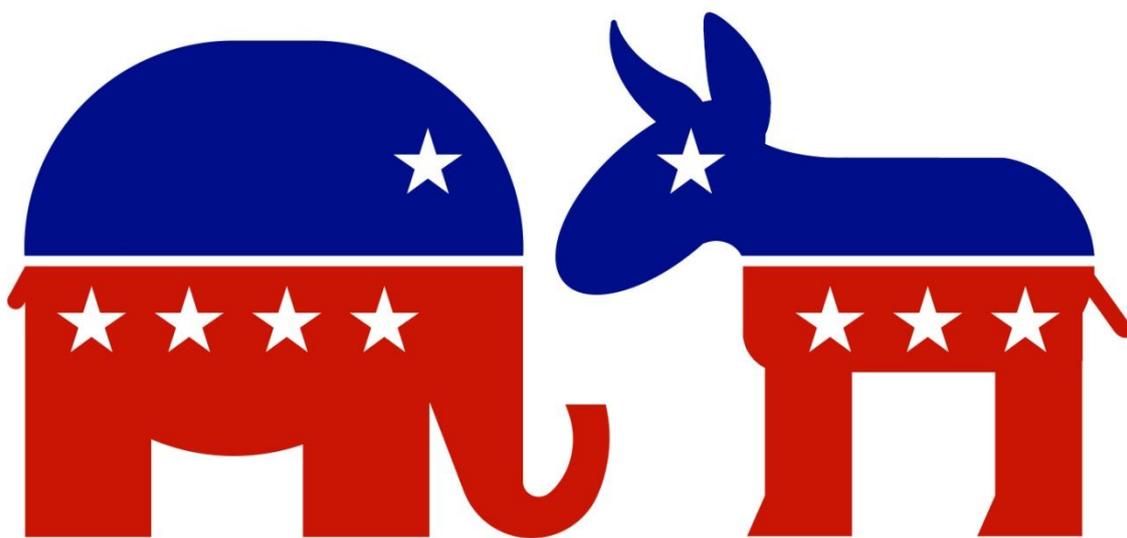


# Polarization and personal attacks in American presidential debates

*A study of the use of ad hominem arguments in the American presidential  
debates leading up to the presidencies of Barack Obama in 2008 and Donald  
Trump in 2016*

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## Abstract

This thesis investigates the use of *ad hominem* arguments in American political debates in relation to the degree of polarization. The types of *ad hominem* arguments, the fallaciousness of the arguments and the use of mitigation techniques are examined in this. Since an increase in polarization in United States politics is visible and *ad hominem* arguments are a symptom of polarization, one could expect an increase in frequency of *ad hominem* usage and an increase of frequency of fallacious *ad hominem*s. Since Trump is perceived as the cause of the increasing polarization according to surveys, it could be expected that he uses more *ad hominem* arguments and more fallacious *ad hominem* arguments than his opponent.

To test these hypotheses, a corpus was composed of 6 American presidential debates, 3 from the 2008 presidential campaigns and 3 from the 2016 presidential campaigns. To analyse this corpus, the four types of *ad hominem* arguments that Tindale (2007) distinguishes serve as guidelines. Tindale's (2007) critical questions for identifying and evaluating *ad hominem* arguments are used to determine the fallaciousness of the arguments. The use of Ilie's (2004) mitigation techniques within the corpus is also examined. This way, this study attempts to connect the evaluation of *ad hominem* arguments to polarization in politics.

This study shows that the frequency of *ad hominem* use in the 2016 presidential debates was more than twice as high as in 2008. The frequency of *ad hominem* use was nearly equal between Trump and Clinton, but Trump's fallacious *ad hominem* use had a significantly higher frequency. The amount of mitigation strategies used in the debates was found to be near zero. This means that some of the outcomes of this study are in line with the expectations: the increase in *ad hominem* frequency in 2016 versus 2008 and Trump's higher frequency of fallacious *ad hominem* use. The fact that Trump and Clinton used a nearly equal amount of *ad hominem* arguments in the debates and the fact that the use of mitigation techniques was rare was not in accordance with expectations. Overall, the *ad hominem* use in the debates seems to support the idea of an increase in polarization in American politics. The *ad hominem* use in the debates also seems to support the idea that Trump has a relatively big influence on this increase, compared to his opponent.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

American politics has become increasingly polarized in recent times, and tensions between people of differing political views appear to be rising. Pew Research Center reports a perceived increase in toxic and heated rhetoric under Americans (Drake & Kiley, 2019). According to a majority of surveyed Americans, this change is brought on by Donald Trump's presidency, which started in January 2017 (Pew Research Center, 2019). Donald Trump is well known for his controversial statements, which he frequently shares on Twitter. The following Tweet is an example of that:

- (1) *Can you imagine if these Do Nothing Democrat Savages, people like Nadler, Schiff, AOC Plus 3, and many more, had a Republican Party who would have done to Obama what the Do Nothings are doing to me. Oh well, maybe next time!*  
(Trump, 2019)

President Trump refers to democratic Politicians as *Do Nothing Democrat Savages* in this tweet, which is an attack on his opponents, also referred to as *argumentum ad hominem*.

In December 2019, the House voted in favour of 2 articles of impeachment against Donald Trump due to alleged abuse of power and obstruction of congress (Fandos & Shear, 2019). Donald Trump is the 3<sup>rd</sup> out of 50 United States presidents to be impeached. Whether or not Trump will be removed from office following his impeachment is not yet known at the time of writing, but it is clear that president Trump can be seen as a controversial president.<sup>1</sup>

Almost 3 out of 4 Americans believe that elected officials should not use 'heated language', claiming it could cause violence, while 1 out of 4 Americans feel like politicians should be able to express themselves freely (Drake & Kiley, 2019). Heated language is one symptom of polarization. An important example of heated language is the *argumentum ad hominem* fallacy. *Ad hominem*s are arguments in which a personal attack is made against a person. When this personal attack is problematic from an argumentative perspective, it is fallacious (Tindale, 2007: 81).

The main research question that this study aims to provide an answer to is:

- How does the frequency and manner of use of the *ad hominem* fallacy differ between the presidential debates leading up to Barack Obama's first term of presidency and the presidential debates leading up to Donald Trump's presidency?

The fallaciousness is one of the two aspects that 'manner' refers to in the above mentioned research question. Using *ad hominem*s in a fallacious way or a non-fallacious way are different manners of using the same type of argument in an argumentative discussion. The other aspect that is included in 'manner' in this research is whether or not the *ad hominem*s are 'hidden'. More information on this will follow in chapter 2 and 3.

The reason why frequency and manner of committing the *ad hominem* are relevant to this research is the following: If many openly committed fallacious *ad hominem*s are found, this could be a sign of polarization. While a non-fallacious argument could be polarizing as well, it is not as much the case as with a direct personal attack that is not argumentatively sound. Hidden *ad hominem*s can also be said to contribute less to polarization than overt *ad hominem*s. Personal attacks that are not covert might not be picked up by everyone, as opposed to overt personal attacks, which are easier to notice. If fewer attacks are picked up, the polarizing effect is less present.

The debate contributions of all participating politicians will be analysed, instead of just Donald Trump and Barack Obama's contributions. Otherwise, the results would give insight in the personality or style of debating of those two politicians, rather than an insight in the possible change of degree of polarization over time.

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<sup>1</sup> The following BBC news article, of which the author is not mentioned, explains this:  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-39945744>

To research this, I will analyze American political debates leading up to the first term of President Trump and debates leading up to the first term of President Obama. I will identify *ad hominem* arguments in these debates, after which I will look at how they were used and whether or not there is a difference in frequency between the debates leading up to Obama's presidency and the debates leading up to Trump's presidency. *Ad hominem*s that are found in the debates will be judged on their fallaciousness by applying the critical questions for evaluating *ad hominem*s that Tindale (2007: 89-92) composed. Ilie's (2004) strategies for mitigation of *ad hominem* arguments are also taken into account and analysed in the corpus.

The reason why the presidential debates leading up to the first presidency of Barack Obama and Donald Trump are analysed, is the following. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Trump can be seen as a controversial politician and is seen as the reason why United States politics has become more polarized by the majority of people. Obama was seen as much less controversial.<sup>2</sup>

The presidential debates were chosen over other debates, due to the nature of these debates. In the presidential debates, it is the politicians' goal to convince the voters that they are the right candidate for presidency, and also to convince the voters that the opponent is the worse candidate for presidency. Due to this, politicians are likely to not only talk about their plans for their presidency, but also how fit they are to be president in comparison to their opponent. This means that existing polarization and polarized views are likely to become visible during the presidential debates.

Lastly, the reason why the presidential debates leading up to Barack Obama's first term of presidency were chosen and not the debates leading up to his second term is to decrease the amount of differing variables between the two time periods of the corpus. This aims to increase the validity of the corpus and thus the research in its entirety.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the argumentum *ad hominem* fallacy. I will go into further detail about the different types of *ad hominem* arguments that can be distinguished, the fallaciousness of *ad hominem* arguments and the effects that the use of *ad hominem* arguments has. Chapter 3 discusses *ad hominem* arguments in political debates. The chapter goes into detail about the usage and effects of *ad hominem* arguments in political debates and strategies involving the use of *ad hominem* arguments in political debates. In chapter 4, the corpus analysis will be presented. Firstly, I will outline the corpus, then the methodology and finally the results. In chapter 5, the conclusion and discussion of this study will be given.

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<sup>2</sup> Due to the nature of politics and the fact that every person has different opinions, it might not be possible for a politician to not be viewed as controversial by anyone. However, it can be said that president Barack Obama is a relatively uncontroversial president compared to president Trump. This can for example be seen by the two articles of impeachment against Trump (versus none against Obama) and a bigger amount of protests against Trump than against Obama, even though Obama was in office for a longer period of time than Trump was (at the time of writing).

## Chapter 2: The fallacious argumentum ad hominem

This chapter revolves around the argumentum ad hominem. The following section will discuss what an *ad hominem* argument is and what kind of role it can play in an argumentative context. 2.2 discusses the types of *ad hominem* that are distinguished. 2.3 discusses the fallacious variant of the *ad hominem* argument. The chapter is concluded by 2.4, which discusses the effects of *ad hominem* usage.

### 2.1 Argumentum ad hominem

*Argumentum ad hominem* is a Latin term meaning *argument to the person*. *Ad hominem* arguments or *ad hominems*, as *argumentum ad hominem* will be referred to from this point on in this thesis, are arguments that attack a person's ethos or a circumstance of that person, rather than that person's argument (Tindale, 2007: 81-82).

Tindale (2007: 81) states that the *ad hominem* argument is a common argument in public discussions, due to its prevalence in discussions regarding controversial topics and due to clashes between differing personalities between people.

In this study *ad hominem* arguments are regarded as a sign of the recent increase in polarization in American politics. However, *ad hominem* arguments are not a recent phenomenon. Aristotle described arguments that were directed against people rather than against arguments in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Tindale, 2007: 82). Locke was the first to discuss arguments against people using the term *argumentum ad hominem* (Van Eemeren, 2012: 346).

Example (1) given in the introduction is an example of an *ad hominem* argument:

- (1) *Can you imagine if these Do Nothing Democrat Savages, people like Nadler, Schiff, AOC Plus 3, and many more, had a Republican Party who would have done to Obama what the Do Nothings are doing to me. Oh well, maybe next time!*

In this Tweet, Trump verbally attacks several American democratic politicians on their character, by calling them *Do Nothing Democrat Savages*. The argument that is made in this Tweet is that Trump seems to call the democratic politicians out for being savages who get nothing done, and thus are not successful in their attempts to get Trump impeached. Since this is an attack on their character, rather than on their arguments, this can be called an *ad hominem* argument.

### 2.2 Ad hominem types

Personal attacks in arguments can occur in different forms. Tindale discusses four different types of *ad hominems*. The first type of *ad hominem* he discusses is the *abusive ad hominem*. The abusive *ad hominem* occurs when an attack is made on someone's character, such as calling someone names, rather than an attack on a circumstance surrounding the person (Tindale, 2007: 92). The following example illustrates this:

- (2) My opponent wants to raise income taxes. This is coming from the person who still watches cartoons on television.

Rather than addressing the plan the opponent proposes, the speaker attacks the opponent's character. The speaker tries to use the opponent's character as a means to silence them. In this case

the speaker tries to negate someone's political opinion due to them liking a certain type of entertainment.

What gets attacked in a personal attack of the abusive variety can be a wide range of things, like "personal character or past actions of the arguer in question, or [...] group affiliations of the arguer such as his political, national or religious beliefs or ethnic background." (Walton, 2008: 171). Oftentimes, the ethics of the arguer get attacked, such as their honesty or integrity (Walton, 2008: 171).

The second type of *ad hominem* discussed by Tindale is the *circumstantial ad hominem*. A circumstantial *ad hominem* consists of an attack on a circumstance of an individual, related to the issue that is discussed. More specifically, it suggests ulterior motives that the speaker has for his or her claim (Tindale, 2007: 93-94).

Tindale (2007: 94) gives the following example of a circumstantial *ad hominem*:

- (3) The city planner who advocates building a new road along route A rather than route B may have her judgement questioned if an opponent points out that the planner happens to live along route B. The planner may present a very good case for why the road should follow A, so an evaluator would have to consider carefully the degree to which the circumstantial factor should play a role in the reasoning.

The circumstantial factor here, the place of residence of the city planner, does not necessarily devalue the city planner's point that route B might be better.

*Tu quoque arguments* are the third type of *ad hominem* discussed by Tindale. *Tu quoque*, which means *you too* in Latin, points at hypocrisy in an individual. If there is a discrepancy between what someone says and what someone does, or did in the past, then this person can expect a *tu quoque* argument to follow. Of course, for evaluating the soundness of this type of *ad hominem* argument, it has to be taken into account whether or not the pointed out discrepancy is relevant (Tindale, 2007: 94-95).

Tindale (2007: 94) illustrates this with the example of a physician suggesting that you should go on a diet and then dismissing his or her argument due to the physician him- or herself being overweight. The actual argument of the physician, the fact that the patient should follow a diet, is not addressed here. The patient dismisses the argument of the physician because the physician does not follow the advice themselves, instead of a reason regarding the content of the argument. Regardless of the physician's personal lifestyle choices, he or she knows what's best for the patient.

Finally, Tindale discusses *guilt by association* as a fourth type of *ad hominem* argument. A *guilt by association ad hominem* is based on an association that a person has. This association does not necessarily have to be true; it merely has to exist (Tindale, 2007: 96-97). Tindale (2007: 96) describes it as follows: "The attack assumes that any 'guilt' that characterizes the other part of the association can be transferred to the person making the argument. The following example illustrates this:

- (4) My opponent believes we should subsidize solar power, but this is coming from the person who is friends with a known moon landing denier.

The argument of the opponent does not get addressed in this example. The speaker attacks an associate of the opponent, since the opponent is friends with someone who is known to believe in a

controversial conspiracy theory. This means that the argument that the speaker uses is of the guilt by association type.

Van Eemeren, Meuffels and Verburg (2000: 420-421) state that the different types of *ad hominem* can be considered problematic for the same reason: they all violate “the same fundamental norm for argumentative discourse aimed at resolving a difference of opinion: they all amount to one party’s claiming that the other party has no right to speak, thus violating the confrontational rule for critical discussion” (Van Eemeren, Meuffels & Verburg, 2000: 421).<sup>3</sup> The confrontation rule is the following: “Parties must not prevent each other from advancing standpoints or casting doubt on standpoints” (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992: Fallacies in the Confrontation, para. 5).

### 2.3 Fallaciousness

In line with Van Eemeren, Meuffels & Verburg (2000), Plug (2006: 263-264) states that an *ad hominem* argument can be considered fallacious, when *ad hominem* fallacies stand in the way of settling a disagreement of opinion between people. An *ad hominem* fallacy can prevent one of the speakers from making their point in a discussion. An *ad hominem* fallacy can be successful in silencing opponents, at the risk of being judged as unreasonable due to using *ad hominem* fallacies (Plug, 2006: 263-264). Aside from being considered problematic, a personal attack can be considered non-problematic as well from an argumentative standpoint (Tindale, 2007: 81-82).<sup>4</sup>

Tindale (2007: 89-92) presents the following critical questions which help to identify *ad hominem* arguments and to evaluate the soundness of *ad hominem* arguments:

- “1. Has an attack been made on another person in an argumentative debate?
2. Has that attack focused on the person’s character or circumstance and avoided any discussion of his argument?
3. Where a conclusion has been drawn about the opponent’s position or claim, is the *ad hominem* material introduced in the premises relevant to your appraisal of the position or claim, and are there grounds for believing the material is factually correct?
4. Where the *ad hominem* material is relevant, is the conclusion drawn from it appropriate?”

The first question that Tindale proposes does not deal with the evaluation of the *ad hominem* argument. Instead, it acts as a question for identification, to determine whether or not the argument falls under the *ad hominem* argument category. If this question can be answered affirmatively, then the argument is an *ad hominem* argument. If not, it is a different kind of argument, which means that answering the other questions is not necessary.

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<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that Van Eemeren, Meuffels and Verburg distinguish 3 types of *ad hominem* arguments (abusive *ad hominem*s, circumstantial *ad hominem*s and *tu-quoque* arguments), and thus make this claim about those 3 types. It can be said that the fourth type (which Tindale distinguishes alongside the 3 types distinguished by Van Eemeren, Meuffels and Verburg), guilt by association arguments, violates the same confrontational rule for critical discussion. The difference between this type and the other 3 types is in the premises, while coming to the same conclusion (that a speaker has no right to speak).

<sup>4</sup> Some authors refer to fallacious *ad hominem*s when using the term *ad hominem* (argument). In this thesis, the term *ad hominem* (argument) does not carry any judgement of fallaciousness, but merely refers to a type of argument that can be fallacious or sound. Unless fallaciousness or soundness is specified, the term *ad hominem* (argument) refers to *ad hominem* arguments in general.

The second question that Tindale proposes, about whether or not the attack focused on the person's character or circumstance rather than the argument, has more to do with the evaluation of the argument. If this question can be answered affirmatively, it is likely that the argument in question is a fallacious *ad hominem* argument. However, the second question alone is not enough to be able to fully judge the fallaciousness, as an attack on someone's character can be a sound argument. Tindale's third and fourth question determine this.

The third question, which actually contains two questions within it: whether or not the *ad hominem* material is relevant and whether or not there are grounds for believing the material is correct, has to do with the relevance of the argument. If the answer is that the *ad hominem* material is not relevant, then the argument can be judged as fallacious. The *ad hominem* material is relevant when the argument relates to the position that the opponent is advocating. If this is not the case, the material is irrelevant. This is also the case if there are no grounds for believing the factual correctness of the *ad hominem* material, which is the second question that is embedded within Tindale's third question.

However, if the *ad hominem* material is relevant, it is still no guarantee that the argument is not fallacious. This is where Tindale's fourth question comes into play, which asks whether or not the conclusion that has been drawn is appropriate. If this is not the case, then the argument can be considered fallacious. This is how an *ad hominem* argument can be evaluated by using Tindale's critical questions.

To illustrate the use of these critical questions, they will be applied to examples of *ad hominem* arguments. The first example is the following:

(5) *I don't believe Jane. She often lies.*

Premise: Jane lies often.

Premise: If someone lies often, they shouldn't be believed.

Conclusion: Jane should not be believed.

