLACE: Or Senator Harris is saying you can't trust the scientist.

BIDEN: Well, no, no. You can trust the scientist. She didn't say that. You can trust the-

WALLACE: She said that public health experts quote, "Will be muzzled, will be suppressed."

BIDEN: Yes. Well, that's what he's going to try to do, but 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. They're the people... And by the way-

TRUMP: We spoke to the scientists that are in charge-

BIDEN: By the way-

TRUMP: ... they will have the vaccine very soon.

WALLACE: Let him finish.

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 relating to 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 as saying it. 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, a lot quicker-

WALLACE: Mr. President?

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-

TRUMP: Let me just tell you something, Joe. 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 and it's going up fast.

WALLACE: We'll get to the economy in the next segment, sir.

TRUMP: It's going up fast. I look forward to talking about it.

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 schools. Why, sir?

BIDEN: Because he doesn't have a plan. If I were running it, 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 the PPE, as well as with the sanitation they need. You have to provide them classic-

TRUMP: Tell that to Nancy Pelosi.

BIDEN: Will he just shush for a minute?

TRUMP: Tell that to Nancy Pelosi, and Schumer [*crosstalk*] Chuck.

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

TRUMP: You probably play more than I do, Joe.

WALLACE: What about this question of reopenings and the fact-

TRUMP: Well, he wants to shut down this country and I want to keep it open, and we did a great thing by shutting it down-

BIDEN: You just admitted you'd shut it down.

TRUMP: Wait a minute, Joe. Let me shut you down for a second, Joe, just for one second. 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 shut down is because they want to keep it shut down until after the election on November 3rd.

WALLACE: All right. I want to move onto another-

TRUMP: Because it's a political thing.

WALLACE: I want to move onto another subject.

BIDEN: I got to respond to that.

WALLACE: I want to move-

TRUMP: But those states-

WALLACE: Gentlemen, I want to move onto another subject.

TRUMP: Those states are not doing well that are shut down right now.

BIDEN: I got to respond to that.

TRUMP: He wants to shut down the whole country.

WALLACE: President Trump, you have begun to increasingly question the effectiveness of masks as a disease preventer. And in fact, recently you have cited the issue of waiters touching their masks and touching plates. Are you questioning the efficacy of masks?

TRUMP: No, I think masks are okay. You have to understand, if you look... I mean, I have a mask right here. I put a mask on when I think I need it. Tonight, 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 masks-

BIDEN: Just like your rally.

TRUMP: ... when needed. When needed, I wear masks.

WALLACE: Okay. Let me ask-

TRUMP: I don't wear a mask like him. Every time you see him, he's got a mask. He could be speaking 200 feet away from him and he shows up with the biggest mask I've ever seen. I will say this-

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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, the-

WALLACE: But I was asking you, sir, about masks.

BIDEN: Well, masks make a big difference. His own head of the CDC said if we just wore masks between now, if everybody wore a mask and social distanced between now and January, we'd probably save up to 100,000 lives. It matters. It matters.

TRUMP: And they've also said the opposite. They've also said-

BIDEN: No serious person has said the opposite. No serious person.

WALLACE: Okay. I want to ask you-

TRUMP: Dr. Fauci. Dr. Fauci said the opposite.

BIDEN: He did not say the opposite.

WALLACE: I want to ask you, we've got a little more than a minute left in this segment.

TRUMP: He said very strongly, "Masks are not good." Then he changed his mind. He said, "Masks are good."

WALLACE: I want to ask-

TRUMP: I'm okay with masks. I'm not fighting masks.

WALLACE: I want to ask you both about one last subject because your different approaches has even affected the way that you have campaigned. President Trump, you're holding large rallies with crowds packed together, thousands of people.

TRUMP: Outside.

WALLACE: Outside. Yes, sir. Agreed. Vice President Biden, you are holding much smaller events with-

TRUMP: Because nobody will show up.

WALLACE: ... people with masks.

TRUMP: Well, it's true. Nobody shows up to his rallies.

WALLACE: All right. In any case, why you holding the big rallies? Why you not? You go first, sir.

TRUMP: Because people want to hear what I have to say. I mean-

WALLACE: But are not worried about us spreading disease?

TRUMP: ... I've done a great job as a president, and I'll have 25, 35,000 people show up at airports. We use airports and hangers and we have a lot of people-

WALLACE: Are you not worried about the disease issues, sir?

TRUMP: Well, so far we have had no problem whatsoever. It's outside. That's a big difference according to the experts. We do them outside, we have tremendous crowds, as you see, and literally on 24 hours notice. And Joe does the circles and has three people someplace.

BIDEN: By the way, did you see one of the last big 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 far away from those other people.” That’s what he said, “I’m going to be okay.” He’s not worried about you. He’s not worried about the people out there [*crosstalk*].

TRUMP: We’ve had no negative effect.

BIDEN: No negative effect. Come on.

TRUMP: We’ve had no negative effect, and we’ve had 35, 40,000 people at these rallies.

WALLACE: All right. Do you want to just quickly finish up? 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. He’s a fool on this.

TRUMP: If you could get the crowds, you would have done the same thing. But you can’t. Nobody cares.

WALLACE: Gentlemen, can we move on to the-

TRUMP: Nobody cares.

WALLACE: Gentlemen, can we move on to the economy?

TRUMP: Yes.

WALLACE: The economy is, I think it’s fair to say, recovering faster than expected from the shutdown-

TRUMP: Much faster.

WALLACE: ... 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.

TRUMP: So we built the greatest economy in history. We closed 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, two million 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 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.

TRUMP: A lot of people, between drugs and alcohol and depression, when you start shutting it down, you take a look at what’s happening at 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, “Oh, we’re going to open up on November 9th.” Why November 9th? 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 got to open these states up.

TRUMP: When you look at North Carolina, when you look, and these governors are under siege, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and a couple of others, you got to open these states up. It’s not fair. You’re talking about almost it’s 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.”

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WALLACE: All right. Your two minutes, sir. We're now moved to you. As I said, posing the question, the president says it's a V-shape recovery, you say it's a K-shaped recovery. What's the difference?

BIDEN: The difference is millionaires and billionaires like him in the middle of the COVID crisis have done very well. Billionaires have made another \$300 billion because of his profligate tax proposal, and he only focused on the market. But you folks at home, you folks living in Scranton and Claymont and all the small towns and working class towns in America, how well are you doing? This guy paid a total of \$750 in taxes.

TRUMP: That's wrong.

WALLACE: Sir, wait. No. Sir-

TRUMP: *[crosstalk]*.

WALLACE: Yeah, I understand. You've agreed to the two minutes, so please let him have it.

BIDEN: Do I get my time back? The fact is that he has in fact, worked on this in a way that he's going to be the first president of the United States to leave office, having fewer jobs in his administration than when he became president. Fewer jobs than when he became president. First one in American history.

BIDEN: 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 been out there dying. People who've been putting themselves in the way to make sure that we could all try to make it. And the idea that he is insisting that we go forward and open when you have almost half the states in America with a significant increase in COVID deaths and COVID cases in the United States of America, and he wants to open it up more. Why is he want to open it up? Why doesn't he take care of the... 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.

BIDEN: Schools. Why aren't schools open? Because it costs a lot of money to open them safely. They were going to give, his Administration going to give the teachers and school students masks, and 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 in 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: All right. Your time is up, sir. We are going to get to-

TRUMP: I have to respond to that.

WALLACE: Well, you both had two minutes, sir.

TRUMP: Excuse me, he made a statement.

WALLACE: And so did you.

TRUMP: 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 it can ever recover what they've done to New York. People want their places open. They want to get back to their lives.

BIDEN: People want to be safe.

TRUMP: They'll be careful, but they want their schools open.

BIDEN: People want to be safe.

TRUMP: I'm the one that brought back football. By the way, I brought back Big Ten football. It was me and I'm very happy to do it-

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WALLACE: All right. Let's-

TRUMP: ... and people of Ohio are very proud of me. And you know how I found out? When [*crosstalk*].

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 this 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 that paid-

BIDEN: Show us your tax returns.

TRUMP: I paid \$38 million one year, I paid \$27 million one year.

BIDEN: Show us your tax returns.

TRUMP: You'll see it as soon as it's finished, you'll see it. You know, if you wanted to, 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 under leveraged because the assets are extremely good, and I built a great company.

WALLACE: Sir, I'm asking you a specific question, which is-

TRUMP: But let me tell you-

WALLACE: I understand all of that.

BIDEN: Release your tax return.

WALLACE: I understand all of that-

TRUMP: Let me-

WALLACE: No, Mr. President, I'm asking you a question. Will you tell us how much you paid in federal income taxes in 2016 and 2017?

TRUMP: Millions of dollars.

WALLACE: You paid millions of dollars in-

TRUMP: Millions of dollars, yes.

WALLACE: So not 750?

TRUMP: Millions of dollars. And you'll get to see it. And you'll get to see it.

BIDEN: When?

TRUMP: But let me just tell you-

BIDEN: In [*crosstalk*]?

TRUMP: Chris, let me just say something, that 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



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tax credits. We built the building and we get tax credits, like the hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. Which by the way, was given to me by the Obama Administration, if you can believe that. Now the man got fired right after that happened, but that's-

WALLACE: Vice President Biden, you want to respond?

BIDEN: Yeah, I do want to respond. Look, the tax code that put him in a position that he pays less tax than on the money a school teacher makes is because of him... He says he's smart because he can take advantage of the tax code. And he does take advantage of the tax code. That's why I'm going to eliminate the Trump tax cuts. And I'm going to eliminate those tax cuts.

TRUMP: That's okay.

BIDEN: And make sure that we invest in the people who in fact need the help. People out there need help.

TRUMP: But why didn't you do it over the last 25 years?

BIDEN: Because you weren't president-

TRUMP: Why didn't you do it over the last 25 years?

BIDEN: Because you weren't president and screwing things up.

TRUMP: You were a Senator and [*crosstalk*]-

BIDEN: You're the worst president America has ever had. Come on.

TRUMP: Hey, Joe, let me just tell you, Joe. 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.

WALLACE: Okay. Gentlemen?

TRUMP: Including fixing the broken military that you gave me, including taking care of your debts.

WALLACE: 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-

TRUMP: He has none.

WALLACE: ... 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.

WALLACE: ... 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.

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. The federal government spends \$600 billion a year on everything from ships, to steel, to buildings and the like. And under my proposal, we're going to make sure that every penny of that has to be made by a company-

WALLACE: But respectfully, sir, I'm talking about taxes, not spending.

BIDEN: By the way, I'm going to eliminate a significant number of the taxes. I'm going to make the corporate tax 28%. It shouldn't be 21%. You have 91 companies federal, I mean, the fortune 500, who don't pay a single penny in tax making billions of dollars.

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TRUMP: Why didn't you do it before, when you were Vice-President with Obama?

BIDEN: Because you in fact passed that, that was your tax proposal.

TRUMP: I got it done. And you know what happened?

BIDEN: Yeah, you got it done-

TRUMP: Our economy boomed like it's never boomed before.

BIDEN: The economy-

WALLACE: Mr. President-

BIDEN: Let me finish.

WALLACE: Mr. President, let me pick up on that. You would continue your free market approach, lower taxes, more deregulation, correct?

BIDEN: Not lower tax for the American people.

WALLACE: But let me-

TRUMP: Excuse me.

WALLACE: You talk about the 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.

TRUMP: They had the slowest economic recovery since 1929. It was the slowest recovery. Also, they took over something that was down here. All you had to do is turn on the lights and you pick up a lot. But they had the slowest economic recovery since 1929, and let me tell you about the stock market. When the stock market goes up, that means jobs. It also means 401ks. 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. *[crosstalk]* They will leave and you will have a depression, the likes of which you've never seen.

BIDEN: Look-

WALLACE: Mr. Vice President.

BIDEN: ... 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 that created the jobs you're talking about. We handed him a booming economy, he blew it.

TRUMP: It wasn't booming.

BIDEN: He blew it.

TRUMP: It wasn't booming. It was the weakest recovery since 1929.

WALLACE: Wait, wait, is it fair to say he blew it when, in fact-

TRUMP: When COVID came along.

WALLACE: ... when there was record low unemployment before COVID.

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BIDEN: Yeah, because what he did, even before COVID, manufacturing went in the hole. Manufacturing went in a hole-

TRUMP: Excuse me, Chris, wait.

BIDEN: ... number one. Number two-

TRUMP: Chris.

BIDEN: Number three.

TRUMP: They said it would take... No, you're on number two.

BIDEN: No.

TRUMP: Chris, Chris. They said it would take-

BIDEN: This guy-

TRUMP: ... 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. [*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: ... standard fare.

BIDEN: I'm the guy that brought back the automobile industry.

TRUMP: He totally gave up on manufacturing.

WALLACE: All right, let him-

BIDEN: 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 gone-

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 Japan, went to Michigan, went to Ohio and they didn't come in with you. [*crosstalk*].

WALLACE: Mr. Vice President, go ahead.

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. He talks about the art of the deal. China's perfected the art of the steal. We have a higher deficit with China now than we did before. We have the highest trade deficit-

TRUMP: China ate your lunch- [*crosstalk*].

BIDEN: ... with Mexico.

TRUMP: China ate your lunch, Joe. And no wonder your son goes in and, wha-, he takes out billions of dollars. He 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 three and a half million dollars?

BIDEN: That is not true.

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TRUMP: What did he do to deserve it? What did he do with Burisma-

BIDEN: None of that is true.

TRUMP: ... to deserve \$183,000?

WALLACE: Sir, you've asked him a question, let him answer it.

BIDEN: None of that is true.

TRUMP: Oh really, he didn't get three and a half million?

WALLACE: Mr. President-

BIDEN: Is totally-

WALLACE: Mr. President, please. You've asked a question- [*crosstalk*]

BIDEN: Totally discredited. Totally discredited. And by the way-

TRUMP: Well wait, he didn't get three and a half million dollars, Joe?

BIDEN: Mr. Vice-

TRUMP: He got three and a half million dollars-

WALLACE: Mr. President.

TRUMP: ... dollars.

BIDEN: That is not true.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

WALLACE: Mr. President, it's an open discussion. Please- [*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: It's a fact.

BIDEN: It is not a fact.

WALLACE: Well, you have raised an issue, let the Vice President answer.

BIDEN: It's been totally discredited.

TRUMP: Did Burisma pay him 183 thousand a month, with no experience in energy?

WALLACE: Mr. President-

BIDEN: My son did nothing wrong at Burisma-

TRUMP: I think he did.

BIDEN: The only guy that. . .

WALLACE: Mr. President, let him answer. [*crosstalk*].

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

TRUMP: By who?

BIDEN: And you can-

TRUMP: The media.

BIDEN: by everybody. Well, by the media, by our allies.

TRUMP: By the media, because they refuse to talk about it-

BIDEN: By the World Bank-

TRUMP: ... because they're embarrassed.

BIDEN: By everyone, as discredited. And matter of fact [*crosstalk*] Matter of fact-

WALLACE: Mr. President, please stop.

BIDEN: Even the people who testified under oath-

TRUMP: So let me ask you this, Joe- [*crosstalk*].

WALLACE: No, no. Go ahead, Mr.— I'm listening to you.

BIDEN: Even the people under-

TRUMP: He got three and a half million dollars from Moscow.

BIDEN: ... testified, he testified under oath in his Administration said I did my job and I did it very well.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

BIDEN: I did it honorably.

TRUMP: I'd like to know who they are.

BIDEN: Well, I'll give you the list of the people who-

TRUMP: I'll fire them.

WALLACE: No, no. Go ahead, sir.

BIDEN: I'm sure that you've already fired most of them, because they did a good job.

TRUMP: Some people don't do a good job.

BIDEN: Well, here's the- [*crosstalk*]

WALLACE: Go ahead. You get the- [*crosstalk*] Wait a minute. You get the final word, Mr.-

BIDEN: Well, it's hard to get any word in with this clown. Excuse me, this person.

TRUMP: Hey, hey, let me just say, that

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BIDEN: No, no. Mr. President- [*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: Three and a half million, Joe.

BIDEN: That is simply not true.

TRUMP: Why did he deserve three and a half million from Moscow?

BIDEN: Look, here's the deal. We 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's already-

TRUMP: My family-

WALLACE: No, no- [*crosstalk*].

TRUMP: My family lost a fortune by coming down and helping us with government.

BIDEN: And that's such a- [*crosstalk*]

WALLACE: Mr. President-

TRUMP: Every single one of them lost a fortune by coming down and helping us with government.

BIDEN: This is not about my family or his family. It's about your family, the American people. [*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: And he got three and a half million dollars for nothing.

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 here. [*crosstalk*]

WALLACE: That's the end of the segment. We're moving on.

BIDEN: He didn't take that.

WALLACE: Vice President-

TRUMP: Chris, can I be honest? It's a very important question-

BIDEN: Try to be honest.

WALLACE: No.

TRUMP: He stood up-

WALLACE: The answer to the question is no.

TRUMP: ... and he threatened Ukraine-

WALLACE: Sir-

TRUMP: ... with a billion dollars-

BIDEN: That is absolutely not true.

WALLACE: Stop. [*crosstalk*] Gentlemen, I hate to raise my voice, but I- [*crosstalk*] Why should I be different than the two of you? So here's the deal.

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BIDEN: That's a good point.

WALLACE: We have six segments. We have ended that segment. We're going to go to the next segment. In that segment, you each are going to have two uninterrupted moments. In those two uninterrupted minutes, Mr. President, you can say anything you want. I'm going to ask a question about race, but if you want to answer about something else, go ahead. But we, I, I think that the country would be better served, if we allowed both people to speak with fewer interruptions. I'm appealing to you, sir, to do that.

