

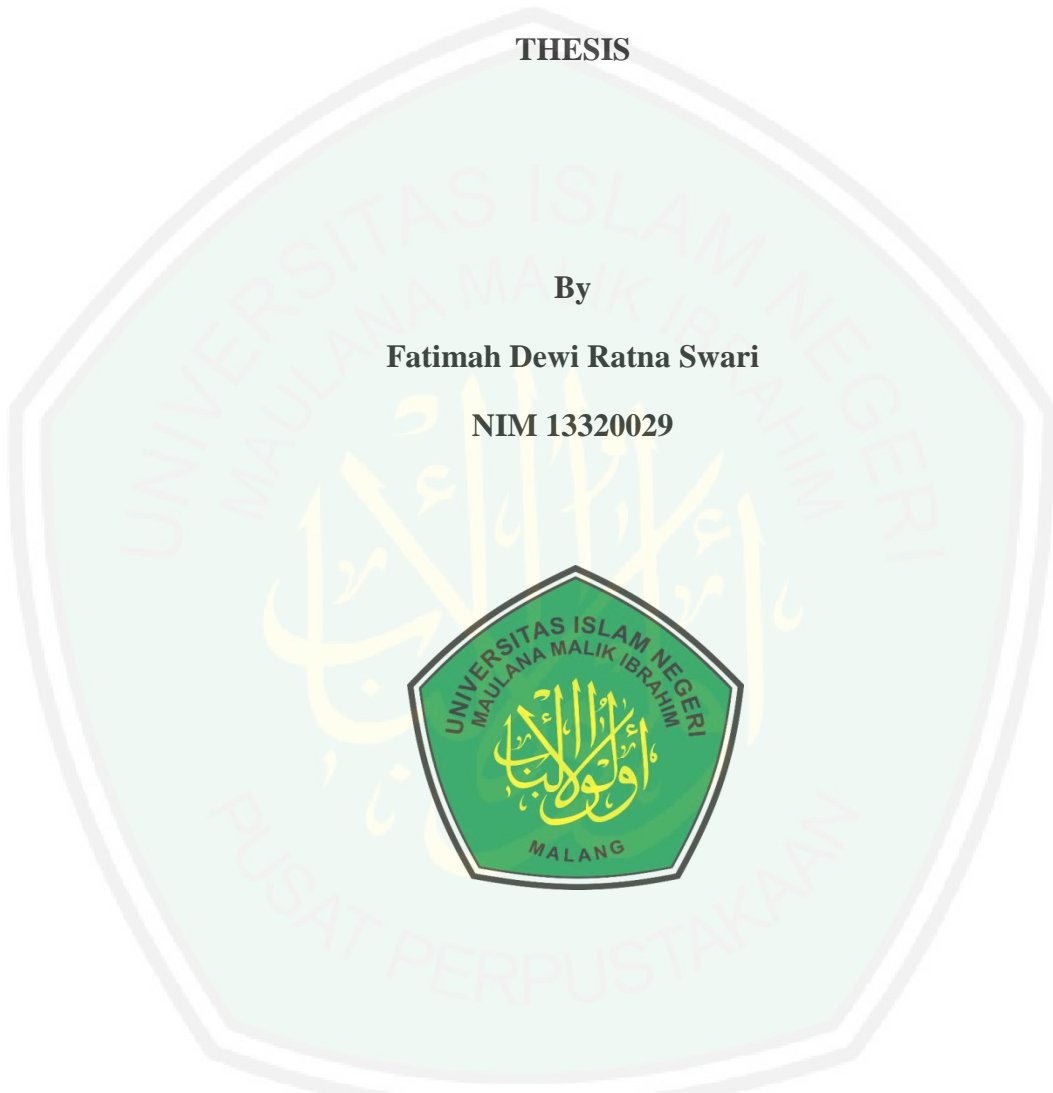
**RHETORICAL DEVICES REPRESENTING POWER RELATION FOR
GROUP AFFILIATION ON 2016 U.S PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE**

THESIS

By

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ENGLISH LETTERS DEPARTMENT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM

MALANG

2018

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GROUP AFFILIATION ON 2016 U.S PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE**

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Presented to

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra

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MALANG

2018

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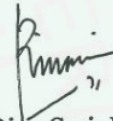
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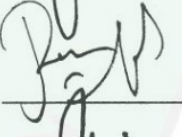



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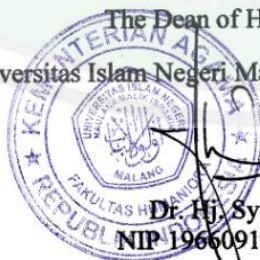
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Malang, October 10th, 2018