In this example, Tindale's first question, which asks whether or not an attack has been made, can be answered affirmatively. An attack has been made on Jane in (5). This means that the argument that is used in (5) is an *ad hominem* argument.

Tindale's second question, which asks if the attack addresses the argument or only the person, can also be answered affirmatively. Jane's argument is not discussed in (5), but only her character.

Whether or not there are grounds for believing that the speaker's proposition in (5) is factually correct is not known, but it can be said that the *ad hominem* material is relevant. If someone lies often, then they become less believable. There can be reason to doubt someone who lies often. This means that Tindale's third question can be answered affirmatively as well.

Tindale's fourth question has to do with the appropriateness of the conclusion. In this case, the conclusion can be considered appropriate. The premises do not actually disprove what Jane said, but make it clear that Jane's arguments can be doubted. This means that the *ad hominem* argument in (5) can be considered non-fallacious or sound.

To illustrate how Tindale's questions can be applied to a fallacious *ad hominem* argument, the following example will be analyzed:

(6) A: Sarah disagrees with you.

B: Sarah is only 17, therefore she doesn't know what she's talking about.

Premise: Sarah is 17.

Premise: Someone who is 17 years old does not know what she's talking about.

Conclusion: Sarah's concern should not be taken seriously.

Once again, Tindale's first question can be answered affirmatively. An attack has been made on Sarah. The second question can be answered affirmatively as well, since the attack is on Sarah's character or circumstance, her age in this case.

It can be true that a person who is older knows more than someone who is younger. However, more factors than just age influence this, like educational level, personal situation while growing up and social class. If the age was much lower, this would be more relevant; however a 17 year old person is considered an adult in some jurisdictions, and 1 year away from adulthood in many other jurisdictions. Therefore, it cannot be said that someone who is 17 does not know what she is talking about, purely based on her age.

Due to this, the *ad hominem* material in the premises can be considered not relevant (enough). This means that the argument can be considered fallacious. Answering Tindale's fourth question is not necessary, since the *ad hominem* material is not relevant.

Answering Tindale's critical questions does not always lead to a conclusive answer. This can be seen in the following example of an *ad hominem* argument from Dutch politician Geert Wilders, about Dutch politician Khadija Arib, who was elected to be president of the Dutch Lower House. Tindale's four critical questions will be answered in order.

(7) A person subject to the king of Morocco, a person of dual nationality, is not to become President of the Lower House.

*[Iemand die onderhorig is aan de koning van Marokko, iemand met de dubbele nationaliteit, hoort geen voorzitter te worden van de Tweede Kamer.]*

Premise: Khadija Arib is subject to the king of Morocco and has a dual nationality.

Premise: Someone who is subject to the king of Morocco and has a dual nationality should not become president of the Lower House.

Conclusion: Khadija Arib should not be president of the Lower House.

An attack has been made on Khadija Arib, so Tindale's first question can be answered affirmatively. Tindale's second question can be answered affirmatively as well; this attack has focused on a circumstance surrounding the person.

The evaluation of this argument becomes more complicated at Tindale's third question. The second premise can be questioned. Arib's Moroccan nationality does not necessarily invalidate her Dutch nationality. Since Arib has a Dutch nationality, she should be able to be president of the Dutch Lower House. Her suitability could be doubted however, because she is also citizen of a different country. This could possibly indicate a conflict of interest. Whether or not this is actually the case depends on

personal opinions. Wilders does see it that way, since Arib could make decisions in such a manner that they benefit Morocco rather than The Netherlands.

If the premises are considered relevant, then the conclusion can be considered appropriate. However, as described above, the problem in the evaluation lies in the relevance of the premises; depending on the evaluator, this judgement could have different outcomes for identical cases.

From the application of Tindale's critical questions, it is difficult to say with certainty that Wilders' *ad hominem* is fallacious in this case. His argument could be considered fallacious, due to the irrelevance of the premises, or sound if you evaluate the premises as relevant. However, since there is a possibility of the premises being relevant, a somewhat conservative stance should be taken and they should be treated as relevant here – this way, the argumentation analyst avoids falsely accusing the discussant of committing a fallacy.

The evaluation of example (7) shows that it can be rather difficult to evaluate the fallaciousness of an *ad hominem* argument. The evaluation can be subjective, depending on personal beliefs and values; it is not always clear what is relevant and what is not relevant. While one person might see the premise as relevant, another person might not.

#### 2.4 Effects of *ad hominem* usage

The previous section showed that the effectiveness of an argument can differ depending on the personal beliefs and values of the hearer. The fact that the argument's effectiveness depends on the listener could also be influenced by the fact that not everyone is consciously aware of the rules of discussion. It is not reasonable to expect everyone to check each other's argumentation by applying the 4 questions that Tindale proposes to every argument. This is especially the case in oral discussions, since those tend to be fast moving in comparison to written (or typed) discussions.

However, empirical research by Van Eemeren, Meuffels and Verburg (2000) shows that laymen tend to know when an argument can be considered reasonable or not. Participants of their experiment, 92 Dutch pupils who did not have specific education in argumentation analysis and had never heard of *ad hominem* arguments, were shown short dialogues, of which some contained fallacious *ad hominem*s and some did not. The participants were asked to judge the reasonableness of these arguments. The results were that fallacious *ad hominem* arguments were judged as significantly less reasonable than arguments that did not violate the freedom rule, which entails that the parties in a discussion should not prevent each other from advancing their standpoint or doubting standpoints (Van Eemeren, Meuffels & Verburg, 2000: 422-433).

This chapter made it clear what an *ad hominem* argument entails, that there are four types of *ad hominem* arguments that can be distinguished, that *ad hominem* arguments can be fallacious or sound and that the fallaciousness can be judged by applying Tindale's (2007) critical questions and that knowledge about argumentation theory and fallacies is not necessary to be able to judge fallacious arguments as unreasonable for language users.

## Chapter 3: *Ad hominem* in politics

The *ad hominem* argument was discussed in the last chapter, as well as several aspects of *ad hominem* arguments, including types and fallaciousness. This chapter applies the knowledge of *ad hominem* arguments to a more specific context: politics. The first section discusses the usage and effect of *ad hominem* in political debates. Then, the second section discusses strategies involving the use of *ad hominem* arguments in political debates. Strategies can make *ad hominem* less obvious to detect, which is why it is important to take these strategies into account.

### 3.1 The usage *ad hominem* in political debates

A strategy that can be employed by politicians in debates is to depict the opposing politician as someone who is not a serious participant in a discussion. This can be done by using personal attacks towards the opponent as a discussion strategy. By making their opponent appear like a discussion partner who is not to be taken seriously, a politician can make it seem like he himself or she herself is the better politician (Plug, 2010: 305). This can be especially important in a political context, since it is the goal of a politician to convince the audience that their opinion is right or that they are the right candidate for the job and that they should be elected.

An example of this can be found in a debate that happened in the Dutch House of Representatives on September 25<sup>th</sup>, 2013. The former Dutch politician Alexander Pechtold voices his concerns about a gathering of the political party PVV of Geert Wilders that took place half a week prior to the debate. Pechtold states that NSB<sup>5</sup> flags were present, Hitler salutes were given and neo-nazis who had been convicted for anti-Semitism were spotted among the crowd. Pechtold notes that Wilders thanked everyone for attending, while not distancing himself from the neo-nazis. Pechtold offers Wilders the opportunity to retroactively distance himself from them during this debate. During Pechtold's speech, Wilders expresses his discontent by saying "Ach, ach, ach", an expressive signaling that Pechtold's point is not important or to be taken seriously.

Wilders' response is not directed at Pechtold's argument, but rather at himself. He responds with the following quote:

- (8) Chairman, what a pathetic little man Mr. Pechtold is. What a pathetic, miserable and hypocritical little man you are. That is what I have to say here.

[Voorzitter wat een zielig mannetje is de heer Pechtold toch. Wat een zielig, miezerig en hypocriet mannetje bent u toch. Dat is wat ik hier te zeggen heb.]

By calling Pechtold pathetic, miserable, hypocritical and little, Wilders attempts to paint Pechtold as a discussion partner who should not be taken seriously. The contents of Pechtold's argument are not addressed by Wilders' argument. Instead, Pechtold's character is attacked here. In this case, Wilders' argument is an abusive *ad hominem* fallacy. This means that Wilders applies the strategy that Plug (2010: 305) discusses.

According to Borovali (2018: 433), *ad hominem* arguments have a two-way relationship with polarization in society.<sup>6</sup> *Ad hominem* feed off of the polarization that is present in society. When

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<sup>5</sup> NSB stands for Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (National-Socialist Movement), a former Dutch national socialist political party which is infamous for its collaboration with the Nazi party during the occupation of the Netherlands in World War II.

<sup>6</sup> Borovali (2018: 427-432) mentions several types of *ad hominem* arguments (tu quoque, whataboutery, bias and direct *ad hominem*). Not all of these types are the same as the ones Tindale distinguishes (which are used in this study). However, the types that Borovali distinguishes violate the confrontation rule, which is also the

polarization is at a high level, it is difficult for people who partake in public deliberation not to gravitate towards one of either sides of the rift caused by polarization. People are compelled to be seen as part of one of either sides. If a person in a polarized society rejects one of either sides, they are automatically seen as part of the opposing side.

When people are divided in such a manner that they are either part of the same group as someone else or part of the opposing group, using attacks as an argumentation strategy becomes more common. In a deeply polarized society, the opposing speaker is not someone who the arguer disagrees with on a couple of small issues, but someone who is part of the other side and can be considered the enemy. This leads to the use of *ad hominem* arguments (Borovali, 2018: 433-434).

At the same time, *ad hominem* arguments can cause or increase polarization. The usage of *ad hominem*s can make self-criticism difficult, and personal attacks can cause people to see the opposing speaker as the enemy, deepening polarization. As people become more polarized, they cling to their party more and reject the other party more (Borovali, 2018: 433-435). This means that the effect of using *ad hominem* arguments in political debates can be that listeners who are on the arguer's side become more deeply rooted in that side, while listeners who are on the opposing sides turn away even more.

### 3.2 Strategies involving the use of *ad hominem*s in political debates

When politicians use *ad hominem*s in debates, they risk being criticized for this by their opponent or the chairman (Plug, 2006: 268-269). In order to deal with this, politicians have to devise a strategy to either prevent getting criticized or counteract the criticism. Plug (2006: 268-269) names several strategies that can be employed to achieve this.

The first strategy that Plug describes is to argue that the *ad hominem* that is used is not a fallacious argument in that particular case. A politician may be of the opinion that the opponent's point does not meet certain criteria for correctness, due to the opponent not being honest. A politician could believe that their opponent is lying, and not actively believing the point that they make, in which case it would be acceptable to attack the opponent. In this way a politician can claim that the *ad hominem* that is used in his or her argumentation is not fallacious. This could prevent the politician from receiving criticism on their argumentation (Plug, 2006: 268).

Plug (2006: 268-269) illustrates this by citing an example from a Dutch parliamentary debate, featuring the former Dutch politicians Hirsi Ali and Dittrich:

(9) Mrs. Hirsi Ali (VVD party): (...) The report clearly shows that the government policy has failed. [...] Migrants are over-represented in all kinds of wrong statistics, such as those on shelter, prisons, benefits and school drop-out rates. Would you call that a success?

Mr. Dittrich (D66 party): (...) Your way of arguing - you always say that you are confronting people with something - creates a kind of apparent contradiction. You give the impression that you are always on the right track and that the rest of us have been asleep. That is the wrong way to approach things.

(Acts of the Lower House, 6 April 2004)

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case with the types that Tindale distinguishes, so it can be assumed that the consequences of *ad hominem* argumentation that Borovali discusses also apply to other types that have similar features.

[Mevrouw Hirs Ali (VVD): (...) Uit het rapport blijkt duidelijk dat het regeringsbeleid mislukt is. [...] Migranten zijn oververtegenwoordigd in allerlei verkeerde statistieken, zoals die met betrekking tot blijf-van-mijn-lijfhuizen, gevangenissen, uitkeringen en schooluitval. Noemt u dat dan geslaagd?

De heer Dittrich (D66): (...) Met uw manier van discussiëren – u zegt ook steeds dat u mensen ergens mee confronteert – wekt u een soort schijntegenstelling. U wekt de indruk dat u het altijd bij het goede eind hebt en de rest heeft zitten slapen. Dat is een verkeerde manier van benaderen.  
(Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 6 april 2004)]

Plug (2006: 268-269) states that Hirs Ali's point is that the integration policy for immigrants should not be evaluated as 'inadequate' but as 'failed'. Rather than responding to this point, Dittrich attacks Hirs Ali's attitude. Dittrich accuses Hirs Ali of arrogance, which Dittrich presents as a structural problem, rather than a one-time issue. It can be said that Tindale's third question, which questions the relevance of the *ad hominem* material, is relevant here. The argument that Dittrich makes is an *ad hominem* fallacy.

However, in order to prevent criticism on his *ad hominem*, he phrases his *ad hominem* in such a manner that it does not seem unreasonable. Dittrich tries to achieve this by in phrasing it such a way that it appears that the problems that he has with Hirs Ali's manner of arguing are structural, rather than incidental.

Secondly, Plug describes the strategy of hiding the use of *ad hominems* in debates. An *ad hominem* fallacy can be weakened to such a level that it does not seem to be very harmful to the discussion, or masked in such a way that the *ad hominem* does not seem like a fallacious argument (Plug, 2006: 268).

Hiding the use of *ad hominem* arguments is a form of strategic maneuvering. In a discussion, the participants have multiple goals. Firstly there is a dialectic goal; participants desire to be reasonable the discussion. Secondly there is a rhetorical goal; the goal of the participants is to be effective. To achieve the goals of being reasonable as well as effective, participants of a discussion make use of strategic maneuvering. To avoid the clashing of the dialectic goal and the rhetorical goal, participants in a discussion thus also involve strategic maneuvering (Plug, 2006: 264).

Ilie (2010: 311-312) describes 2 aspects of political debates that affect the way politicians can use strategic maneuvering when they attack their opponents. The first aspect is the fact that there is an audience that is watching and listening to the debate. The politicians' use of argumentation is directed at the audience as well as their opponents. As described in sections 2.3 and 2.4, *ad hominem* arguments are often judged as unreasonable, even by people with no background knowledge of argumentation and fallacies. Politicians have to keep this in mind and argue accordingly in the debates in which they participate.

The second aspect that Ilie (2010: 311-312) names is the fact that a moderator is present at the events.<sup>7</sup> The moderator is not part of the discussion, but can intervene if necessary. This could happen when rules are broken by the politicians participating in the debate.

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<sup>7</sup> Ilie (2010: 311-312) mentions a president being present rather than a moderator, which is the case in Dutch politics. In American political debates, a moderator fills this role. The role of moderating the debate is equal or similar, which is why the term 'moderator' is used here.

Van Eemeren, Garssen and Meuffels (2012) have conducted experimental research, which aimed to test the effects of disguising *ad hominem* arguments on the perceived reasonableness of the arguments. They constructed 38 discussion fragments, which consisted of dialogues. In 12 of these 38 discussion fragments, *ad hominem* fallacies were used. Half of these *ad hominem* fallacies was disguised and the other half was not disguised. 91 participants were asked to judge the reasonableness of the argumentation in the discussion fragments.

The results of this experiment showed that *the participants judged ad hominem fallacies as more reasonable when the arguments were disguised. Ad hominem fallacies that were not disguised were judged as less reasonable. If ad hominem fallacies are judged more reasonable when they are disguised than when they are not, that means that disguising ad hominem fallacies can be an effective strategy for politicians to use when they want their argumentation to be judged as reasonable.*

Ilie (2004: 56) found 3 strategies that were used to mitigate the use of *ad hominem* fallacies in parliamentary debates. The first strategy that she found was the juxtaposition of opposite notions. When a politician attributes a negative quality to the opponent, that negative quality can challenge the legitimacy of the opponent. To seemingly mitigate this, a politician can use the opposite of the negative notion.

To illustrate this, Ilie (2004: 56-57) uses the example of contempt and respect. When a politician expresses contempt towards his or her opponent, the politician makes the opponent more vulnerable and damages their reputation. The opposite notion that can be used to mitigate this effect is respect. By expressing respect alongside contempt, both the face of the politician that attacks the opponent, and the face of the opponent get saved (Ilie, 2004: 56-57). Ilie (2004: 57) gives the following example of the juxtaposition of opposite notions strategy:

- (10) (3) William Hague (Con): It is no good the Prime Minister wriggling off the point because he does not know the answer to the questions. [. . . ]  
The Prime Minister (Tony Blair, Lab): I think that the right hon. Gentleman's comments may look a little foolish when the results of the consultation are announced, if I may respectfully say so. Since this is about the only health service subject that he dare raise – he knows that he has nothing to say about anything else – it is correct that there have been many representations on community health councils, and it is for that reason that we said we would listen to them. [. . . ] (Hansard Debates, 14 February, 2001, Column 307)

Here, Blair attacks his opponent Hague by calling his comments foolish. He mitigates this attack by addressing letting respect co-occur with contempt: “if I may *respectfully* say so”.

The second strategy that Ilie found is the strategy of phrasing insults as questions, rather than statements. A politician can avoid directly attacking their opponent, while still expressing the attack by phrasing it as a question. The attack is still made, but the politician might not be held accountable since the attack is not directly made as a statement. Ilie (2004: 58-59) gives the following example of this strategy:

- (11) Birger Schlaug (GreenP): The number of working hours must be reduced. The 40 hour-week is not a natural choice. I would like to ask the Conservatives, the Social-Democrats, the Liberals and the Centrists: Why do you persist in being such concrete fundamentalists? (Riksdag debates, 12 October, 1996)

In this example, Schlaug calls the conservatives, social-democrats, liberals and centrists concrete fundamentalists. She does not state this, but hides this attack in the form of a question.

The third strategy found by Ilie is what she calls the attribution transfer strategy. By applying a negative attribute to an action that the opponent performed or a quote that the opponent said, rather than to the opponent her- or himself, the attack can be mitigated. Ilie (2004: 59-60) gives the following example of the attribution transfer strategy:

- (12) Cathrine Pålsson (Christian-Dem): [...] I think that Margot Wallström [Sdem] is making a cowardly statement. (Riksdag debates, 3 October, 1997)

Here, Pålsson calls Wallström a coward, but hides this by transferring this negative attribute to one of Wallström's statements. Another example can be found in example (11) above, where Blair calls a comment that his opponent makes 'foolish', rather than calling the opponent himself foolish.

The strategies that Plug and Ilie discuss are similar and seem to overlap in some cases. The strategies involve *ad hominem* arguments being disguised or mitigated in order to mislead the opponent. Due to this overlap, it would be confusing to take all the discussed strategies into account in the analysis, so a decision has to be made. For this study, Ilie's mitigation strategies will be taken in account and analyzed in the corpus. Ilie's three strategies seem to cover a broader array of tactics used by speakers than Plug's two strategies, which are more similar to each other. The corpus analysis and the analysis method will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

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## Chapter 4: Corpus analysis

Now that it has been discussed what *ad hominem* arguments entail and which strategies can be used to mitigate them in theory, the analysis of *ad hominem* use in practice can be executed. This chapter revolves around the corpus analysis of this study. Firstly, the corpus in which the *ad hominem* is analyzed will be discussed. Subsequently, the methodology will be explained and lastly, the results will be provided.