TRUMP: Well, and him too.

WALLACE: Well, frankly, you've been doing more interrupting than he has.

TRUMP: Well, that's all right, but he does plenty.

WALLACE: Well, sir, less than-

TRUMP: He does plenty.

WALLACE: No, 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.

TRUMP: Oh yeah, sure.

WALLACE: President Trump, you have often said that you believe you will have done more for Black Americans than any president with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln.

TRUMP: That's true.

WALLACE: 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.

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 require, acquire equity for everyone, equality for the whole of 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 in the race is when those people. . . Close your eyes, remember what those people look like coming out of the fields, carrying torches, their veins bulging, spewing—just spewing anti-Semitic bile and accompanied by the Ku Klux Klan. A young woman got killed, and they asked the president what he thought. He said, “There were very fine people on both sides.” No president's ever said anything like that. [*crosstalk*].

WALLACE: It is his-

BIDEN: Now-

WALLACE: ... two minutes sir.

BIDEN: ... second point I'd make to you, 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 use tear gas on them 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 “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, you talk 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

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cares at all? This man's done virtually nothing. Look, the fact is that you have to look at what he's talks about. You have to look at what he did. And what he did has been disastrous for the African-American community.

TRUMP: So-

WALLACE: President Trump, you have two minutes. Why should Americans trust you over your opponent to deal with race issues?

TRUMP: You did a crime bill, 1994, where you called them super-predators. African-Americans are super-predators and they've never forgotten it. They've never forgotten it.

BIDEN: I've never said-

WALLACE: No, no, sir. It's his two minutes.

TRUMP: So you did that, and they call you super-predator and I'm letting people out of jail now, that you have treated the African-American population community, you have treated the black community about as bad as anybody in this country. You did the 1990—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 call 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 and generals, 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 going to 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, and in many cases radical left. And they've got you wrapped around their finger, Joe, to a point where you don't want to 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.

WALLACE: All right. I want to return to the question of race. Vice President Biden, after the grand jury in the Breonna 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. There's systemic injustice in this country, in education and work and in law enforcement and the way in which it's enforced. But look, the vast majority of police officers are good, decent, honorable men and women. They 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 as President of the United States is call a, a, together an entire group of people at the White House, everything from the civil rights groups, to the police officers, to the 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, in 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 Breonna Taylor. Most don't like it, but we have to have a system where people are held accountable when—and by the way, violence in response is never appropriate, never appropriate. Peaceful protest is, violence is never appropriate.

WALLACE: All right, Mr.-



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TRUMP: What is peaceful protest? When they run through the middle of the town-

WALLACE: President Trump-

TRUMP: ... and burn down your stores and kill people all over the place- [*crosstalk*].

BIDEN: That is not peaceful protest.

TRUMP: No it's not, but you say it is.

BIDEN: I did not say it is.

WALLACE: President Trump, I'd like to continue with the issue of race. I promise we're going to get to the issue of law and order in a moment.

TRUMP: Fine.

WALLACE: This month, your Administration, uh, directed federal agencies to end racial sensitivity training that addresses white privilege or critical race theory. Why did you decide to do that, to end racial sensitivity training? And do you believe that there is systemic racism in this country, sir?

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, oh it's totally racial. [*crosstalk*]

WALLACE: What is radical about racial sensitivity training?

TRUMP: If you were a certain person, you had no status in life. It was 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, 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 going to allow that to happen.

BIDEN: Nobody's doing that.

WALLACE: Vice President Biden.

BIDEN: Nobody's doing that. He's the racist.

TRUMP: You just don't know.

BIDEN: Here's the deal. I know a lot more about this- [*crosstalk*].

TRUMP: You don't know.

WALLACE: Let him finish.

BIDEN: The fact is that there is racial insensitivity. People have to be made aware of what other people feel like, uh, what insults them, what is demeaning to them. It's important that people know. Many people don't want to hurt other people's feelings. But it's amazing, it makes a big difference. It makes a gigantic difference in the way a child is able to grow up and have a self-sense, a sense of self-esteem. It's a little bit like how this guy and, and his friends look down on so many people. They look down their nose on people like Irish Catholics, like me, and 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 gonna bring

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this country together is bring everybody together. There's nothing we cannot do, if we do it together. We can take this on, and we can defeat racism in America.

WALLACE: Vice President... I mean, President Trump, sir.

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

BIDEN: Oh my Lord.

TRUMP: But the reason-

BIDEN: This is ridiculous.

TRUMP: ... is that the Democrats that run these cities-

BIDEN: Absolutely ridiculous.

TRUMP: ... don't want to talk, like you, about law and order.

BIDEN: Violent crime. . .

TRUMP: And you still haven't mentioned.

BIDEN: Violent crime. . .

TRUMP: Are you in favor of law and order?

BIDEN: I'm in favor of law. You follow a little bit of order- [*crosstalk*].

TRUMP: Are you in favor of law and order? [*crosstalk*]

BIDEN: Yes I'm in favor of. . .

WALLACE: You asked a question, let him finish. [*crosstalk*] Let him answer.

BIDEN: Law and order with justice, where people get treated fairly.

TRUMP: Okay.

BIDEN: And the fact of the matter is, violent crime went down 17 percent, 15 percent in our Administration. It's gone up on his watch.

WALLACE: Okay.

TRUMP: It went down much more in ours.

WALLACE: All right, we're done- [*crosstalk*] Mr. President, you're going to be very happy because we're now going to talk about law and order.

TRUMP: The places we had trouble were Democratic-run cities. . .

WALLACE: That's exactly my question. There has 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?

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TRUMP: I think it's a party issue. You can bring in a couple of examples but if you look at Chicago, what's going on in Chicago where, uh, 53 people were shot and eight died. Shot. If you look at New York where it's going up, like nobody's ever seen anything. The numbers are going up a 100, 150, 200 percent, uh, crime, it is crazy what's going on . . .

BIDEN: Republican cities, republican cities.

TRUMP: . . . 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. . .

BIDEN: By the way. . .

TRUMP: . . . our suburbs would be gone. By the way, our suburbs would be gone. And you would see problems like you've never seen before.

BIDEN: He wouldn't know a suburb unless you took a wrong turn. He was, he was. . .

TRUMP: Oh, I know suburbs so much better than you.

WALLACE: Gentlemen wait a minute.

BIDEN: I was raised in the suburbs. This is not 1950. All these dog whistles and racism don't work anymore. Suburbs are by and large integrated. There's as many people today driving their kids to soccer practice and/or black and white and Hispanic in the same car as there have been any time in the past. What's, what really is a threat to the suburbs and their safety is his failure 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 his refusal to do anything. That's why the suburbs are in trouble.

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 talked about quote re-imagining policing. First of all, what does re-imagining policing mean and do you support?

BIDEN: It means. . .

WALLACE: . . . If I might finish the question, what does re-imagining policing mean and do you support the Black Lives Matter call uh, for uh, 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 totally opposed to defunding the police offices. As a matter of fact police, local police, the only one 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 9-11 call to have someone with them 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 policing 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 engaged with . . .

TRUMP: That's not what they are talking about, Chris. That's not what it . . . He's talking about defunding the police.

BIDEN: That's exactly. . . that is not true.

TRUMP: He doesn't have any law support. He has no law enforcement support.

TRUMP: Almost nothing.

BIDEN: That's not true. That's not. . . Oh, look. . .

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TRUMP: Oh, really, who do you have? Name one group that supports you. Name one group that came out and supported you. Go ahead. Think. We have time.

BIDEN: We don't have time to do anything except . . .

TRUMP: No, no. Think about it. Name one law enforcement group that came out in support of you.

BIDEN: Folks, folks. . .

WALLACE: Now, gentleman. I think I'm going to take back the moderator's role. . .

TRUMP: There aren't any. I don't think there are any.

WALLACE: . . . 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 a, more than a hundred straight days of protests, which I think you would agree, you talk 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 or the Democratic Governor of Oregon and said, "Hey, you gotta stop this, bring in the National Guard, do whatever it takes, but you'd stop the days and months of violence in Portland."

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. It should be prosecuted, and anyone who commits it should be prosecuted.

WALLACE: But you've never called for the people...

TRUMP: He's never done that.

WALLACE: Excuse me, sir. You had never called for the leaders in Portland and in Oregon to call and bring in the National Guard and knock off a 100 days of riots.

BIDEN: They can in fact take care of it if he'd just stay out of the way.

TRUMP: Oh really? Oh really?

WALLACE: Let, let's just. . .

TRUMP: I sent in the US Marshals. . .

BIDEN: Here, here's the thing. . .

WALLACE: I asked a question. . .

TRUMP: . . .to get the killer of a young man in the middle of the street, they shot him. For three days Portland didn't do anything.

WALLACE: President Trump. President Trump. President Trump. . . I interrupted. President Trump.

TRUMP: I sent in the US Marshals they took care of business.

WALLACE: Go ahead sir.

BIDEN: And by the way 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 know who said that.

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BIDEN: I do.

TRUMP: Who?

BIDEN: I think it—Kellyanne Conway.

TRUMP: I don't think she said that.

BIDEN: She said that.

TRUMP: I don't think so.

BIDEN: And so here, here's the point. The point is that, that's what he is keep trying to rile everything up. He doesn't want to calm things down. Instead of going in and talking to people and saying, "Let's get everybody together. Figure out how to deal with this." What's he do? He just pours gasoline in the fire. Constantly. At every single solitary time.

WALLACE: Okay. And, and, and to end this, button up this segment, I'm going to give you a minute to answer, sir. You have repeatedly...

TRUMP: You mean, I have to answer his stuff?

WALLACE: You have repeatedly...

TRUMP: His statement?

WALLACE: You have repeatedly. . . No. . .

TRUMP: Wait a second, you made a statement.

WALLACE: No, you've been talking back and forth. I'm asking you.

TRUMP: I would love to end it. I would love to end it.

WALLACE: I would love to know sir. . . You know sir if you want to switch seats

TRUMP: . . . we could, very quickly

WALLACE: . . . we can do that.

TRUMP: I'll send in the National Guard, it would be over. That'd be no problem. But they don't want to accept the National Guard.

WALLACE: You have repeatedly criticized the Vice-President for not specifically calling out Antifa and other left-wing extremist 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 and as we've seen in Portland.

TRUMP: Sure, I'm willing to do that.

WALLACE: Are you prepared specifically to do it. Well go ahead, sir.

TRUMP: I would say almost everything I see is from the left-wing not from the right wing.

WALLACE: So what are you, what are you saying?

TRUMP: I'm willing to do anything. I want to see peace.

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WALLACE: Well, do it, sir.

BIDEN: Say it. Do it. Say it.

TRUMP: You want to call them? What do you want to call them? Give me a name, give me a name, go ahead who would you like me to condemn.

WALLACE: White supremacists and racists.

BIDEN: Proud Boys.

WALLACE: White supremacists and white militias.

BIDEN: 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. This is a left-wing problem. . .

BIDEN: He's own FBI Director said unlike white supremacists. . .

TRUMP: This is a left-wing problem.

BIDEN: Antifa is an idea not an organization. . .

TRUMP: Oh you gotta be kidding.

BIDEN: . . . not a militia. That's what his FBI Director said.

TRUMP: Well, then you know what, he's wrong.

WALLACE: Gentlemen, gentlemen. No, no, no, we're done, sir. Moving onto the next... [*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: . . . when a bat hits you over the head, that's not an idea. Antifa is bad.

BIDEN: Everybody in your Administration. . .

TRUMP: Antifa is bad.

BIDEN: Everybody in your Administration tells you the truth, has a bad idea. You have no idea . . .

TRUMP: You know what, Antifa is a dangerous radical group.

WALLACE: All right, gentlemen we're now moving onto the Trump and Biden records.

TRUMP: And you ought to be careful of them, they'll overthrow you.

WALLACE: I'm going to ask a question. When the president seeks a second term, it is generally a referendum on his record but Vice-President Biden, you like to quote one of 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 elect you president over your opponent? In this segment, President Trump you'll go first, two 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 and you saw what happened today with Hillary Clinton, where it was a whole big con job. But despite going through all of these things where I had to fight, both flanks and behind me and above, there has never been an administration that's done what I've done. The greatest,

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before COVID came in, the greatest economy in history, lowest employ–unemployment numbers, everything was good. Everything was going.

And by the way, there was unity going to happen. 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. Three hundred and eight thousand people died because they didn't have proper health care. It 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, and I'll tell you something, some people say maybe the most important. By the end of the first term, I'll have approximately 300 Federal judges and 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'll 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 number. By the end of this term, 300 judges. It's a record.

WALLACE: Looking at both of your records. Why should voters elect you President as opposed to President Trump, you have two minutes uninterrupted.

BIDEN: Under this President, we become weaker, sicker, poorer, more divided and more violent. When I was Vice President, we inherited a recession. I was asked to fix it. I did. We left him a booming economy, and he caused the recession. With regard to being 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 got three and a half million dollars.

WALLACE: No, no, no!

BIDEN: By the way, my son...

WALLACE: Wait a minute. Mr. President, your campaign agreed to both sides would get two-minute answers, uninterrupted. Well, your, your side agreed to it, and why don't you observe what your campaign agreed to as a ground rule. Okay, sir?

BIDEN: He never keeps his word.

TRUMP: Can I answer. . .

WALLACE: No! That was a rhetorical question.

BIDEN: Can you add back 30 seconds?

WALLACE: Yes. You may have,

BIDEN: All right.

WALLACE: go ahead.

BIDEN: So thirdly, we're poor. The billionaires have gotten much more wealthy by a tune of over three to four hundred billion dollars 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, it

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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 being losers and being, and, and, 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?

BIDEN: And I resent-

TRUMP: Are you talking Hunter, are you talking about Hunter.

BIDEN: I'm talking about my son, Beau Biden, you're talking about Hunter?

TRUMP: I don't know Beau. I know Hunter. Hunter got thrown out of the military. He was thrown out dishonorably discharged. . .

BIDEN: That's not true he wasn't dishonorably discharged.

TRUMP: . . .for cocaine use. And he didn't have a job until you became Vice-President. Once you became Vice-President

BIDEN: None of that is true.

TRUMP: . . . he made a fortune in Ukraine, in China, in Moscow and various other places.

BIDEN: That is simply not true.

TRUMP: He made a fortune. . .

BIDEN: My son. . . my son. . .

TRUMP: . . . and he didn't have a job.

BIDEN: My son. . . like a lot of people. Like a lot of people we know at home had a drug problem. He's overtaken it. He's, he's fixed it. He's worked on it. And I'm proud of him. I'm proud of my son.

TRUMP: But why was he given tens of millions of dollars?

WALLACE: Alright. . .

BIDEN: He wasn't given tens of millions of dollars. [*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: He was given tens of millions of dollars?

BIDEN: That was totally discredited.

WALLACE: President Trump. President Trump. We've already been through this.

BIDEN: Totally discredited.

WALLACE: We've bo. . .already been through this. I think the American people would rather hear about more substantial subjects.

BIDEN: So do I.

TRUMP: [*unintelligible*]



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WALLACE: Well, as the moderator, sir, I'm going to make a judgment call here.

TRUMP: I know but when somebody gets three and a half million dollars from the Mayor of Moscow.

BIDEN: That is not true. That report is totally discredited.

TRUMP: Why did he get it?

BIDEN: Mitt Romney on that committee said it wasn't worth taxpayer's money. That report was written for political reason.

WALLACE: I'd like to talk about climate change.

BIDEN: So would I.

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 blamed the fires on climate change, Mr. President, you said, "I don't think the science knows." Over your four years, you have pulled the US 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?

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 aren't 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 are years old and they're like tinder and leaves and everything else. You drop a cigarette in there the whole forest burns down. You've got to have forest management.

WALLACE: What do you believe about the science of climate change, sir?

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 for a lot of people.

WALLACE: You believe that human pollution, gas, greenhouse gas emissions contributes to the global warming of this planet?

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's 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 their forest cities. They call forest cities. They maintain their forest. They manage their forest. 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 I said, "At some point you can't every year have hundreds of thousands of acres of land just burned to the ground."

WALLACE: But sir. . .

TRUMP: That's burning down because of a lack of management.

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...?

TRUMP: Because it was driving energy prices through the sky.

WALLACE: Why have you relaxed fuel economy standards that are going to create more pollution from cars and trucks?

TRUMP: Well, 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 by \$3,500.

WALLACE: But in the case of California they have simply ignored your rollback.

TRUMP: No, but you would 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 going to see how that turns out. But a lot of people agree with me, many people. The car has gotten so expensive because they have computers all over the place for an extra little bit of gasoline.

WALLACE: OK. . .

TRUMP: And I'm okay with electric cars too. I think I'm all for electric cars. I've given big incentives for electric cars but what they've done in California is just crazy.

WALLACE: All right, 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 propose \$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.

BIDEN: He's absolutely wrong, number one. Number two, if in fact, when, during our Administration in the Recovery Act, I was able, was in charge, able to bring down the cost of renewable energy to cheaper than or as cheap as coal and gas and oil. Nobody's gonna build another, uh, coal fired plant in America. No one's going to build another oil fire plant 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, that're electric vehicles. Making sure that we can do that, we're going to put 500,000 charging stations and 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 will—they'll emit significantly less gas and oil because the heat will not be going out.