fatimah Dewi Ratna Swari

DEDICATION

I proudly dedicate this thesis to

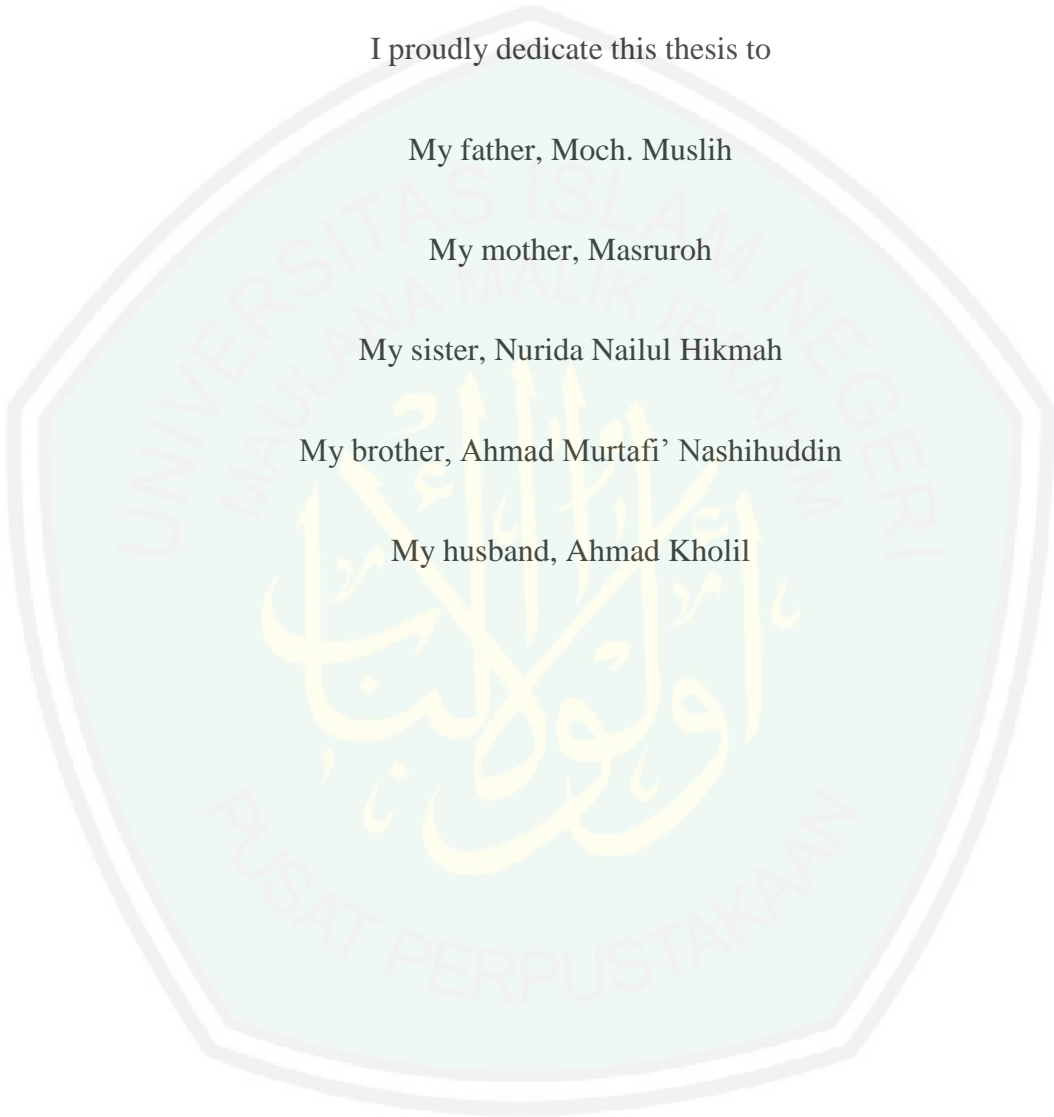
My father, Moch. Muslih

My mother, Masruroh

My sister, Nurida Nailul Hikmah

My brother, Ahmad Murtafi' Nashihuddin

My husband, Ahmad Kholil



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All praises to Allah SWT, the Lord of the world who has given me this mercy and blessing so that I can accomplish this thesis entitled "Rhetorical Devices Representing Power Relation for Group Affiliation on 2016 U.S Presidential Debate". Shalawat and salam belong to our prophet Muhammad SAW who brought the good news for all human's life.

I as the researcher realize that there are many people who have supported me to accomplish this research. Hence, I would like to give my great thanks to my thesis advisor, Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed who has patiently guided and helped me to accomplish this thesis with her critical and constructive comments to make the betterment of this research. The examiners, Dr. Hj. Syafiyah, M.A., and Dr. Hj. Rohmani Nur Indah, M.Pd. who have given me some suggestions and comments in revising this research. My lecturers of English Letters department for being patient in teaching me to get much valuable knowledge. My friends at English Letters Department students especially who have given me their comments to accomplish this research. My Mursyid, Mr. Imam Mustofa and My beloved 'unni', Imro'atul Fadhilah who have always given their support, help, pray, love, and motivation. My friends of the same advisor who have always given their support, help, and motivation.

Malang, October 10th, 2018

Fatimah Dewi Ratna Swari

ABSTRACT

Swari, Fatimah Dewi Ratna. 2018. *Rhetorical Devices Representing Power Relation for Group Affiliation on 2016 U.S Presidential Debate*. Thesis. English Letters Department. Humanities Faculty. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang. Advisor: Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed.

Keywords: Rhetorical Devices, Power Relation, Discursive Strategies, Presidential Debate.

This research aims to investigate rhetorical devices and power relation of Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's statements for representing group affiliation on October 19, 2016, U.S presidential debate. Rhetorical devices become the important things to be analyzed because the rhetorical device is the foundation of democratic politics. Additionally, the power relation becomes a major point to be analyzed because it is one of the power sources used to discursively influence people's ideology.

This research is descriptive research because it describes the use of rhetorical devices which represents a power relation between Clinton's and Trump's statements. It is categorized as qualitative research because the data are in the forms of words. Yet, this study uses constructivism paradigm because it constructed two theories, Jones and Peccei's theory (2004) to analyze the utterances which indicate rhetorical devices, and Van Dijk's theory (1993) to analyze the utterances which indicate power relation. The data are described in detail using Jones and Peccei's theory combine with Van Dijk's CDA approach.

The results of this study show that the use of rhetorical devices aimed to show their power relation, especially for group affiliation through the use of a pronoun. Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump used the pronoun 'I', 'we', 'us' and 'our' for positive self-presentation. The use of the pronoun 'you' and 'he/she' for negative other presentation. Then the use of the pronoun 'they' not only for negative other presentation but also for positive other presentation. Moreover, discursive strategies of power relation become a significant way for Trump and Clinton to portray their power relation by strengthening and emphasizing their argument to build ideological construction. Therefore, the use of rhetorical devices and discursive strategies in the presidential debate is principally utilized to make their opponent powerless by underestimating and discriminating them in a negative out-group presentation.

It is suggested for the next researchers to investigate rhetorical devices representing power relation in media discourse or other subjects. Finally, it is also suggested to conduct the research by using other theories of CDA like Fairclough and other theories because combining two or more theories will find a new finding.



ABSTRAK

Swari, Fatimah Dewi Ratna. 2018. *Perangkat Retoris Merepresentasikan Hubungan Kekuasaan untuk Pengafiliasian Grup pada Debat Presiden U.S 2016*. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang. Pembimbing: Dr. Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed.

Kata kunci: perangkat retorik, hubungan kekuasaan, strategi diskursif, debat presiden.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menginvestigasi perangkat retorik dan hubungan kekuasaan pada argumen Hillary Clinton dan Donald Trump untuk merepresentasikan afiliasi grup di debat presiden pada tanggal 19 Oktober 2016. Perangkat retorik menjadi poin penting untuk diteliti karena perangkat retorik merupakan salah satu pondasi dari sebuah demokrasi politik. Sedangkan hubungan kekuasaan menjadi hal yang signifikan untuk diteliti karena hubungan kekuasaan adalah salah satu sumber kekuatan yang digunakan untuk mempengaruhi ideologi orang lain secara diskursif.

Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian deskriptif karena menggambarkan penggunaan perangkat retorik yang merepresentasikan hubungan kekuasaan pada argumen Clinton dan Trump. Penelitian ini juga merupakan penelitian kualitatif karena data dalam penelitian ini berbentuk kata atau ujaran. Penelitian ini menggunakan paradigma konstruktivisme karena penelitian ini mengonstruksi dua teori, yaitu teori dari Jones dan Peccei (2004) untuk menganalisis ujaran yang mengindikasikan penggunaan perangkat retorik, dan teori dari Van Dijk (1993) untuk menganalisis ujaran yang mengindikasikan hubungan kekuasaan. Keseluruhan data akan dijelaskan secara lengkap dengan menggabungkan teori dari Jones dan Peccei, dan teori pendekatan analisa wacana kritis dari Van Dijk.

Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa penggunaan perangkat retorik bertujuan untuk menunjukkan hubungan kekuasaan dari Hillary dan Trump, khususnya pada pengelompokan grup melalui penggunaan 'pronoun'. Hillary Clinton dan Donald Trump menggunakan pronoun 'I, we, us, dan our' untuk menunjukkan nilai positif diri sendiri. Penggunaan pronoun 'you, dan he/she' untuk menunjukkan nilai negatif dari orang lain. Penggunaan pronoun 'they' tidak hanya untuk menunjukkan kenegatifan dari orang lain, namun juga untuk menunjukkan kepositifannya. Terlebih, strategi diskursif dari hubungan kekuasaan merupakan cara yang signifikan bagi Trump dan Clinton untuk menggambarkan hubungan kekuasaan mereka dengan memperkuat dan menekankan argumen untuk membangun sebuah ideologi. Oleh karenanya

penggunaan perangkat retorik dan strategi diskursif dari hubungan kekuasaan pada debat presiden bertujuan untuk melemahkan lawan mereka dengan meremehkan dan mendeskriminasi dengan memosisikan mereka di grup lain yang negatif.

Disarankan bagi peneliti selanjutnya untuk meneliti perangkat retorik yang merepresentasikan hubungan kekuasaan di media tulis atau subjek yang lainnya. Selain itu juga disarankan untuk menganalisis dengan menggunakan teori yang lain dari analisa wacana kritis seperti Fairclough dan yang lainnya, karena mengombinasikan dua teori yang berbeda mungkin akan membantu menemukan temuan baru.



تجريد

سوارى، فاطمة ديوي راتنا. ٢٠١٨. الأجهزة البلاغية تمثل العلاقة السلطانية للانتماء الجماعي في مناظرة رئاسية أمريكية المتحدة عام ٢٠١٦. البحث. قسم الآداب الإنجليزية. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج.