### 4.1 Corpus

In order to analyze to what an extent the recent increase in polarization in American politics can be seen by comparing the usage of *ad hominem* arguments between the three 2008 presidential debates and the three 2016 presidential debates, an analysis of those debates will be executed. The details of the corpus of this research are shown in table 1 below. The transcripts of the debates can be found in the appendix. The corpus of this research consists of 97253 words in total.

Debate name	Description of the debate	Date of the debate	Amount of words in the transcript	The speakers participating in the debate	Moderator(s)
<b>Debate 2008-1</b>	The first United States presidential debate of 2008	September 26 <sup>th</sup> , 2008	16431	John McCain Barack Obama	Jim Lehrer
<b>Debate 2008-2</b>	The second United States presidential debate of 2008	October 7 <sup>th</sup> , 2008	16083	John McCain Barack Obama	Tom Brokaw
<b>Debate 2008-3</b>	The third United States presidential debate of 2008	October 15 <sup>th</sup> , 2008	15417	John McCain Barack Obama	Bob Schieffer
<b>Debate 2016-1</b>	The first United States presidential debate of 2016	September 26 <sup>th</sup> , 2016	17201	Donald Trump Hillary Clinton	Lester Holt
<b>Debate 2016-2</b>	The second United States presidential debate of 2016	October 9 <sup>th</sup> , 2016	15699	Donald Trump Hillary Clinton	Anderson Cooper, Martha Raddatz
<b>Debate 2016-3</b>	The third United States presidential debate of 2016	October 19 <sup>th</sup> , 2016	16422	Donald Trump Hillary Clinton	Chris Wallace

Table 1: Corpus information

As described earlier, these debates are chosen for several reasons. Firstly, Trump is seen as the reason why polarization in American politics has increased. For this reason, the presidential debates leading up to Trump and his predecessor Obama were chosen. Another reason is the nature of presidential debates. The goal in presidential debates is for the politicians to show why they are good candidates and why their opponents are worse candidates. Polarized views are likely to come into

the foreground in these debates. Lastly, the second term of Obama's presidency was not chosen, and instead the first term was chosen.

in order to reduce the amount of differing variables within the corpus, aiming to increase the validity of the research. For example, experience as a president could lead a person to behave differently in the debates for the second term, leading to results being altered by more variables than just the ones that are tested.

## 4.2 Methodology

The corpus analysis of this research can be divided into two phases. During the first phase, I analyze the debates by means of close reading and mark all *ad hominem* arguments, fallacious or not, that can be found. Then the *ad hominem* arguments that are found in the debates are categorized into their respective types.

For this research, four types of *ad hominem* arguments are distinguished. Abusive *ad hominem* arguments, tu quoque arguments and circumstantial *ad hominem* arguments are distinguished by Van Eemeren, Meuffels and Verburg (2000) and Tindale (2007). Additionally, Tindale distinguishes a fourth type; guilt by association arguments. As discussed in section 2.3, a guilt by association argument can be considered to be an *ad hominem* argument for the same reason as abusive *ad hominem* arguments, tu quoque arguments and circumstantial arguments. For this reason, those four types of *ad hominem* arguments are distinguished in this research. The four types are analyzed to see if there is a difference in frequency between the types over time.

Subsequently, the *ad hominem* arguments that are found in the debates are judged as either fallacious or non-fallacious (sound). The reason why fallaciousness is taken into account in this research is because of the effect that the use of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments might have. As discussed in section 2.4, ordinary language users with no background in argumentation theory consider *ad hominem* arguments that are not argumentatively sound less reasonable than arguments that are sound. This can influence the effect of polarization that *ad hominem* arguments have. As discussed in section 3, *ad hominem* arguments can increase the degree of polarization. If a politician is making arguments that are considered to be unreasonable by people, they are likely to become opposed to that politician, especially if these arguments attack other people on their character.

The criteria for fallaciousness based on which the *ad hominem* arguments that are found in the debates are judged, are based on Tindale's (2007: 89-92) critical questions.

Another criterion about the *ad hominem* arguments from the debates that needs to be taken into account is the use of disguised or mitigated *ad hominem* arguments. As discussed in section 3.2, *ad hominem* arguments can be seen as more reasonable if they are disguised. Politicians can disguise the attack that is committed with their argument, or politicians can make the attack seem just, which has influence on the effect that the argument has on polarization. For that reason, the use of disguised *ad hominem* arguments has to be taken into account. For this, Ilie's (2004) mitigation techniques are used and analyzed in the corpus.

For this research, it was not possible to work with two or more coders. To simulate inter-coder reliability and to increase the validity of the results, a second phase of analysis was added. During the second phase of analysis, the chosen debates get analyzed for a second time, meaning that the method during the first phase as described above gets executed for a second time. The reason why the debates are analyzed two separate times, is to increase the validity of the results. A second round of analysis decreases the probability of *ad hominem* arguments being overlooked or

categorized wrongly. The repetition of the analysis also makes the fallaciousness judgment more accurate, as well as the mitigation judgment.

### 4.3 Results

In this section, the results of the corpus analysis are discussed. The results section is divided into the following subsections: *ad hominem* argument types, fallaciousness of *ad hominem* arguments, mitigation strategies for *ad hominem* arguments and polarization.

#### 4.3.1 *Ad hominem* argument types

The four different types of *ad hominem* arguments distinguished by Tindale<sup>8</sup> (abusive *ad hominem*, circumstantial *ad hominem*s, tu quoque arguments and guilt by association arguments) can also be found in the corpus of presidential debates.

To give a better indication of how the different types of *ad hominem* arguments that are distinguished are used in the debates by the politicians, examples of each type from each year will be given below. The reason why an example from each of the researched years is given, is to give a more complete view of the use of *ad hominem* arguments in the different years and to show the differing contexts in which the *ad hominem*s occur in the presidential debates. Due to the differences between the debates and the time periods in which they occur, for example different participating politicians, different political climates and different subjects. In the given examples, the part where the *ad hominem* argument occurs is underlined.

The following example features an abusive *ad hominem* argument from debate 2008-2 by John McCain:<sup>9</sup>

- (13) MCCAIN: And I am convinced that my record, going back to my opposition from sending the Marines to Lebanon, to supporting our efforts in Kosovo and Bosnia and the first Gulf War, and my judgment, I think, is something that I'm -- a record that I'm willing to stand on.

Senator Obama was wrong about Iraq and the surge. He was wrong about Russia when they committed aggression against Georgia. And in his short career, he does not understand our national security challenges.

We don't have time for on-the-job training, my friends.

In his argument, McCain paints his opponent Barack Obama as someone who is not a good fit to be president, due to his not understanding of the US national security challenges, according to McCain.

The second example is an abusive *ad hominem* argument that Clinton made in debate 2016-1:

- (14) CLINTON: And clearly, as Donald just admitted, he knew he was going to stand on this debate stage, and Lester Holt was going to be asking us questions, so he tried to put the whole racist birther lie to bed.

But it can't be dismissed that easily. He has really started his political activity based on this racist lie that our first black president was not an American citizen. There was absolutely no evidence for it, but he persisted, he persisted year after year, because

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<sup>8</sup> See section 2.2 for a discussion of the different types of *ad hominem* arguments.

<sup>9</sup> Each quote of the corpus contains one single *ad hominem* argument. If multiple *ad hominem* arguments occur within a single part of the text, the part of the text is repeated and the second *ad hominem* argument is marked separately.

some of his supporters, people that he was trying to bring into his fold, apparently believed it or wanted to believe it.

But, remember, Donald started his career back in 1973 being sued by the Justice Department for racial discrimination because he would not rent apartments in one of his developments to African-Americans, and he made sure that the people who worked for him understood that was the policy. He actually was sued twice by the Justice Department.

So he has a long record of engaging in racist behavior. And the birther lie was a very hurtful one. You know, Barack Obama is a man of great dignity. And I could tell how much it bothered him and annoyed him that this was being touted and used against him.

In this example of an abusive *ad hominem* argument, Clinton attacks Trump for being racist. She mentions how Trump based the start of his political activity on a racist lie about president Obama. Then she goes on to mention Trump's past racist behavior. Since this *ad hominem* argument is an attack on Trump's character and behavior, this *ad hominem* argument can be considered to be an abusive *ad hominem* argument.

The following argument by John McCain serves as an example of a circumstantial *ad hominem* argument from debate 2008-2:

- (15) MCCAIN: Well, thank you, Oliver, and that's an excellent question, because as you just described it, bailout, when I believe that it's rescue, because -- because of the greed and excess in Washington and Wall Street, Main Street was paying a very heavy price, and we know that.

I left my campaign and suspended it to go back to Washington to make sure that there were additional protections for the taxpayer in the form of good oversight, in the form of taxpayers being the first to be paid back when our economy recovers -- and it will recover -- and a number of other measures.

But you know, one of the real catalysts, really the match that lit this fire was Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. I'll bet you, you may never even have heard of them before this crisis.

But you know, they're the ones that, with the encouragement of Senator Obama and his cronies and his friends in Washington, that went out and made all these risky loans, gave them to people that could never afford to pay back.

And you know, there were some of us that stood up two years ago and said we've got to enact legislation to fix this. We've got to stop this greed and excess.

Meanwhile, the Democrats in the Senate and some -- and some members of Congress defended what Fannie and Freddie were doing. They resisted any change.

Meanwhile, they were getting all kinds of money in campaign contributions. Senator Obama was the second highest recipient of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac money in history -- in history.

McCain's argument addresses a circumstance of his opponent, Obama: the financial aspect of Obama's campaign. McCain argues that Obama has suspicious motives here. Due to the fact that a circumstance of Obama is addressed in McCain's argument, and the fact that McCain uses his argument to attack Obama, McCain's argument can be described as a circumstantial *ad hominem* argument.

In debate 2016-1, Clinton also uses a circumstantial *ad hominem* argument against Trump:

- (16) CLINTON: Well, I think you've seen another example of bait-and-switch here. For 40 years, everyone running for president has released their tax returns. You can go and see nearly, I think, 39, 40 years of our tax returns, but everyone has done it. We know the IRS has made clear there is no prohibition on releasing it when you're under audit.

So you've got to ask yourself, why won't he release his tax returns? And I think there may be a couple of reasons. First, maybe he's not as rich as he says he is. Second, maybe he's not as charitable as he claims to be.

Third, we don't know all of his business dealings, but we have been told through investigative reporting that he owes about \$650 million to Wall Street and foreign banks. Or maybe he doesn't want the American people, all of you watching tonight, to know that he's paid nothing in federal taxes, because the only years that anybody's ever seen were a couple of years when he had to turn them over to state authorities when he was trying to get a casino license, and they showed he didn't pay any federal income tax.

TRUMP: That makes me smart.

In this *ad hominem* argument, Clinton attacks Trump for not releasing his tax returns. She mentions that in the only tax returns that Trump ever released, he did not pay any income tax. She claims Trump is trying to hide that fact. Because this argument addresses a circumstance about Trump that could make his motives suspicious, Hillary's argument is a circumstantial *ad hominem* argument.

The following example contains a tu quoque argument that McCain uses against Obama in debate 2008-3:

- (17) MCCAIN: So I want to tell you, we will run a truthful campaign. This is a tough campaign. And it's a matter of fact that Senator Obama has spent more money on negative ads than any political campaign in history. And I can prove it. And, Senator Obama, when he said -- and he signed a piece of paper that said he would take public financing for his campaign if I did -- that was back when he was a long-shot candidate -- you didn't keep your word.

And when you looked into the camera in a debate with Senator Clinton and said, "I will sit down and negotiate with John McCain about public financing before I make a decision," you didn't tell the American people the truth because you didn't.

And that's -- that's -- that's an unfortunate part. Now we have the highest spending by Senator Obama's campaign than any time since Watergate.

In this argument, McCain calls Obama out for not keeping his word. McCain mentions that Obama promised to discuss public financing with McCain before making a decision, but he did not. On top of that, McCain claims that Obama spent a record amount of money of negative advertisements in his campaign. Here, McCain uses a tu quoque argument against Obama.

The following example comes from debate 2016-3 and features a tu quoque argument that Clinton uses against Trump:

- (18) CLINTON: Donald has bought Chinese steel and aluminum. In fact, the Trump Hotel right here in Las Vegas was made with Chinese steel. So he goes around with crocodile tears about how terrible it is. But he has given jobs to Chinese steelworkers, not American steelworkers. That's the kind of approach that is just not going to work.

In her argument, Clinton remarks how Trump often refers to the problem of Chinese competition to the economy of the United States. She goes on to mention how he has used Chinese steel for his buildings, which supports the Chinese economy rather than the US economy. Due to this, the argument can be categorized into the tu quoque argument category.

The final type of *ad hominem* argument that is distinguished is the guilt by association argument. The first example of this argument comes from debate 2008-3:

- (19) MCCAIN: Well, again, while you were on the board of the Woods Foundation, you and Mr. Ayers, together, you sent \$230,000 to ACORN. So -- and you launched your political campaign in Mr. Ayers' living room.

OBAMA: That's absolutely not true.

MCCAIN: And the facts are facts and records are records.

OBAMA: And that's not the facts.

MCCAIN: And it's not the fact -- it's not the fact that Senator Obama chooses to associate with a guy who in 2001 said that he wished he had have bombed more, and he had a long association with him. It's the fact that all the -- all of the details need to be known about Senator Obama's relationship with them and with ACORN and the American people will make a judgment.

McCain accuses Obama of associating with Bill Ayers, who committed several bomb attacks on the United States, in order to protest against the Vietnam War and according to McCain later said that he wished he had bombed more.<sup>10</sup> By addressing the argument at the association that Obama has with Ayers, McCain uses a guilt by association argument.

Lastly, an example of a guilt by association *ad hominem* argument used by Trump in debate 2016-1 follows here:

- (20) TRUMP: Your husband signed NAFTA, which was one of the worst things that ever happened to the manufacturing industry.

CLINTON: Well, that's your opinion. That is your opinion.

TRUMP: You go to New England, you go to Ohio, Pennsylvania, you go anywhere you want, Secretary Clinton, and you will see devastation where manufacture is down 30,

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<sup>10</sup> Two months after debate 2008-3 took place, Ayers denied this. He said he wished he did more to stop the United States from participating in the war in general, not that he wanted to bomb more (Remnick, 2008). However, this was not known yet at the time of the debate.

40, sometimes 50 percent. NAFTA is the worst trade deal maybe ever signed anywhere, but certainly ever signed in this country.

And now you want to approve Trans-Pacific Partnership. You were totally in favor of it. Then you heard what I was saying, how bad it is, and you said, I can't win that debate. But you know that if you did win, you would approve that, and that will be almost as bad as NAFTA. Nothing will ever top NAFTA.

In this argument, Trump expresses his thoughts on NAFTA, and claims it is the worst thing that happened to the manufacturing industry of America. By addressing that an association of Clinton, her husband signing NAFTA, Trump attacks Clinton. This *ad hominem* argument is a guilt by association argument, since the attack is not addressing Clinton directly, but addresses an associate, her husband Bill Clinton.

The amount of *ad hominem* arguments of each type that can be found in the debates is shown in table 2 below:

	<b>Abusive <i>ad hominem</i>s</b>	<b>Circumstantial <i>ad hominem</i>s</b>	<b>Tu quoque arguments</b>	<b>Guilt by association arguments</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>2008</b>	14 (11.2%)	12 (9.6%)	8 (6.4%)	1 (0.8%)	35 (28.0%)
<b>2016</b>	42 (33.6%)	27 (21.6%)	15 (12.0%)	6 (4.8%)	90 (72.0%)
<b>Total</b>	56 (44.8%)	39 (31.2%)	23 (18.4%)	7 (5.6%)	125 (100.0%)

Table 2: Frequency of *ad hominem* use per type and per year, in absolute numbers and relative to the total amount of *ad hominem* arguments used.

What is remarkable is the stark increase in frequency of *ad hominem* use between the 2008 presidential debates and the 2016 presidential debates. Abusive arguments were three times as frequent in 2016 as in 2008 circumstantial *ad hominem*s more than doubled, tu quoque arguments nearly doubled and guilt by association arguments were presented five times more frequently. The total amount of *ad hominem*s used in the debates rose by 157.1%.

This stark increase in frequency cannot be caused by difference in debate length, since moderators regulated the total amount of time for the debates and the amount of speaking time for each participant in the debates. The biggest difference in word count in the transcripts between the debates is only 11.6%.

There is not only a difference in frequency between the years 2008 and 2016, but also between the types of *ad hominem* arguments. Abusive *ad hominem* arguments are the biggest group in both years, forming 44.8% of the total amount of *ad hominem*s from the debates. Circumstantial *ad hominem*s formed the second biggest group in both years. Circumstantial *ad hominem*s form 31.2% of all *ad hominem*s in the debates. Tu quoque arguments are the third most used type of *ad hominem* argument in the debates, forming 18.4% of all *ad hominem*s that were found. The smallest group in both years is guilt by association arguments, forming only 5.6% of the total amount of *ad hominem*s found in the debates.

### 4.3.2 Fallaciousness of *ad hominem* arguments

As discussed in section 2.3, *ad hominem* arguments can be fallacious or not fallacious (sound). To show what fallacious and non-fallacious *ad hominem* arguments in the US presidential debates look like, a fallacious and non-fallacious argument from each of the researched years will be given. The first example is a non-fallacious *ad hominem* argument from Obama in debate 2008-2:

- (21) BROKAW: Senator Obama, the economic constraints on the U.S. military action around the world.

OBAMA: Well, you know, Senator McCain, in the last debate and today, again, suggested that I don't understand. It's true. There are some things I don't understand.

I don't understand how we ended up invading a country that had nothing to do with 9/11, while Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda are setting up base camps and safe havens to train terrorists to attack us.

That was Senator McCain's judgment and it was the wrong judgment.

When Senator McCain was cheerleading the president to go into Iraq, he suggested it was going to be quick and easy, we'd be greeted as liberators.

That was the wrong judgment, and it's been costly to us. So one of the difficulties with Iraq is that it has put an enormous strain, first of all, on our troops, obviously, and they have performed heroically and honorably and we owe them an extraordinary debt of gratitude.

By applying Tindale's critical questions, the fallaciousness of the above *ad hominem* argument can be determined, as discussed in section 2.3. An attack has been made on Obama's opponent McCain in an argumentative debate. Obama attacks McCain's character here, specifically his judgment. Obama supports this attack with an example, namely McCain's decision as a senator to invade Iraq. If McCain does have bad judgment, then that is relevant to his suitability to be president of the United States. As discussed in the answer to the previous question, McCain's judgment is important to his fitness to be president, and if his judgment is not good, then the conclusion that he might not be a good fit to be president can be said to be appropriate.

The next example contains a non-fallacious *ad hominem* argument from debate 2016-1:

- (22) CLINTON: Do the thousands of people that you have stiffed over the course of your business not deserve some kind of apology from someone who has taken their labor, taken the goods that they produced, and then refused to pay them?

I can only say that I'm certainly relieved that my late father never did business with you. He provided a good middle-class life for us, but the people he worked for, he expected the bargain to be kept on both sides.

And when we talk about your business, you've taken business bankruptcy six times. There are a lot of great businesspeople that have never taken bankruptcy once. You call yourself the King of Debt. You talk about leverage. You even at one time suggested that you would try to negotiate down the national debt of the United States.