There's so many things that 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 good-paying 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 of it, look what's happening. It's all falling apart. And talk about someone who has no, no relationship to, with foreign policy. Brazil, the rainforests of Brazil are being torn down, are being ripped down. More, more carbon is absorbed in that rainforest than every bit of carbon that's emitted in the United States. Instead of doing something about that, I would be gathering up and making sure we had the comp—countries of the world coming up with 20 billion dollars, and say, "Here's \$20 billion. Stop, stop tearing, tearing down the forest. And if you don't, then you're going to have significant economic consequences."

WALLACE: What about, what about the argument that President Trump basically says, that you have to balance environmental interests and economic interests? And he's drawn his line.

BIDEN: Well, he hadn't drawn a line. He still, for example, makes sure that we, he wants to make sure that methane's not a problem. We can, you, you can now emit more methane without it being a problem. Methane. This is a guy who says that you don't have to have mileage standards for automobiles that exist now. This is the guy who says that, well the fact is. . .

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TRUMP: Not true. Not true.

BIDEN: It's all true. And here's the deal. . .

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 dollars.

BIDEN: I'm. . . I'm. . . I'm talking about the Biden plan. . .

TRUMP: Where they want to rip down buildings. . .

WALLACE: [*to Biden*] Let him go for a minute, and then you can go.

TRUMP: And rebuild the building.

BIDEN: No.

TRUMP: It's the dumbest-

BIDEN: That is not, that is not. . .

TRUMP: . . . most ridiculous. . . Where airplanes are out of business. Where two car systems are out. . .

BIDEN: Not true. . .

TRUMP: . . . where they want to take out the cows too.

BIDEN: Not true.

TRUMP: You know, that's not true either, right?

BIDEN: Not true.

TRUMP: This is, this is a 100 trillion. . .

BIDEN: Simply. . . Look-

TRUMP: That's more money than our country could make in a hundred years if it were. . .

BIDEN: That is simply not the case. . .

TRUMP: It would destroy our country.

WALLACE: All right. 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, some, the president is saying, 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.

BIDEN: What it's going to do, it's going to create thousands and millions of jobs. Good paying jobs.

TRUMP: Hundred trillion dollars.

WALLACE: Let him finish, sir.

BIDEN: He doesn't know how to do that.

TRUMP: 100 trillion dollars.

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BIDEN: The fact is, it's going to create millions of good-paying jobs. And these tax incentives to people, for people to weatherize, which he wants to get, get rid of. It's going to make the economy much safer. Look how much we're paying now to deal with the hurricanes, with, deal with. . . By the way, he has an answer for hurricanes. He said, maybe we should drop a nuclear weapon on them, and they may go away.

TRUMP: I never said that at all.

BIDEN: Yeah, you did say that.

TRUMP: They made it up.

BIDEN: And here's the deal. . .

TRUMP: You make up a lot.

BIDEN: . . . we're 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. They're because of global warming. We make up 15% of the world's problem. We in fact, but the rest of the world, we've got to get them to come along. That's why we have to get back into, back into the Paris Accord.

WALLACE: All right, gentlemen. . .

TRUMP: Wait a minute, Chris. So why didn't he do it for 47 years? You were Vice-President?

BIDEN: For 47?

TRUMP: So 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 a hundred trillion dollars. . .

BIDEN: That is not my plan.

TRUMP: . . .not 20 billion. . . .

BIDEN: The Green New Deal is not my plan. . .

TRUMP: . . . You want to rebuild every building.

BIDEN: . . . If you knew anything about. . .

TRUMP: Well, you want to rebuild everything

BIDEN: If he knew anything about. . .

WALLACE: Gentlemen. . . Gentlemen. . .

TRUMP: He made a statement about the military. He said I said something about the military. He and his friends made it up, and then they went with it. I never said it.

WALLACE: Okay.

BIDEN: That is not true.

TRUMP: What he did is he said. . .

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WALLACE: Okay, we're going to get into a new segment. Mr. Vice President, Mr. Vice President. . .

TRUMP: . . .is he called the military stupid bastards.

BIDEN: I did not say that.

TRUMP: He said it on tape. . . [*crosstalk*]

BIDEN: Not true.

TRUMP: . . .He said "stupid bastards."

WALLACE: Sir. [*crosstalk*] Stop.

BIDEN: Play it.

TRUMP: I would never say that.

BIDEN: Play it.

WALLACE: Go ahead.

TRUMP: You're on tape.

WALLACE: Mr. Vice President answered his final question.

BIDEN: The final question is, I can't remember which of all his rantings was the final question.

WALLACE: [*laughing*] I'm having a little trouble myself, but...

BIDEN: Yeah.

WALLACE: And about the economy and about this question of what it's going to cost.

BIDEN: The economy. . .

WALLACE: The Green New Deal and the idea of what your environmental changes will do.

BIDEN: The Green New Deal will pay for itself as we move forward. We're not going to build plants that, in fact, are great polluting plants, we're gonna build. . .

WALLACE: So, do you support the Green New Deal?

BIDEN: Pardon me?

WALLACE: Do you support the . . .

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

TRUMP: Oh, you don't? Oh, well, that's a big statement.

BIDEN: I support . . .

TRUMP: You just lost the radical left. It's done. Oh you don't?

BIDEN: I support the Biden plan that I put forward.

WALLACE: Okay.

BIDEN: The Biden plan, which is different than what he calls “The Radical Green New Deal.”

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 will not only be to election day, but also counting some ballots—mail-in 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.

BIDEN: Prepare to let people vote. They should go to [iwillvote.com](https://www.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, and as well as the FBI director, says that there is no evidence at all that mail-in ballots are a source of being manipulated and cheating. They said that. The fact is that there are 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 there are enough poll watchers are there to make sure they can socially distance. The polls are open on time, and the polls stay open until the votes are counted. And this is all about trying to dissuade people from voting because he’s trying to conf—to scare people into thinking that it’s not going to 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. And in terms of 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, that’ll be accepted. But by the way, if in fact he says, he’s not sure what he’s going to accept. Well, let me tell you something, it doesn’t matter, because if we get the votes, it’s going to be all over. He’s gonna go. He can’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 gonna look like the next four years. Is it going to change, or are you going to get four more years of these lies?

WALLACE: Mr. President, two minutes.

TRUMP: So when I listen to Joe talking about a transition, there has 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 from the day I won, and even before I won. From the day I came down the escalator with our first lady, they were a disaster. They were a disgrace to our country, and we’ve caught ’em. We’ve caught ’em all. We’ve got it all on tape. We’ve caught ’em 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 office.

He knew about it too. So don’t tell me about a free transition. As far as the ballots are concerned, it’s a disaster. A solicited ballot, okay, solicited, 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 ’em in creeks. They found some, with the name Trump, just happened to have the name Trump, just the other day in a wastepaper basket. They’re being sent all over the place. They sent two in a Democrat area. They sent out a thousand ballots. Everybody got two ballots. This is going to be a fraud like you’ve never seen. The other thing, it’s nice. On November 3rd, you’re watching, and you see who won the election. And I think we’re going to do well because people are really happy with the job we’ve done.

But you know what? We won’t know. We might not know for months because these ballots 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 could be won or lost with that. They’re losing 30 and 40%. It’s a fraud, and it’s a shame. And can you imagine where they

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say, uh, “You have to have your ballot in by November 10th.” November 10th. That means, that’s seven days after the election, in theory, should’ve been announced.

WALLACE: Okay

TRUMP: We have major states with that. . .

WALLACE: Sir. Time. . .

TRUMP: . . . all run by Democrats-

WALLACE: Sir, two minutes is two minutes.

TRUMP: All run by Democrats.

WALLACE: President Trump. . . I, I, . . .

TRUMP: It’s a rigged election.

WALLACE: You’re going to be able to continue. You have been charging for months that mail-in balloting is going to be a disaster. You say it’s rigged, that it’s going to lead to fraud. But in 2018, in the last midterm election, 31 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 any dispute?

TRUMP: Yeah. I think I’m counting on them to look at the ballots, definitely. I don’t think—I hope we don’t need them, in terms of the election itself. But for the ballots, I think so, because what’s happening is incredible. I just heard, I read today where at least 1% of the ballots for 2016 were invalidated. They take ’em. We don’t like ’em. We don’t like ’em. They throw ’em out. . .

WALLACE: But what are you going to do about it-

TRUMP: . . . left and right.

WALLACE: There are millions of ballots going out right now. What are you going to do. . .

TRUMP: What you do is you go and vote. You do a solicited ballot, and that’s okay. . .

WALLACE: No. No. I know your complaint. I’m asking you about the fact that millions of people have received. . .

TRUMP: You go and vote. You go and vote. . .

WALLACE: No. But what I’m saying is . . .

TRUMP: . . . like they used to in the old. . .

WALLACE: . . . what are you going to do about the fact that millions of people. . .

TRUMP: You either do, Chris, a solicited ballot, where you’re sending it in, they’re sending it back and you’re sending. They have mailmen with lots of it. Did you see what’s going on? Take a look at West Virginia, mailman selling the ballots. They’re being sold. They’re being dumped in rivers. This is a horrible thing for our country.

BIDEN: There is no—there is no evidence of that. . .

TRUMP: This is not going to end well.

BIDEN: There is no evidence of that. . .

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TRUMP: This is not going to end well.

WALLACE: Okay. Vice President Biden, in fact, go ahead, sir-

BIDEN: Five states have had mail-in ballots for the last decade or more. Five, including two Republican states. And you don't have to solicit the ballot. It's sent to you. It's sent to your home. What we're saying is, they're saying is that it has to be a postmark by the time, by election day. If it doesn't get in until the seventh, eighth, ninth, it still should be counted. He's just afraid of counting the votes because. . .

TRUMP: You're wrong. You're wrong. I love counting the votes. . .

BIDEN: . . . he knows what the outcome will be.

WALLACE: I want to continue with you on this, Vice President Biden. . .

TRUMP: Chris, he's so wrong when he makes a statement like that-

WALLACE: No. 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 numbers, sometimes hundreds of thousands of ballots are thrown out because they have not been properly filled out, or there is some other irregularity,. . .

TRUMP: That could be fraud.

WALLACE: . . .or they missed the deadline. So the question I have is, are you concerned that the Supreme Court with a Justice Barrett will settle any dispute?

BIDEN: I am concerned that any court would settle this, because here's the deal. When you file—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, before the ballot is thrown out, that's sufficient to be able to count the ballot because someone made a mistake and not dotting the correct i. Who they voted for, testify, say who they voted for, say it's you. That is totally legitimate.

WALLACE: All right.

TRUMP: Excuse me, Chris, when you have eighty million ballots. . .

WALLACE: No. No. No. I have a final [*crosstalk*].

TRUMP:. . . sent in and swamping the system. . .

WALLACE: Gentlemen, I have a final question . . .

TRUMP: You know it can't be done. You know it can't, and already, there's been fraud deception and . . .

BIDEN: Mail service delivers 185 million pieces of mail a day. . .

TRUMP: . . . Eighty million ballots.

WALLACE: We can keep talking. In eight states, election workers are prohibited, currently by law, 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, that it could be days. It could be weeks. . .

TRUMP: Could be months.

WALLACE: . . . until we find out who the new president is. So, I—first for you, sir. Finally, for the Vice-President, and I hope neither of you will interrupt the other. Will you urge your supporters to stay calm during this extended



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period, not to engage in any civil unrest? And will you pledge tonight that you will not declare victory until the election has been independently certified? President Trump, you go first.

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 in to watch. They're 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 going to be a fair election. If it's a fair election. . .

WALLACE: You're urging them what?

TRUMP: . . . I am 100% on board. But if I see tens of thousands of ballots being manipulated, I can't go along with that. And I'll tell you what. . .

WALLACE: What does that mean, not go along. . .

TRUMP: . . . from a common sense. . .

WALLACE: . . . does that mean you're going to tell your people . . .

TRUMP: I'll tell you what it means. . .

WALLACE: . . . to take to the streets?

TRUMP: It means you have a fraudulent election. You're sending out 80 million ballots. . .

WALLACE: And what would you do about that?

TRUMP: They're not equipped. These people aren't equipped to handle it, number one. Number two, they cheat. They cheat. Hey, they found ballots in a wastepaper basket three days ago, and they all had the name military ballots. They were military. They all had the name Trump on them.

WALLACE: Vice President Biden-

TRUMP: You think that's good?

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?

BIDEN: Yes. And here's the deal. We count the ballots, as you pointed out. Some of these ballots in some states can't even be opened until election day. And if there's thousands of ballots, it's going to take time to do it. And by the way, our military—they've been voting by ballots for since the end of the Civil War, in effect. And that's, and that's what's going to happen. Why was it not, why is it for them, 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 the, somehow it's a fraudulent process.

TRUMP: It's already been established. Take a look at Carolyn Maloney's race. . .

WALLACE: I asked you. You had an opportunity to respond [*crosstalk*].

TRUMP: Look at Carolyn Maloney's race. They have no idea what happened. . .

WALLACE: Go ahead. Vice President Biden, go ahead.

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. You know why? Because once the winner is declared after all the ballots are counted, all the votes are counted, that'll be

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the end of it. That'll be the end of it. And if it's me, in fact, fine. If it's not me, I'll support the outcome. And I'll be a president, not just for the Democrats. I'll be a president for Democrats and Republicans. And this guy if in fact. . .

TRUMP: I want to see an honest ballot count. . .

WALLACE: Gentlemen, just say that's the end of it [*crosstalk*]. This is the end of this debate-

TRUMP: I want to see an honest ballot count.

WALLACE: We're going to leave it there. . .

TRUMP: And I think he does too. . .

WALLACE: ... to be continued in more debates as we go 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 7th, 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 9:00 PM Eastern that night. We hope you watch. Until then, thank you, and good night.

**Title of Speech:** 1<sup>st</sup> General Election Presidential Debate

**Date of Speech:** Sep. 29 2020

**Coder:** A

**Date of grading:** Dec 23

**Final Grade:** 0.9

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p> <p>“Number two, if in fact, during our administration in the recovery act, I was in charge able to bring down the cost of renewable energy to cheaper than are as cheap as coal and gas and oil. Nobody’s going to build another coal fired plant in America. No one’s going to build another oil fire plant 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 we can do that, we’re going to 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 of us to take 4 million buildings and make sure that they in fact are weatherized in a way that in fact will they’ll emit significantly less gas and oil because the heat will not be going out. There’s so many things that we can do”</p> <p>“Gas and oil because the heat will not be going out. There’s so many things that 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 good-paying 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 of it, look what’s happening. It’s all falling apart. And talk about someone who has no relationship with foreign policy. The rainforests of Brazil are being torn down, are being ripped down. More carbon is absorbed in that rainforest than every bit of carbon</p>

	<p>that's emitted in 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, and say, "Here's \$20 billion. Stop tearing down the forest. And If you don't, then you're going to have significant economic consequences."</p> <p>" we're 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. They're because of global warming. We make up 15% of the world's problem. But the rest of the world, we've got to get them to come along. That's why we have to get back into the Paris Accord."</p> <p>'He has no idea what he's talking about. Here's the deal. The fact is, I will accept it, and he will too. You know why? Because once the winner is declared after 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. If it's not me, I'll support the outcome. And I'll be a president, not just for the Democrats. I'll be a president for Democrats and Republicans. And this guy-"</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of "history." At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections</p>

<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <p>“ And number two, it would create an additional \$1 trillion in economic growth, because it would be about buying American. The federal government spends \$600 billion a year on everything from ships, to steel, to buildings and the like. And under my proposal, we’re going to make sure that every penny of that has to be made by a company-”</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <p>“Because he doesn’t have a plan. If I were running it, 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 the PPE, as well as with the sanitation they need. You have to provide them classic-”</p> <p>“And in terms of 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, that’ll be accepted. But by the way, if in fact he says, he’s not sure what he’s going to accept. Well, 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 can’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 you going to get four more years of these lies?”</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <p>“Good luck. 200,000 dead. As you said, over seven million infected in the United States. We, in fact, have 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 a day are dying. When he was presented with that number, he said, “It is what it is.” Well, 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 it. He said he didn’t tell us</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <p>“In fact, we’re all Americans. The only way we’re going to bring this country together is bring everybody together. There’s nothing we cannot do, if we do it together. We can take this on and we can defeat racism in American.”</p>

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?"

"And that ended when we, in fact, passed the Affordable Care Act, and there's a hundred 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 Republican**, then he goes forward."

"You should get out of your bunker and get out of the sand trap in your golf course and go in the Oval Office and bring together the Democrats and Republicans and fund what needs to be done now to save lives."

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

"By the way, I'm going to eliminate a significant number of the taxes. I'm going to make the corporate tax 28%. It shouldn't be 21%. You have 91 companies federal, I mean, the fortune 500, who don't pay a single penny in tax making billions of dollars."

"He wouldn't know a suburb unless you took a wrong turn."

Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.

“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 who 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.”

“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 healthcare 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.”

“By the way, did you see one of the last big 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 far away from those other people.” That’s what he said, “I’m going to be okay.” He’s not worried about you. He’s not worried about the people out there”

“**The difference is millionaires and billionaires like him in the middle of the COVID crisis have done very well.** Billionaires have made another \$300 billion because of his profligate tax proposal, and he only focused on the market. But you folks at home, you folks living in Scranton and Claymont and all the small towns and working class towns in America, how well are you doing? This guy paid a total of \$750 in taxes.”

“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 been out there dying. People who’ve been putting themselves in the way to make sure that we could all try to make it. And the idea that he is insisting that we go forward and open when you have almost half the states in America with a significant increase in COVID deaths and COVID cases in the United States of America, and

The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”

“I laid out back in March, 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 possible. We should be providing the money the House has passed in order to be able to go out and get people the help they need to keep their businesses open. Open schools cost a lot of money.”

he wants to open it up more. Why is he want to open it up? Why does he take care of the... 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. They were going to give, **his administration** going to give the teachers and school students masks, and 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 in 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."