تحت الإشراف: الدكتورة ميناري سوسيلواتي الماجستير.
الكلمة المفتاحية: الأجهزة البلاغية، العلاقة السلطانية، الاستراتيجية الاستطردية، المناظرة الرئاسية

تهدف هذا البحث إلى التحقيق في الأجهزة البلاغية والعلاقة السلطانية في حجج هيلاري كلينتون ودونالد ترامب لتمثيل الانتماء الجماعي في المناظرة الرئاسية تاريخ ١٩ أكتوبر ٢٠١٦. إن الأجهزة البلاغية هي نقطة مهمة للبحث لأن الأجهزة البلاغية أسس من أساسات الديمقراطية السياسية. بينما تصبح العلاقة السلطانية شيئاً هاماً للبحث لأنها أحد مصادر القوة المستخدمة للتأثير على إيديولوجية الآخرين من الناحية النظرية.

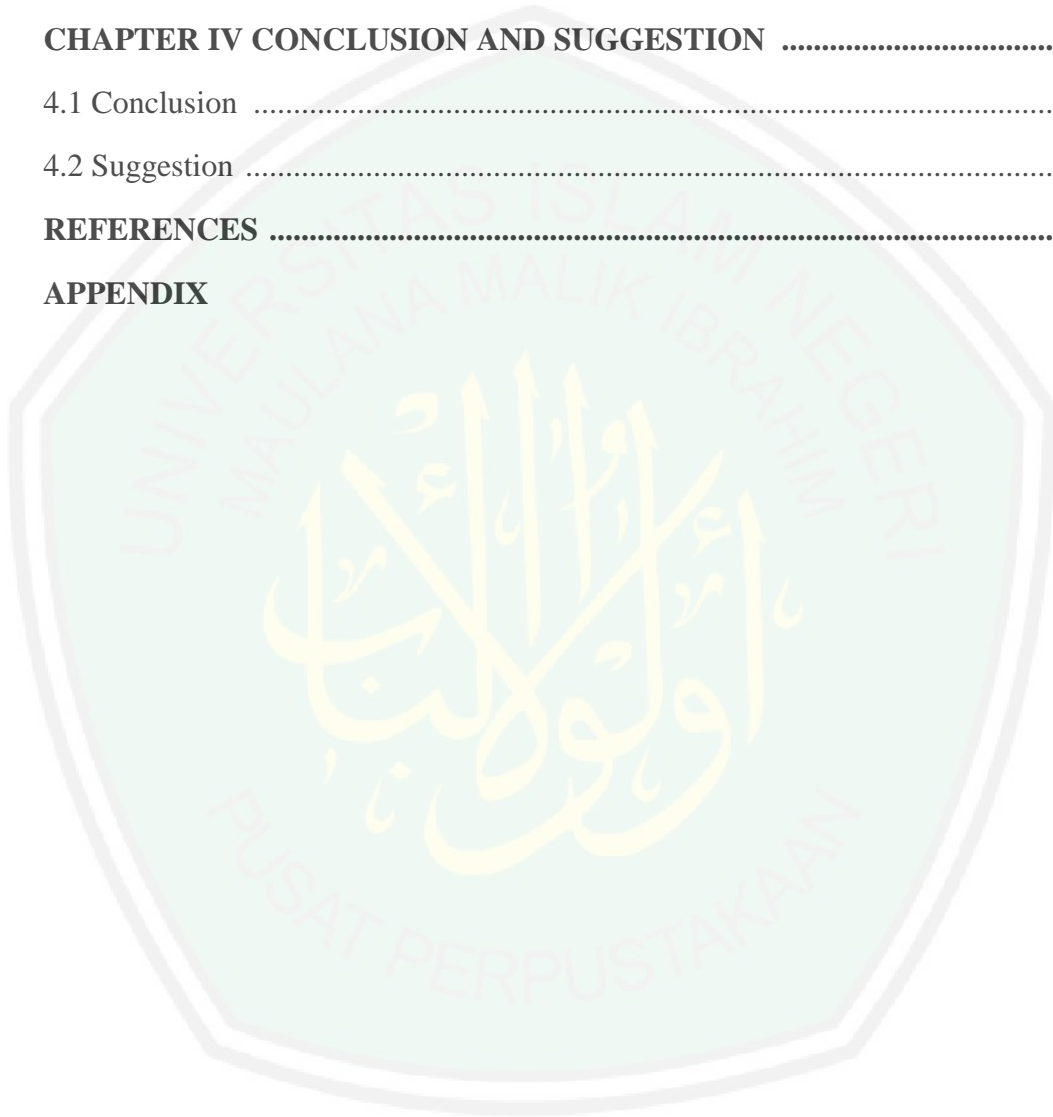
هذا البحث دراسة وصفية يصف استخدام الأجهزة البلاغية التي تمثل العلاقة السلطانية في حجج كلينتون وترامب. هذا البحث أيضا بحث نوعي لأن البيانات في هذا البحث تحت شكل كلمات. يستخدم هذا البحث نموذج البنائية لأنه يبيّن نظريتين، هما نظرية جونز وبيكيسي (٢٠٠٤) لتحليل الكلمات التي تشير إلى استخدام الأجهزة البلاغية، ونظرية فان دايك (١٩٩٣) لتحليل الألفاظ التي تشير إلى العلاقة السلطانية. سيتم شرح كل البيانات الكامل من خلال الجمع بين نظريتي جونز وبيكيسي، ونظرية تحليل الخطاب النقدي من فان دجيك.

تشير نتيجة هذا البحث إلى أن استخدام الأجهزة البلاغية يهدف إلى إظهار العلاقة السلطانية بين هيلاري وترامب، وخاصة في مجموعة الفريق من خلال استخدام "الضمير". يستخدم هيلاري كلينتون ودونالد ترامب ضمير "i, we, us, our" للإشارة إلى قيمة نفسها الإيجابية. استخدام الضمير "you, he/she" تشير إلى قيمة سالبة للآخرين. استخدام الضمير "they" ليس لإظهار سلبية الآخرين فحسب، ولكن أيضا لإظهار الإيجابية. وعلاوة على ذلك، فإن الاستراتيجية الاستطراذية من العلاقة السلطانية وسيلة هامة لترامب وكلينتون لوصف العلاقة بين السلطة على تعزيز الحجة وتأكيد لها لبناء أيديولوجية. لذلك فإن استخدام الأجهزة البلاغية والاستراتيجية الاستطراذية للعلاقة السلطانية في المناظرة الرئاسية يهدف إلى إضعاف خصومهم عن طريق التحطيم والتمييز من خلال وضعهم في مجموعات سلبية أخرى يقترح لمزيد من الباحثين بحث الأجهزة البلاغية التي تمثل العلاقة السلطانية في وسائل الإعلام المكتوبة أو الموضوعات الأخرى. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، من المستحسن أيضاً للتحليل باستخدام نظريات أخرى لتحليل الخطاب النقدي مثل نظرية فيركلو وآخرون، لأن الجمع بين نظريتين مختلفتين قد يساعد في العثور على نتيجة جديدة.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the background of the study, statement of the problem, an objective of the study, the significance of the study, scope and limitation, definition of the key terms, and research method.

1.1 Background of the study

This research investigates rhetorical devices which representing group affiliation used by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in their presidential debate. Rhetorical devices generally refer to the use of persuasive devices to persuade and invite people to do the action and agree with speakers. According to Freshmith (2007), rhetorical devices are about how to use persuasive text in order to represent reality in a particular way. The speaker can attract the listener's attention as well as how good they used persuasive text in their language. It is usually used when the speaker wants their partner of communication convinced what they said.