As with the example before, Tindale's critical questions will be applied to this *ad hominem* argument. An attack on Trump has been made by Hillary in the above example. She attempts to show that Trump would not make a good president by referring to his negative past experiences with finances. The attack is directed at Trump's character or circumstances; the finances of his past businesses. The *ad hominem* material introduced in the premises is relevant to the claim. How Trump conducted his business can be a sign of how he would behave as a president. The conclusion drawn is appropriate. If Trump did not handle the financial aspects of his business well, then it could be said that he would not handle the economical sides of the presidential responsibilities well. This means that Clinton's *ad hominem* argument is not fallacious. The following example shows a fallacious *ad hominem* argument from debate 2008-3:

- (23) MCCAIN: Then there was another bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee in the state of Illinois not that long ago, where he voted against a ban on partial-birth abortion, one of the late-term abortion, a really -- one of the bad procedures, a terrible. And then, on the floor of the Illinois State Senate, he voted present.

I don't know how you vote "present" on some of that. I don't know how you align yourself with the extreme aspect of the pro- abortion movement in America. And that's his record, and that's a matter of his record.

And he'll say it has something to do with Roe v. Wade, about the Illinois State Senate. It was clear-cut votes that Senator Obama voted, I think, in direct contradiction to the feelings and views of mainstream America.

SCHIEFFER: Response?

OBAMA: Yes, let me respond to this. If it sounds incredible that I would vote to withhold lifesaving treatment from an infant, that's because it's not true. The -- here are the facts.

Again, Tindale's questions are applied to determine the fallaciousness of the above *ad hominem* argument. Here, an attack has been made by McCain on Obama. The argument that McCain makes focuses on a circumstance of Obama, the fact that he voted present on a bill. The argument of McCain does not address Obama's argument. The *ad hominem* material introduced in the premises is relevant to McCain's implicit point that Obama is the less suitable candidate for US presidency. Due to Obama refuting what is said about him by McCain, there is reason to doubt the factual correctness of the material. There are grounds for believing that the material is not factually correct, as Obama denies the argument. Due to this, the third critical question cannot be answered affirmatively. Due to this, the *ad hominem* argument above can be considered fallacious. The fourth critical question does not need to be answered since the answer to the third question has already determined the outcome.

The last example comes from Trump in debate 2016-3:

- (24) TRUMP: Now, she can say her husband did well but boy, did they suffer as NAFTA kicked in because it didn't really kick in very much. But it kicked in after they left. Boy, did they suffer. That was one of the worst things that has ever been signed by our country. Now she wants to sign Trans-Pacific Partnership. And she wants it. She lied when she said she didn't call it the gold standard in one of the debates. She totally lied. She did call it the gold standard. And they actually fact checked and they said I was right.

An attack has been made on Hillary Clinton by Donald Trump in an argumentative debate. Trump attacks Hillary Clinton based on an association she has to her husband, Bill Clinton. Here, the *ad*

*hominem* material is not relevant. The question is whether or not Hillary Clinton would make a good president or not. Her husband is not relevant to this issue. Trump presents it as if it is. Due to this question not being answered affirmatively, the fourth question does not need to be answered.

Table 4 shows the amount of fallacious and non-fallacious *ad hominem* arguments that are found in the debates:

	Frequency of fallacious <i>ad hominem</i> arguments	Frequency of non-fallacious (sound) <i>ad hominem</i> arguments	Total amount of <i>ad hominem</i> arguments
<b>2008</b>	20 (57.1%)	15 (42.9%)	35 (100.0%)
<b>McCain</b>	18 (51.4%)	8 (22.9%)	26 (74.3%)
<b>Obama</b>	2 (5.7%)	7 (20.0%)	9 (25.7%)
<b>2016</b>	47 (52.2%)	43 (47.8%)	90 (100.0%)
<b>Clinton</b>	9 (10.0%)	35 (38.9%)	44 (48.9%)
<b>Trump</b>	38 (42.2%)	8 (8.9%)	46 (51.1%)

Table 3: The absolute and relative (to the total amount of *ad hominem* arguments found in the analyzed debates of that year) amount of fallacious and non-fallacious (sound) *ad hominem* arguments found in the 2008 and 2016 US presidential debates.

Table 3 shows that in 2008, relatively more fallacious *ad hominem* arguments occurred than in 2016. To test the significance of this difference, log likelihood can be used. By applying log likelihood, it can be determined that the decrease in the frequency of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments between 2008 and 2016 is not statistically significant.<sup>11</sup>

Table 3 also shows that the amount of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments in 2008 was higher than the amount of sound *ad hominem* arguments. Log likelihood shows that this difference is not statistically significant.<sup>12</sup> The amount of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments in 2016 is also higher than the amount of sound *ad hominem* arguments in 2016, but log likelihood shows that this difference is not statistically significant either.<sup>13</sup> This means that in both 2016 and in 2008, the amount of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments was not statistically higher than the amount of non-fallacious *ad hominem* arguments.

The amount of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments that McCain uses is not significantly higher than the amount of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments that Obama uses.<sup>14</sup> The difference between Trump and Clinton is statistically significant.<sup>15</sup> The latter outcome is not surprising, since it was expected that Trump would use more fallacious *ad hominem* arguments in the debates than his opponent, Clinton.

#### 4.3.3 Mitigation strategies for *ad hominem* arguments

Now that it has been established that the frequency of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments did not significantly change in 2016 versus 2008, it is the question whether or not the frequency of mitigated *ad hominem* arguments is different.

<sup>11</sup> 2008: 20/35 vs. 2016: 47/90; LL = 0.11; p > 0.05. The other calculations of significance in this chapter are also done with log likelihood.

<sup>12</sup> Fallacious: 20/35 vs. sound: 15/35; LL = 0.72; p > 0.05.

<sup>13</sup> Fallacious: 47/90 vs. Sound: 43/90; LL = 0.18; p > 0.05.

<sup>14</sup> McCain: 18/26 vs. Obama: 2/9; LL = 3.13; p > 0.05.

<sup>15</sup> Clinton: 9/44 vs. Trump: 38/46; LL = 17.98; p < 0.05

Table 4 shows the frequency of mitigated and non-mitigated *ad hominem* arguments per politician:

Year	Use of the mitigation strategy of juxtaposition	Use of the mitigation strategy of phrasing an insults as a question	Use of the mitigation strategy of attribution transfer	No mitigation strategy
<b>2008</b>	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.9%)	34 (97.1%)
<b>McCain</b>	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.1%)	25 (71.4%)
<b>Obama</b>	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	9 (25.7%)
<b>2016</b>	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.1%)	89 (98.9%)
<b>Clinton</b>	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	44 (48.9%)
<b>Trump</b>	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.1%)	45 (50.0%)

Table 4: The frequency of the use of the three mitigation strategies described by Ilie (2004) in the 2008 and 2016 presidential debates in absolute numbers as well as relative to the total of the respective year. The frequency per politician is also shown.

This table shows that most *ad hominem* arguments in the debates are used without a mitigation strategy. Only 2 *ad hominem* arguments in the debates are mitigated by the politicians, of which 1 occurred in the 2008 debates and 1 in the 2016 debates. In relative numbers the amount of mitigated *ad hominem* arguments is higher in 2008 (2.9%) than in 2016 (1.1%). Log likelihood can be used to determine whether or not this difference is statistically significant. Applying log likelihood shows that the amount of mitigated *ad hominem* arguments is not statistically higher in 2008 than in 2016.<sup>16</sup>

The amount of mitigated *ad hominem* arguments used in the presidential debates is too low to say anything substantial other than that the use of mitigation strategies is very uncommon in the 2008 and 2016 presidential debates. The mitigated *ad hominem* arguments that occur all use the same mitigation strategy: attribution transfer.

To show how the mitigation strategies that do occur are used, the arguments that contain them are presented below:

- (25) OBAMA: I want to use a scalpel so that people who need help are getting help and those of us, like myself and Senator McCain, who don't need help, aren't getting it.

That's how we make sure that everybody is willing to make a few sacrifices.

BROKAW: Senator McCain?

MCCAIN: Well, you know, nailing down Senator Obama's various tax proposals is like nailing Jell-O to the wall. There has been five or six of them and if you wait long enough, there will probably be another one.

In this abusive *ad hominem* argument, John McCain accuses Obama of not having clear tax proposals and changing his mind often, which he has done more often (Walls: 2011). In this argument, McCain does not address Obama directly, but instead addresses his tax proposals. Due to this, it can be said

<sup>16</sup> 2008: 1/35 vs. 2016: 1/90; LL = 0.43; p > 0.05.

that McCain employed the attribution transfer mitigation strategy here. Another example of an attribution transfer can be found in debate 2016-3:

- (26) Wallace: Secretary, thank you Mr. Trump, why will your plan create more jobs and growth than secretary Clinton?

TRUMP: Well, first of all, before I start on my plan, her plan is going to raise taxes and even double your taxes. Her tax plan is a disaster. And she can say all she wants about college tuition. And I'm a big proponent. We're going to do a lot of things for college tuition but the rest the public is going to be paying for it. We will have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan.

Throughout the 2016 presidential debates, Trump often explicitly mentions that Hillary would be a bad candidate for presidency. Here he mentions this in a roundabout manner, by applying that fact to her tax plan. By applying this to her tax plan, rather than Hillary herself, it can once again be said that this argument is used in combination with the mitigation strategy of attribution transfer.

#### 4.3.4 Polarization

Apart from differences in frequency of *ad hominem* argument types, the frequency of fallacious versus sound *ad hominem* arguments and the occurrence of mitigation strategies on *ad hominem* arguments, there is another difference that can be found between the use of *ad hominem* arguments in the 2008 debates and the 2016 debates. This difference is qualitative rather than quantitative.

The *ad hominem* arguments used in the 2008 US presidential debates tend to address subjects like political and financial decisions, like in the earlier mentioned examples (15) from debate 2008-2 and (23) from debate 2008-3:

- (15) MCCAIN: Well, thank you, Oliver, and that's an excellent question, because as you just described it, bailout, when I believe that it's rescue, because -- because of the greed and excess in Washington and Wall Street, Main Street was paying a very heavy price, and we know that.

I left my campaign and suspended it to go back to Washington to make sure that there were additional protections for the taxpayer in the form of good oversight, in the form of taxpayers being the first to be paid back when our economy recovers -- and it will recover -- and a number of other measures.

But you know, one of the real catalysts, really the match that lit this fire was Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. I'll bet you, you may never even have heard of them before this crisis.

But you know, they're the ones that, with the encouragement of Senator Obama and his cronies and his friends in Washington, that went out and made all these risky loans, gave them to people that could never afford to pay back.

And you know, there were some of us that stood up two years ago and said we've got to enact legislation to fix this. We've got to stop this greed and excess.

Meanwhile, the Democrats in the Senate and some -- and some members of Congress defended what Fannie and Freddie were doing. They resisted any change.

Meanwhile, they were getting all kinds of money in campaign contributions. Senator Obama was the second highest recipient of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac money in history -- in history.

In this example, McCain attacks Obama for financial decisions he has made. Obama's character is not directly criticized and the attack does not appear to be harsh, which is also the case in the next example:

- (23) MCCAIN: Obviously, that law waved the statute of limitations, which you could have gone back 20 or 30 years. It was a trial lawyer's dream.

Let me talk to you about an important aspect of this issue. We have to change the culture of America. Those of us who are proudly pro-life understand that. And it's got to be courage and compassion that we show to a young woman who's facing this terribly difficult decision.

Senator Obama, as a member of the Illinois State Senate, voted in the Judiciary Committee against a law that would provide immediate medical attention to a child born of a failed abortion. He voted against that.

And then, on the floor of the State Senate, as he did 130 times as a state senator, he voted present.

Then there was another bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee in the state of Illinois not that long ago, where he voted against a ban on partial-birth abortion, one of the late-term abortion, a really -- one of the bad procedures, a terrible. And then, on the floor of the Illinois State Senate, he voted present.

I don't know how you vote "present" on some of that. I don't know how you align yourself with the extreme aspect of the pro- abortion movement in America. And that's his record, and that's a matter of his record.

And he'll say it has something to do with Roe v. Wade, about the Illinois State Senate. It was clear-cut votes that Senator Obama voted, I think, in direct contradiction to the feelings and views of mainstream America.

SCHIEFFER: Response?

OBAMA: Yes, let me respond to this. If it sounds incredible that I would vote to withhold lifesaving treatment from an infant, that's because it's not true. The -- here are the facts.

In this example, McCain attacks Obama for a vote. McCain explains that he does not understand Obama's decision, but does not harshly criticize Obama. In the *ad hominem* arguments from the 2016 US presidential debates, the attacks tend to be more personal and harsh. This can be seen in the following 2 examples, the first from debate 2016-1 and the second from debate 2016-3:

- (27) TRUMP: Hillary Clinton in terms of having people come into our country. We have many criminal illegal aliens. When we want to send them back to their country, their country says: we don't want them. In some cases they are murderers, drug lords, drug problems and they don't want them. And Hillary Clinton when she was Secretary of State said, that's okay, we can't force them back into their country. Let me tell you, I'm going to force them right back into their country. They are murderers and some very bad people. And I will tell you very strongly, when Bernie Sanders said she had bad judgment, she has really bad judgement because we are letting people into this country that are gonna cause problems and crime like you've never seen. We're also letting drugs pour through our southern border at a record clip. At a record clip. And It shouldn't be allowed to happen. ICE just endorsed me. They never endorsed a presidential candidate. The border patrol agents, 16,500 just recently endorsed me. And they endorsed me because I understand the border. She doesn't.

She wants amnesty for everybody. Come right in. Come right over. It's a horrible thing she is doing. She's got bad judgment and honestly, so bad that she should never be president of the United States. That I can tell you.'

In this example Trump attacks Hillary's judgment and explicitly says that she "should never be president of the United States". The content of Trump's quote and the words used to convey the message, for example "It's a horrible thing she's doing", indicate a more visible degree of contempt than in the previous examples. The next example by Clinton shows a similar effect:

(28) TRUMP: I did not say that.

Wallace: Her two minutes.

CLINTON: He went on to say "look at her, I don't think so." About another woman, he said "that wouldn't be my first choice." He attacked the woman reporter writing the story, called her disgusting, as he has called a number of women during this campaign. Donald thinks belittling women makes him bigger. He goes after their dignity, their self-worth, and I don't think there is a woman anywhere that doesn't know what that feels like. So we now know what Donald thinks and what he says and how he acts toward women. That's who Donald is. I think it's really up to all of us to demonstrate who we are and who our country is and to stand up and be very clear about what we expect from our next president, how we want to bring our country together, where we don't want to have the kind of pitting of people one against the other, where instead we celebrate our diversity, we lift people up, and we make our country even greater. America is great because America is good. And it really is up to all of us to make that true now and in the future and particularly for our children and our grandchildren.

In this example Clinton attacks Trump for his attitude towards women. This attack is rather long and detailed, and is more visibly addressed towards her opponent's character. This example also appears to be harsher than the examples from the 2008 presidential debates.

While this difference does not apply to every single *ad hominem* argument from the 2008 and 2016 debates, there could be a trend of more polarizing *ad hominem* attacks in the 2016 debates versus the 2008 debates. However, this cannot be said with certainty without research that features criteria for more or less polarizing *ad hominem* arguments and criteria for different degrees of 'harshness' of *ad hominem* arguments.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion and discussion

This research revolved around the use of *ad hominem* arguments in American presidential debates and the relationship to polarization. The main question of this research was the following:

How does the frequency and manner of use of the *ad hominem* fallacy differ between the presidential debates leading up to Barack Obama's first term of presidency and the presidential debates leading up to Donald Trump's presidency?

To research this, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> presidential debate of 2008 and 2016 were analyzed. All *ad hominem* arguments were marked and categorized into one of the 4 types distinguished by Tindale (2007): abusive *ad hominem* arguments, circumstantial *ad hominem* arguments, tu quoque arguments and guilt by association arguments. Then, using Tindale's critical questions, the fallaciousness of each *ad hominem* argument was determined. Lastly, it was determined whether or not one of the mitigation techniques found by Ilie (2004) was used in each *ad hominem* argument.

Based on the corpus research (discussed in the previous chapter), the research question can be answered as follows:

The four types of *ad hominem* arguments distinguished by Tindale (2007) were all found within the corpus. A total of 125 *ad hominem* arguments were found in the 6 debates, of which nearly half were of the abusive variety (56 out of 125 | 44.8%). Nearly one third were circumstantial *ad hominem* arguments (39 out of 125 | 31.2%). Nearly one fifth were tu quoque arguments (23 out of 125 | 18.4%). Finally, 7 out of 125 (5.6%) were guilt by association arguments. The order in frequency of the types of *ad hominem* arguments did not differ between the two researched time periods.

A remarkable finding is that in the 2016 debates the amount of *ad hominem* arguments was 157% higher than in the 2008 debates. This could suggest an increase in polarization between 2008 and 2016 in American politics, since *ad hominem* arguments can be a sign of polarization (as discussed in chapter 1, section 2.4 and 3.1).

When the data of fallaciousness are look at, an opposite trend can be noticed. While the amount of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments was bigger than the amount of sound *ad hominem* arguments in both years, the number of fallacious *ad hominem* arguments slightly, but not statistically significantly, decreased between 2008 and 2016. This does not point to a decrease in polarization, which is in line with what the data of the amount of *ad hominem* arguments would suggest. However, an increase was expected, which was not the case.

There are several possible explanations for this. One possible explanation is an increase of polarization paired with stricter debate moderators or an increased awareness of the rules of argumentation.

Another possible explanation is the judgement of fallaciousness in the debates. Different coders could come to different conclusions regarding the fallaciousness of *ad hominem*s. This is also the case for determining which arguments can be considered *ad hominem* arguments. It is also challenging to determine when something counts as a single argument with different parts, or multiple separate arguments. As described in section 4.2, the analysis happened in multiple rounds in order to increase the validity; however this cannot fully diminish the possibilities stated above.

It was expected that Trump would use more fallacious *ad hominem* arguments than Clinton in the 2016 presidential debates, since Trump is perceived as the politician who contributes most to the increasing polarization in American politics. While the total number of *ad hominem* arguments used by Trump and Clinton was nearly equal, Trump had a higher frequency of fallacious *ad hominem* in

the debates. This could point to Trump contributing more to polarization in American politics than Clinton.

A remarkable finding was the lack of use of mitigation strategies in the debates. The mitigation strategies described by Ilie (2004) were used only 2 times out of 125 *ad hominem*s. Since this number is so low, it cannot be used to draw conclusions about an increase or decrease of polarization with confidence.

Overall, the data seems to partially support the expectations. Trump did not use significantly more *ad hominem* arguments than his opponent Clinton and mitigation strategies were rarely used in the debates, but the frequency of *ad hominem* use was significantly higher in the 2016 presidential debates than in 2008 and Trump's frequency of fallacious *ad hominem* use was significantly higher than that of his opponent, Clinton. This seems to support the idea that there has been an increase in polarization in American politics and that Trump has a bigger influence on this than his opponent does.

An important factor that may influence the results is the chosen corpus. The analyzed debates may not be fully representative of United States politics or contain as many *ad hominem* arguments as other debates do. However, as discussed in chapter 1 and section 3.1, the debates were chosen to be as representative and relevant to the research question as possible.

Another factor that could have an effect on the results is the judgement of fallaciousness. As discussed earlier, Tindale's critical questions for evaluating *ad hominem* arguments were used in this study. Different ways to evaluate fallaciousness of *ad hominem* arguments could possibly lead to different outcomes. The way the critical questions were answered could also differ between different coders. As mentioned earlier, multiple rounds of analysis were performed in order to simulate inter coder reliability effects.