"second point I'd make to you, 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 use tear gas on them 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 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 racists hatred, racist division."

"This is a man who, in fact, you talk 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 is as a savior of African-Americans? This man cares at all? This man's 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 he did has been disastrous for the African-American community."

"It's a little bit like how this guy **and his friends** look down on so many people. They look down their nose on people like Irish Catholics, like me, who grow 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 looked down on people who are a different color."



He and his friends - but also: “Every body in your administration tells you the truth, it’s a bad idea. You have no idea about anything.”

“So thirdly, we’re poor. The billionaires have gotten much more wealthy by a tune of over \$3- \$400 billion more just since COVID. You in the home, you got less you’re in more trouble than you were before”

<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>
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**Overall Comments:**

Biden lets more populism slip out in this debate than in his solo speeches. This is probably a result of him debating against Trump, a candidate who Biden has a lot of criticism for. But what makes this so much more populist is that Biden criticizes other republicans and Trumps "friends" of doing things that are hurting the common man. For example, he critiques republican governors of denying the obamacare medicade/care (not sure) to poor people, he says Trump's "friends" look down on people who are poorer or black, and he blames the republican senate for not meeting with Nacy Pelosi and making a deal, or for not even coming in session. Usually Biden only speaks harshly of Trump, but in these cases he includes other republicans.

Also, Biden used less of his unity language where he talks about uniting as republicans and democrats. There were just about 1 or 2 instances of unity language.

Biden also includes some of his economic populism, critiquing the Fortune 500 companies for paying little in taxes and creating a populist economic plan that buys american. There is also romanticization of the common man - mostly frontline workers.

Title of Speech: 1<sup>st</sup> General Election Presidential Debate

Date of Speech: September 29<sup>th</sup>, 2020

Coder: B

Date of grading: December, 2020

Final Grade: 0.5

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The fact is that everything he’s saying so far is simply a lie. I’m not here to call out his lies. Everybody knows he’s a liar.</li> <li>- . He doesn’t want to calm things down instead of going in and talking to people and saying, “Let’s get everybody together. Figure out how to deal with this.” What’s he do? He just pours gasoline in the fire constantly and every single solitary time. *</li> <li>- He can’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 you going to get four more years of these lies?</li> </ul>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on <b>narrow, particular issues</b>. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 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 healthcare 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</li> <li>- We’re going to work this out. So we changed the way in which we have more transparency, in 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 Breonna Taylor. Most don’t like it, but we have to have a system where people are held accountable when... And by the way, violence in response is never appropriate, never appropriate.</li> </ul>

<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing <b>cosmic proportions</b> to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to <b>national and religious leaders</b> that are generally revered.</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>
<p>Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 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 been out there dying. People who’ve been putting themselves in the way to make sure that we could all try to make it.</li> </ul>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 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 and who they elect as Vice President.</li> <li>- The issue is the American people should speak. You should go out and vote. You’re voting now. Vote and let your Senators know strongly how you feel. *</li> <li>- In fact, we’re all Americans. The only way we’re going to bring this country together is bringing everybody together. There’s nothing we cannot do, if we do it together. We can take this on and we can defeat racism in American.</li> </ul>

The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.

- 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 relating to COVID?
- A lot of people died and a lot more are going to die unless he gets a lot smarter, a lot quicker\*
- The Republicans won’t meet in the Senate. He sits in his golf course. Well, I mean, literally, think about it. Think about it.
- That’s what he said, “I’m going to be okay.” He’s not worried about you. He’s not worried about the people out there
- The difference is millionaires and billionaires like him in the middle of the COVID crisis have done very well. But you folks at home, you folks living in Scranton and Claymont and all the small towns and working class towns in America, how well are you doing?

The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.

<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- And I laid out again in July, what we should be doing. We should be providing all the protective gear possible. We should be providing the money the House has passed in order to be able to go out and get people the help they need to keep their businesses open.</li> <li>- Well, masks make a big difference. His own head of the CDC said if we just wore masks between now, if everybody wore a mask and social distanced between now and January, we’d probably save up to 100,000 lives. It matters. It matters.</li> </ul>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

### Overall Comments

Biden has certain populist elements but is very broad when it talks about the people. In the quotes on the left, he clearly points Trump as the enemy and sometimes mentions how he will make policies against rich companies and people. Even though he talks about them as bad it is not in the sense of an elite conspiring against the people, but as entities doing their job wrong and even questioning it. There are a lot of issues he is concerned with but he usually criticizes Trump’s decisions on the issues instead of Trump’s character. The same thing happens with the idea of the people. He does talk about the people and what Trump has done to them but in a broad way. When it seems like he is romanticizing the people then he changes who the people are. There is also respect for those who don’t agree with him including Republicans which makes “the people” less specific

NBC Town Hall Transcript

**Date:** 5 October, 2020

**Location:** Miami Florida

LESTER HOLT: ... And we are joined by Vice President Biden, thank you for being here.

JOE BIDEN: Thanks for having me Lester, I appreciate it.

LESTER HOLT: We had a lot to talk about it and I really want these folks to drive the conversation as much as we can, but I've got to ask you about some of the things that Hallie just mentioned there. The President got discharged from the hospital today, flown aboard Marine One back to the white house. At one point, it climbs the stairs and he takes his mask off with other people who appear to be somewhat nearby. Did you see it? Did you hear about it? What's your reaction, sir?

JOE BIDEN: I would hope that the President having gone through what he went through and I'm glad he seems to be coming along pretty well, would communicate the right lesson to the American people, masks matter. These masks, they matter. It matters and saves lives, it prevents the spread of the disease, social distancing. The only thing I heard was one of the Tweets saying don't be so concerned about all this, essentially. There's a lot to be concerned about, 210,000 people have died. You have about 1,000 people a day getting the coronavirus, I mean, it's a great concern. I hope no one walks away with a message thinking that it is not a problem, it's a serious problem. It's an international pandemic and we have 4% of the population and 20% of the deaths.

LESTER HOLT: I know you offered your good wishes to the President and the first lady did you pick up the phone? Did you call the President?

JOE BIDEN: No, I didn't. I inquired whether I should do that. And the decision was that would probably be intrusive, but I'm truly happy if things are really moving along, like he said, and particularly the first lady as well, I'm very happy for that.

LESTER HOLT: You have built your campaign around the coronavirus has been your number one issue. So when you hear that this president was infected with COVID-19, were you surprised?

JOE BIDEN: Quite frankly, I wasn't surprised. Look, for the last three months, three times a week I'm on the telephone and on Zoom with some of the leading immunologist in the nation and they go through everything that's happening. And so, the idea that COVID does not spread in proximity when you don't have a mask on, when you're not socially distancing, when there's large groups of people when you're inside particularly, but even when you're outside, that's not surprising. And again, we keep forgetting, or we're not talking about it. 210,000 people have died already and the expectation is if nothing changes, we're going to have another 200,000 dead by the end of the year. That's 400,000 dead, God forbid if that happens, that's more of them were killed in one year in America than four years in World War II.

LESTER HOLT: I want to ask you about the information we've been given on the President's medical condition from his doctors at Walter Reed. Also, some of the information about his condition from the white house. Do you think that the doctors have been forthcoming, that they've been transparent? Do you trust the assessments we've been hearing?

JOE BIDEN: I'm not going to second guess his doctors, he has some of the best healthcare in the world and I'm happy it was available to him. It should be available the President of United States in America, but the vast majority of Americans, the vast majority of people here in this audience, your camera man, if God forbid, something happened to them, they don't have that access to that care, so it's comparing apples and oranges a little bit.

LESTER HOLT: You were on the debate stage with the President for 90 minutes, you were socially distant, but hearing that he was infected, did you have a moment of pause, of worry and concern for your own safety?

JOE BIDEN: No, because look, I've been fastidious about the social distancing. I've been fastidious about wearing a mask when I'm not socially distanced and even then remaining socially distanced. And so, we never got closer than you and I are right now, as well as when Melania came up on the stage, she smiled and waved, I waved to her, but it was the same distance. It was a little disconcerting to look out and see that his whole section, no one had masks on when my wife was sitting further down had a mask on, the people with us had masks on. I didn't quite get that.

LESTER HOLT: You were able to see that from where you were?

JOE BIDEN: Yes. When they came in, yes, because I was standing backstage and you could see people coming in and a lot of people didn't have masks on.

LESTER HOLT: If you become President, can you pledge transparency about your health if God forbid something like this happened, or some other health issue that you would be forthcoming to the American people?

JOE BIDEN: Yes, but look, I can understand there could be certain circumstances relating to national security where every detail would not be made available in the middle of a particular crisis. But the overall question of whether or not I'd be transparent about whether or not I had a serious problem or what treatment I got. Yes, but sometimes for a President that would come after the fact. So I'm not being critical of the fact that every single detail was not released. There is the HIPAA rules, they even apply to the President but they have consequences for a President beyond the rules relating to what is able to be done and not done without a patient's permission, they have national security implications as well.

LESTER HOLT: So that is to say some things you think would be okay to hold back.

JOE BIDEN: Well, only on the margins and only for the moment. In other words, other President's have been through it. I was there when Ronald Reagan was shot, he was transparent, but they didn't go into every single detail precisely. And that's one of my buddies going up, but all kidding aside, so I think on balance, you have to tell the whole truth, what had happened, what was happening and what's going on. But as moment to moment, I'm not sure that that is an absolute requirement, but you cannot mislead about certain things and I'm not saying they have. If in fact, the President had in fact contracted the virus and knew it before he went on into public encounters and was not wearing a mask that's a different thing.

LESTER HOLT: Yeah. One more question on this before we move on and hear from some of the voters. A recent poll said that 65% of Americans think the President bears some responsibility for contracting this virus, do you agree?

JOE BIDEN: Look, anybody who contracts the virus by essentially saying masks don't matter, social distancing doesn't matter, I think is responsible for what happens to them. If these people took off their masks and they all have them on, I notice, and just all of a sudden gotten a gaggle and started talking to one another well, they're taking responsibility that in fact they should be held responsible for. Because every major scientists and doctor and immunologist has said, "That's a very dangerous thing to do." The particles and droplets can stay in the air for a long time, longer than they thought, it can go beyond 10 feet. There's all kinds of things they've learned and know and look, I view wearing this mask not so much protecting me, but as a patriotic responsibility. All the tough guys say, "Oh, I'm not wearing a mask, I'm not afraid." Well, be afraid for your husband, your wife, your son, your daughter, your neighbor, your coworker, that's who you're protecting having this mask on and it should be viewed as a patriotic duty, to protect those around you.

LESTER HOLT: You ready to hear from some voters now?



## TEAM POPULISM | Leader Profile Series

JOE BIDEN: Sure.

LESTER HOLT: All right. Let's bring out first of all, Vanessa Tamariz. Vanessa, nice to see you.

JOE BIDEN: Hi Vanessa.

LESTER HOLT: Thank you for being with us. What's your question for the Vice President?

VANESSA TAMARIZ: Hi, Vice President Biden. I'm sorry, I'm a little nervous here.

JOE BIDEN: I'm having trouble hearing her.

VANESSA TAMARIZ: Thank you, sir. Vice President Biden, I work in Miami as a pediatric nurse and since the beginning of this pandemic, the government has been dysfunctional and disorganized in their response.

JOE BIDEN: I can't hear her Lester.

LESTER HOLT: You can't hear her?

VANESSA TAMARIZ: [inaudible] leads the state of Florida in the number of COVID cases and deaths and Florida just ranked number two in the COVID cases of children. Another larger wave is expected this fall, sir. Can you tell us what the Biden-Harris federal response plan is that would unite our country in fighting this pandemic and also any other future pandemics that may arise?

LESTER HOLT: Where you able to hear okay?

VANESSA TAMARIZ: Thank you sir.

VANESSA TAMARIZ: ... also any other future pandemics that may arise?

LESTER HOLT: Are we able to hear okay?

VANESSA TAMARIZ: Thank you, sir.

JOE BIDEN: I could hear part of it. I'm sorry. The television is in front of you and I didn't catch the [crosstalk]

LESTER HOLT: Yeah, and we've got the traffic. The meat of her question is, another larger wave expected this Fall, can you tell us what the Biden-Harris federal response plan that would unite our country in fighting this pandemic and any other future pandemics that will arise?

JOE BIDEN: Well, first of all, as President of the United States, I would make a federal mandate on federal property, federal buildings, you must wear a mask, period, and you must be socially distanced. Number one. Number two, I would make sure we move very rapidly to get testing available to everyone, that's quickly available so people can, in fact, be in a position where they can open their businesses, they can test their employees, test people coming in. I would make sure that we're in a situation ... I don't know whether you have children, if you have children and they're not in school. Well, you have to make a tough decision, many people. Excuse my back, I apologize. But do you, in fact, stay home and not be able to pay your rent because you have to take care of your child? What do you do? Those very difficult decisions.

JOE BIDEN: And so the way we know how to open schools safely, I laid out a plan all the way back in the beginning of the Summer, we should provide them for the ventilation they need, all the needs that they have for a mask and social distancing and testing. For example, the President had committed and FEMA, the emergency management organization, said, "We're going to give masks to teachers as well as to the students." And then the administration said, "Well, no. Guess what? That's not a national emergency." Well, what in God's name is a national emergency if that's not a national emergency? So it costs money to deal with all of these things, and we should, in fact, be using the money passed by the Congress to see [inaudible 00:18:53] people go and open their businesses safely, be able to keep their employees on the payroll, making sure they can have the sanitation capacity and ability to sanitize their stores as well as their schools. All of those things we will do, and more, I know I'm going on too long, but there's a lot here that relates to what's totally within our wheelhouse.

LESTER HOLT: Well, can I follow up with that a little bit?

JOE BIDEN: Sure.

LESTER HOLT: I heard you mention this idea of a national mandate.

JOE BIDEN: Yes.

LESTER HOLT: You've mentioned that before for masks, but what power does a President have to make that happen?

JOE BIDEN: He doesn't, beyond the federal property. I would go out and I would talk. I would call all the Governors to the White House. Some probably wouldn't come. And I'd call the governors and I'd say to the mayors as well as the county executives, "Take responsibility. Take responsibility and lay out the guidelines." Look, folks, one of the problems is this President said, "I take no responsibility. Literally, it's not my responsibility." Well, if it's not his responsibility ... He talked about this being like a time of war. We are under attack, as I said earlier, 200,000, plus have died, 50,000 a day are getting the virus, 1000 a day thereabouts are dying. This is a national emergency. And so the President should take responsibility and the federal government has an obligation to lay out basic guidelines. And the science matters. Listen to the scientists.

LESTER HOLT: All right. Let's get another question. Vanessa, thank you for your question. Our next one comes from Jonathan Pines. He's the undecided voter from Hollywood, Florida, a registered Republican. I think he says he's leaning toward you. What's your question?

JOE BIDEN: I can't see Jonathan, but I'll back up here. Maybe I can see it from there.

LESTER HOLT: He's over right here.

JOE BIDEN: The camera blocks [crosstalk].

JONATHAN: Thanks. Can you hear me?

JOE BIDEN: You're a good looking guy, that's why they want to get the camera shot of you.

JONATHAN: Oh thank you. I agree. In light of recent events, it's obvious that the pandemic can reach anyone. While the health and lives of the American people should come first, there's been a combination of fear, shutdowns, isolationism, conflicting data, and school closings. And these have long lasting effects which have taken both a psychological and financial toll on nearly all of us. How do you plan to balance these factors with the expectation that COVID will be with us for the foreseeable future?

JOE BIDEN: Well, first of all, again, I don't want to repeat myself too much. Science matters. There's overwhelming scientific consensus. The President's own head of CDC, Dr. Redfield, held up a mask and said, "If you put this mask on between now and January, you'll save 100." He said, "It's more important than a virus, excuse me, than a vaccine. You can save more lives." They've laid out, the University of Washington, one of the great universities that lays out all these projections, they said there could be 200,000 people dead between now and January. And they said, "If you wear a mask, we can save 100,000 lives." Now, what is this macho thing I'm not going to wear a mask? What's the deal here? Big deal. Does it hurt you? Be patriotic, for God's sake. Take care of yourself but take care of your neighbors.

JOE BIDEN: And so the one thing we have to do is we have to unite the country. One of the reasons when I said I was running, I had three objectives. One, to restore the soul of this country so we start acting with a decency that reflects who we are. Secondly, rebuild the middle class. And thirdly, unite the country. Remember I was roundly criticized at my primaries. "You can't unite the country." We must. It's the only way we can move forward, and the country is ready to be united I believe. They're ready to be United. And we have to just change the way we talk to one another. Politics has become so mean and so ugly that we've got to get rid of that. We've got to just start talking to each other like we respect each other, which we have to. Thank you, Jon.

LESTER HOLT: Our next question comes from Brian Smith. He's a recently unemployed flight attendant who started an online support group for laid off airline workers.

BRIAN SMITH: That's correct. Hello. I want to thank you, sir, for having me here and taking my question. I am one of over 8,000 flight attendants that American Airlines had to furlough this past weekend. And my question to you is, if you're elected President, what will you do to restore the travel and tourism industry to get it back on its feet and get it back up to pre-COVID levels so that we're just not throwing more money at it?