Here I explore rhetorical devices in the context of the presidential debate. Rhetorical devices are important to the politicians especially in the presidential debate, they cannot far away from using persuasive text, and it is because persuasion is the foundation of democratic politics. It occurs with Barker's statement "persuasion is the foundation of democratic politics, where power cannot be achieved, organized, or maintained via simple coercion." (Barker; 1893, p.120). By using rhetorical devices, the politician in the presidential debate can cover the way convinced their listener to what they said.

Basically, rhetorical devices used to explain a relationship between sense and force in delivering the speech. In this present study, I expect to investigate the rhetorical devices proposed by Jones and Peccei (2004). According to Jones and Peccei rhetorical devices consist of fifth devices, are; metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism, and pronoun. Those devices are helping the speaker delivers their message.

In order to convince what the speaker says during communication especially in political debate, using rhetorical devices is not enough; moreover, the speaker also needs to show their power in relation to influence the listeners. Van Dijk defines social power in term of control (Dijk, 2008), which means that power is the control of others. When the speaker can control the audience's mind and arrange the language use, their speech will charm as they want. Traditionally, power is control of one group to another through the language in discourse. Power is linked with the ideology which is constructed in society. Because of that, it controls and monitors the mind of people through ideological construction in the form of text and talk (Putra, 2016).

The dominant group mostly uses power as the main instrument to discursively and ideologically control others. Power relation then survives in social communication to express their ideology to influence the act and behavior. Ideology itself is the primary beliefs of a group and its member (Dijk, 2007). Ideology usually constructs by powerful people and group to influence others through the use of language construction. It is because language is one of the instruments of domination and social force. Power is one of the instruments to

deliver the ideology in the society. Through power relation, people make the image of their group into the positive term and other groups in the negative term. The existence of power relation in society then leads CDA to analyze the phenomena through the use of language. Thus, the powerful speaker maximizes their power relation by combining the use of rhetorical devices and discursive strategies in their text and talk to represent group affiliation.

As mentioned above, if the powerful speaker maximizes their power relation through combining the use of rhetorical devices and discursive strategies, then the used of power relation and rhetorical devices in the same time become a weapon for the dominant group. In social communication, the powerful speaker will be trusted by society if they not only able to deliver what they think but also able to attract society's believe and mind to what they said. Thus, for a powerful speaker combining rhetorical devices, discursive strategies, and power relation at the same time is like have a weapon to make society believe to what they said.

CDA particularly aims to explore power relation phenomena through the use of language. It represents how power relation constructed, illustrated, and negotiated in discourse text and talks such as in the news and politics. CDA analyzes essentially between discourse and social relation concern to the existence of power between groups of people. CDA focuses on how the discourse produces social domination as the power abuse of one group who will discursively dominate others (Dijk, 1993).

CDA guide people to see the connection between language and society, it is like what Fairclough (1989) said that CDA works in linguistic elements in a relation between language, power, and ideology which have hidden from people in society. The existence of power relation usually emerges in the public institutional. One of the power sources that we often met is politics. Dijk (1993) states the power source is mostly found in public discourses such as media, politic, and education. Hence, inside the presidential debate, there are utterances which indicate the power relation through the ideological construction to people. Thus, it is important to investigate presidential debate speech as the discursive source of power. There are some reasons why I take presidential debate as the subject of this research. First, in the presidential debate, the discourse of each political debater possibly indicates a power relation to show how good they influence others through ideological construction for group affiliation. Second, the utterances may persuade others by using rhetorical devices at the same time the way they convince others through ideological construction on discursive strategies. Hence, I use CDA of Van Dijk (1993) to analyze the presidential debate speech as the discursive strategies used by political debaters which indicate power relation. And I use the theory of rhetorical devices of Jones and Peccei (2004) to analyze the way they use rhetorical devices to persuade and convince what they say.

Some relevant previous studies were done by Yuhanna (2010), Aini (2012), Zahra (2013), Hanim (2016), etc. Yuhanna (2010) investigates the rhetorical characteristics in the speech of president Soekarno, she found that

Soekarno applies five elements; agent, scene, act, agency, and purpose. Soekarno also appears in three classical appeals; logical appeal, emotional appeal, and ethnical appeal. The other previous study is conducted by Aini (2012), she analyzed rhetorical strategy in the speech of Benedict XVI. The finding reveals that Pop Benedict XVI dominantly employs rhetorical strategies of polarization, authority, nonexpression, and a view as empathy, actor description, consensus, and disclaimer. Another relevant research was accomplished by Zahra (2013), who analyzed rhetorical devices used by Barrack Obama's speech in United State presidential election 2012. The finding reveals that the hidden meaning behind those devices can be divided into four intentions. First to portray Obama positively, the second is to contrast character, third to show intimacy, unity, respect, and power. The last researcher that relevant to the topic is Hanim (2016), she analyzed rhetorical devices used by Glenn Back in his speech. She analyzed the application of rhetorical devices based on Jones and Peccei (2004) to compare with the critical discourse analysis framework restricted to the microstructure element purposed by Van Dijk.

Then some relevant previous studies have been conducted using CDA's theories is Ali (2012), Komarudin (2014), Putra (2016). First, Ali (2012) analyzed the speech of Shaikh Hamzah Yusuf. He found that the speaker expressed the ideological standpoint through the speech. The speaker used some types of microstructure level analysis involves the word, phrase, and sentence to support his ideology. Second, Komaruddin (2014), he analyzed the speech of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton about a woman. He used CDA on the meaning level. The

finding shows in the speech there is a hidden ideology of liberal feminism. The speaker used positive self-presentation of US and negative self-presentation of Middle-East. The speaker used ideological construction to influence the audience through convincing the important liberal feminism message. Last, Putra (2016), he analyzed Donald Trump's speech, he found that Trump shows his power relation with people by using the discursive strategy of discourse structure to make him more powerful than others, Trump used his power relation to influence people's ideology by using discourse structure during campaign speech involves topic, schema and structural units.

Moreover, from these research findings, rhetorical devices, and power relation still work in the separate investigation, and most of them investigate speech. I find space for this research to continue the previous studies by investigating rhetorical devices represent power relation in the presidential debate. I focused on the use of rhetorical devices representing power relation for group affiliation on the presidential debate because they have not research yet. Therefore, I interest in conducting this research.

By doing these rhetorical devices and power relation analysis, I understand how to give argumentation especially the speaker who has a power relation in society such as Hillary and Trump. Hopefully by investigating this subject could fill the gaps of the previous studies and could explore the linguistic dimension as useful as well.

1.2 Research Problem

How do rhetorical devices represent power relation for group affiliation?

1.3 Objective of the Study

The study attempts to fulfill the objective:

To explain how rhetorical devices represent the power relation for group affiliation.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The result of this study is expected to contribute theoretical and practical distribution for the development of the linguistics field. Theoretically, this study is expected to give deeper understanding on investigating rhetorical devices theory illustrated by Jones and Peccei (2004) and power relation proposed by Van Dijk (1993). These two theories are used to investigate rhetorical devices which represent power relation for group affiliation in the presidential debate in 2016.

Practically, this study would be useful to someone who wants to be able to control the listener's ideology by applying rhetorical devices and discursive strategy of power relation in their speech. Yet, it is going to be contributed to the lecturers as the references in teaching rhetorical speech or teaching public speaking. Furthermore, this research can provide the important direction which can be followed up by the next researchers.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

Linguistically, rhetoric is divided into two fields, oral and writing communication. This study only focuses on oral communication, especially in the presidential debate. In analyzing how Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton used rhetorical devices, I used Jones and Peccei's theory (2004) and how power relation used on their statement I only focus on CDA's theory illustrated by Van Dijk (1996). Then, due to the limited time, the limitation of this study is analyzing Hillary's and Trump's arguments about two topics; there is the topic about Supreme Court and immigration.