Future research could explore the relationship between *ad hominem* arguments and polarization in politics more deeply. Experimental research could show whether or not the different types of *ad hominem* arguments have different effects on the degree of polarization. Debates from different time periods could be researched as well to gain more insight in the effect of *ad hominem*s on polarization. Criteria for harshness of *ad hominem* arguments could be constructed in order to explore the possible difference in harshness between the 2008 and 2016 debates discussed in section 4.3.4. This means that more qualitative research could be conducted. This could lead to a better understanding of polarization and possibly more practical measures to reduce polarization, such as stricter moderation in political debates regarding *ad hominem* arguments.

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## Cover image:

DonkeyHotey (2011). Republican Elephant & Democratic Donkey – Icons. Retrieved from: [https://live.staticflickr.com/6043/6262122778\\_793e816e24\\_3k.jpg](https://live.staticflickr.com/6043/6262122778_793e816e24_3k.jpg)

## Appendix: corpus analysis

The analysed debates are listed here in chronological order. For each debate, all *ad hominem* arguments are placed in order in which they appear in the debates and numbered. Underneath each *ad hominem* argument, Tindale's 4 critical questions are answered (sometimes the first 3 are answered, since the need to answer question 4 depends on the answer to question 3).

Based on the answers to the critical question, a judgement on fallaciousness is given for each *ad hominem* argument. It is also noted whether or not the *ad hominem* argument is mitigated or not in that instance according to the three mitigation strategies found by Ilie:

A – The juxtaposition of notions | B – insults as questions | C – attribution transfer strategy | 0 – no mitigation strategy

The relevant context for each *ad hominem* argument is also provided. The parts of the debate that contain the *ad hominem* arguments are marked and color coded according to which type of *ad hominem* the argument can be assigned to. The following legend explains the color coding:

Abusive – Circumstantial – Guilt by association – Tu quoque

For the sake of convenience, Tindale's 4 critical questions for judging *ad hominem* arguments on their fallaciousness are repeated below:

1. Has an attack been made on another person in an argumentative debate?
2. Has that attack focused on the person's character or circumstance and avoided any discussion of his argument?
3. Where a conclusion has been drawn about the opponent's position or claim, is the *ad hominem* material introduced in the premises relevant to your appraisal of the position or claim, and are there grounds for believing the material is factually correct?
4. Where the *ad hominem* material is relevant, is the conclusion drawn from it appropriate?

**1. McCain, abusive, fallacious, 0**

MCCAIN: Now, Senator Obama, you wanted to know one of the differences. He has asked for \$932 million of earmark pork-barrel spending, nearly a million dollars for every day that he's been in the United States Senate.

I suggest that people go up on the Web site of Citizens Against Government Waste, and they'll look at those projects.

That kind of thing is not the way to rein in runaway spending in Washington, D.C. That's one of the fundamental differences that Senator Obama and I have.

**MCCAIN: Senator Obama suspended those requests for pork-barrel projects after he was running for president of the United States. He didn't happen to see that light during the first three years as a member of the United States Senate, \$932 million in requests.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**2. McCain, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

OBAMA: Just one last point I want to make, since Senator McCain talked about providing a \$5,000 health credit. Now, what he doesn't tell you is that he intends to, for the first time in history, tax health benefits.

So you may end up getting a \$5,000 tax credit. Here's the only problem: Your employer now has to pay taxes on the health care that you're getting from your employer. And if you end up losing your health care from your employer, you've got to go out on the open market and try to buy it.

It is not a good deal for the American people. But it's an example of this notion that the market can always solve everything and that the less regulation we have, the better off we're going to be.

MCCAIN: Well, you know, let me just...

LEHRER: We've got to go to another lead question.

**MCCAIN: I know we have to, but this is a classic example of walking the walk and talking the talk.**

**We had an energy bill before the United States Senate. It was festooned with Christmas tree ornaments. It had all kinds of breaks for the oil companies, I mean, billions of dollars worth. I voted against it; Senator Obama voted for it.**

OBAMA: John, you want to give oil companies another \$4 billion.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes

**3. McCain, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

OBAMA: John, you want to give oil companies another \$4 billion.

MCCAIN: You've got to look at our record. You've got to look at our records. That's the important thing.

Who fought against wasteful and earmark spending? Who has been the person who has tried to keep spending under control? Who's the person who has believed that the best thing for America is -- is to have a tax system that is fundamentally fair? And I've fought to simplify it, and I have proposals to simplify it.

Let's give every American a choice: two tax brackets, generous dividends, and, two -- and let Americans choose whether they want the -- the existing tax code or they want a new tax code.

**And so, again, look at the record, particularly the energy bill. But, again, Senator Obama has shifted on a number of occasions. He has voted in the United States Senate to increase taxes on people who make as low as \$42,000 a year.**

OBAMA: That's not true, John. That's not true.

MCCAIN: And that's just a fact. Again, you can look it up.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**4. McCain, circumstantial, fallacious, 0**

OBAMA: Look, it's just not true. And if we want to talk about oil company profits, under your tax plan, John -- this is undeniable -- oil companies would get an additional \$4 billion in tax breaks.

Now, look, we all would love to lower taxes on everybody. But here's the problem: If we are giving them to oil companies, then that means that there are those who are not going to be getting them. And...

**MCCAIN: With all due respect, you already gave them to the oil companies.**

OBAMA: No, but, John, the fact of the matter is, is that I was opposed to those tax breaks, tried to strip them out. We've got an emergency bill on the Senate floor right now that contains some good stuff, some stuff you want, including drilling off-shore, but you're opposed to it because it would strip away those tax breaks that have gone to oil companies.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **5. McCain, abusive, fallacious, 0**

LEHRER: Are you -- what priorities would you adjust, as president, Senator McCain, because of the -- because of the financial bailout cost?

MCCAIN: Look, we, no matter what, we've got to cut spending. We have -- as I said, we've let government get completely out of control.

Senator Obama has the most liberal voting record in the United States Senate. It's hard to reach across the aisle from that far to the left.

The point -- the point is -- the point is, we need to examine every agency of government.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **6. Obama, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

MCCAIN: Well, I want to make sure we're not handing the health care system over to the federal government which is basically what would ultimately happen with Senator Obama's health care plan. I want the families to make decisions between themselves and their doctors. Not the federal government. Look. We have to obviously cut spending. I have fought to cut spending. Senator Obama has \$800 billion in new spending programs. I would suggest he start by canceling some of those new spending program that he has.

We can't I think adjust spending around to take care of the very much needed programs, including taking care of our veterans but I also want to say again a healthy economy with low taxes would not raising anyone's taxes is probably the best recipe for eventually having our economy recover.

And spending restraint has got to be a vital part of that. And the reason, one of the major reasons why we're in the difficulties we are in today is because spending got out of control. We owe China \$500 billion. And spending, I know, can be brought under control because I have fought against excessive spending my entire career. And I got plans to reduce and eliminate unnecessary and wasteful spending and if there's anybody here who thinks there aren't agencies of government where spending can be cut and their budgets slashed they have not spent a lot of time in Washington.

OBAMA: I just want to make this point, Jim. John, it's been your president who you said you agreed with 90 percent of the time who presided over this increase in spending. This orgy of spending and enormous deficits you voted for almost all of his budgets. So to stand here and after eight years and say that you're going to lead on controlling spending and, you know, balancing our tax cuts so that they help middle class families when over the last eight years that hasn't happened I think just is, you know, kind of hard to swallow.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **7. McCain, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

LEHRER: Do you agree with that, the lesson of Iraq?

MCCAIN: The next president of the United States is not going to have to address the issue as to whether we went into Iraq or not. The next president of the United States is going to have to decide how we leave, when we leave, and what we leave behind. That's the decision of the next president of the United States.

Senator Obama said the surge could not work, said it would increase sectarian violence, said it was doomed to failure. Recently on a television program, he said it exceed our wildest expectations.

But yet, after conceding that, he still says that he would oppose the surge if he had to decide that again today. Incredibly, incredibly Senator Obama didn't go to Iraq for 900 days and never asked for a meeting with General Petraeus.

LEHRER: Well, let's go at some of these things...

MCCAIN: Senator Obama is the chairperson of a committee that oversees NATO that's in Afghanistan. To this day, he has never had a hearing.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **8. Obama, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

OBAMA: And so John likes -- John, you like to pretend like the war started in 2007. You talk about the surge. The war started in 2003, and at the time when the war started, you said it was going to be quick and easy. You said we knew where the weapons of mass destruction were. You were wrong.

You said that we were going to be greeted as liberators. You were wrong. You said that there was no history of violence between Shia and Sunni. And you were wrong. And so my question is...

(CROSSTALK)

**LEHRER:** Senator Obama...

**OBAMA:** ... of judgment, of whether or not -- of whether or not -- if the question is who is best-equipped as the next president to make good decisions about how we use our military, how we make sure that we are prepared and ready for the next conflict, then I think we can take a look at our judgment.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**9. McCain, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

**MCCAIN:** I've been involved, as I mentioned to you before, in virtually every major national security challenge we've faced in the last 20-some years. There are some advantages to experience, and knowledge, and judgment.

And I -- and I honestly don't believe that Senator Obama has the knowledge or experience and has made the wrong judgments in a number of areas, including his initial reaction to Russian invasion -- aggression in Georgia, to his -- you know, we've seen this stubbornness before in this administration to cling to a belief that somehow the surge has not succeeded and failing to acknowledge that he was wrong about the surge is -- shows to me that we -- that -- that we need more flexibility in a president of the United States than that.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**10. McCain, circumstantial, fallacious, 0**

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And I -- and I honestly don't believe that Senator Obama has the knowledge or experience and has made the wrong judgments in a number of areas, including his initial reaction to Russian invasion -- aggression in Georgia, to his -- you know, we've seen this stubbornness before in this administration to cling to a belief that somehow the surge has not succeeded and failing to acknowledge that he was wrong about the surge is -- shows to me that we -- that -- that we need more flexibility in a president of the United States than that.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 1. McCain, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0

**MCCAIN:** Well, thank you, Oliver, and that's an excellent question, because as you just described it, bailout, when I believe that it's rescue, because -- because of the greed and excess in Washington and Wall Street, Main Street was paying a very heavy price, and we know that.

I left my campaign and suspended it to go back to Washington to make sure that there were additional protections for the taxpayer in the form of good oversight, in the form of taxpayers being the first to be paid back when our economy recovers -- and it will recover -- and a number of other measures.

But you know, one of the real catalysts, really the match that lit this fire was Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. I'll bet you, you may never even have heard of them before this crisis.

But you know, they're the ones that, with the encouragement of Senator Obama and his cronies and his friends in Washington, that went out and made all these risky loans, gave them to people that could never afford to pay back.

And you know, there were some of us that stood up two years ago and said we've got to enact legislation to fix this. We've got to stop this greed and excess.

Meanwhile, the Democrats in the Senate and some -- and some members of Congress defended what Fannie and Freddie were doing. They resisted any change.

Meanwhile, they were getting all kinds of money in campaign contributions. Senator Obama was the second highest recipient of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac money in history -- in history.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### 2. Obama, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0

**OBAMA:** Well, Oliver, first, let me tell you what's in the rescue package for you. Right now, the credit markets are frozen up and what that means, as a practical matter, is that small businesses and some large businesses just can't get loans.

If they can't get a loan, that means that they can't make payroll. If they can't make payroll, then they may end up having to shut their doors and lay people off.

And if you imagine just one company trying to deal with that, now imagine a million companies all across the country.

So it could end up having an adverse effect on everybody, and that's why we had to take action. But we shouldn't have been there in the first place.

Now, I've got to correct a little bit of Senator McCain's history, not surprisingly. Let's, first of all, understand that the biggest problem in this whole process was the deregulation of the financial system. Senator McCain, as recently as March, bragged about the fact that he is a deregulator. On the other hand, two years ago, I said that we've got a sub-prime lending crisis that has to be dealt with.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### 3. McCain, abusive, fallacious, C

**OBAMA:** I want to use a scalpel so that people who need help are getting help and those of us, like myself and Senator McCain, who don't need help, aren't getting it.

That's how we make sure that everybody is willing to make a few sacrifices.

**BROKAW:** Senator McCain?

**MCCAIN:** Well, you know, nailing down Senator Obama's various tax proposals is like nailing Jell-O to the wall. There has been five or six of them and if you wait long enough, there will probably be another one.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, no

### 4. McCain, tu quoque, fallacious, 0

**MCCAIN:** You know, last year up to this time, we've lost 700,000 jobs in America. The only bright spot is that over 300,000 jobs have been created by small businesses. Senator Obama's secret that you don't know is that his tax increases will increase taxes on 50 percent of small business revenue.

Small businesses across America will have to cut jobs and will have their taxes increase and won't be able to hire because of Senator Obama's tax policies. You know, he said some time ago, he said he would forgo his tax increases if the economy was bad.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 5. Obama, abusive, non-fallacious, 0

OBAMA: Now, Senator McCain talks about small businesses. Only a few percent of small businesses make more than \$250,000 a year. So the vast majority of small businesses would get a tax cut under my plan.

And we provide a 50 percent tax credit so that they can buy health insurance for their workers, because there are an awful lot of small businesses that I meet across America that want to do right by their workers but they just can't afford it. Some small business owners, a lot of them, can't even afford health insurance for themselves.

Now, in contrast, Senator McCain wants to give a \$300 billion tax cut, \$200 billion of it to the largest corporations and a hundred thousand of it -- a hundred billion of it going to people like CEOs on Wall Street. He wants to give average Fortune 500 CEO an additional \$700,000 in tax cuts. That is not fair. And it doesn't work.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### 6. McCain, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0

MCCAIN: My friends, what we have to do with Medicare is have a commission, have the smartest people in America come together, come up with recommendations, and then, like the base-closing commission idea we had, then we should have Congress vote up or down.

Let's not let them fool with it anymore. There's too much special interests and too many lobbyists working there. So let's have -- and let's have the American people say, "Fix it for us." Now, just back on this -- on this tax, you know, again, it's back to our first question here about rhetoric and record. Senator Obama has voted 94 times to either increase your taxes or against tax cuts. That's his record.

When he ran for the United States Senate from Illinois, he said he would have a middle-income tax cut. You know he came to the Senate and never once proposed legislation to do that?

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### 7. Obama, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0

OBAMA: And it is absolutely critical that we understand this is not just a challenge, it's an opportunity, because if we create a new energy economy, we can create five million new jobs, easily, here in the United States.

It can be an engine that drives us into the future the same way the computer was the engine for economic growth over the last couple of decades.

And we can do it, but we're going to have to make an investment. The same way the computer was originally invented by a bunch of government scientists who were trying to figure out, for defense purposes, how to communicate, we've got to understand that this is a national security issue, as well.

And that's why we've got to make some investments and I've called for investments in solar, wind, geothermal. Contrary to what Senator McCain keeps on saying, I favor nuclear power as one component of our overall energy mix.

But this is another example where I think it is important to look at the record. Senator McCain and I actually agree on something. He said a while back that the big problem with energy is that for 30 years, politicians in Washington haven't done anything.

What Senator McCain doesn't mention is he's been there 26 of them. And during that time, he voted 23 times against alternative fuels, 23 times.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### 8. Obama, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0

OBAMA: Small businesses are not going to have a mandate. What we're going to give you is a 50 percent tax credit to help provide health care for those that you need.

Now, it's true that I say that you are going to have to make sure that your child has health care, because children are relatively cheap to insure and we don't want them going to the emergency room for treatable illnesses like asthma.

And when Senator McCain says that he wants to provide children health care, what he doesn't mention is he voted against the expansion of the Children's Health Insurance Program that is responsible for making sure that so many children who didn't have previously health insurance have it now.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### 9. McCain, abusive, fallacious, 0

MCCAIN: And I am convinced that my record, going back to my opposition from sending the Marines to Lebanon, to supporting our efforts in Kosovo and Bosnia and the first Gulf War, and my judgment, I think, is something that I'm -- a record that I'm willing to stand on.

Senator Obama was wrong about Iraq and the surge. He was wrong about Russia when they committed aggression against Georgia. **And in his short career, he does not understand our national security challenges.**

We don't have time for on-the-job training, my friends.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **10. Obama, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

**BROKAW:** Senator Obama, the economic constraints on the U.S. military action around the world.

**OBAMA:** Well, you know, Senator McCain, in the last debate and today, again, suggested that I don't understand. It's true. There are some things I don't understand.

**I don't understand how we ended up invading a country that had nothing to do with 9/11, while Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda are setting up base camps and safe havens to train terrorists to attack us.**

**That was Senator McCain's judgment and it was the wrong judgment.**

When Senator McCain was cheerleading the president to go into Iraq, he suggested it was going to be quick and easy, we'd be greeted as liberators.

**That was the wrong judgment, and it's been costly to us.** So one of the difficulties with Iraq is that it has put an enormous strain, first of all, on our troops, obviously, and they have performed heroically and honorably and we owe them an extraordinary debt of gratitude.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **11. McCain, circumstantial, fallacious, 0**

**BROKAW:** Senator McCain, the McCain Doctrine, if you will.

**MCCAIN:** Well, let me just follow up, my friends. **If we had done what Senator Obama wanted done in Iraq, and that was set a date for withdrawal, which General Petraeus, our chief -- chairman of our Joint Chiefs of Staff said would be a very dangerous course to take for America, then we would have had a wider war, we would have been back, Iranian influence would have increased, al Qaeda would have re-established a base.**

There was a lot at stake there, my friends. **And I can tell you right now that Senator Obama would have brought our troops home in defeat. I'll bring them home with victory and with honor and that is a fundamental difference.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **12. Obama, tu quoque, non-fallacious, 0**

**OBAMA:** Senator McCain, this is the guy who sang, "Bomb, bomb, bomb Iran," who called for the annihilation of North Korea. That I don't think is an example of "speaking softly."

**This is the person who, after we had -- we hadn't even finished Afghanistan, where he said, "Next up, Baghdad."**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**1. McCain, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

MCCAIN: So I want to tell you, we will run a truthful campaign. This is a tough campaign. And it's a matter of fact that Senator Obama has spent more money on negative ads than any political campaign in history. And I can prove it. And, Senator Obama, when he said -- and he signed a piece of paper that said he would take public financing for his campaign if I did -- that was back when he was a long-shot candidate -- you didn't keep your word.

And when you looked into the camera in a debate with Senator Clinton and said, "I will sit down and negotiate with John McCain about public financing before I make a decision," you didn't tell the American people the truth because you didn't.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: no

**2. McCain, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

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And when you looked into the camera in a debate with Senator Clinton and said, "I will sit down and negotiate with John McCain about public financing before I make a decision," you didn't tell the American people the truth because you didn't.

And that's -- that's -- that's an unfortunate part. Now we have the highest spending by Senator Obama's campaign than any time since Watergate.

SCHIEFFER: Time's up. All right.

OBAMA: Well, look, you know, I think that we expect presidential campaigns to be tough. I think that, if you look at the record and the impressions of the American people -- Bob, your network just did a poll, showing that two-thirds of the American people think that Senator McCain is running a negative campaign versus one-third of mine.

And 100 percent, John, of your ads -- 100 percent of them have been negative.

MCCAIN: It's not true.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**3. McCain, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

MCCAIN: Well, if you'll turn on the television, as I -- I watched the Arizona Cardinals defeat the Dallas Cowboys on Sunday.