JOE BIDEN: Well, look, my best friend ... I'm a lucky man. I married into a family with five daughters. That means that one of them always loves you. Not the same one. Even when your wife's mad, there's always one with you. One of my sister-in-law is an attendant and she's been for a long, long time facing the same kind of thing you're facing. We could have, in fact, already solved that problem. The Congress passed the legislation to provide the money to keep the airlines up and running and to provide for the kinds of ways in which you can sanitize that aircraft, make sure everyone has on a mask. For example, recently, the Department of Transportation turned down a request from bus drivers and mass transit people and you guys, saying, "Everybody you get in the plane has to have a mask on. If they don't have a mask on, then they can't get in the plane."

JOE BIDEN: What are we doing? Do you feel comfortable being an attendant and people getting on a crowded plane or not a crowded plane with no mask? You don't. It's just to protect you, protect one another. That's within our power to do it. And look, one of the things we have to do is we have to provide funding for people who have been caught in the lurch. Look, the President, and he should, got great medical care, but that's why I'm arguing from the very beginning of this, everyone who contracts COVID should have their bills paid, paid for. People can't afford this. And we're in court right now, trying to get rid of the Affordable Care Act. Already 10 million people have lost their employer based insurance, their COVID based insurance, 10 million. And they're in court trying to do away with another 20 million who already get it through Obamacare. And, in addition to that, 100 million people with preexisting conditions.

JOE BIDEN: You know people who have had COVID. It would be wonderful if you didn't, but if you do, you know you end up with heart problems and lung scarring. They become pre-existing conditions. So there's a lot of things we can do. But guess what, folks? If we can spend money giving tax breaks for a racehorse, we can get tax breaks for the kinds of things we're out there doing, three martini lunch. God, all mighty, why can't we, in fact, give a tax break for people, free access to healthcare if you're in the middle of a COVID crisis?

LESTER HOLT: All right, thank you. We're going to take a short break. We'll be back with more questions from our voters to Vice President Joe Biden after this break. (music).

LESTER HOLT: Back at our Town Hall Meeting in Miami with Democratic Presidential Candidate, Joe Biden and our questions from voters. Our next question comes from Ingrid Gilliam-Alexander, who is undecided but leaning toward Biden. What's your question?

INGRID GILLIAM-ALEXANDER: Good evening, Mr. Biden.

JOE BIDEN: I can hear you.

INGRID GILLIAM-ALEXANDER: Watching the debate, I noticed that President Trump was bullying you and I'm worried that it knocked you off your game. How do I know that you're able to forcefully lead this country moving forward when being faced with unforeseen challenges and other bullies?

JOE BIDEN: Well, I'm used to bullies. I used to stutter when I was a kid. I learned how to fight. I got a nickname. They called me Shoe Leather. I was little, but they could beat me up and I hurt them in the process. Look, I was surprised to learn that Chris Wallace said there were 158 interruptions in that debate we had. And it was just very difficult to ... I didn't want to further demean the process of the debate by getting in a shouting match with him. On the one hand, I tried very hard, if you noticed, to look in the camera and ask the questions directly. But they kept getting bang. I hope this next meeting we're going to have, it's called a debate, but a town meeting we're going to have supposedly coming up, that I hope we at least have an opportunity to hear the question and answer the question directly before there's an interruption. But as I said to the President, "Not here, not tonight, not me. I'm not putting up with it."

LESTER HOLT: Let me ask you this, Vice President Biden. It was an ugly debate and it hits some lows. You called him a clown, a fool. You told him to shut up. I think most people believe that the President was interrupting you, but it seemed to go against some of the language you've said about not being divisive. Do you regret any part, on your part?

JOE BIDEN: It did, and I was trying to figure out how I could possibly have him respect the debate, respect the evening, respect the moderator, and get us an opportunity to speak. The one thing that became absolutely clear, he didn't want to answer any questions. He did not want to talk about substance. If you noticed, not one single time that I can recall that he offered a substantive answer or criticism related to a policy matter. It was all invective. It was all personal. It was all things that have nothing to do with whether they're going to change these people's lives for the better. And I did get very frustrated. I did get frustrated, and I should have said, "This is a clownish undertaking," instead of calling him a clown. But the fact is it was, I'll be very honest with you, I think it was embarrassing for the nation to see the President of the United States hectoring like he did and everything was about a personal attack.

LESTER HOLT: But to the point of the question, though, you're going to be meeting with world leaders who are going to get under your skin.

JOE BIDEN: I've dealt with more world leaders than he has and went face to face over eight years. And they've got under my skin and we've had very quiet conversations. I told President Putin exactly what I think of him. He knows it. We looked eye to eye, and we know what's going on. I've made the same assessment to Milosevic. I've had the same kinds of conversations across the board. You can look back on all those international meetings I have. You can't think of a time when I've not handled it properly.

LESTER HOLT: All right.

JOE BIDEN: But I don't have somebody screaming at me at the next podium when I'm meeting with a world leader.

LESTER HOLT: All right, let's get our next question from Michelle Cruz, is from Coral Gables. Used to be a registered Republican, but voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016. Her husband is in the crowd, I believe. What's your question?

MICHELLE CRUZ: Good evening, Mr. Vice President. As a mother of a police officer and the wife of a retired police officer who served 28 years, the term "defending the police" is a concern and troubling. I understand that police departments do need reform. We need to serve and protect safely and properly. With that being said, I would like to know what you and your administration's policies in reforming the police, how those will come about, how they will be best handled to ensure police officers' safety and the public and citizens' safety as well?

JOE BIDEN: I grew up in a neighborhood where the guys I grew up with in my working class neighborhood either became cops, firefighters, or priests. I wasn't qualified to be any one of them. I have had overwhelming support from police my whole career up until this year as your husband will tell. The vast, vast, vast majority of police are honorable, decent men and women who risk their lives every single day when they put on that ...

JOE BIDEN: ... women who risk their lives every single day when they put on that badge and walk out that door. They have a right to come home safely. But there's bad apples in every profession. There are lousy commentators. There are lousy presidents. There's lousy senators, docs. And they should be in fact ... I can think of, I don't know, any police department around that isn't happy to get rid of a lousy cop, because it just reflects on them. And by the way, the same with the protestors. It's a right to protest peacefully. But once you pick up a bat and start smashing windows, once in fact you light something on fire, once you engage in violence, you should be arrested and held accountable. And I've never had a position different than that from the very beginning.

JOE BIDEN: So what I'm going to do, I'm going to do what I've done in the past. I'm going to bring all these interests together, peaceful protesters, police chiefs, police officers, and police unions, as well as the civil rights groups in the White House and sit down and decide what are the things that need to be done to improve and help police officers. I'm the only one who's talked about increasing police budgets. When your husband goes on a call that in fact is a 911 call, it's better if he or she has with them a psychologist or psychiatrist with them. Someone who knows how to deal with someone who is not all there. And so there's a lot of things we should be doing.

JOE BIDEN: In addition to that, I also am proposing that we spend significant more money on community policing. The reason it worked ... My son used to be an attorney general in the state of Delaware. The idea is you get the police, you get the law enforcement together with the community, so they know one another. Because that kid walking across the street with a hoodie on may be the next poet laureate. It doesn't mean that child is going to be in trouble. And so we got to make sure there's more communication. That's what I'm going to do as president, bring together a national commission sitting in the White House with me, with me and working this out.

LESTER HOLT: All right. Our next question is from Nicole Maddox. She is an undecided voter. Nicole, what's your question?

NICOLE MADDOX: Hello, Vice President Biden. So as an African-American female, I have never lived through what I'm living through right now. And at times, I don't feel safe in this country. And so my question to you is what would you do to stop extremists and white supremacist groups.

JOE BIDEN: Stop what? I'm sorry.

NICOLE MADDOX: White supremacist groups. And what would be your approach to police reform to ensure that people who look like me and my family feel safe in this country?

JOE BIDEN: Number one, the president's own FBI director has said the greatest domestic threat to terrorism are white supremacists. White supremacists. And when you have a president saying to one particular group of white supremacists that in fact stand down but stand by, that is like a clarying call to get ready. Get ready. It's totally, totally inappropriate. These guys are driving me crazy. I love them, but I can't see them when they walk by. But all kidding aside, here's the deal, we got to make sure that when we interview police for the job, that there's a more thorough interview process. There's more background checking being done and attitudes. It matters.

JOE BIDEN: Cops are kind of like school teachers. Everything lands on their desk, no matter what it is, whether it's a child that's in trouble on the street or whether it's somebody who has a mental problem or someone who's robbing a bank. And you can't expect them to have all this broad knowledge to how to handle everything. They need more help. They need more money as a matter of fact.

JOE BIDEN: But in the meantime, in the meantime, what we have to do is make sure there is quote ... it sounds ... all the tough guys are going to say it's a silly word, sensitivity training. Understanding other cultures, know what people are like, what they're thinking about, how they act, what is consistent with the culture that they're from. It's important we know that. We're a nation of immigrants. We're a nation that's so diverse. And it's very difficult to make sure police officers are trained enough to be able to know what to expect in a community.

JOE BIDEN: But the biggest thing we have to do is make sure that they learn to deal with diminishing the kind of force that they use. What is the minimum force required in order to be able to deal with whatever the situation is? It's about diminishing the prospect of use of excessive force. It's about eliminating some things totally, like choke holds. It's about making sure that no knock warrants are changed, so people know what's going on. There's a whole range of things we can do. The commission President Obama and I set up early on was in the process of doing that until this president got elected. What happened was, if you notice, there has been sort of a dog whistle out there that is that everything's about division and hate.

JOE BIDEN: The reason I decided to run for office ... I hadn't planned on running again. I gave you my word. After my son passed, I wasn't going to run again. But when I saw those people coming out of the woods, literally the fields, carrying torches in Charlottesville, screeching that ... If you close your eyes, remember what you saw, their veins bulgy, preaching anti-Semitic hate, the same exact language Jews in Germany in the thirties accompanied by the Ku Klux Klan. And when a young woman was innocently killed, what was the question asked to the president? What do you think? He said they're very fine people on both sides. No president has ever said anything remotely like that.

LESTER HOLT: Mr. Vice-

JOE BIDEN: So there's this constant dog whistle, and it bothers me a lot.

LESTER HOLT: Mr. Vice President, though, the critics and Donald Trump himself will say that you had almost 50 years working in government and legislation and as a vice president, and you weren't able to accomplish those things then.

JOE BIDEN: Yes, and I wasn't president.

LESTER HOLT: He points out in a criminal justice reform bill. You and Barack Obama served at a time when you had both houses of Congress and still couldn't get some of these things done.

JOE BIDEN: Yeah, we did. We let 18,000 people get clemency. He got two or three where he's talking about. The violent crime rate was down 15% in our administration. 15% down. You didn't see these white supremacists rising up. Look, one thing I learned a long time, I got involved because of the civil rights movement when I was a kid. My state is the eighth largest black population. No great shakes, I'm not making myself out to be a great civil rights leader. But that's how I got involved with politics. And one of the interesting things was that I came



back to Wilmington after my city was burned. 20% of it was burned to the ground when Dr. King was assassinated. And I had a job with a very prestigious law firm. But we were only sitting in America since the civil war occupied by the national guard withdrawn bayonets for 10 months.

JOE BIDEN: And after I got admitted to the bar, I decided I couldn't do this. I quit and became a public defendant. And I remember going down to ... if you ride the Northeast Carter, you go from Washington to New York. You go by the Wilmington station. I used to have to interview my clients down there before their arraignment. And what would happen is that I found that I had not thought that black and whites would never get together again in Delaware.

JOE BIDEN: And here I was almost 40 years later to the month in January of 2009, waiting for a train to come from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, carrying a black man about to pick me up to take me 147 miles to Washington, DC to be sworn in as president vice-president. Honest to God's truth, I called my three kids up. One's a social worker. One was run running the World Food Program USA, the largest in the world. And my other son was the attorney general. And I was standing on a platform. I looked over the east side, which had just been leveled and what they call the third street bridge was burned. And I said, "Look, guys," I said, "don't tell me things can't change. Look what's happened. When I stood here 40 years ago to the month, that was burned to the ground. Now look at it. Look at it."

JOE BIDEN: I talked about there's hope, but I made a big mistake. I didn't realize that you can't defeat hate. Hate only hides. It hides under the rocks. And when you give it oxygen, when you breathe into it, you bring out the worst of people and you legitimize them. That's what's happened. We've legitimized these people who engaged in hate based on race and color and religion. And it's wrong. And the way we have to deal with it is we have to make sure that we equip every agency, federal, state, and local agency with the tools that are going to be bringing people together.

LESTER HOLT: Vice President Biden, on that note, we're going to have to take a short break. We've got more questions from our voters. And we'll do that from Miami in just a moment.

LESTER HOLT: Welcome back. Welcome back, Miami and the town hall meeting with former vice president, Joe Biden, taking questions about undecided voters. Our next question comes from Danny Lavandera. Danny, what's your question?

DANNY LAVENDERA: Good evening, Mr. Vice President. Teachers need to be in the classroom, but I believe that this needs to be done in a safe environment for all. What are your plans to ensure that schools are safe for teachers as well as students in the middle of this pandemic?

JOE BIDEN: Number one, depending on the circumstance in terms of the transmission rate in your community that would have a lot to do whether the school should open at all, whether the chance should be taken. That's what all of senior doctors and immunologists say. So if you have a high rate of the spread of the disease in your community, it's better not to open that school. But if you're at a place where it's less than under one, then in fact it's possible to open. But you have to open safely.

JOE BIDEN: And it requires four things. It requires making sure that you as a teacher, my wife is a teacher, has the PPE to be able to open safely, so your health is in good shape, because children can communicate the disease as well as contract it. Number one. Number two, you have to be in a position where the children are able to be in smaller modules. That requires more teachers or spreading out students in a way that you don't have large groups ... If you have a class of 25, you ended up having two classes of 12, for example. So you have smaller groups.

JOE BIDEN: Number three, that the sanitation capacity in this school is upgraded, so you're able to keep everything from the laboratories to the hallways, to the surfaces clean, and they're able to be done. Fourthly to make sure that you're in a situation where there is a circumstance that you know that there is not overcrowding

in the school so that you have enough teachers, as I said, to make sure that you can spread them out, spread out the children.

JOE BIDEN: When that is done, then you can more safely open up. And I'd be happy to send you a copy of the actual plan. I wrote back in July based on the recommendations of the leading scientists in the country as to how to safely open. Safely open, because people are worried about the child going home with the disease, spreading it to their grandpop or grandmom or the older member of the family and them getting very sick.

JOE BIDEN: And right now we haven't even done ... In the vaccines, there's not even been any experimentation done on testing children for a vaccine yet. That's a different issue. But in the meantime, you can open safely, limit class size, make sure the hallways are open in ways that they're not crowded, everybody wearing a mask, social distancing, ventilation taken care of in the schools so that you're able to make sure that it is not lingering in the air. There are the kinds of things ... And it's estimated by the superintendents nationwide to open every school in America safely it'd be about \$200 billion.

LESTER HOLT: All right, Danny, thank you for your question. Our next one comes from Cassidy Brown in Orlando. Voted for the first time in 2016. Nice to have a here.

CASSIDY BROWN: Thank you.

JOE BIDEN: Hey, Cassidy.

CASSIDY BROWN: Mr. Biden. My youngest sister is in high school right now. And I knew whenever I was graduating high school and entering college that I wanted to obtain my degree and start a career before starting a family. Having access to birth control and safe reproductive health care was imperative in making that true for me. So considering the new Supreme court nomination of Amy Coney Barrett, what are your particular plans to protect women's reproductive rights in the US?

JOE BIDEN: Number one, we don't know exactly what she will do. Although, the expectation is that she may very well overrule Row. But the only responsible response to that would be to pass legislation making Row the law of the land. That's what I would do.

LESTER HOLT: All right. We will take a short break. And we've got more questions for you, Mr. Vice President, when we continue our town hall meeting.

LESTER HOLT: And we are back at our town hall in Miami with Joe Biden, and we've got more questions from our voters. Let's go to Ismael Illiano who voted for Hillary Clinton four years ago but has voted Republican in the past. What's your question for Mr. Biden?

ISMAEL ILLIANO: Hi, Mr. Vice President. You a lot about your unity and division, but it seems now more than ever there's a divisiveness in the country that goes way beyond disagreeing with policy or whether you've made the right decision or not. It's either, "You're with me or you're against me." The role of president, in my opinion, should be to unify as much as possible, so what three actions will you take as president to get us back to being one country versus several little fiefdoms that are trying to outyell at each other about who's wrong and right?

JOE BIDEN: Well, first of all there's no reason why you should know, but I think I'm not Lester to confirm, but my entire career I've been able to bring Democrats and Republicans together. And people say, "Well, that was the old days, Joe. Things have changed." Well, the only thing that's changed is the way in which the politics that has been moved by some in the party have just gotten really ugly. I think what happens is, I think when people see if in fact I'm fortunate enough to win, I think the absence of the President's willingness to go after and hold anyone accountable and disagrees with them like he did to his former attorney general down in Alabama when I campaigned against him, when he left the office, people are going to be less unwilling to compromise, number



one. Number two, I think if you take a look at, what I learned a long time ago is that it's always appropriate to question another man or woman's judgment. It's never appropriate to question their motive.

JOE BIDEN: I learned that lesson very early on. When I got elected the Senate I didn't want to go because my wife and daughter were killed between the time I got elected and the time that I was sworn in. And a Senator named Mansfield was a majority leader, took me under his wing and insisted meeting with me every Tuesday at 2:00. I thought you got assignments from majority leaders. No Senator gets an assignment. Took him about five weeks, Lester, to realize just taking my pulse, to see how emotionally I was doing, because I agreed I'd come and stay for six months until they got organized.