1.6 Research Method

This section including research design, research instrument, data source, data collection and data analysis.

1.6.1 Research Design

This study uses descriptive qualitative as the research design. It is descriptive because this research going to describe how rhetorical devices representing power relation for group affiliation on Hillary's and Trump's argument. It is qualitative because basically aimed at describing the data in the form of utterances in text script. Yet, this study uses constructivism paradigm because it constructed two theories, Jones and Peccei's theory (2004) to analyze the utterances which indicate rhetorical devices, and Van Dijk's theory (1993) to analyze the utterances which indicate power relation, then it will find a new finding. The data are described in detail using Jones and Peccei's theory combine

with Van Dijk's CDA approach with the result that how rhetorical devices represent power relation for group affiliation during the presidential debate.

1.6.2 Research Instrument

The main instrument of this research is the human instrument that collected and analyzed the data. According to Hancock (1998), I as the main instrument of the qualitative method research is to understand the internal reason inside of the comprehensive understanding. However, I intend to analyze the use of rhetorical devices which representing power relation for group affiliation in the process of the study.

1.6.3 Data Source

The data in this research are taken from some utterances of political debate delivered by Hillary and Trump in the presidential debate on October 19 at the Hofstra University of Nevada, Las Vegas. It used because the utterances during the debate are potential data in which rhetorical devices identified in discursive strategies of power relation which used by Hillary and Trump for group affiliation. In order to know the valid data, I obtain the script from dailycaller.com and the video of the Democratic presidential nominee from youtube.com to see how the body movement, the expression, and the intonation either their intonation loud or soft.

The data source for this research is Hillary's and Trump's speech in the presidential debate as a Democratic nominee for president of the United States. The data of this research is in the form of utterances which contained an oral

statement made by Hillary and Trump in NBC Nightly News 2016 inform of the script. The script was taken from dailycaller.com because in this official web published the full text of how presidential debate run. Then I took the video of the presidential debate from youtube.com because I need to watch the run of the debate and to know how linguistics feature used and how power relation used in that communication through political debate. I chose and printed out the data from the script. Then I compared the script with the video that I got from YouTube. In addition, the validity of the script and data proof by checking it through watching the debate video.

1.6.4 Data Collection and Analysis

To obtain the data, I did the following steps. First, I classified two topics of the debate, there are the Supreme Court and immigration. Second, from those topics above I classified the utterance which one include into the classification of discursive strategies. Those strategies are the national self-presentation, generalization, disclaimer, evidentiality, metaphor, counterfactual, presupposition, polarization, victimization, hyperbole, number game, and repetition. The utterance is called national self-glorification if the discourse showed a good image of the nation of the speaker, it includes into generalization if the discourse showed the generally of the bad image of social actor, then it is called disclaimer if the speaker rejects their first statement in purpose to draw a bad image of what they said. The utterance is called evidentiality if the speaker adds some information in order to support what they said, it includes into a metaphor if the discourse showed literal sentence to refer to the other thing which is not in direct meaning,

then it is counterfactual if the speaker stating the assumption of the future. The utterance is called presupposition if the discourse showed the negative self-presentation to the other by giving the assumption, it is called polarization if the discourse showed negative self-presentation for the other group, then it is victimization if the speaker focuses on outgroup bad image presentation by presenting the bad characteristic. The utterance is called hyperbole if the speaker overstates the utterances, it is called number game if the speaker gives the evidence of what they said by giving the statistic of the number, and it is repetition if the speaker used the similar word, phrase or sentence in order to emphasize their argument.

Third, I classified the utterance of a discursive strategy which contains rhetorical devices which divided into five types such as metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism and pronoun. The utterance is called metaphor if the discourse showed the abstract concept in order to beautify what they said, it includes in euphemism if the discourse showed mild and polite sounding language to make soften of what they said, it is called 'the rule of three' if the discourse showed grouping the things in three in order to strengthen what speaker argumentation. The utterance is called parallelism if the discourse expresses several ideas in parallel syntactic structure, and it is called pronoun if the speaker used pronoun while communication which indicates that there is an interaction between the speaker and the listener. Fourth, I discussed how the main subject applied the concept of rhetorical devices which represent power relation for group affiliation. The last, I concluded the fact findings dealing with the research

problem. Then the data classified as discursive strategies and rhetorical devices. In addition, I discussed how these devices representing power relation for group affiliation. The last, conclusion drew dealing with the research question.

1.7 Definition of the Key Words

1. Power relation defines the legitimacy of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton as the presidential nominee 2016 to influence and control the audiences through the use of rhetorical devices and discursive strategies in their utterances.
2. Rhetorical devices are the language used by the speaker in order to persuade the listener which include metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism, and pronoun.
3. The presidential debate is the last (third) event of the U.S political debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump as the candidate of the president of U.S 2016.
4. Discursive strategies are the strategy used by both candidates of a president of U.S 2016 to influence and control the listener's mindset as the observer of presidential debate 2016.
5. National self-glorification is drawing the good image of the nation of the speaker.
6. Generalization is the generalized bad image of the social actor.

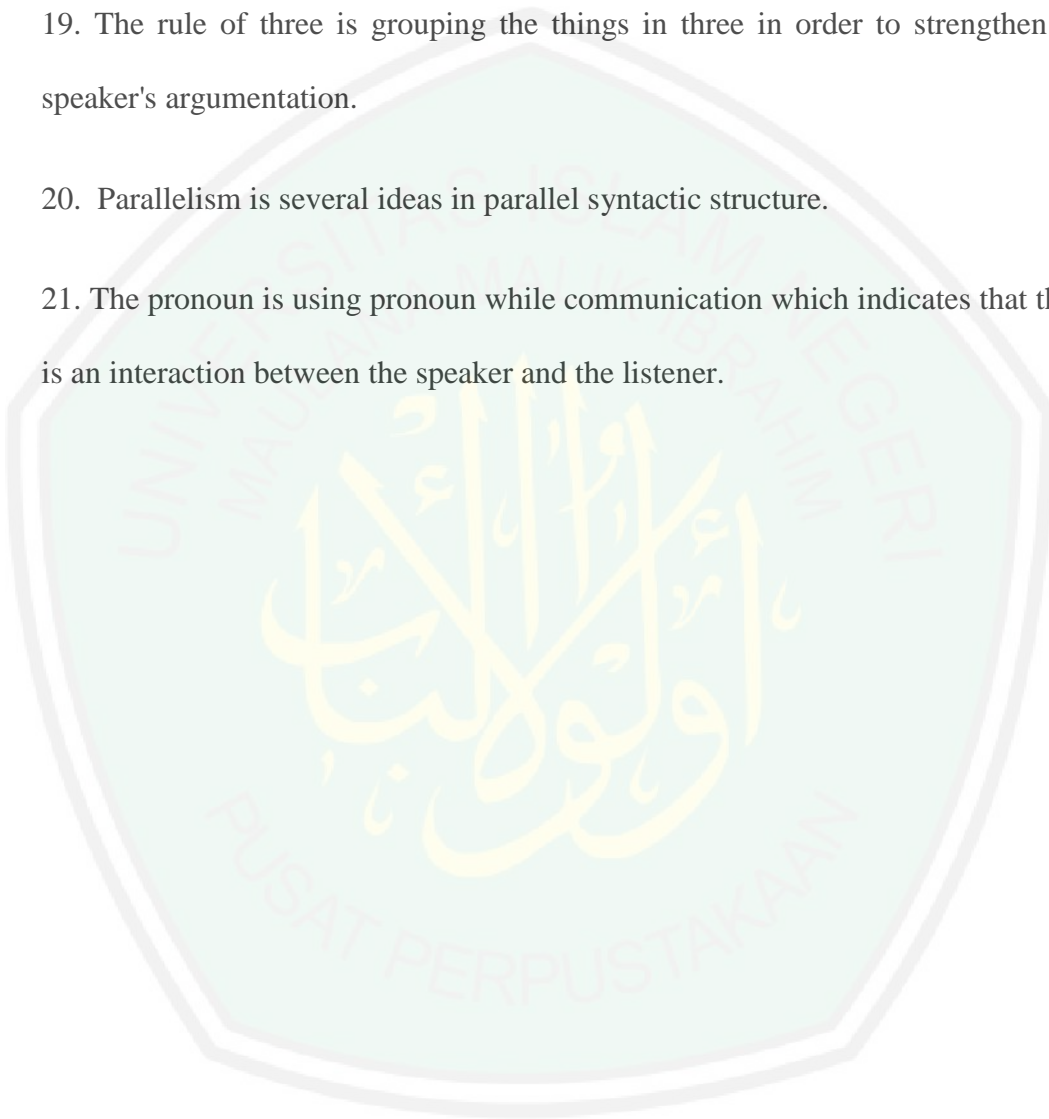
7. The disclaimer is rejecting the first statement in purpose to draw the bad image of what the speaker said.
8. Evidentiality is adding some information in order to support what the speaker said.
9. The metaphor is showing the abstract concept of discourse in order to beautify what the speaker said.
10. Counterfactual is stating the assumption of the future.
11. The presupposition is showing the negative self-presentation to the other by giving the assumption.
12. Polarization is showing negative self-presentation for the other group.
13. Victimization is focusing on outgroup bad image presentation by presenting the bad characteristic.
14. Hyperbole is overstating the utterances.
15. Number game is giving the evidence of what the speaker said by giving the statistic of the number.
16. Repetition is using the similar word, phrase or sentence in order to emphasize the speaker argument.
17. The metaphor is showing the abstract concept of discourse in order to beautify what the speaker said.