OBAMA: Congratulations.

MCCAIN: Every other ad -- ever other ad was an attack ad on my health care plan. And any objective observer has said it's not true. You're running ads right now that say that I oppose federal funding for stem cell research. I don't.

You're running ads that misportray completely my position on immigration. So the fact is that Senator Obama is spending unprecedented -- unprecedented in the history of American politics, going back to the beginning, amounts of money in negative attack ads on me.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**4. Obama, abusive, fallacious, 0**

OBAMA: Now, with respect to ACORN, ACORN is a community organization. Apparently what they've done is they were paying people to go out and register folks, and apparently some of the people who were out there didn't really register people, they just filled out a bunch of names.

It had nothing to do with us. We were not involved. The only involvement I've had with ACORN was I represented them alongside the U.S. Justice Department in making Illinois implement a motor voter law that helped people get registered at DMVs.

Now, the reason I think that it's important to just get these facts out is because the allegation that Senator McCain has continually made is that somehow my associations are troubling.

Let me tell you who I associate with. On economic policy, I associate with Warren Buffett and former Fed Chairman Paul Volcker. If I'm interested in figuring out my foreign policy, I associate myself with my running mate, Joe Biden or with Dick Lugar, the Republican ranking member on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, or General Jim Jones, the former supreme allied commander of NATO.

Those are the people, Democrats and Republicans, who have shaped my ideas and who will be surrounding me in the White House. And I think the fact that this has become such an important part of your campaign, Senator McCain, says more about your campaign than it says about me.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**5. McCain, guilt by association, fallacious, 0**

**MCCAIN:** Well, again, while you were on the board of the Woods Foundation, you and Mr. Ayers, together, you sent \$230,000 to ACORN. So -- and you launched your political campaign in Mr. Ayers' living room.

**OBAMA:** That's absolutely not true.

**MCCAIN:** And the facts are facts and records are records.

**OBAMA:** And that's not the facts.

**MCCAIN:** And it's not the fact -- it's not the fact that Senator Obama chooses to associate with a guy who in 2001 said that he wished he had have bombed more, and he had a long association with him. It's the fact that all the -- all of the details need to be known about Senator Obama's relationship with them and with ACORN and the American people will make a judgment.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**6. McCain, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

**SCHIEFFER:** Climate change, yes -- has said what both of you have said, and, that is, we must reduce our dependence on foreign oil.

When Nixon said it, we imported from 17 to 34 percent of our foreign oil. Now, we're importing more than 60 percent.

Would each of you give us a number, a specific number of how much you believe we can reduce our foreign oil imports during your first term?

And I believe the first question goes to you, Senator McCain.

**MCCAIN:** I think we can, for all intents and purposes, eliminate our dependence on Middle Eastern oil and Venezuelan oil. Canadian oil is fine.

By the way, when Senator Obama said he would unilaterally renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Canadians said, "Yes, and we'll sell our oil to China."

You don't tell countries you're going to unilaterally renegotiate agreements with them.

We can eliminate our dependence on foreign oil by building 45 new nuclear plants, power plants, right away. We can store and we can reprocess.

Senator Obama will tell you, in the -- as the extreme environmentalists do, it has to be safe.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**7. McCain, circumstantial, fallacious, 0**

**MCCAIN:** Well, you know, I admire so much Senator Obama's eloquence. And you really have to pay attention to words. He said, we will look at offshore drilling. Did you get that? Look at. We can offshore drill now. We've got to do it now. We will reduce the cost of a barrel of oil because we show the world that we have a supply of our own. It's doable. The technology is there and we have to drill now.

Now, on the subject of free trade agreements. I am a free trader. And I need -- we need to have education and training programs for displaced workers that work, going to our community colleges.

But let me give you another example of a free trade agreement that Senator Obama opposes. Right now, because of previous agreements, some made by President Clinton, the goods and products that we send to Colombia, which is our largest agricultural importer of our products, is -- there's a billion dollars that we -- our businesses have paid so far in order to get our goods in there.

Because of previous agreements, their goods and products come into our country for free. So Senator Obama, who has never traveled south of our border, opposes the Colombia Free Trade Agreement. The same country that's helping us try to stop the flow of drugs into our country that's killing young Americans.

And also the country that just freed three Americans that will help us create jobs in America because they will be a market for our goods and products without having to pay -- without us having to pay the billions of dollars -- the billion dollars and more that we've already paid.

Free trade with Colombia is something that's a no-brainer. But maybe you ought to travel down there and visit them and maybe you could understand it a lot better.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### 8. McCain, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0

MCCAIN: Well, let me just said that that this is -- he -- Senator Obama doesn't want a free trade agreement with our best ally in the region but wants to sit down across the table without precondition to -- with Hugo Chavez, the guy who has been helping FARC, the terrorist organization.

Free trade between ourselves and Colombia, I just recited to you the benefits of concluding that agreement, a billion dollars of American dollars that could have gone to creating jobs and businesses in the United States, opening up those markets.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### 9. McCain, abusive, fallacious, 0

MCCAIN: Well, let me just said that that this is -- he -- Senator Obama doesn't want a free trade agreement with our best ally in the region but wants to sit down across the table without precondition to -- with Hugo Chavez, the guy who has been helping FARC, the terrorist organization.

Free trade between ourselves and Colombia, I just recited to you the benefits of concluding that agreement, a billion dollars of American dollars that could have gone to creating jobs and businesses in the United States, opening up those markets.

So I don't -- I don't think there's any doubt that Senator Obama wants to restrict trade and he wants to raise taxes. And the last president of the United States that tried that was Herbert Hoover, and we went from a deep recession into a depression.

We're not going to follow that path while I'm -- when I'm president of the United States.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### 10. McCain, abusive, fallacious, 0

MCCAIN: Now, my old buddy, Joe, Joe the plumber, is out there. Now, Joe, Senator Obama's plan, if you're a small business and you are able -- and your -- the guy that sells to you will not have his capital gains tax increase, which Senator Obama wants, if you're out there, my friend, and you've got employees, and you've got kids, if you don't get -- adopt the health care plan that Senator Obama mandates, he's going to fine you.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### 11. McCain, tu quoque, fallacious, 0

MCCAIN: Obviously, that law waved the statute of limitations, which you could have gone back 20 or 30 years. It was a trial lawyer's dream.

Let me talk to you about an important aspect of this issue. We have to change the culture of America. Those of us who are proudly pro-life understand that. And it's got to be courage and compassion that we show to a young woman who's facing this terribly difficult decision.

Senator Obama, as a member of the Illinois State Senate, voted in the Judiciary Committee against a law that would provide immediate medical attention to a child born of a failed abortion. He voted against that.

And then, on the floor of the State Senate, as he did 130 times as a state senator, he voted present.

Then there was another bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee in the state of Illinois not that long ago, where he voted against a ban on partial-birth abortion, one of the late-term abortion, a really -- one of the bad procedures, a terrible. And then, on the floor of the Illinois State Senate, he voted present.

I don't know how you vote "present" on some of that. I don't know how you align yourself with the extreme aspect of the pro- abortion movement in America. And that's his record, and that's a matter of his record.

And he'll say it has something to do with Roe v. Wade, about the Illinois State Senate. It was clear-cut votes that Senator Obama voted, I think, in direct contradiction to the feelings and views of mainstream America.

SCHIEFFER: Response?

OBAMA: Yes, let me respond to this. If it sounds incredible that I would vote to withhold lifesaving treatment from an infant, that's because it's not true. The -- here are the facts.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### 12. McCain, tu quoque, fallacious, 0

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Then there was another bill before the Senate Judiciary Committee in the state of Illinois not that long ago, where he voted against a ban on partial-birth abortion, one of the late-term abortion, a really -- one of the bad procedures, a terrible. And then, on the floor of the Illinois State Senate, he voted present.

I don't know how you vote "present" on some of that. I don't know how you align yourself with the extreme aspect of the pro- abortion movement in America. And that's his record, and that's a matter of his record.

And he'll say it has something to do with Roe v. Wade, about the Illinois State Senate. It was clear-cut votes that Senator Obama voted, I think, in direct contradiction to the feelings and views of mainstream America.

SCHIEFFER: Response?

OBAMA: Yes, let me respond to this. If it sounds incredible that I would vote to withhold lifesaving treatment from an infant, that's because it's not true. The -- here are the facts.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**13 McCain, abusive, fallacious, 0**

MCCAIN: Obviously, that law waved the statute of limitations, which you could have gone back 20 or 30 years. It was a trial lawyer's dream.

Let me talk to you about an important aspect of this issue. We have to change the culture of America. Those of us who are proudly pro-life understand that. And it's got to be courage and compassion that we show to a young woman who's facing this terribly difficult decision.

Senator Obama, as a member of the Illinois State Senate, voted in the Judiciary Committee against a law that would provide immediate medical attention to a child born of a failed abortion. He voted against that.

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**1. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well, let's stop for a second and remember where we were eight years ago. We had the worst financial crisis, the Great Recession, the worst since the 1930s. That was in large part because of tax policies that slashed taxes on the wealthy, failed to invest in the middle class, took their eyes off of Wall Street, and created a perfect storm.

In fact, Donald was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis. He said, back in 2006, "Gee, I hope it does collapse, because then I can go in and buy some and make some money." Well, it did collapse.

TRUMP: That's called business, by the way.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**2. Trump, guilt by association, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: Your husband signed NAFTA, which was one of the worst things that ever happened to the manufacturing industry.

CLINTON: Well, that's your opinion. That is your opinion.

TRUMP: You go to New England, you go to Ohio, Pennsylvania, you go anywhere you want, Secretary Clinton, and you will see devastation where manufacture is down 30, 40, sometimes 50 percent. NAFTA is the worst trade deal maybe ever signed anywhere, but certainly ever signed in this country.

And now you want to approve Trans-Pacific Partnership. You were totally in favor of it. Then you heard what I was saying, how bad it is, and you said, I can't win that debate. But you know that if you did win, you would approve that, and that will be almost as bad as NAFTA. Nothing will ever top NAFTA.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**3. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: So what they're doing is they're leaving our country, and they're, believe it or not, leaving because taxes are too high and because some of them have lots of money outside of our country. And instead of bringing it back and putting the money to work, because they can't work out a deal to — and everybody agrees it should be brought back.

Instead of that, they're leaving our country to get their money, because they can't bring their money back into our country, because of bureaucratic red tape, because they can't get together. Because we have — we have a president that can't sit them around a table and get them to approve something.

And here's the thing. Republicans and Democrats agree that this should be done, \$2.5 trillion. I happen to think it's double that. It's probably \$5 trillion that we can't bring into our country, Lester. And with a little leadership, you'd get it in here very quickly, and it could be put to use on the inner cities and lots of other things, and it would be beautiful.

But we have no leadership. And honestly, that starts with Secretary Clinton.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**4. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well, I think you've seen another example of bait-and-switch here. For 40 years, everyone running for president has released their tax returns. You can go and see nearly, I think, 39, 40 years of our tax returns, but everyone has done it. We know the IRS has made clear there is no prohibition on releasing it when you're under audit.

So you've got to ask yourself, why won't he release his tax returns? And I think there may be a couple of reasons. First, maybe he's not as rich as he says he is. Second, maybe he's not as charitable as he claims to be.

CLINTON: Third, we don't know all of his business dealings, but we have been told through investigative reporting that he owes about \$650 million to Wall Street and foreign banks. Or maybe he doesn't want the American people, all of you watching tonight, to know that he's paid nothing in federal taxes, because the only years that anybody's ever seen were a couple of years when he had to turn them over to state authorities when he was trying to get a casino license, and they showed he didn't pay any federal income tax.

TRUMP: That makes me smart.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**5. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: So if he's paid zero, that means zero for troops, zero for vets, zero for schools or health. And I think probably he's not all that enthusiastic about having the rest of our country see what the real reasons are, because it must be something really important, even terrible, that he's trying to hide.

And the financial disclosure statements, they don't give you the tax rate. They don't give you all the details that tax returns would. And it just seems to me that this is something that the American people deserve to see. And I have no reason to believe that he's ever going to release his tax returns, **because there's something he's hiding.**

**And we'll guess. We'll keep guessing at what it might be that he's hiding. But I think the question is, were he ever to get near the White House, what would be those conflicts? Who does he owe money to? Well, he owes you the answers to that, and he should provide them.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **6. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: ... is if your — if your main claim to be president of the United States is your business, then I think we should talk about that. You know, your campaign manager said that you built a lot of businesses on the backs of little guys.

And, indeed, I have met a lot of the people who were stiffed by you and your businesses, Donald. I've met dishwashers, painters, architects, glass installers, marble installers, drapery installers, like my dad was, who you refused to pay when they finished the work that you asked them to do.

We have an architect in the audience who designed one of your clubhouses at one of your golf courses. It's a beautiful facility. It immediately was put to use. And you wouldn't pay what the man needed to be paid, what he was charging you to do...

TRUMP: Maybe he didn't do a good job and I was unsatisfied with his work...

CLINTON: Well, to...

TRUMP: Which our country should do, too.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **7. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Do the thousands of people that you have stiffed over the course of your business not deserve some kind of apology from someone who has taken their labor, taken the goods that they produced, and then refused to pay them?

I can only say that I'm certainly relieved that my late father never did business with you. He provided a good middle-class life for us, but the people he worked for, he expected the bargain to be kept on both sides.

**And when we talk about your business, you've taken business bankruptcy six times. There are a lot of great businesspeople that have never taken bankruptcy once. You call yourself the King of Debt. You talk about leverage. You even at one time suggested that you would try to negotiate down the national debt of the United States.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **8. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well, just listen to what you heard.

(LAUGHTER)

And clearly, as Donald just admitted, he knew he was going to stand on this debate stage, and Lester Holt was going to be asking us questions, so he tried to put the whole racist birther lie to bed.

But it can't be dismissed that easily. He has really started his political activity based on this racist lie that our first black president was not an American citizen. There was absolutely no evidence for it, but he persisted, he persisted year after year, because some of his supporters, people that he was trying to bring into his fold, apparently believed it or wanted to believe it.

**But, remember, Donald started his career back in 1973 being sued by the Justice Department for racial discrimination because he would not rent apartments in one of his developments to African-Americans, and he made sure that the people who worked for him understood that was the policy. He actually was sued twice by the Justice Department.**

**So he has a long record of engaging in racist behavior. And the birther lie was a very hurtful one. You know, Barack Obama is a man of great dignity. And I could tell how much it bothered him and annoyed him that this was being touted and used against him.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **9. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: And the Russians need to understand that. I think they've been treating it as almost a probing, how far would we go, how much would we do. **And that's why I was so — I was so shocked when Donald publicly invited Putin to hack into Americans. That is just unacceptable. It's one of the reasons why 50 national security officials who served in Republican information — in administrations...**

HOLT: Your two minutes have expired.

CLINTON: ... have said that Donald is unfit to be the commander-in-chief. It's comments like that that really worry people who understand the threats that we face.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**10. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: HOLT: Why is your judgment — why is your judgment any different than Mrs. Clinton's judgment?

Well, I have much better judgment than she does. There's no question about that. I also have a much better temperament than she has, you know?

(LAUGHTER)

I have a much better — she spent — let me tell you — she spent hundreds of millions of dollars on an advertising — you know, they get Madison Avenue into a room, they put names — oh, temperament, let's go after — I think my strongest asset, maybe by far, is my temperament. I have a winning temperament. I know how to win. She does not have a...

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

TRUMP: Wait. The AFL-CIO the other day, behind the blue screen, I don't know who you were talking to, Secretary Clinton, but you were totally out of control. I said, there's a person with a temperament that's got a problem.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**11. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: The other day, I saw Donald saying that there were some Iranian sailors on a ship in the waters off of Iran, and they were taunting American sailors who were on a nearby ship. He said, you know, if they taunted our sailors, I'd blow them out of the water and start another war. That's not good judgment.

TRUMP: That would not start a war.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**12. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: The other day, I saw Donald saying that there were some Iranian sailors on a ship in the waters off of Iran, and they were taunting American sailors who were on a nearby ship. He said, you know, if they taunted our sailors, I'd blow them out of the water and start another war. That's not good judgment.

TRUMP: That would not start a war.

CLINTON: That is not the right temperament to be commander-in-chief, to be taunted. And the worst part...

TRUMP: No, they were taunting us.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**13. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: That is not the right temperament to be commander-in-chief, to be taunted. And the worst part...

TRUMP: No, they were taunting us.

CLINTON: ... of what we heard Donald say has been about nuclear weapons. He has said repeatedly that he didn't care if other nations got nuclear weapons, Japan, South Korea, even Saudi Arabia. It has been the policy of the United States, Democrats and Republicans, to do everything we could to reduce the proliferation of nuclear weapons. He even said, well, you know, if there were nuclear war in East Asia, well, you know, that's fine...

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**14. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: And, in fact, his cavalier attitude about nuclear weapons is so deeply troubling. That is the number-one threat we face in the world. And it becomes particularly threatening if terrorists ever get their hands on any nuclear material. So a man who can be provoked by a tweet should not have his fingers anywhere near the nuclear codes, as far as I think anyone with any sense about this should be concerned.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**15. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

HOLT: Mr. Trump, this year Secretary Clinton became the first woman nominated for president by a major party. Earlier this month, you said she doesn't have, quote, "a presidential look." She's standing here right now. What did you mean by that?

TRUMP: She doesn't have the look. She doesn't have the stamina. I said she doesn't have the stamina. And I don't believe she does have the stamina. To be president of this country, you need tremendous stamina.

HOLT: The quote was, "I just don't think she has the presidential look."

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**16. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well, as soon as he travels to 112 countries and negotiates a peace deal, a cease-fire, a release of dissidents, an opening of new opportunities in nations around the world, or even spends 11 hours testifying in front of a congressional committee, he can talk to me about stamina.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: The world — let me tell you. Let me tell you. Hillary has experience, but it's bad experience. We have made so many bad deals during the last — so she's got experience, that I agree.

(APPLAUSE)

But it's bad, bad experience. Whether it's the Iran deal that you're so in love with, where we gave them \$150 billion back, whether it's the Iran deal, whether it's anything you can — name — you almost can't name a good deal. I agree. She's got experience, but it's bad experience. And this country can't afford to have another four years of that kind of experience.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**17. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: You know, he tried to switch from looks to stamina. But this is a man who has called women pigs, slobs and dogs, and someone who has said pregnancy is an inconvenience to employers, who has said...

TRUMP: I never said that.

CLINTON: .... women don't deserve equal pay unless they do as good a job as men.

TRUMP: I didn't say that.