JOE BIDEN: And what happened was I remember one day I walked into the Senate. If you look at C-SPAN, you know that big gold arch door you walk through to go down to the well? I walked in for my meeting and as I walked down to the floor of the Senate to find out when the last vote was going to be before I walked out the other side, because I went home every night to see my kids, there was a senator who was excoriating two people who became very close friends of mine, Bob Dole, and Teddy Kennedy.

JOE BIDEN: They had introduced the precursor for the Americans With Disabilities Act, and I thought it was heartless. So anyway, I was more afraid of missing my meeting with the leaders so I went in and sat down in front of him. This was the last week in May, and I'd already figured out why I was seeing him. And he looked at me, said, "What's the matter, Joe? And I went on and I said this particular Senator had no social redeeming value. How could he be so heartless? How could he not care about people? How could he say a curb cut was inappropriate to have? The buses had to have lifts, et cetera. He looked at me and said, "Joe, what would you say if I told you that same Senator and his wife two years ago were reading the paper in their hometown and there's a picture of a young in braces from under his arms down to his ankles and two steel crutches? 14 years old saying, "All I want for Christmas is someone to love me and take me home." So what would you say if I told you they adopted that young man?

LESTER HOLT: But I don't think you got to the heart of Ismael's question, which is something tangible, something you can do as a new president.

JOE BIDEN: I learned from him. He said, "It's always appropriate to question another man's judgment, but not their motive." Once you question a senator's motive you can never get anything done. I said, "You're in the pocket of the cement industry. Let's see if we can get a transportation bill passed." It doesn't work, and that's why I put... Look, when President Trump had already been elected, I was Vice President. He had already been elected and I put together a group that came up with almost \$9 billion to deal with cancer research. \$ 9 billion. They said no would vote for it. We had a total of only, I think, 41 senators and something like 118 house members. 398 house members voted for it and 96 senators voted for it. My point is, you stop questioning motive. You go out and you debate the issues, because we've all gotten down to the point where everything is about attacking the integrity of the other person.

JOE BIDEN: And the last thing I would do is make sure that we in fact had... I reached out constantly, which I did as Vice President and as a chairman of a committees, Foreign Relations and the Judiciary Committee, reached out and brought the opposition in. Last point, for example, they said, "Joe, what are you going to do if you get to pick the next Supreme Court Justice?" It says advise and consent. You need the Senate to give advice and consent. Every president's pulled us together has said, "This is who I'm thinking of," and gone to Republican senators and Democratic senators and said, "What do you think?" You put together amendment, you put together coalitions. That's how you deal in a democracy.

LESTER HOLT: All right, Peter Gonzalez has next question.

PETER GONZALEZ: Welcome to Miami, Mr. Vice President. In fact, I was born in Hartford, Connecticut, I was raised in Hialeah, Florida, and I've been living in Coral Gables for the last 20 plus years. Cuban American and Venezuelan voters here in South Florida are being targeted with messages by the Trump campaign claiming

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that a vote for Joe Biden is a vote for the radical left and socialism and even communism. What can you tell people in my family, my friends who are understandably concerned with that issue, that would make them feel comfortable voting for Joe Biden and Kamala Harris?

LESTER HOLT: Let me just point out, we have about three or four minutes left.

JOE BIDEN: I look like a socialist? Look, I'm the guy that ran against the socialist. Remember, I got in trouble through the whole campaign? 20 some candidates, Joe Biden was too centrist, too moderate, too straightforward? That was Joe Biden. I have taken on the very people that in fact we're worried about. I've taken on the Castro's of the world, I've taken on the Putin's of the world. I've taken on all these dictators. I haven't cozied up to them. I'm the guy that's been straight forward with them. I'm the guy that let them know it stops here. It stops with me. It stops with me as president. I am no more socialist or communists than Donald Trump is... Well, I won't say it. Anyway. So they need not worry. Just look at the record. There's not one single syllable that I've ever said that could lead you to believe that I was a socialist or communist.

LESTER HOLT: All right. We've got time for I think for one more question. Mateo Gomez joins us now. First time voter. Came to the US from Columbia at age two. Welcome.

JOE BIDEN: Spent a lot of time in Columbia.

MATEO GOMEZ: Thank you, Lester, for the introduction. Vice President Biden, thank you so much for coming to Miami and speaking to us today. If you win in November there will be a 56 year age gap between you and myself. My generation, generation Z, is growing up with school shootings, police brutality, and protests, and the inability to earn a livable wage even when holding advanced degrees like myself. How can someone like yourself, an older white male, represent my generation over the next four years? And please Vice President Biden, can you guarantee me that the American dream still exists?

LESTER HOLT: Got about 90 seconds.

JOE BIDEN: I'll get the end. I guarantee you it still exists, number one. Look, with age comes wisdom, hopefully. I've been there. I've watched. I'm the guy that's talked about the 9/11 generation getting so badly damaged. I'm the only one you've heard speak in the last five years about how your generation. My granddaughter just graduated with honors from Columbia Law School, in fact is having trouble. The fact that all my... I have two granddaughters that are in school in college, and two more children who are in high school. Your generation has been really put behind the eight ball. You get all these degrees, you end up with all this debt, and you're in a position where you can't get a job because no one's hiring or they're hiring and they're hiring at very low wages. And so what we have to do is we have to make sure that you get the opportunity.

JOE BIDEN: That's why I'm going to eliminate a lot of your student debt if you come from a family less \$1125,000 and you went to a public university. I'm going to make sure that everybody in this generation gets \$10,000 knocked off of their student debt as we try to get out of this God awful pandemic. Going to make sure that the opportunities you have are consistent with... For example, if you're a first home home buyer, you haven't even had the opportunity to gain enough income to be able to have a down payment. The first term home buyers are going to get a \$15,000 credit to be able to buy their first home, because that's how people accumulate wealth. That's how they get started. That's how they move. We're going to make sure we recognize you, advance you, and make sure that you...

JOE BIDEN: Look, my children, my grandchildren, you are the future. You are the future. I owe, as I said... For example, I made the comment that I view myself as a transitional president, as I want to transition to your generation. You're the best educated, you're the most open, you're the least prejudice generation in American history. The future is yours, and I'm counting on you.

LESTER HOLT: Mr. Vice president, thank you. That is going to conclude tonight our town hall. Our thanks to former Vice President Joe Biden as well as to our participants here in Miami and all of you at home, we should note that well before the president's stillness we extended an invitation to him to participate in a town hall with us as well. That invitation still stands. There's a busy road ahead in the run up to election day, including the vice presidential debate just 48 hours from now with Mike Pence and Kamala Harris. I'm Lester Holt in Miami. Goodnight, everyone.

**Title of Speech:** NBC Televised Town Hall

**Date of Speech:** Oct 5th

**Coder:** A

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**Final Grade:** 0.2

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.	The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections

<p>Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <p>“Now, what is this macho thing I’m not going to wear a mask? What’s the deal here? Big deal. Does it hurt you? Be patriotic, for God’s sake. Take care of yourself but take care of your neighbors.”</p> <p>“They become pre-existing conditions. So there’s a lot of things we can do. But guess what, folks? If we can spend money giving tax breaks for a racehorse, we can get tax breaks for the kinds of things we’re out there doing, three martini lunch. God, all mighty, why can’t we, in fact, give a tax break for people, free access to healthcare if you’re in the middle of a COVID crisis?”</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <p>“but I’m truly happy if things are really moving along, like he said, and particularly the first lady as well, I’m very happy for that.</p> <p>....I’m happy it was available to him(referencing medical care to the president during covid).”</p> <p>“And so the one thing we have to do is we have to unite the country. One of the reasons when I said I was running, I had three objectives. One, to restore the soul of this country so we start</p>

	<p>acting with a decency that reflects who we are. Secondly, rebuild the middle class. And thirdly, unite the country. Remember I was roundly criticized at my primaries. “You can’t unite the country.” We must. It’s the only way we can move forward, and the country is ready to be united I believe. They’re ready to be United. And we have to just change the way we talk to one another. Politics has become so mean and so ugly that we’ve got to get rid of that. We’ve got to just start talking to each other like we respect each other, which we have to. Thank you, Jon.”</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <p>“In addition to that, I also am proposing that we spend significant more money on community policing. The reason it worked ... My son used to be an attorney general in the state of Delaware. The idea is you get the police, you get the law enforcement together with the community, so they know one another. Because that kid walking across the street with a hoodie on may be the next poet laureate. It doesn’t mean that child is going to be in trouble. And so we got to make sure there’s more communication. That’s what I’m going to do as president, bring together a national commission sitting in the White House with me, with me and working this out.”</p> <p>“And it requires four things. It requires making sure that you as a teacher, my wife is a teacher, has the PPE to be able to open safely, so your health is in good shape, because children can communicate the disease as well as contract it. Number one. Number two, you have to be in a position where the children are able to be in smaller modules. That requires more teachers or spreading out students in a way that you don’t have large groups ... If</p>

	<p>you have a class of 25, you ended up having two classes of 12, for example. So you have smaller groups.”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <p>“All the tough guys say, “Oh, I’m not wearing a mask, I’m not afraid.” Well, be afraid for your husband, your wife, your son, your daughter, your neighbor, your coworker, that’s who you’re protecting having this mask on and it should be viewed as a patriotic duty, to protect those around you.” - the anti populist, perhaps?</p>

**Overall Comments:**

Again, Biden’s language is very much about unity. There is some romanticizing of the people, but this will be expected during the Covid pandemic - firefighters, nurses ect... the only evil elite he suggests is embodied in donald Trump. Also he takes a very issue focused approach - what do the facts say and how can we best work to fix the virus.

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Final Grade:0

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on <b>narrow, particular issues</b>. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I would hope that the President having gone through what he went through and I’m glad he seems to be coming along pretty well, would communicate the right lesson to the American people, masks matter.</li> <li>- I’m not going to second guess his doctors, he has some of the best healthcare in the world and I’m happy it was available to him. It should be available the President of United States in America, but the vast majority of Americans, the vast majority of people here in this audience, your camera man, if God forbid, something happened to them, they don’t have that access to that care, so it’s comparing apples and oranges a little bit</li> <li>- And it was just very difficult to ... I didn’t want to further demean the process of the debate by getting in a shouting match with him. On the one hand, I tried very hard, if you noticed, to look in the camera and ask the questions directly. But they kept getting bang. I hope this next meeting we’re going to have, it’s called a debate, but a town meeting we’re going to have supposedly coming up, that I hope we at least have an opportunity to hear the question and answer the question directly before there’s an interruption.</li> <li>- And when you have a president saying to one particular group of white supremacists that in fact stand down but stand by, that is like a clarying call to get ready. Get ready. It’s totally, totally inappropriate.</li> </ul>



<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing <b>cosmic proportions</b> to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to <b>national and religious leaders</b> that are generally revered.</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p> <p>-</p>
<p>Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Now, what is this macho thing I’m not going to wear a mask? What’s the deal here? Big deal. Does it hurt you? Be patriotic, for God’s sake. Take care of yourself but take care of your neighbors.</li> <li>- I had three objectives. One, to restore the soul of this country so we start acting with a decency that reflects who we are. Secondly, rebuild the middle class. And thirdly, unite the country.</li> <li>- Understanding other cultures, know what people are like, what they’re thinking about, how they act, what is consistent with the culture that they’re from. It’s important we know that. We’re a nation of immigrants. We’re a nation that’s so diverse. And it’s very difficult to make sure police officers are trained enough to be able to know what to expect in a community.</li> </ul>

<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- And so, the idea that COVID does not spread in proximity when you don’t have a mask on, when you’re not socially distancing, when there’s large groups of people when you’re inside particularly, but even when you’re outside, that’s not surprising. And again, we keep forgetting, or we’re not talking about it. 210,000 people have died already and the expectation is if nothing changes, we’re going to have another 200,000 dead by the end of the year.</li> <li>- And I did get very frustrated. I did get frustrated, and I should have said, “This is a clownish undertaking,” instead of calling him a clown.</li> </ul>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- If we can spend money giving tax breaks for a racehorse, we can get tax breaks for the kinds of things we’re out there doing, three martini lunch.</li> </ul>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

#### Overall Comments:

During these answers, Biden does show animosity towards Trump. He questions his policies, diminishes his work in the White House and shows the things he has done wrong. In many occasions he is trying to prove that Trump is not good for people with pre-existing conditions, people with COVID-19 and people of color. Nevertheless, he doesn’t show a Manichean perspective. He doesn’t use bellicose language against him and is very punctual with his

critiques. When he criticizes him he does not dwell on Trump as a person other GOP but rather on their policies. By attacking policies and offering solutions his talk is impersonal and doesn't show populist attitudes. There are no evil elites or people to save. There is a president that is wrong and the American people is everyone, not a romanticized notion but just people going through hard times. He also makes sure to emphasize bipartisan collaboration and unification. He emphasizes respect and does not use bellicose language to refer to opinions he doesn't agree with.

Speech At Gettysburg

**DATE:** October 6, 2020

**LOCATION:** Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Thank you all for being here. Thank you. I appreciate you being here on this gorgeous day in a magnificent, magnificent setting, until you think about all the lives that were lost here. Please, all have a seat.

On July 4th, 1863, American woke to the remains of perhaps the most consequential battle in American soil. It took place here on this ground in Gettysburg; three days of violence, three days of carnage, 50,000 casualties, wounded, captured, missing, or dead, over three days of fighting. When the sun rose on that Independence Day, Lee would retreat. The war would go on for nearly two more years, but the back of the Confederacy had been broken. The Union would be saved. Slavery would be abolished, government of by and for the people would not perish from the earth, and freedom would be born anew in our land.

There's no more fitting place than here today in Gettysburg, to talk about the cost of division. About how much it has cost America in the past, about how much it is costing us now, and about why I believe in this moment, we must come together as a nation. For President Lincoln, the Civil War was about the greatest of causes. The end of slavery, widening equality, pursuit of justice, the creation of opportunity, and the sanctity of freedom.

His words would live ever after. We hear them in our heads. We know them in our hearts. We draw on them when we seek hope in hours of darkness; "Four score, and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Here on this sacred ground, Abraham Lincoln, re-imagined America itself. Here, a president of the United States spoke of the price of division, and the meaning of sacrifice.

He believed in the rescue, redemption, and rededication of the union. All this in a time, not just of ferocious division, but of widespread death, structural inequity, and fear of the future. And he taught us this, a house divided could not stand. That is a great and timeless truth. Today, once again, we are a house divided, but that my friends can no longer be. We're facing too many crises. We have too much work to do. We have to bright a future to have it shipwrecked on the Shoals of anger and hate, and division.

As we stand here today, a century and a half later after Gettysburg, we should consider again, what can happen when equal justice is denied, when anger and violence and division are left unchecked. As I look across America today, I'm concerned. The country is in a dangerous place. Our trust in each other is ebbing. Hope seems elusive. Too many Americans see our public life, not as an arena for mediation of our differences, but rather they see it as an occasion for total, unrelenting, partisan warfare.

Instead of treating each other's party as the opposition, we treat them as the enemy. This must end. We need to revive the spirit of bipartisanship in this country. A spirit of being able to work with one another. When I say that, and I've been saying it for two years now, I'm accused of being naive. I'm told, "Maybe that's the way things used to work, Joe, but they can't work that way anymore." Well, I'm here to tell you they can, and they must if we're going to get anything done.

I'm running as a proud Democrat, but I will govern as an American president. I'll work with Democrats and Republicans. I'll work as hard for those who don't support me, as those who do. That's the job of a president; the duty to care for everyone. It was a lot of Democrats and Republicans to cooperate with one another is not due to some mysterious force beyond our control. It's a decision. It's a choice we make.

And if we can decide not to cooperate, we can decide to cooperate as well. That's the choice I'll make as president. But there's something bigger going on in this nation than just our broken politics. Something darker, something more dangerous. I'm not talking about ordinary differences of opinion, competing viewpoints give life and vibrancy to our democracy. No, I'm talking about something different, something deeper. Too many Americans seek not to overcome our divisions, but to deepen them, we must seek not to build walls, but bridges. We must seek not to have our fist clenched, but our arms open. We have to seek not to tear each other apart, we seek to come together. You

don't have to agree with me on everything, or even on most things, to see that we're experiencing today is neither good nor normal.

I made the decision to run for president after Charlottesville. Close your eyes, and remember what you saw. Neo-Nazis, white supremacists, and the KKK coming out of the fields with torches light, veins bulging, chanting the same anti-Semitic bile heard across Europe in the '30s. It was hate on the march, in the open, in America. Hate never goes away, it only hides. And when it's given oxygen, when it's given an opportunity to spread, when it's treated as normal and acceptable behavior, we've opened a door in this country that we must move quickly to close. As president, that's just what I will do. I will send a clear unequivocal message to the entire nation, there is no place for hate in America.

It will be given no license. It will be given no oxygen. It'll be given no safe harbor. In recent weeks and months, the country has been riled by instances of excessive police force, heart-wrenching cases of racial injustice and lives needlessly and senselessly lost, by peaceful protesters, given voice to the calls for justice, by examples of violence and looting and burning that can not be tolerated. I believe in law and order, I've never supported defunding the police.

But I also believe injustice is real. It's a product of a history that goes back 400 years, the moment when black men, women, and children first were brought here in chains. I do not believe we have to choose between law and order, and racial justice in America. We can have both. This is the nation strong enough to both honestly face systemic racism and strong enough to provide safe streets for our families and small businesses. The two often bear the brunt of this looting and burning.