18. Euphemism is showing mild and polite sounding language to make soften of what the speaker said.

19. The rule of three is grouping the things in three in order to strengthen the speaker's argumentation.

20. Parallelism is several ideas in parallel syntactic structure.

21. The pronoun is using pronoun while communication which indicates that there is an interaction between the speaker and the listener.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents some theories that guide the writer in understanding the topic and the data. This chapter discusses the supporting theories and previous studies.

2.1 Rhetorical devices

Many people used persuasive in their language to influence the other people's mind in order to agree with their argumentation, here it is called by rhetoric. According to King (2010), rhetoric is used to build understanding implicitly. In the presidential debate, politician often used rhetoric to convince their argumentation, they will add some rhetorical devices such as parallelism, euphemism, etc, to make their partner of communication convinced to what they say, and to emphasise that the ideas are equal in importance and can add a sense of symmetry and rhythm which makes the speech more memorable.

In the context of the presidential debate, in the form of how politician use language to represent reality in a particular way by deconstructing a persuasive text, the politician can use the device that linguist called it by a Rhetorical device. It is like Freshmith (2003) who said that rhetorical devices can be used to deconstruct a persuasive text in order to identify how it uses language to represent reality in a particular way. According to Aristotle on Barker (1893), rhetorical devices are about how to employ them for greater persuasive effect and how to guard against being manipulated them. According to Jones and Peccei (2004),

rhetorical devices consist of five devices that are used to explain a relationship between sense and force in delivering the speech; metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism, and pronoun.

a) Metaphor

Many people, especially they who need to beautify what they say and want to talk about the abstract concept to make what they say seem more concrete, for example, the politician, so that they can use this metaphorical device. For the politician, especially in the presidential debate, this device takes the important role in the way how interesting the topic is, in the way how they confront the audience, and in the way how they grasp the audience's attention.

For instance:

"Drawn to the magic of the ticket in his hand, to this thing that can free them from the doldrums of their day to day lives" (Hanim, 2016).

According to Hanim, the context of that utterance was Glenn as the politician and as the speaker tried to tell the story in order to give an interesting view by giving the moral value or illustration from the story related to the topic. The metaphorical device of the phrase 'the magic of the ticket' has the meaning that it does not mean the ticket has the magic but having the ticket people hope to see the secret or amazing event that will happen in their life while having this kind

of ticket. Metaphorically, the speaker implicitly described that people usually compete to find something wonderful in their life.

b) Euphemism

The political actors use language to achieve agreement, maintain support, influence people's thoughts and attract potential voters so that they tend to use this device. The politician needs to avoid words or expressions in order to not make the unpleasant association and give the negative impression to their audiences. According to Fernandez (2014), euphemism is the use of mild and polite sounding language, to make soften what the speaker said. This device used when talking about a taboo subject like death/sex, for instance when people talk about passing away instead of dying or making love rather than sexual intercourse. Euphemism closely tied to the politeness to prevent unpleasant association in order to keep the feeling of interlocutor according to norms of social behavior.

c) The rule of three

The rule of three is a device that used to strengthen the argumentation and allows the speaker to express the whole ideas, emphasize the points, and make the message easier to memorize. In the context of the presidential debate, the politician can use this device to increase their confidence by grouping the things in three. This device will help the speaker in delivering some statements such as the declaration. For instance;

Ein volk, ein reich, ein fuhrer (one people, one empire, one leader). (Adolf Hitler in Hanim, 2016, p.29).

This device is known as the three-part statement. In brief, this device can be used to show the wholeness of the idea, convince the listener, and persuade other people through stating concise statement such as delivering motto.

d) Parallelism

To express several ideas sounds good as equal as well, the speaker has to add a sense of symmetry and rhythm in a series of parallel structure, this is appropriate with Evans (2015) said that the parallel syntactic structure encourages a reader to consider the entities in the same place in the same way. This device serves to emphasize that the ideas are equal to more memorable.

For instance:

"And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania. Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado." (Martin Luther King, Jr., 28 August 1963).

From the instance above Hanim (2016) stated that the word 'let freedom ring' emphasis the speaker points out that these words are important to be noted.

Everyone especially the politician can use this device to fulfill their important ideas in the way of make the other people easy to catch what is the point of the speaker trying to say. The way people repeat a sense of symmetry and rhythm communicate a sense of conviction of the way of thinking, it is like what Charteris (2011) said that the repetition communicates a sense of conviction of the

way of thinking, and on how in traditional political rhetoric a point by repeating an up and down gesture of the hand and finger pointing.

e) Pronoun

As the device of rhetoric, the pronoun is a part of the thing in the communication. Using a pronoun like you, I, they, etc while communication indicates that there is an interaction between the speaker and the audience. In the case of presidential debate, the pronoun used to dominate the partner by stressing the use of the pronoun. After that, hopefully, the partner and the audience shall feel about what the speaker said and the speaker also will invite the audience to be his/her position. According to Peccei (2004) pronoun also can be used either to the foreground or to obscure responsibility and agency.

In order to get encouraging result during communication especially in presidential debate, producing persuasive text in order to attract the listener by rhetorical devices is not enough; moreover, the speaker also needs the additional power relation. Without power relation the speaker is not powerful to present information, because of that reason combining two aspects above will make rhetorical devices successful to grab the listener's attention.