CLINTON: And one of the worst things he said was about a woman in a beauty contest. He loves beauty contests, supporting them and hanging around them. And he called this woman "Miss Piggy." Then he called her "Miss Housekeeping," because she was Latina. Donald, she has a name.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

## Debate 2016-2

### 1. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0

CLINTON: Well, like everyone else, I've spent a lot of time thinking over the last 48 hours about what we heard and saw. You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I disagreed with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve. Donald Trump is different. I said starting back in June that he was not fit to be president and commander in chief. And many Republicans and independents have said the same thing. What we all saw and heard on Friday was Donald talking about women, what he thinks about women, what he does to women, and he has said that the video doesn't represent who he is. But I think it's clear to anyone who heard it, that it represents exactly who he is. Because we have seen this throughout the campaign. We have seen him insult women. We have seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten, we've seen him embarrass women on TV and on Twitter. We saw him after the first debate, spend nearly a week denigrating a former miss universe in the harshest, most personal terms. So, yes, this is who Donald Trump is. But it's not only women and it's not only this video that raises questions about his fitness to be our president. Because he has also targeted immigrants, African-Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims and so many others.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### 2. Trump, circumstantial, fallacious, 0

TRUMP: It's just words, folks. It's just words. These words, I have been hearing for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed. I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country which are a disaster education-wise, job-wise, safety-wise, in every way possible. I'm going to help the African-Americans, I'm going to help the Latinos, hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities. She has done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote and she does nothing. And then she comes back four years later, we saw that firsthand when she saw United States senator, she campaigned where—

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 3. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0

TRUMP: That was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I am a person who has great respect for people, for my family, for the people of this country and certainly I am not proud of it, but that was something that happened. If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Mine are words and his was action. His words, what he has done to women. There's never been anybody in the history of politics in this nation that has been so abusive to women. So you can say any way you want to say it, but Bill Clinton is abusive to women. Hillary Clinton attacked those same women, and attacked them viciously, four of them here tonight. One of the women, who is a wonderful woman at 12 years old was raped. At 12. Her client, she represented, got him off and she is seen laughing on two occasions laughing at the girl who was raped. Kathy Shelton, that young woman, is here with us tonight. So don't tell me about words. I am, absolutely, I apologize for those words, but it is things that people say, but what President Clinton did, he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law, he had to pay an \$850,000 fine to one of the women. Paula Jones who is also here tonight. And I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that and she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it's disgraceful and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 4. Trump, circumstantial, fallacious, 0

TRUMP: That was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I am a person who has great respect for people, for my family, for the people of this country and certainly I am not proud of it, but that was something that happened. If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Mine are words and his was action. His words, what he has done to women. There's never been anybody in the history of politics in this nation that has been so abusive to women. So you can say any way you want to say it, but Bill Clinton is abusive to women. Hillary Clinton attacked those same women, and attacked them viciously, four of them here tonight. One of the women, who is a wonderful woman at 12 years old was raped. At 12. Her client, she represented, got him off and she is seen laughing on two occasions laughing at the girl who was raped. Kathy Shelton, that young woman, is here with us tonight. So don't tell me about words. I am, absolutely, I apologize for those words, but it is things that people say, but what President Clinton did, he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law, he had to pay an \$850,000 fine to one of the women. Paula Jones who is also here tonight. And I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that and she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it's disgraceful and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: no

### 5. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0

CLINTON: And look, if this were just about one video, maybe what he is saying tonight would be understandable. But everyone can draw their own conclusions at this point about whether or not the man in the video or the man on the stage respects women. But he never apologizes for anything to anyone. He never apologized to Mr. And Mrs. Khan, the gold star

family whose son, Captain Khan died in the line of duty in Iraq and Donald insulted and attacked them for weeks over their religion. He never apologized to the distinguished federal judge who was born in Indiana, but Donald said he couldn't be trusted to be a judge because his parents were "Mexican." He never apologized to the reporter that he mimicked and mocked on national television and our children were watching. And he never apologized for the racist lie that President Obama was not born in the United States of America. He owes the president an apology and he owes our country an apology and he needs to take responsibility for his actions and his words.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **6. Trump, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: Well you owe the president an apology because as you know very well, your campaign, Sidney Blumenthal, he's another real winner that you have and he's the one that got this started along with your campaign manager and they were on television just two weeks ago, she was saying exactly that. So you really owe him an apology. You're the one that sent the pictures around, your campaign sent the pictures around with President Obama in a certain garb, that was long before I was ever involved. So you actually owe an apology.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **7. Trump, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation. Because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it. And we're gonna have a special prosecutor. When I speak, I go out and speak, the people of this country are furious. In my opinion, the people that have been long time workers at the FBI are furious. There has never been anything like this where e-mails, and you get a subpoena. You get a subpoena, and after getting the subpoena you delete 33,000 e-mails and then you acid wash them or bleach them, as you would say. Very expensive process. So we're gonna get a special prosecutor and we're gonna look into it. Because you know what, people have been -- their lives have been destroyed for doing 1/5 of what you have done. And it's a disgrace, and honestly, you oughta be ashamed of yourself.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **9. Clinton, abusive, fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Everything he just said is absolutely false, but I'm not surprised. In the first debate, I told people it would be impossible to be fact checking Donald all the time. I would never get to talk about anything I'd want to do and how we're really, going to really, make lives better for people. So once again, go to Hillaryclinton.com. We have literally Trump - you can fact check him in real time. Last time at the first debate, we had millions of people fact checking so I expect we will have millions more fact checking because, you know, it's just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is not in charge of the law in our country.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **10. Trump, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: And yet she didn't know the word, the letter C on a document. Right? She didn't even know what that letter meant. You know, it's amazing. I'm watching Hillary go over facts and she is going after fact after fact and she's lying again because she said she, you know, what she did with e-mails was fine. You think it was fine to delete 33,000 e-mails?

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **11. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: I didn't in the first debate and I'm gonna try not to on this debate because I would like to get to the questions people brought to us tonight.

TRUMP: And get off this question.

CLINTON: Okay, Donald. I know you are into big diversion tonight, anything to avoid talking about your campaign and the way it's exploding, and the way Republicans are leaving you, but –

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**12. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: I want to -- just one thing. Hillary, everything is broken about it. Everything. Number two, Bernie Sanders said Hillary Clinton has very bad judgment. This is a perfect example of it. Trying to save Obamacare—

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**13. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Thank you for asking your question and I've heard this question from a lot of Muslim Americans across our country. Because unfortunately there has been a lot of very divide, dark things said about Muslims. And even someone like Captain Khan, the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army has been subject to attack by Donald. I want to say just a couple of things. First: We've had Muslims in America since George Washington. And we've had many successful Muslims. We just lost a particularly well-known one with Muhammad Ali. My vision of America is an America where everyone has a place, if you are willing to work hard, do your part and you contribute to the community. That's what America is. That's what we want America to be for our children and our grandchildren. It's also very short-sighted and even dangerous to be engaging in the kind of demagogic rhetoric that Donald has about Muslims.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**14. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**15. Trump, circumstantial, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: First of all, Captain Khan is an American hero and if I were president at that time he would be alive today because, unlike her who voted for the war without knowing what she was doing, I would not have had our people in Iraq. Iraq was a disaster. So he would have been alive today. The Muslim ban is something that in some form has morphed into an extreme vetting from certain areas of the world. Hillary Clinton wants to allow –

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**16. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: But it is important for us as a policy not to say, as Donald has said, we're going to ban people based on a religion. How do you that? We are a country founded on religious freedom and liberty. How do we do what he has advocated without causing great distress within our own country? Are we going to have religious tests when people fly into our country and how do we expect to be able to implement those? So I thought that what he said was extremely unwise and even dangerous and indeed you can look at the propaganda on a lot of the terrorist sites and what Donald Trump says about Muslims is used to recruit fighters. Because they want to create a war between us. And the final thing I say, this is the 10th or 12th time he denied being for the war in Iraq. We have it on tape, the entire press corps has looked at it, it's been debunked but it never stops him from saying whatever he wants to say. Go to Hillaryclinton.com.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**17. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### 18. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0

TRUMP: Hillary Clinton in terms of having people come into our country. We have many criminal illegal aliens. When we want to send them back to their country, their country says: we don't want them. In some cases they are murderers, drug lords, drug problems and they don't want them. And Hillary Clinton when she was Secretary of State said, that's okay, we can't force them back into their country. Let me tell you, I'm going to force them right back into their country. They are murderers and some very bad people. And I will tell you very strongly, when Bernie Sanders said she had bad judgment, she has really bad judgement because we are letting people into this country that are gonna cause problems and crime like you've never seen. We're also letting drugs pour through our southern border at a record clip. At a record clip. And it shouldn't be allowed to happen. ICE just endorsed me. They never endorsed a presidential candidate. The border patrol agents, 16,500 just recently endorsed me. And they endorsed me because I understand the border. She doesn't. She wants amnesty for everybody. Come right in. Come right over. It's a horrible thing she is doing. She's got bad judgment and honestly, so bad that she should never be president of the United States. That I can tell you.'

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 19. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0

TRUMP: I think I should respond because, so ridiculous. Look, now she is blaming -- she got caught in a total lie. Her papers went out to all her friends at the banks, Goldman Sachs and everybody else. And she said things, WikiLeaks, that just came out. And she lied. Now she's blaming the lie on the late great Abraham Lincoln. That's when-okay, Honest Abe never lied.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 20. Trump, tu quoque, fallacious, 0

TRUMP: One thing I'd do is get rid of carried interest. The - one of the greatest provisions for people like me, to be honest with you, I give up a lot when I run because I knockout the tax code. And she could have done this years ago, by the way. She is - she was a United States senator. She complains that Donald Trump took advantage of the tax code. Well, why didn't you change it, why didn't you change it when you were a senator? The reason you didn't is that all your friends take the same advantage that I do. And they do, you have provisions in the tax code, that frankly, we could change. But you wouldn't change it because all of these people gave you the money so you can take negative ads on Donald Trump.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 21. Trump, circumstantial, fallacious, 0

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 22. Trump, circumstantial, fallacious, 0

TRUMP: We are cutting taxes for the middle class and I will tell you, we are cutting them big league for the middle class. And I'll tell you, Hillary Clinton is raising your taxes, folks, she can look at me, she is raising your taxes, really high and what that's going to do is a disaster for the country. But she is raising the taxes and I'm lowering the taxes.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 23. Clinton, abusive, fallacious, 0

CLINTON: Well, everything you've heard from Donald is not true. I'm sorry I have to keep saying this, but he lives in an alternative reality. And it is sort of amusing to hear somebody who hasn't paid federal income taxes in maybe 20 years talking about what he's going to do, but I'll tell you what he's going to do. His plan will give the wealthy and corporations the biggest tax cuts they have ever had. More than the Bush tax cuts by at least a factor of two. Donald always takes care of Donald and people like Donald. And this would be a massive gift. And indeed the way that he talks about his tax cuts would end up raising taxes on middle class families. Millions of middle class families.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### 24. Clinton, tu quoque, fallacious, 0

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Donald and people like Donald. And this would be a massive gift. And indeed the way that he talks about his tax cuts would end up raising taxes on middle class families. Millions of middle class families.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**25. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: And yes, when I was a senator, I did vote to close corporate loopholes. I voted to close, I think, one of the loopholes he took advantage of when he claimed a billion dollar loss that enabled him to avoid paying taxes. I want to have a tax on people who are making a million dollars, it's called the Buffett rule.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**26. Trump, guilt by association, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: Of course I did. Of course I did. And so do all of her donors, or most of her donors. I know many of her donors. Her donors took massive tax write offs. A lot lot of my write off was depreciation and a lot of other things Hillary Clinton as a senator allowed and she always allowed because the people that give her all this money, they want it. That's why. See, I understand the tax code better than anybody that's ever run for president. Hillary Clinton is extremely complex. Hillary Clinton has friends that want all of these provisions, including, they want the carried interest provision, which is very important to Wall Street people, but they really want the carried interest provision, which I believe Hillary is leaving, and it's very interesting why she is leaving carried interest. But I will tell, you that, number one, I pay tremendous numbers of taxes. I absolutely used it and so did Warren Buffett and so did George Soros and so did many of the other people that Hillary is getting money from. Now, I won't mention their names because they are rich, but they're not famous. So we won't make them famous.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**27. Trump, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: No. but I pay tax and I pay federal tax too. But I have a write off, a lot of it is depreciation, which is a wonderful charge. I love depreciation. You know, she has given it to us. Hey, if she had a problem, for 30 years she's been doing this, Anderson, I say it all the time, she talks about health care. Why didn't you do something about it? She talks about taxes. Why didn't she do something about it? She doesn't do anything about anything other than talk. With her, it's all talk and no action. And again, Bernie Sanders, it's really bad judgment. She has made bad judgment not only on taxes, she's made bad judgements on Libya, on Syria, on Iraq. Her and Obama whether you like it or not, the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they left, that's why ISIS formed in the first place. They started from the little area and now they are in 32 different nations, Hillary. Congratulations. Great job.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**28. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

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**29. Trump, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**30. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: Why didn't you do it? Why didn't you do it?

CLINTON: Because I was a senator with a Republican president.

TRUMP: You could have done it. **If you were an effective senator, you could have done it. But you were not an effective senator.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**31. Trump, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: You were still in contact with the White House. And perhaps sadly, Obama probably still listened to you. I don't think he would listen to you very much anymore. Obama draws the line in the sand. It was laughed at all over the world what happened. Now, with that being said, she talks tough against Russia, but our nuclear program has fallen way behind and they have gone wild with their nuclear program. Not good. Our government shouldn't have allowed that to happen. Russia is new in terms of nuclear and we are old and tired and exhausted in terms of nuclear. A very bad thing.

**Now, she talks tough. She talks really tough against Putin and against Assad. She talks in favor of the rebels. She doesn't even know who the rebels are. You know, every time we take rebels whether it's in Iraq or anywhere else, we're arming people. And you know what happens? They end up being worse than the people.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**32. Trump, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: Absolutely. **I mean, she calls our people deplorable. A large group. And irredeemable.** I will be a president for all of our people. And I'll be a people that will turn our inner cities around and will give strength to people and will give economics to people and will bring jobs back. Because NAFTA, signed by her husband, is perhaps the greatest disaster trade deal in the history of the world. Not of this country. It stripped us of manufacturing jobs. We lost our jobs, we lost our money, we lost our plants. It is a disaster.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**33. Trump, guilt by association, fallacious, 0**

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**34. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: And now she wants to sign TPP, even though she said now she's for it. She called it the gold standard. **And by the way, at the last debate she lied. Because it turns out that she did say the gold standard, and said she didn't say it. They actually said that she lied. Okay. And she lied.** Because it turned out she did say the gold standard and she said she didn't say it. **But she lied about a lot of things.** I would be a president for all of the people. African-Americans, the inner cities. Devastating what's happening to our inner cities. She's been talking about for years. **As usual, she talks about it, nothing happens. She doesn't get it done.** Same with the Latino Americans. The Hispanic Americans. The same exact thing. They talk. They don't get it done. You go into the inner cities, it's 45% poverty. African-Americans now 45% poverty in the inner cities. The education is a disaster. Jobs are essentially nonexistent. I mean, I've been saying in big speeches where I have 20 and 30,000 people. What do you have to lose? It can't get worse? She has been talking about the inner cities for 25 years. Nothing is going to ever happen. **Let me tell you, if she is president of the United States, nothing's going to happen. it's going to be talk. All of her friends, the taxes we are talking about.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**35. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: We have a divided nation. We have a very divided nation. You look at Charlotte, you look at Baltimore, you look at the violence taking place in the inner cities. Chicago. You look at Washington, D.C. We have an increase in murder within our cities, the biggest in 45 years. **We have a divided nation because of people like her. Believe me, she has tremendous hate in her heart.** When she said deplorables, she meant it. And when she said irredeemable, they're irredeemable! You didn't mention that, but when she said they're irredeemable, to me that might have been worse. **She's got tremendous hatred. And this country cannot take another four years of Barack Obama and that's what you are getting with her.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**36. Clinton, guilt by association, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Now, Donald put forth of the names of people he would consider. **And among the ones that he has suggested are people who would reverse Roe v. Wade and reverse marriage equality. I think that would be a terrible mistake and take us backwards.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**1. Trump, guilt by association, fallacious, 0**

Wallace: Thank you secretary Clinton. I want to follow-up-

TRUMP: Chris, I think it's -- I think I should respond. First of all, I had a very good meeting with the President of Mexico. Very nice man. We will be doing very much better with Mexico on trade deals. Believe me. The NAFTA deal signed by her husband is one of the worst deals ever made of any kind signed by anybody. It's a disaster. Hillary Clinton wanted the wall. Hillary Clinton fought for the wall in 2006 or thereabouts. Now, she never gets anything done, so naturally the wall wasn't built. But Hillary Clinton wanted the wall.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**2. Trump, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

Wallace: Thank you secretary Clinton. I want to follow-up-

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: no

**3. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**4. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: I voted for border security and-

TRUMP: And a wall.

CLINTON: -There are some limited places where that was appropriate. There also is necessarily going to be new technology and how best to deploy that. But it is clear when you look at what Donald has been proposing. He started his campaign bashing immigrants, calling Mexican immigrants rapists and criminals and drug dealers, that he has a very different there view about what we should do to deal with immigrants. Now, what I am also arguing is that bringing undocumented immigrants out from the shadows, putting them into the formal economy would be good. Because then employers can't exploit them and undercut Americans' wages. And Donald knows a lot about this. He used undocumented labor to build the Trump tower. He underpaid undocumented workers and when they complained, he basically said what a lot of employers do. You complain, I'll get you deported. I want to get everybody out of the shadows. Get the economy working and not let employers like Donald exploit undocumented workers which hurts them but also hurts American workers.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**5. Clinton, circumstantial, fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: I voted for border security and-

TRUMP: And a wall.

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

## 6. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0

TRUMP: Just to finish on the borders, she wants open borders. People are going to pour into our country. People are going to come in from Syria. She wants 550% more people than Barack Obama. And he has thousands and thousands of people. They have no idea where they come from. And you see, we are going to stop radical Islamic terrorism in this country. She won't even mention the words and neither will President Obama. So I just want to tell you. She wants open borders. Now we can talk about Putin. I don't know Putin. He said nice things about me. If we got along well, that would be good. If Russia and the United States got along well and went after ISIS, that would be good. He has no respect for her. He has no respect for our president. And I'll tell you what. We're in very serious trouble. Because we have a country with tremendous numbers of nuclear warheads, 1,800, by the way. Where they expanded and we didn't. 1,800 nuclear warheads. **And she is playing chicken. Look.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

## 7. Clinton, circumstantial, fallacious, 0

CLINTON: Well, that's because he would rather have a puppet as president of the United States.

TRUMP: No puppet. You're the puppet.

CLINTON: **It is pretty clear you won't admit that the Russians have engaged in cyber attacks against the United States of America. That you encouraged espionage against our people. That you are willing to spout the Putin line, sign up for his wish list, break up NATO, do whatever he wants to do. And that you continue to get help from him because he has a very clear favorite in this race.** So I think that this is such an unprecedented situation. We've never had a foreign government trying to interfere in our election. We have 17, 17 intelligence agencies, civilian and military who have all concluded that these espionage attacks, these cyber attacks, come from the highest levels of the Kremlin. And they are designed to influence our election. I find that deeply disturbing.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

## 8. Trump, circumstantial, fallacious, 0

TRUMP: **She doesn't like Putin because Putin has outsmarted her at every step of the way.**

Wallace: Mr. Trump-

TRUMP: **Excuse me. Putin has outsmarted her in Syria, he's outsmarted her every step of the way.**

Wallace: I do get to ask some questions. And I would like to ask you this direct question. The top national security officials of this country do believe that Russia has been behind these hacks. Even if you don't know for sure whether they are, do you condemn any interference by Russia in the American election?

TRUMP: By Russia or anybody else.

Wallace: Do you condemn their interference?

TRUMP: Of course I condemn, of course I condemn - I don't know Putin. I have no idea-

Wallace: I'm not asking you that.