We have no need for armed militias roaming America's streets, and we should have no tolerance for extremist white supremacy groups, menacing our communities. If you say, "We should trust America's law enforcement authorities to do the job," as I do, then let them do their job without extremist groups acting as vigilantes. If you say, "We have no need to face racial injustice in the country," you haven't opened your eyes to the truth in America.

There've been powerful voices for justice in recent weeks and months, George Floyd's, six year old daughter, who I met with, who looked at me and said in her small child's voice, "Daddy changed the world." Also, Jacob Blake's mother was another. When she said, "Violence didn't reflect her son and this nation needed healing." And Doc Rivers, the basketball coach, choking back tears when he said, "We're the ones getting killed. We're the ones getting shot. We've been hung. It's amazing [inaudible 00:13:49] we keep loving this country and this country does not love us back."

I think about that. I think about what it takes for a black person to love America. That is a deep love for this country. That has for far too long, never been recognized. What we need in America's leadership that seeks to deescalate tensions, to open lines of communications, to bring us together, to heal, to hope. As president, that's precisely what I will do. We paid a high price for allowing the deep divisions in this country to impact on how we deal with the Coronavirus. 210,000 Americans dead, and the number's climbing. It's estimated that nearly another 210,000 Americans could lose their lives by the end of the year; enough, no more. Let's just set partisanship aside, let's end the politics and follow the science.

Wearing a mask is not a political statement. It's a scientific recommendation. Social distancing isn't a political statement. It's a scientific recommendation. Testing, tracing, the development and all approval and distribution of a vaccine, isn't a political statement. It is a science-based decision. We can't undo what has been done. We can't go back. We can do so much better. We can do better starting today. We can have a national strategy that puts politics aside and saves lives.

We can have a national strategy that will make it possible for our schools and business to open safely. We can have a national strategy that reflects the true values of this nation. This pandemic is not a red state or blue state issue. This virus doesn't care whether you live, or where you live, what political party you belong to, it affects us all. It will take anyone's life. It's a virus. It's not a political weapon.

There's another enduring division in America that we must end, the division in our economic life. That gives opportunity only to the privileged few. America has to be about mobility. It has to be the kind of country where an

Abraham Lincoln, a child of the distant frontier, can rise to the highest office in the land. America has to be about possibilities.

The possibility of prosperity, not just for the privileged few, but for the many, for all of us. Working people on their kids deserve an opportunity. Lincoln knew this. He said that the country had to give people, and I quote, “An open field and a fair chance. An open field and a fair chance.” That’s what we’re going to do in America. We’re going to build together. We fought a civil war that would secure a union that would seek to fulfill the promise of equality for all.

And by fits and starts, our better angels had prevailed again, just enough, just enough against our worst impulses to make a new and better nation. And those better angels can prevail again, now. They must prevail again, now. 100 years after Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg, the vice president, Lyndon B Johnson also came here, and here’s what he said.

He said, “Our nation founded soul and honor in these fields of Gettysburg, we must not lose that soul in dishonor, now, on the fields of hate.” Today, we’re engaged, once again, in the battle for the soul of the nation, the forces of darkness, the forces of division, the forces of yesterday are pulling us apart, holding us down and holding us back. We must free ourselves of all of them. As president, I will embrace hope, not fear. Peace, not violence. Generosity, not greed. And light, not darkness. I’ll be a president who appeals to the best in us, not the worst.

I’ll be a president who pushes toward the future, not one who clings to the past. I’m ready to fight for you and for our nation every day, without exception, without reservation, with a full and devoted heart. We cannot, and will not, allow extremist and white supremacist to overturn the America of Lincoln and Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglass, to overturn the America that has welcomed immigrants from distant shores, to overturn the America that has been a Haven and a home for everyone, no matter their background.

From Seneca falls to Selma, to Stonewall we’re at our best when the promise of America is available to all, we cannot, and we will not allow violence in the street to threaten the people of this nation. We cannot and will not walk away from our obligation to at long last, face the wrecking on race and racial justice in this country. We cannot and will not continue to be struck in the partisan politics that lets us, this virus, thrive, while the public health of this nation suffers.

We cannot and will not accept an economic equation that only favors those who have already got it made; everybody deserves a shot at prosperity. Folks, duty and history call presidents to provide for the common good, and I will. It won’t be easy. Won’t be easy. Our divisions today are long standing, economic and racial inequities have shaped us for generations, but I give you my word. I give you my word. If I’m elected president, I will Marshall the ingenuity and Goodwill of this nation to turn division into unity and bring us together because I think people are looking for that. We can disagree about how as we move forward, we must take the first steps. It starts with how we treat one another. How we talk to one another. How we respect one another.

In the second inaugural Lincoln said, “With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we’re in to build up the nation’s wounds, bind up the nation’s wounds.” Now, we have our work to reunite America. To bind up our nation’s wounds. To move past shadow and suspicion. And so we, you and I together, we press on, even now. After hearing the second inaugural address, Frederick Douglass told President Lincoln, “Mr. Lincoln, that was a sacred effort.” We have to be dedicated to our own sacred effort. The promise of Gettysburg and the new birth of freedom was in hand.

I think it’s at risk. Every generation that’s followed Gettysburg has been faced with a moment when it must answer this question, will they allow the sacrifices made here to be in vain, or be fulfilled? This is our moment to answer this essential American question, for ourselves and for our time. And my answer is this, it cannot be that after all this country has been through, after all that America’s accomplished, after all the years, we have stood as a beacon of light to the world.

It cannot be that here and now in 2020, we will allow the government of the people, by the people, and for the people to perish this earth. No, it cannot. And it must not. We have it in our hands, the ultimate power. The power to vote. Its the note instrument ever devised to register our will in a peaceable and productive fashion. And so we must.

We must vote. We will vote. No matter how many obstacles are thrown in our way, because once America votes, America will be heard.

Lincoln said, “The nation is worth fighting for.” So it was. And so it is, together as one nation under God, indivisible. Let us join forces to fight the common foe of injustice and inequality, hate and fear. Let’s conduct ourselves as Americans who love each other, who love our country, who will not destroy, but will build. We owe it to the dead who were buried here at Gettysburg. We owe that to the living, and to future generations yet to be born.

You and I are part of a covenant, a common story of divisions overcome and hope renewed. If we do our part, if we stand together, if we keep faith with the past and with each other, then the divisions of our time will give way to the dreams of a brighter, better future. This is our work. This is our pledge. This is our mission. We can end this era of division. We can end the hate and the fear. We can be what we are at our best, the United States of America. God bless you all. And may God protect our troops. Thank you. We can do this.

**Title of Speech:** Gettysburg Speech

**Date of Speech:** Oct 6 2020

**Coder:** A

**Date of grading:** Nov. 5 2020.

**Final Grade:** 0.3

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <p>“For President Lincoln, the Civil War was about the greatest of causes. The end of slavery, widening equality, pursuit of justice, the creation of opportunity, and the sanctity of freedom.”</p> <p>“We cannot, and will not, allow extremist and white supremacist to overturn the America of Lincoln and Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglas, to overturn the America that has welcomed immigrants from distant shores, to overturn the America that has been a Haven and a home for everyone, no matter their background”</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections</p> <p>“Wearing a mask is not a political statement. It’s a scientific recommendation. Social distancing isn’t a political statement. It’s a scientific recommendation. Testing, tracing, the development and all approval and distribution of a vaccine, isn’t a political statement. It is a science-based decision. We can’t undo what has been done. We can’t go back. We can do so much better. We can do better starting today. We can have a national strategy that puts politics aside and saves lives.”</p>



<p>Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <p>“We must vote. We will vote. No matter how many obstacles are thrown in our way, because once America votes, America will be heard.”</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <p>“he country has been riled by instances of <i>excessive police force</i>, heart-wrenching cases of racial injustice and lives needlessly and senselessly lost, by peaceful protesters, given voice to the calls for justice, by examples of violence and looting and burning that can not be tolerated”</p> <p>“We have no need for armed militias roaming America’s streets, and we should have no tolerance for extremist white supremacy groups, menacing our communities. If you say, “We should trust America’s law enforcement authorities to do the job,” as I do, then let them do their job without extremist groups acting as vigilantes. If you say, “We have no need to face racial injustice in the country,” you haven’t opened your eyes to the truth in America.”</p> <p>“Let us join forces to fight the common foe of injustice and inequality, hate and fear”</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <p>“There’s no more fitting place than here today in Gettysburg, to talk about the cost of division. About how much it has cost America in the past, about how much it is costing us now, and about why I believe in this moment, we must come together as a nation.”</p> <p>“This pandemic is not a red state or blue state issue”</p>

<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p> <p>“Neo-Nazis, white supremacists, and the KKK coming out of the fields with torches light, veins bulging, chanting the same anti-Semitic bile herd across Europe in the ’30s. It was hate on the march, in the open, in America. Hate never goes away, it only hides. And when it’s given oxygen, when it’s given an opportunity to spread, when it’s treated as normal and acceptable behavior, we’ve opened a door in this country that we must move quickly to close.”</p> <p>“There’s another enduring division in America that we must end, the division in our economic life. That gives opportunity only to the privileged few. America has to be about mobility. It has to be the kind of country where an Abraham Lincoln, a child of the distant frontier, can rise to the highest office in the land. America has to be about possibilities.”</p> <p>“the forces of darkness, the forces of division, the forces of yesterday are pulling us apart, holding us down and holding us back”</p> <p>“We cannot and will not accept an economic equation that only favors those who have already got it made; everybody deserves a shot at prosperity”</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <p>“I’m running as a proud Democrat, but I will govern as an American president. I’ll work with Democrats and Republicans”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <p>“As we stand here today, a century and a half later after Gettysburg, we should consider again, what can happen when equal justice is denied, when anger and violence and division are left unchecked.”</p> <p>“Too many Americans see our public life, not as an arena for mediation of our differences, but rather they see it as an occasion for total, unrelenting, partisan warfare.”</p> <p>“Instead of treating each other’s party as the opposition, we treat them as the enemy. This must end. We need to revive the spirit of bipartisanship in this country.”</p>

	“we must seek not to build walls, but bridges”
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**Overall Comments:**

Reasoning: Mr. Biden lays out some forces of “darkness, hate, division,” and while he does not specifically label any group as the ones of hate and darkness, he perhaps implies some groups, such as the KKK, white supremacists, President Trump, and perhaps the republican party. He also speaks of a system that helps “people at the top” and doesn’t give everyone a fair chance. This is classic economic populism, though he doesn’t demonize the top or specifically blame republicans for this system, though it may be implied. Yet there is also a lot of language about coming together and healing divisions; he says there will be no “red states or blue states” but only the United States of America. This pluralist language is much more specific than his populist language. Mr. Biden also makes a lot of reference to old important figures such as Lincoln and other civil rights/anti-slavery heroes.

Title of Speech: Speech at Gettysburg

Date of Speech: October 6, 2020

Coder: B

Date of grading:

Final Grade: 0.2

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- . The country is in a dangerous place. Our trust in each other is ebbing. Hope seems elusive. Too many Americans see our public life, not as an arena for mediation of our differences</li> <li>- . But there’s something bigger going on in this nation than just our broken politics. Something darker, something more dangerous. I’m not talking about ordinary differences of opinion, competing viewpoints give life and vibrancy to our democracy</li> </ul>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on <b>narrow, particular issues</b>. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- And he taught us this, a house divided could not stand. That is a great and timeless truth. Today, once again, we are a house divided, but that my friends can no longer be. We’re facing too many crises. We have too much work to do.</li> <li>- . We can have a national strategy that reflects the true values of this nation. This pandemic is not a red state or blue state issue. This virus doesn’t care whether you live, or where you live, what political party you belong to, it affects us all. It will take anyone’s life. It’s a virus. It’s not a political weapon.</li> </ul>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing <b>cosmic proportions</b> to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to <b>national and religious leaders</b> that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- We should consider again, what can happen when equal justice is denied, when anger and violence and division are left unchecked.</li> </ul>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I’ll be a president who pushes toward the future, not one who clings to the past</li> </ul>

<p>Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It cannot be that here and now in 2020, we will allow the government of the people, by the people, and for the people to perish this earth.</li> </ul>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Folks, duty and history call presidents to provide for the common good, and I will. It won’t be easy</li> </ul>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- why I believe in this moment, we must come together as a nation</li> <li>-</li> </ul>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

### **Overall Comments:**

The speech has a couple elements that could sound as populist such as mentioning the people and evil forces that are trying to separate the country. Even though this is true, these forces are never given a name or subscribed to a specific group of people who are the evil minority, which is why the speech lacks populist elements. The people are not fighting against anyone which decreases the Manichean vision of the world. His speech has an overall call for unity and for resolving differences. He constantly says that he will be the president of all Americans cross political parties. The concept of the people seems to be everyone in the US. This gives the speech a broad and legalistic feeling which is contrary to populist views.

Speech at Pittsburgh

**Date:** 2 November, 2020

**Location:** Pittsburgh Pennsylvania.

Hello Pittsburgh. It's good to be back. I'll tell you what. First off, let's honk for the outstanding band, The Funky Fly Project. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. And special thanks to local and state elected officials who are here. I want to thank them a lot and I want to also thank your police department. I tell you what. They got a one heck of a motorcycle escort.

You know, it was great seeing Franco again. I live in the other side of the state just below that town called Philadelphia, and I get in trouble because I talk about how much I like Pittsburgh and how much I like the Steelers. Now, let me tell you why. Franco and I were just in Latrobe together last month, and Franco and his teammate, a guy named Rocky Bleier, back in the day when the Rooney's were really wonderful to me and my family. Because just a month after I was elected the United States Senate, I was 29 years old. It was December 18th. And it was a week before Christmas. I got a phone call, when I was hiring staff in Washington, saying a tractor trailer broadsided my wife and my three children Christmas shopping, and killed my wife and killed my wife and would kill my daughter. My two boys were very badly injured.

So I hustled home as quick as I could. And I stayed with them in that hospital room because they were really in tough shape. But on the 23rd, I believe it was, I decided that I was going to go out to Kmart and get a plastic Christmas tree. You know, those kinds they have on display, because you weren't allowed to have any Christmas paraphernalia in the hospital that could catch fire, but I could get one of those. So I went out and I was only gone, it was the only time I was gone. I was gone for about, I guess, an hour, hour and a half.

And I came back and both my boys for the first time, they were little guys, three and four years old, almost four and five. They had smiles on their face and each of them were holding a football signed by the entire steel curtain, the Pittsburgh team. And I said, "What happened, boys?" And they was the first time they smiled. And they said, "Rocky Bleier and Franco Harris came," because guess what happened? The Rooneys, really fine, fine people, the Rooneys decided that they were going to send Rocky and Franco to see my boys. No publicity. They didn't do any press. Didn't let anybody know.

... he, they didn't do any press, didn't let anybody know, they spent 45 minutes with my boys, they got in the plane and went home.

That's who we are as a country. That's something the President doesn't understand, looking out for each other. The thousand acts of kindness, the decency that people used to show to one another, and still do, that he just doesn't get.

Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh there's one more day, one more day to show who we are once again. Tomorrow we can end the presidency that has divided this nation. Folks in Homewood know, tomorrow we can put an end to a presidency that has failed to protect the nation. Tomorrow we can put an end to a presidency that has fanned the flames of hate across this nation, pouring gasoline on every racial incident in the country.

Millions of Americans have already voted, over almost a hundred million now. Millions more will vote tomorrow. My message is simple, the power to change this country is in your hands. And I don't care how hard Donald Trump tries, there's nothing, nothing he can do to stop the people of this nation from voting, no matter how he tries.

There was a press article last week, and it read as follows, "Never before in modern presidential history has a candidate been so reliant on wide-scale efforts to repress the vote as Trump." Trump doesn't want y'all voting. He don't want Americans voting. He thinks only wealthy folks should vote. When America votes though, america will be heard. When America's heard, the message is going to be out loud and clear: it's time for Donald Trump to pack his bags and go home, go home.

Look, we're done with the chaos, we're done with the racism, we're done with the tweets, the anger, the hate, the failure, the irresponsibility, but we got a lot of work to do folks. If I'm elected president, we're going to act, on day one we're going to act to get COVID under control, on day one of my presidency I'll put in action a plan that I've

been talking about for months, masking, social distancing, testing, tracing, a plans for full and fair and free distribution of therapeutics and vaccines when we get one.

And most importantly, but he hasn't done yet, a plan, a plan that addresses the fact that we can get everybody access to the vaccine when it comes. Folks there's over 300 million people in America, everyone, everyone is going to get help. A plan to address the disproportionate way the virus is hitting the black community and minority communities. We're seeing race-based disparities all across every aspect of this virus; higher infection rates, lower access to testing, a harder time, quarantine safely, lower access to quality treatment when you become infected, and tragically higher mortality rates, three times as high as the white population. One in 1000 black Americans have died from COVID so far. And by the end of this pandemic, if things continue as he's allowing them to do until the next president takes office, there will be another 200,000 deaths projected. And that would mean one in 500 African-Americans will have died because of COVID.

That is absolutely outrageous. That is an attack, a mass casualty for black Americans. And this President, he knew in January how bad this virus was, in January he knew it. Some of you may remember vaguely if you turned on the television at the time, I wasn't in office but I was talking about the fact that he got intelligence briefings laying out how dangerous it was coming from China, and where it was happening. And he said, no he didn't read his intelligence briefing in the morning. Well, that didn't surprise me, he doesn't read.