2.2 Teun A. Van Dijk's CDA

In analyzing discourse and social practice, CDA contributes to the theory and method. As one of the pioneers of CDA, Van Dijk focuses on linguistics and discourse analysis, and then he relates the use of language to the social practices. There are three ideological analyses of Van Dijk's CDA (1995), social analysis,

cognitive analysis and discourse analysis. Applying cognitive analysis in his approaches make Van Dijk's CDA different from others. Cognitive analysis works in social practices as the system of mental representation of group members that are ideologically represented through power relation which is influencing and controlling the actions of others in actions and interaction. Dijk (2004) introduce socio-cognitive as the structural aspects of linguistics includes the text and its meaning which aims to analyze the discourse and social practices through communication and interaction. It contains a macrostructure, microstructure, and superstructure. Macrostructure works in general meaning of the text, microstructure works in the meaning of discourse, and superstructure works in the structure and element of discourse.

2.3 Discursive strategies

The discursive strategy is a cognitive strategy which applied to construct and control other's mind through the ideological construction. The discursive strategy can be categorized as positive and negative self-presentation. Positive self-presentation shows the speaker in the positive aspect as 'us'. The negative self-presentation shows others in term of negative aspect as 'them'. Sometimes both positive and negative are recommended to use to gain various goals (Dijk, 2001, cited in Putra, 2016).

These two strategies are simply represented as 12 strategies. First, national self-glorification, this strategy used to show a positive representation of the speaker with makes a good image of their country and nation. Second,

generalization, this strategy used to generalize the social actor to make a bad image for the negative-self presentation, for example, they are terrorist. That example shows that the speaker generalizes other groups in a negative-self presentation. The third is a disclaimer, this strategy used to reject the speaker's first statement by stating contradicts argument to portray positive-self presentation and negative-other presentation. For example, he seems good at making promises but there is no proof. By stating contradict argument 'but' it shows the other negative self-presentation (Dijk, 1998, cited in Putra, 2016).

The next is evidentiality, giving the evidence of what the speaker said by adding supporting information or empirical data. Fifth is a metaphor, this strategy used to make a literal sentence to refer to the other thing which has the similarity but not in direct meaning, for example, time is money. The next is counterfactual, express the argument by stating the assumption of the future. This is applied by stating the word 'if'. For example, this would not happen if I have returned back immediately. This example shows the future action would not happen without him. Seventh is a presupposition, this strategy used to make negative self-presentation to the other by giving the assumption without giving the evidence. For instance; she is bad in managing the office administration. This example shows that the speaker presupposes her for bad image of action (Dijk , 1998, cited in Putra, 2016).

The next is polarization, this strategy used by the speaker to differ positive self-presentation to their group and negative self-presentation to another group. For instance; they had been colonized us for a long time. The use of the word 'us'

is to make positive image their group and 'they' to make a negative image the other group. Ninth is victimization, to show the negative image of out group-presentation, this strategy aims to make people focus on the bad characteristic of other groups. For example; the politicians are just talking too much without any action. The next is hyperbole, used to convince the argument by overstating the utterance in order to influence people's ideology. Example; I got a million of problem. Eleventh is number game, this strategy used to prove the argument by giving the evidence with the number and statistic. For instance; three couple has been dated to that restaurant. The last is repetition, emphasize the argument to make the audience focuses on the content of utterance by giving the similar word, phrase or sentence repetitively. For example; they only bring problems, they only bring crimes (Dijk, 1998, cited in Putra, 2016).

Combining two theories of rhetorical devices and discursive strategies in the context political debate especially in presidential debate makes what speaker said more powerful, this is the example of the use of rhetorical devices which represent power relation for group affiliation;

I have major disagreements with my opponent about these issues and others that will be before the Supreme Court. But I feel that at this point in our country's history, it is important that we not reverse marriage equality, that we not reverse (RP) Roe v. Wade, that we (PN) stand up against Citizens United, we stand up for the rights of people in the workplace, that we stand up (RP) and basically say, the Supreme Court should represent all of us. (Clinton, 2017).

In that example, the speaker using repetition as a part of discursive strategies and using the pronoun 'we' as a part of rhetorical devices at the same time to try to discursively influence people through the speaker's power relation. The speaker

tried to deliver her ideological concept for stressing group affiliation by using the pronoun 'we'. In conclusion, in order to deliver her power relation, she then used the pronoun 'we'. Yet, it was also aimed to represent her power relation for group affiliation.

2.4 Power Relation

Traditionally, power is control of one group to another through the language in discourse. Power is linked with the ideology which is constructed in society. Because of that, it controls and monitors the mind of people through ideological construction in the form of text and talk (Putra, 2016). In term of power as control, the dominant group mostly used power as the main instrument to discursively and ideologically control others. Power relation then survive in social communication between people as the relationship to express their ideology to influence the act and behavior as their social ideology. Ideology itself is the primary beliefs of a group and its member (Dijk, 2007). Ideology usually constructs by powerful people and group to influence others through language construction. It is because language is one of the instruments of domination and social force. Power is one of the instruments to deliver the ideology in the society. Through power relation, people make the image of their group into a positive term and other groups in the negative term, as like as the discursive strategy which shows the power relation of a certain group to another. The existence of power

relation in society then leads CDA to analyze the phenomena through the use of language (Dijk, 2001, cited in Putra, 2016).

2.5 Presidential debate

The presidential debate is the political event while the candidates of a president of the country compete for each other to give their argument about the latest issues, to show their perspective, and to present their missions to make their country in a good progress to be a great country. This event is the series of political activities that aims to gain a certain goal, the debate communication persuading people to vote or not to vote for a particular candidate. Each of the candidates tries to get people's attention and influence them to give their voice. Through presidential debate, the candidates can show their power relation as the elite position to construct the listener's ideology. From the existence of power, the candidate can influence people's ideology through the discursive strategy whether it is a positive or negative strategy. The power of the speaker can lead her/his to choose what strategy they will use.

2.6 Previous studies

There are some previous studies which concerned on rhetoric, first Zahra (2013), she analyzed rhetorical devices used by Barack Obama's speech in united state presidential election 2012. The finding reveals that the hidden meaning behind those devices can be divided into four intentions. First to portray Obama positively, the second is to contrast character, third to show intimacy, unity, respect, and power.

Second is Hanim (2016), she analyzed the rhetorical devices used by Glenn Beck in his speech. She analyzed the application of rhetorical devices based on Jones and Peccei (2004) compare with the critical discourse analysis framework restricted to the microstructure element proposed by Van Dijk. She found that the way speaker utters rhetorical devices is also affects the audience response. The use of rising and low intonation indicates the speaker emotional appeared while conveying the speech. It reflects from the audience's response by giving applause and direct commentaries as 'it is right' and 'whoooo'. It means that the audience agrees with what Glenn's argumentation.

Some previous studies have been conducted using CDA's theories. First, Komaruddin (2014), he analyzed the speech of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton about the woman. He used CDA on the meaning level. The finding shows in the speech there is the hidden ideology of liberal feminism. The speaker used positive self-presentation of US and negative self-presentation of Middle-East. The speaker used ideological construction to influence the audience through convincing the important liberal feminism message.

Second, Putra (2016), he analyzed Donald Trump's campaign speech. He used the discursive strategy of power relation of CDA's theory to analyze Trump's speech. He found that Trump shows his power relation toward people by the discursive strategy of discourse structure to make him more powerful than others. Trump used his power relation to influence people's ideology by using discourse structure during campaign speech involves topic, schema, and structural units.

Moreover, from these research findings, rhetorical devices, and power relation still work in the separate investigation, and most of them investigate speech. I find space for this research to continue the previous study by investigating rhetorical devices and power relation at the same time which are applied and appeared in utterances that produce in the presidential debate. I focused on the use of rhetorical devices representing power relation for group affiliation because they have not research yet. Therefore, I am very interested in conducting this research.



CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the finding and discussion. The first is finding which covers the presentation of the data and analysis based on CDA's theory of discursive strategy on power relation and rhetorical device's theory. The second is the result of the analysis which is discussed in the discussion.