TRUMP: I never met Putin. This is not my best friend. But if the United States got along with Russia, it wouldn't be so bad. Let me tell you, **Putin has outsmarted her and Obama at every single step of the way.** Whether it is Syria. You name it. Missiles. Take a look at the start-up that they signed. The Russians have said, according to many, many reports, I can't believe they allowed us to do this. They create warheads and we can't. The Russians can't believe it. She has been outsmarted by Putin and all you have to do is look at the Middle East. They've taken over. We've spent \$6 trillion. They've taken over the Middle East. She has been outsmarted and outplayed worse than anybody I've ever seen in any government whatsoever.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

## 9. Clinton, tu quoque, non-fallacious, 0

TRUMP: I never met Putin. This is not my best friend. But if the United States got along with Russia, it wouldn't be so bad. Let me tell you, **Putin has outsmarted her and Obama at every single step of the way.** Whether it is Syria. You name it. Missiles. Take a look at the start-up that they signed. The Russians have said, according to many, many reports, I can't believe they allowed us to do this. They create warheads and we can't. The Russians can't believe it. She has been outsmarted by Putin and all you have to do is look at the Middle East. They've taken over. We've spent \$6 trillion. They've taken over the Middle East. She has been outsmarted and outplayed worse than anybody I've ever seen in any government whatsoever.

Wallace: We're a long way away from immigration. I'm going to let you finish this. You have about 45 seconds.

TRUMP: And she always will be.

CLINTON: I find it ironic that he is raising nuclear weapons. This is a person who has been very cavalier, even casual about the use of nuclear weapons.

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: He has advocated more countries getting them. Japan, Korea, even Saudi Arabia. He's said if we have them, why don't we use them which I think is terrifying. But here's the deal. The bottom line on nuclear weapons is that when the president gives the order, it must be followed. There is about four minutes between the order being given and the people responsible for launching nuclear weapons to do so. And that is why ten people who have had that awesome responsibility have come out and in an unprecedented way said they would not trust Donald Trump with the nuclear codes or to have his finger on the nuclear button.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **10. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: I have 200 generals and admirals, 21 endorsing me. 21 congressional medal of honor recipients. As far as Japan and other countries, we are being ripped off by everybody in the world. We're defending other countries. We are spending a fortune doing it. They have the bargain of the century. All I said is we have to renegotiate these agreements. Because our country cannot afford to defend Saudi Arabia, Japan, Germany, South Korea, and many other places. We cannot continue to afford. She took that as saying nuclear weapons.

Wallace: Okay.

TRUMP: Look. She's been proven to be a liar on so many different ways. This is just another lie.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **11. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: So we are going to have the wealthy pay their fair share. We're going to have corporations make a contribution greater than they are now to our country. That is a plan that has been analyzed by independent experts which said that it could produce 10 million new jobs. By contrast, Donald's plan has been analyzed to conclude it might lose 3.5 million jobs. Why? Because his whole plan is to cut taxes. To give the biggest tax breaks ever to the wealthy and to corporations. Adding \$20 trillion to our debt and causing the kind of dislocation that we have seen before. Because it truly will be trickle down economics on steroids. So the plan I have I think will actually produce greater opportunities. The plan he has will cost us jobs and possibly lead to another great recession.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **12. Trump, circumstantial, non-fallacious, C**

Wallace: Secretary, thank you Mr. Trump, why will your plan create more jobs and growth than secretary Clinton?

TRUMP: Well, first of all, before I start on my plan, her plan is going to raise taxes and even double your taxes. Her tax plan is a disaster. And she can say all she wants about college tuition. And I'm a big proponent. We're going to do a lot of things for college tuition but the rest the public is going to be paying for it. We will have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **13. Trump, guilt by association, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: So I just left some high representatives of India. They're growing at 8%. China is growing at 7%. And that for them is a catastrophically low number. We are growing our last report came out, and it is right around the 1% level. And I think it's going down. Last week as you know, the end of last week, they came out with an anemic jobs report. A terrible jobs report. In fact, I said is that the last jobs report before the election? Because if it is, I should win easily because it was so bad. The report was so bad. Look, our country is stagnant. We've lost our jobs, we've lost our businesses. We're not making things anymore, relatively speaking. Our product is pouring in from China, pouring in from Vietnam, pouring in from all over the world. I've visited so many communities. This has been such an incredible education for me, Chris. I've gotten to know so many, I've developed so many friends over the last year. And they cry when they see what has happened. I pass factories that were thriving, 20, 25 years ago and because of the bill her husband signed and that she blessed 100%. It is just horrible what has happened to these people in these communities. Now, she can say her husband did well but boy, did they suffer as NAFTA kicked in because it didn't really kick in very much. But it kicked in after they left. Boy, did they suffer. That was one of the worst things that has ever been signed by our country. Now she wants to sign Trans-Pacific Partnership. And she wants it. She lied when she said she didn't call it the gold standard in one of the debates. She totally lied. She did call it the gold standard. And they actually fact checked and they said I was right.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **14. Clinton, tu quoque, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well, first, let me say, number one, when I saw the final agreement for TPP, I said I was against it. It didn't meet my test. I've had the same test. Does it create jobs, raise incomes and further our national security. I'm against it now. I'll be against it after the election. I'll be against it when I'm president. There's only one of us on this stage who has actually shipped jobs to Mexico because that's Donald. He has shipped jobs to 12 countries including Mexico. But he mentioned China. And, you know, one of the biggest problems we have with China is the illegal dumping of steel and aluminum into our markets. I have fought against that as a senator. I have stood up against it as Secretary of State. Donald has bought Chinese steel and aluminum. In fact, the Trump Hotel right here in Las Vegas was made with Chinese steel. So he goes around with crocodile tears about how terrible it is. But he has given jobs to Chinese steelworkers, not American steelworkers. That's the kind of approach that is just not going to work. We're going to pull the country together. We're going to have trade agreements that we enforce. That's why I'm going to have a trade prosecutor for the first time in history. And we're going to enforce those agreements and we're going to look for businesses to help us by buying American products.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **15. Trump, tu quoque, non-fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: Well I think I did a much better job. I built a massive company, a great company, some of the greatest assets anywhere in the world worth many, many billions of dollars. I started with a \$1 million loan. I agree with that. It's a \$1 million loan, but I built a phenomenal company. And if we could run our country the way I've run my company, we would have a country that would you would be so proud of, you would even be proud of it. And frankly, when you look at her real record, take a look at Syria, take a look at the migration, take a look at Libya, take a look at Iraq. She gave us ISIS because her and Obama created this huge vacuum, and a small group came out of that huge vacuum because, we should have never been in Iraq, but once we were there, we should have never got out the way they wanted to get out. She gave us ISIS as sure as you are sitting there. And what happened is now ISIS is in 32 countries. Now I listen to how she's going to get rid of ISIS. She's going to get to rid of nobody.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

#### **16. Trump, circumstantial, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: Well, first of all, those stories have been largely debunked. Those people, I don't know those people. I have a feeling how they came. I believe it was her campaign that did it just like if you look at what came out today on the clips where I was wondering what happened with my rally in Chicago and other rallies where we had such violence. She's the one and Obama that caused the violence. They hired people. They paid them \$1500, and they're on tape saying be violent, cause fights, do bad things. I would say the only way -- because those stories are all totally false. I have to say that, and I didn't even apologize to my wife who is sitting right here because I didn't do anything. I didn't know any of these women. I didn't see these women.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

#### **17. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: At the last debate, we heard Donald talking about what he did to women, and after that a number of women have come forward saying that's exactly what he did to them. Now, what was his response? Well, he held a number of big rallies where he said that he could not possibly have done those things to those women because they were not attractive enough for --

TRUMP: I did not say that.

CLINTON: -- them to be assaulted.

(...)

TRUMP: I did not say that.

Wallace: Her two minutes.

CLINTON: He went on to say "look at her, I don't think so." About another woman, he said "that wouldn't be my first choice." He attacked the woman reporter writing the story, called her disgusting, as he has called a number of women during this campaign. Donald thinks belittling women makes him bigger. He goes after their dignity, their self-worth, and I don't think there is a woman anywhere that doesn't know what that feels like. So we now know what Donald thinks and what he says and how he acts toward women. That's who Donald is. I think it's really up to all of us to demonstrate who we are and who our country is and to stand up and be very clear about what we expect from our next president, how we want to bring our country together, where we don't want to have the kind of pitting of people one against the other, where instead we celebrate our diversity, we lift people up, and we make our country even greater. America is great because America is good. And it really is up to all of us to make that true now and in the future and particularly for our children and our grandchildren.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**18. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: I did not say that.

Wallace: Her two minutes.

CLINTON: He went on to say "look at her, I don't think so." About another woman, he said "that wouldn't be my first choice." He attacked the woman reporter writing the story, called her disgusting, as he has called a number of women during this campaign. Donald thinks belittling women makes him bigger. He goes after their dignity, their self-worth, and I don't think there is a woman anywhere that doesn't know what that feels like. So we now know what Donald thinks and what he says and how he acts toward women. That's who Donald is. I think it's really up to all of us to demonstrate who we are and who our country is and to stand up and be very clear about what we expect from our next president, how we want to bring our country together, where we don't want to have the kind of pitting of people one against the other, where instead we celebrate our diversity, we lift people up, and we make our country even greater. America is great because America is good. And it really is up to all of us to make that true now and in the future and particularly for our children and our grandchildren.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**19. Trump, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: And frankly, those stories have been largely debunked. And I really want to just talk about something slightly different. She mentions this, which is all fiction, all fictionalized, probably or possibly started by her and her very sleazy campaign. But I will tell you what isn't fictionalized are her e-mails where she destroyed 33,000 e-mails criminally, criminally after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress. What happened to the FBI, I don't know. We have a great general, four-star general, today you read it in all the papers going to potentially serve five years in jail for lying to the FBI, one lie. She's lied hundreds of times to the people, to Congress, and to the FBI. He's going to probably go to jail. This is a four-star general, and she gets away with it and she can run for the presidency of the United States? That's really what you should be talking about, not fiction where somebody wants fame or where they come out of her crooked campaign.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**20. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, every time Donald is pushed on something, which is obviously uncomfortable like what these women are saying, he immediately goes to denying responsibility and it's not just about women. He never apologizes or says he's sorry for anything, so we know what he has said and what he's done to women. But he also went after a disabled reporter, mocked and mimicked him on national television.

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: He went after Mr. And Mrs. Khan, the parents of a young man who died serving our country, a gold star family because of their religion. He went after John McCain, a prisoner of war, said he prefers people that aren't captured. He went after a federal judge born in Indiana but who Donald said couldn't be trusted to try the fraud and racketeering case against Trump University because his parents were Mexican. So it's not one thing. This is a pattern, a pattern of divisiveness, of a very dark and in many ways dangerous vision of our country where he incites violence, where he applauds people who are pushing and pulling and punching at his rallies.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**21. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

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1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**22. Trump, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: So sad when she talks about violence at my rallies and she caused the violence. It's on tape. The other things are false, but honestly I'd love to talk about getting rid of ISIS and I'd love to talk about other things.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**23. Trump, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: It's a criminal enterprise. Saudi Arabia given \$25 million, Qatar, all of these countries. You talk about women and women's rights? So these are people that push gays off business, off buildings. These are people that kill women and treat women horribly and yet you take their money. So I'd like to ask you right now why don't you give back the money that you've taken from certain countries that treat certain groups of people so horribly? Why don't you give back the money? I think it would be a great gesture because she takes a tremendous amount of money. And you take a look at the people of Haiti. I was in Little Haiti the other day in Florida, and I want to tell you they hate the Clintons because what's happened in Haiti with the Clinton Foundation is a disgrace. And you know it and they know it and everybody knows it.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: no

**24. Clinton, circumstantial, fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well, very quickly, we at the Clinton Foundation spend 90%, 90%, of all the money that is donated on behalf of programs for people around the world and in our own country. I'm very proud of that. We have the highest rating from the watchdogs that follow foundations. And I would be happy to compare what we do with the Trump Foundation which took money from other people and bought a six-foot portrait of Donald. I mean, who does that? I mean, it just was astonishing. But when it comes to Haiti, Haiti is the poorest country in our hemisphere. The earthquake and the hurricanes, it has devastated Haiti. Bill and I have been involved in trying to help Haiti for many years. The Clinton Foundation raised \$30 million to help Haiti after the catastrophic earthquake and all of the terrible problems the people there had. We've done things to help small businesses, agriculture, and so much else. And we're going to keep working to help Haiti because it is an important part of the American experience.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**25. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: There was, there was and by the way, the money went to fisher house where they build houses, the money that you're talking about went to fisher house where they build houses for veterans and disabled veterans.

CLINTON: Of course, there's no way we can know whether any of that is true because he hasn't released his tax returns. He's the first candidate ever to run for president in the last 40-plus years who has not released his tax returns. So everything he says about charity or anything else, we can't prove it. You can look at our tax returns. We've got them all out there. What is really troubling is that we learned in the last debate he has not paid a penny in federal income tax. And we were talking about immigrants a few minutes ago, Chris. Half of all undocumented immigrants actually pay federal income tax. So we have undocumented immigrants in America who are paying more federal income tax than a billionaire. I find that just astonishing.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**26. Trump, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: --Let me just explain. All of her donors. Most of her donors --

Wallace: Mr. Trump --

TRUMP: Have done the same thing as I did. And you know what she should have done? You know Hillary, what you should have done? You should have changed the law when you were a United States senator if you don't like it --

Wallace: Thanks, we've heard this.

TRUMP: -- because your donors and special interests are doing the same thing as I do except even more so. You should have changed the law, but you won't change the law because you take in so much money. I sat in my apartment today on a very beautiful hotel down the street.

CLINTON: Made with Chinese steel.

TRUMP: I will tell you I sat there. I sat there watching ad after ad after ad, all false ads, all paid for by your friends on Wall Street that gave so much money because they know you're going to protect them. And frankly, you should have changed the laws. If you don't like what I did, you should have changed the laws.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**27. Clinton, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: --Let me just explain. All of her donors. Most of her donors --

Wallace: Mr. Trump --

TRUMP: Have done the same thing as I did. And you know what she should have done? You know Hillary, what you should have done? You should have changed the law when you were a United States senator if you don't like it --

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TRUMP: -- because your donors and special interests are doing the same thing as I do except even more so. You should have changed the law, but you won't change the law because you take in so much money. I sat in my apartment today on a very beautiful hotel down the street.

CLINTON: **Made with Chinese steel.**

TRUMP: I will tell you I sat there. I sat there watching ad after ad after ad, all false ads, all paid for by your friends on Wall Street that gave so much money because they know you're going to protect them. And frankly, you should have changed the laws. If you don't like what I did, you should have changed the laws.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### **28. Trump, circumstantial, fallacious, 0**

TRUMP: Excuse me, Chris. If you look at your voter rolls, you will see millions of people that are registered to vote. Millions. This isn't coming from me. This is coming from Pew report and other places. Millions of people that are registered to vote that shouldn't be registered to vote. So let me just give you one other thing. I talk about the corrupt media. I talk about the millions of people. **I'll tell you one other thing. She shouldn't be allowed to run. It's -- She's guilty of a very, very serious crime. She should not be allowed to run, and just in that respect I say it's rigged because she should never --**

Wallace: But, but --

TRUMP: **Chris. She should never have been allowed to run for the presidency based on what she did with e-mails and so many other things.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

### **29. Clinton, circumstantial, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well Chris, let me respond to that because that's horrifying. **You know, every time Donald thinks things aren't going in his direction, he claims whatever it is, is rigged against him. The FBI conducted a yearlong investigation into my e-mails. They concluded there was no case. He said the FBI was rigged. He lost the Iowa caucus, he lost the Wisconsin primary, he said the Republican primary was rigged against him. Then, Trump University gets sued for fraud and racketeering. He claims the court system and the federal judge is rigged against him. There was even a time when he didn't get an Emmy for his TV program three years in a row and he started tweeting that the Emmys were rigged against him.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### **30. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: **This is a mind-set. This is how Donald thinks, and it's funny, but it's also really troubling.** That is not the way our democracy works. We've been around for 240 years. We've had free and fair elections. We've accepted the outcomes when we may not have liked them, and that is what must be expected of anyone standing on a debate stage during a general election. You know, President Obama said the other day when you're whining before the game is even finished--

(Applause)

Wallace: Hold on, folks.

CLINTON: **-- It just shows you're not up to doing the job. And let's be clear about what he's saying and what that means. He's denigrating, he is talking down our democracy. And I, for one, am appalled that somebody who is the nominee of one of our two major parties would take that kind of position.**

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

### **31. Clinton, tu quoque, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: **Well, you know, once again Donald is implying that he didn't support the invasion of Iraq. I said it was a mistake. I said that years ago. He has consistently denied what is --**

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: -- is a very clear fact that before the invasion

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: -- he supported it. I just want everybody to go google it. "Google Donald Trump Iraq" and you'll see the dozens of sources which verify that he was for the invasion of Iraq.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**32. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: And you can hear the audio of him saying that. Why does that matter? Well, it matters because he has not told the truth about that position. I guess he believes it makes him look better to contrast with me because I did vote for it. But what's really important here is to understand all the interplay. Mosul is a Sunni city. Mosul is on the border of Syria, and yes, we do need to go after Baghdadi, just like we went after Bin Laden while you were doing "Celebrity apprentice" and we brought him to justice. We need to go after the leadership, but we need to get rid of them, get rid of their fighters. There are several thousand fighters in Mosul. They've been digging underground. They've been prepared to defend. It's going to be tough fighting, but I think we can take back Mosul and then we can move on into Syria and take back Raqqa.

This is what we have to do. I'm just am amazed that he seems to think the Iraqi government and our allies and everybody else launched the attack on Mosul to help me in this election, but that's how Donald thinks, you know, he always is looking for some conspiracy—

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**33. Clinton, abusive, fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: He's unfit. He proves it every time.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**34. Trump, tu quoque, fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: He's unfit. He proves it every time.

TRUMP: No, you're the one that's unfit. You know, Wikileaks just actually came out. John Podesta said some horrible things about you, and boy was he right. He said some beauties. And you know Bernie Sanders, he said you have bad judgment. You do. And if you think going into Mosul after we let the world know we're going in and all of the people we really wanted, the leaders are all gone, if you think that was good, then you do. Now John Podesta said you have terrible instincts. Bernie Sanders said you have bad judgment. I agree with both.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**35. Clinton, abusive, fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well you should ask Bernie Sanders who he is supporting for President.

TRUMP: Which is a big mistake

CLINTON: And he said you are the most dangerous person to run for president in the modern history of America. I think he's right.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no

**36. Clinton, abusive, non-fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well, first when I hear Donald talk like that and know that his slogan is "Make America Great Again." I wonder when he thought America was great. And before he rushes and says, you know, before you and President Obama were there, I think it's important to recognize that he has been criticizing our government for decades. You know, back in 1987, he took out an \$100,000 ad in the New York Times during the time when President Reagan was president and basically said exactly what he just said right now. That we were the laughing stock of the world. He was criticizing President Reagan. This is the way Donald thinks about himself, puts himself into, you know, the middle and says, you know, 'I alone can fix it,' as he said on the convention stage.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: yes, 4: yes

**37. Trump, abusive, fallacious, 0**

CLINTON: Well, Chris, I am record as saying we need to put more money into Social Security Trust fund. That's part of my commitment to raise taxes on the wealthy. My Social Security payroll contribution will go up as will Donald's assuming he can't figure out how to get out of it, but what we want to do is --

TRUMP: Such a nasty woman.

1: yes, 2: yes, 3: no