But turns out he knew exactly how dangerous it was. Remember what he said to Bob Woodward, the famous journalist? He went on tape and he said to Woodward, he knew in January how dangerous it was and how many people could die, and he said nothing. He didn't say a thing to you, me, or anybody else. He kept it secret. He hid it from the American people. He knew it was worse than the flu. He lied to the American people. He knew it wasn't going to disappear. He kept telling us, America was coming, or maybe we should inject bleach into our veins. I mean, whatever, God, what a... anyway.

And just Friday, this past Friday, had the gall to suggest that the American doctors and nurses, who are literally risking their lives to save lives on the front line of this crisis for nine months, that he suggested that these folks, know what he said they're doing? He said, "Doctors are falsely inflating the deaths due to COVID because they want to make more money."

Now think about that, president of the United States of America. But then again, it doesn't surprise me, he wouldn't do anything unless he could make more money, not a joke. Everything to him is about how do you help yourself?

Folks, look the people of this nation have suffered and sacrificed for nine months, none more so than our doctors and our frontline healthcare workers. And it's the President questioning their character, and their integrity, their commitment to his fellow Americans, the President questioning that? It's a flat disgrace. And then last night Trump said, he's going to fire Dr. Fauci. I got a better idea, let's fire Trump, and I'll hire Dr. Fauci.

Look, the President has waved the white flag of surrender in this virus. I'll never do that. He's chief of staff said last week, "We're not going to control this virus." We're not going to control the virus, the first step to beating the virus is defeating Donald Trump.

Look folks, if we didn't know this was happening, and somebody made a movie about this five years ago you'd think it was all crazy, but it's real. It's real what's happening. Donald Trump, by the way, he keeps telling us what a great jobs president he has been, how many jobs he's created. Well, I was just with President Obama in Detroit, in Flint, Michigan, my buddy. It was great to be with a president with real character. A President respected around the world, a President our kids could look up to. But did you know President Obama and I helped create more jobs in the last three years of our administration than Trump did the first three years of his, even before the pandemic hit? Did you know Donald Trump is going to be the first president in 90 years who's going to finish with his four years in office with fewer jobs under his leadership than when he started as president?

And black unemployment remains too high, too many black businesses are shuttered for good. Black-owned businesses are shutting down twice as fast as other businesses, and business communities of color have shuttered because they didn't get the help, the money that Congress has passed. Congress passed over \$2 trillion. You know the first thing what the President did? He fired the Inspector General, who's supposed to follow where the money



went. And guess what? Minority businesses, small businesses, they didn't get the help. It went to the Mar-a-Lago crowd. Not a joke, his wealthy friends. He fired the Inspector General.

You know, he sees the world from Park Avenue-He sees the world from Park Avenue. I have seen it from Scranton. I see it from where I grew up. I see it from here in Pittsburgh. Wall Street didn't build this country, working people built this country. That's always whose built the country, the middle class, and unions built the middle class.

Folks, I believe we should be rewarding work not wealth in this country. Do you all realize that just as the pandemic started, the listed billionaires in America made another \$300 billion? Not a joke, \$300 billion they made in the middle of the pandemic. What's going on here, folks?

Well, I've got a plan, and under my plan I commit to you no one making less than \$400 grand is going to see a penny in taxes raised. But for a change, the wealthiest and the biggest corporations, 91 of the Fortune 500 companies pay zero in taxes after making billions of dollars. Well, guess what? Under a Biden administration, they're going to start paying their fair share. Why should a firefighter, an educator, a nurse, a steelworker pay a higher tax rate, and this is the God's truth, a higher tax rate than the super wealthy? And by the way, why should you pay more taxes than Donald Trump?

I've released 23 years of my tax returns. I had the dubious distinction of being listed as "the poorest man in Congress" for 36 years. And then when I got elected vice president it says, "It's probable no man has ever assumed the office vice president with fewer assets than Joe Biden." I assumed they weren't speaking about intellectual assets. It could have been, but who knows?

Well, look, here's my point, Trump and the only taxes that we've been able to find out through the New York Times in the one year he has, he paid \$750 in taxes. Trump keeps talking about corruption. When's the last time he heard of a president having a secret bank account in China? Which he did, we just found out, where he payed 50 times more tax in China than he did in the United States. Every time he starts talking about corruption, I say, "Release your tax return. What in the hell are you hiding? What are you hiding?" Not one.... Anyway, I won't get into it.

Look, we're going to act to protect healthcare. Trump is going to Trump, like he just jammed through a Supreme Court nomination. You know why they did? To try to destroy the Affordable Care Act. Well, if they get their way, a hundred million Americans will lose the protections for preexisting conditions, including more than 5 million people here in the United States... I mean, excuse me, here in the state of Pennsylvania, over a hundred million in the United States. Millions of black Americans will be left uninsured and denied health coverage because of pre-existing conditions. And there are more preexisting conditions in poor communities than there are in others.

Donald Trump thinks healthcare is a privilege. I think it's a right. Look, I'll not only restore Obamacare, I'll build on it. You can keep your private insurance. If you like it, you can choose Medicare like public option. I'm going to increase subsidies to lower your premiums, deductibles, out-of-pocket expenses, out-of-pocket spending, surprise billing. I'm going to lower prescription drugs by 60%, and that's the truth. But by the way, how are you going to do it, Joe? Because those wealthy people are going to start paying their fair share.

It's not about punishing everyone, it's about being fair. We'll make sure that protections for people with pre-existing conditions remain. And meanwhile, Trump said, he's publicly said if he's reelected, he's going to defund Social Security payments. The actuary in social security department said if he does that, that will eliminate, eliminate Medicare by 2023, after all the who people rely on Medicare. It's not going to happen, by the way. We're not going to let it happen, but that's his plan. Go home and tell your grandparents and parents, we'll protect Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid, which he won't do. And finally, we need a vote now to deliver some racial justice in America. Look, a season of protest has broken out all across this nation. Protesting is not burning and looting and violence, that can't be tolerated, it won't. But those protests are a cry for justice. In the name of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Jacob Blake, Walter Wallace, Jr., they're not going to soon be forgotten. They're not going to be forgotten by me, not by us, not by this country. They'll inspire a whole new wave of justice in America.

When I met with Floyd's family, he has a little daughter who survived him, she's six years old, and I knelt down and I talked to her. I started talking to her. You know what she said? She looked at me, she said, "Mr. Vice President, Daddy is going to change the world. Daddy's going to change the world."

Folks, the country is ready. The country is ready, but not with Donald Trump as president. Now he wants us to believe so much he's done for black Americans. You might have seen the debate I had with him. I was standing next to "Abraham Lincoln". He said, "Not since Abraham Lincoln has anyone done as much for the African American community as I have." I turned to him and asked him, "Abe," he got offended. He got offended. Look, Pittsburgh, honk if you think his commitment of having done more for the African-American community than Abraham Lincoln is true. Honk your horn. Silence. You got it, man. Pittsburgh, honk if you think it's a bunch of malarkey, his lying. You got it.

Look, the truth is, Donald Trump has done more harm black America than any president in modern history. This is the same man who started the Birther Movement against my buddy, Barack Obama. This is the first man, this is the man who when the first black woman running for vice president, he looks at her and he calls her a monster. Oh yeah, man.

And remember on stage with him When I asked about the Proud Boys, that racist group of white supremacists. I said, "Would you deny them?" He turned and he said, "I'm going to tell them to stand down and stand by." When in God's name did you ever expect an American president to say, who refused to denounce white supremacy, doesn't believe systemic racism is a problem and won't even say black lives matter. Black lives matter. And we're going to work to deliver real police and criminal reform, justice reform. We know, we know what true justice is all about. It's not only about a criminal justice system that's fair, but it's about being able to build wealth, jobs, homes, families. Folks, we're in a situation where, think about it, how many people you know are working two jobs and still being in poverty? We need a national minimum wage of \$15 an hour for everybody, period. Honk if you agree with me. Honk if you agree with me and my proposal.

For first-term homebuyers, first-time home buyers, I promise you are going to get a \$15,000 down payment for the first home. Honk.

Honk for new capital to start businesses, because black entrepreneurs are equally successful as any other entrepreneurs, but they can't get access. That's why Barack and I started a program to give \$1.5 billion to local small business associations to lend money. That brought 30 billion off the sideline. Well, I've changed that to \$15 billion, and we're going to bring 150 off the sideline.

Look, in addition to that, think about this. Education. Education is the key to movement. Well, guess what? There's going to be free college education for state universities when I'm your president. I'm going to triple funding. And by the way, we can afford this, I promise you. I'm going to triple funding for Title I schools so a child can get a good public education, no matter what their zip code is. Allowing every three and four and five year olds to go to school, not daycare. That increases by 58% the prospects that child will go all the way through 12 years. And honk if you agree with me. I'm going to invest \$70 billion in HBCUs at minority serving institutions. For real. [inaudible 00:28:35] institutions so future generations of black students can continue to get the very best education.

Folks, Pennsylvania, 2008 and 2012, you placed your trust in Barack and me. Now in 2020, I'm asking for your trust again in me and Kamala. By the way, she is one smart, bright, tough woman, man. I'm so proud. She said yes. Look, I'm running as a proud Democrat, but I will govern as an American president. That's the job of a president, the duty to represent everyone, everyone. And you too have a duty. If you haven't already voted, to vote tomorrow. Make a plan, get out to vote. Go to [iowavote.com/pa](https://www.iowavote.com/pa) and ask yourself if Donald Trump is so proud of his record, especially for African Americans, why does he make it so hard for us to vote?

And then remember the final words of my good friend and American hero, John Lewis, who recently died. He said "The vote is the most powerful non-violent change agent you have in a democratic society. You must use it, because if not, it's guaranteed you'll lose it."

Folks, please, please. Here's the amazing thing. Here's the amazing thing, folks. It's about this moment in history. On the one hand, we're facing the biggest threats about who we are and what we believe that we've seen in our lifetimes. But on the other hand, our future has never been more promising. I said it many times. I'm more optimistic about America's future today than I was when I got elected as a 29 year old kid. And I mean it. Here's why. We're better positioned than any nation in the world to lead the 21st century. Our workers are three times as

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productive as workers in the biggest economies in the world. We have the strongest military in the history of the world. We have the most innovative entrepreneurs. We're virtually energy independent.

(silence) We can do this. We're better than we've been. We can be our best when we're the United States of America. God bless you all and may God protect our troops. Go vote. We can get this done, I promise you.

**Title of Speech:** Joe Biden Campaign Event Pittsburgh, PA

**Date of Speech:** November 2 2020

**Coder:** A

**Date of grading:** 11/20/2020

**Final Grade:** 0.3

Populist	Pluralist
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections</p> <p>“Look, we’re done with the chaos, we’re done with the racism, we’re done with the tweets, the anger, the hate, the failure, the irresponsibility, but we got a lot of work to do folks. If I’m elected president, we’re going to act, on day one we’re going to act to get COVID under control, on day one of my presidency I’ll put in action a plan that I’ve been talking about for months, masking, social distancing, testing, tracing, a plans for full and fair and free distribution of therapeutics and vaccines when we get one”</p>

Although Manichaeism, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.

“Folks, look the people of this nation have suffered and sacrificed for nine months, none more so than our doctors and our frontline healthcare workers. And it’s the President questioning their character, and their integrity, their commitment to his fellow Americans, the President questioning that? It’s a flat disgrace. And then last night Trump said, he’s going to fire Dr. Fauci. I got a better idea, let’s fire Trump, and I’ll hire Dr. Fauci”

“He sees the world from Park Avenue. I have seen it from Scranton. I see it from where I grew up. I see it from here in Pittsburgh. Wall Street didn’t build this country, working people built this country. That’s always who built the country, the middle class, and unions built the middle class.

Joe Biden: (18:21)

Folks, I believe we should be rewarding work not wealth in this country. Do you all realize that just as the pandemic started, the listed billionaires in America made another \$300 billion? Not a joke, \$300 billion they made in the middle of the pandemic. What’s going on here, folks?

Joe Biden: (18:47)

Well, I’ve got a plan, and under my plan I commit to you no one making less than \$400 grand is going to see a penny in taxes raised. But for a change, the wealthiest and the biggest corporations, 91 of the Fortune 500 companies pay zero in taxes after making billions of dollars. Well, guess what? Under a Biden administration, they’re going to start paying their fair share. Why should a firefighter, an educator, a nurse, a steelworker pay a higher tax rate, and this is the God’s truth, a higher tax rate than the super wealthy? And by the way, why should you pay more taxes than Donald

Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.

“Tomorrow we can put an end to a presidency that has fanned the flames of hate across this nation, pouring gasoline on every racial incident in the country.

Joe Biden: (09:58)

Millions of Americans have already voted, over almost a hundred million now. Millions more will vote tomorrow. My message is simple, the power to change this country is in your hands. And I don’t care how hard Donald Trump tries, there’s nothing, nothing he can do to stop the people of this nation from voting, no matter how he tries.”

<p>Trump?”</p>	
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>

<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p> <p>“It’s not about punishing everyone, it’s about being fair. We’ll make sure that protections for people with pre-existing conditions remain. And meanwhile, Trump said, he’s publicly said if he’s reelected, he’s going to defund Social Security payments. The actuary in social security department said if he does that, that will eliminate, eliminate Medicare by 2023, after all the who people rely on Medicare. It’s not going to happen, by the way. We’re not going to let it happen, but that’s his plan. Go home and tell your grandparents and parents, we’ll protect Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid, which he won’t do. And finally, we need a vote now to deliver some racial justice in America. Look, a season of protest has broken out all across this nation. Protesting is not burning and looting and violence, that can’t be tolerated, it won’t. But those protests are a cry for justice. In the name of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Jacob Blake, Walter Wallace, Jr., they’re not going to soon be forgotten. They’re not going to be forgotten by me, not by us, not by this country. They’ll inspire a whole new wave of justice in America”</p>

**Comments:**

## TEAM POPULISM | Leader Profile Series

There is some economic populism where Biden talks about how many new billionaires were created in recent years, and he has a line about “wall street didn’t build america, the middle class built America.” Yet that is the extent of his populist rhetoric.



**Title of Speech: Pennsylvania Speech**

**Date of Speech: November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020**

**Coder: B**

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**Final Grader: 0.3**

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tomorrow we can end the presidency that has divided this nation. Folks in Homewood know, tomorrow we can put an end to a presidency that has failed to protect the nation. Tomorrow we can put an end to a presidency that has fanned the flames of hate across this nation, pouring gasoline on every racial incident in the country</li> </ul>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on <b>narrow, particular issues</b>. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing <b>cosmic proportions</b> to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to <b>national and religious leaders</b> that are generally revered.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- . On the one hand, we’re facing the biggest threats about who we are and what we believe that we’ve seen in our lifetimes</li> </ul>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I’m more optimistic about America’s future today than I was when I got elected as a 29 year old kid. And I mean it. Here’s why. We’re better positioned than any nation in the world to lead the 21st century. Our workers are three times as productive as workers in the biggest economies in the world. We have the strongest military in the history of the world. We have the most innovative entrepreneurs. We’re virtually energy independent.</li> </ul>
<p>Although Manichaeian, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>

<p>common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- My message is simple, the power to change this country is in your hands</li> <li>- When America votes though, america will be heard</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Look, I'm running as a proud Democrat, but I will govern as an American president. That's the job of a president, the duty to represent everyone, everyone.</li> <li>- We can do this. We're better than we've been. We can be our best when we're the United States of America. God bless you all and may God protect our troops</li> </ul>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the "oligarchy," but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Look, we're done with the chaos, we're done with the racism, we're done with the tweets, the anger, the hate, the failure, the irresponsibility, but we got a lot of work to do folks.</li> <li>- He didn't say a thing to you, me, or anybody else. He kept it secret. He hid it from the American people. He knew it was worse than the flu. He lied to the American people</li> <li>- , the first step to beating the virus is defeating Donald Trump.</li> </ul>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as "revolution" or "liberation" of the people from their "immiseration" or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of "differences" rather than "hegemony."</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A plan to address the disproportionate way the virus is hitting the black community and minority communities. We're seeing race-based disparities all across every aspect of this virus; higher infection rates, lower access to testing, a harder time, quarantine safely, lower access to quality treatment when you become infected, and tragically higher mortality rates, three times as high as the white population.</li> <li>- For first-term homebuyers, first-time home buyers, I promise you are going to get a \$15,000 down payment for the first home.</li> <li>- I'm going to triple funding. And by the way, we can afford this, I promise you. I'm going to triple funding for Title I schools so a child can get a good public education, no matter what their zip code is. Allowing every three and four and five year olds to go to school, not daycare.</li> <li>- I'm going to invest \$70 billion in HBCUs at minority serving institutions. For real.</li> </ul>

	institutions so future generations of black students can continue to get the very best education.
Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority's continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.	Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.

**Overall Comments:**

Biden has some populist elements in this speech, especially the bellicosity and morality with which he speaks about Trump. He does call him an evil and that him and the new presidency should be good in comparison to Trump. He also calls Trump the biggest threat on history, subscribing cosmic proportions and democracy and the vote are romanticized by subscribing the whole future of the country on the hands of Americans. Although these are all populist elements, he lacks some depth in these elements and contradicts them. Clearly Trump is the evil, but there isn't an evil elite conspiring, is just one person. Biden doesn't single out the GOP, people who work with Trump, or any other group of power, just one person. This makes the populism be less about an elite and sound more like discontent with one individual. In the same way, he romanticized the people but respects those who will not vote for him. He plans on governing for everyone and his views of who the people are change from Blacks, to marginalized communities, to veterans, to people with pre-existing conditions. There is a broad sense of who the people are. Finally, he spends a lot of time talking about narrow and specific solutions and he doesn't advocate for anti-democratic means and shows decorum to different opinions.