3.1 Findings

The subject of this study is the utterances of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in their political debate on U.S presidential debate in 2016. The data finds totally contains 19 sets from their final debate on October 19 at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. The form of coding data is provided as the excerpt 1, excerpt 2, and excerpt 3 and so on. Each excerpt provides the context of speech when the speaker delivers the utterances in two issues; the Supreme Court and the immigration issue. The analysis of the selected data is done after providing the utterance which indicates the type of discursive strategies which content of rhetorical devices. Every strategy of discursive strategies is provided in the form of codes as; national self presentation (NS), generalization (G), disclaimer (D), evidentiality (EV), metaphor (M), counterfactual (C), presupposition (PR), polarization (PL), victimization (VC), hyperbole (HY), number game (NG), repetition (RP). Every device of rhetorical devices provided in the form of codes as; metaphor (M), euphemism (EU), the rule of three (TT), parallelism (P), and pronoun (PN). Yet, the form of coding data is used in each analysis.

To obtain the data, I did the following steps below: First, in order to prevent broad analysis I classified two topics of the debate, there are the Supreme Court and immigration. Second, from those topics above I classified the utterance that related to discursive strategies. Third, I classified the utterance of discursive strategies which contain to rhetorical devices that divided into five types such as metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three, parallelism and pronoun. Fourth, I discussed how the main subject applied the concept of rhetorical devices which represent power relation for group affiliation relates to CDA approach. The last, I concluded the fact findings dealing with the research problem. The data details are below:

3.1.1 Excerpt 1

At first, the moderator of the third U.S presidential debate Chris Wallace welcomed the Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton, and the Republican nominee Donald J. Trump to the final presidential debate, 2016. Then he explained the rule of the debate. The commission of this debate has designed the format; six roughly 15-minute segments with two-minute answers to the first question, then open discussion for the rest of each segment. The first question is about the Supreme Court issue. Wallace asked questions about how two nominees wanted to see the Supreme Court take the country and how the Constitution should be interpreted. Before Clinton delivered her statement below, she said that American people needed a Supreme Court that will stand up on behalf of women's rights, the rights of LGBT community, and will stand up and say no to Citizens United. These were Clinton's statement after talk about those issues;

I have major disagreements with my opponent about these issues and others that will be before the Supreme Court. But I feel that at this point in our country's history, it is important that we (PN.1.1) not reverse marriage equality, that we not reverse (RP.1.2) Roe v. Wade, that we (PN.1.3) stand up against Citizens United, we stand up for the rights of people in the workplace, that we stand up (RP1.4) and basically say, the Supreme Court should represent all of us.

In that statement she clearly stated that she disagreed with her opponent, it meant that she realized both of Clinton and Trump have many different ideas especially in the issue of women's right, the rights of LGBT community, and Citizen United. In the (RP1.2) and (RP1.4) she emphasized her statement which aimed to show to the audience the negative self-presentation of Trump different from Clinton's think about these issues. To make the audience also think about what she thought, Clinton used pronoun 'we', it indicated that Clinton made herself in the positive self-presentation and in one group with the audience by stating will stand up for marriage equality, the rights of people in the workplace, not reverse Roe v. Wade, and say no to the Citizens United. By using the pronoun 'we', she used her power relation to making all of the audiences with the background of what she mentioned above automatically would give their sympathy and made them stand on the side of Clinton. In this data, she used repetition and pronoun 'we' at the same time to try to discursively influence people through her power relation for affiliating her position and the audience in the positive self-presentation. In conclusion, in this data, Clinton used one of the rhetorical devices namely pronoun and repetition as one of the discursive strategies which represent her power relation for group affiliation.

3.1.2 Excerpt 2

Below is Trump's statement while answered the same questions about where he wanted to see the court take the country and how the constitution should be interpreted. Donald Trump showed his seriousness about justices that he went to point by using repetition strategy. In this data, Trump positioned himself as a winner of this election, so that he delivered the statement about whom he wanted to appoint as a justice if he would be president. This was his statement about that issue;

I feel that the justices that I am going to appoint and I've named 20 of them. The justices that I am going to appoint will be pro-life. They will have a conservative bent. They will be protecting the second amendment. They are great scholars in all cases and they're people of tremendous respect. They (PN2.1) will (RP.2.2) interpret the constitution the way the founders wanted it interpreted and I believe that's very important.

In the first sentence, he wanted to emphasize his argument with the use of the number. Then, to make the audience convince to what he said, he mentioned the character of the candidate of justices in the form of repeating the words 'they will'. Yet, Trump used repetition strategy in (RP.2.2) as a purpose to draw his positive self-presentation by mentioning their characteristic as what the citizenry needs to have a good justice. He also showed his power relation while used pronoun 'they' to indicate that the name whom Trump had named was not fiction, he tried to emphasize what he said and wanted to show that he had enough power to named who would be named as the candidate of justices. Thus, the use of the pronoun 'they' as rhetorical devices and repetition as one of the discursive

strategies at the same time representing his power relation to discursively influence people's mind for group affiliation.

3.1.3 Excerpt 3

Before Clinton delivered her statement below, Trump delivered his statement that he fully supported the second amendment. Thus, Clinton showed the reason why Trump extremely supported the second amendment in this data by stating some points below which she actually drew Trump in the negative self-presentation. She then tried to explain what she meant not fully agree with the second amendment.

And you know, look. I (PN.3.1) understand that Donald has been strongly supported by the NRA; the gun lobby is on his side (EV.3.2). They're running millions of dollars of ads against me and I regret that because what I would like to see is for people to come together and say, of course, we're going to protect and defend the second amendment. But we're going to do it in a way that tries to save some of these 33,000 lives that we lose every year.

She began her statement in this data with words 'you know' and 'look', it meant that she wanted all of the audiences to focus on what she wanted to say. She then gave the evidence of the reason why Trump fully supported the second amendment. By using the pronoun 'I' she wants to show her power relation that she confident enough while delivered her statement and that she want to say was real so that she used herself to guarantee her statement. By stating that evidence in (EV.3.2), Clinton tried to show the negative self-presentation of Trump, and she wanted the audience to see what she saw. Yet, she also added the point of her regret to what Trump did too against her in the case of the second amendment.

Then she clarified what she wanted to see to American people to protect the second amendment, it meant that actually, she supported the second amendment, in a note that she would support the second amendment by a way to save the other American people. Combining the use of pronoun as part of rhetorical devices and evidentiality as a part of discursive strategies actually showed her power relation for positive self-presentation through influenced people's mindset.

3.1.4 Excerpt 4

This data was Clinton's statement while answered Wallace's question about whoever ended up won this election appoint, did she want the court to overturn Roe v. Wade, which included, in fact, states a woman's right to abortion, and how far she believed the right to abortion go. Then Clinton answered as follow;

The kinds of cases that fall at the end of pregnancy are often the most heartbreaking, painful decisions for families to make. I (PN.4.1) have met with women who have, toward the end of their pregnancy (EV.4.2), get the worst news one could get. That their health is in jeopardy if they continue to carry to term. Or that something terrible has happened or just been discovered about the pregnancy.

In the first sentence, she illustrated how painful a family to make a decision while facing the member of their family at the end of their pregnancy looked very heartbreaking. She then convinced her statement by adding evidence in (EV.4.2). Actually, she wanted to deliver ideology by giving that evidence which aimed to make the audience understand to what she saw. She used the pronoun 'I' in this data because she wanted to show her power relation by showing

her empathy, and she wanted to draw her positive self-presentation about this issue. By using the pronoun 'I' in (PN.4.1) she showed her power relation and influence people by giving her ideological construction for group affiliation.

3.1.5 Excerpt 5

Before Clinton delivered her statement below, Trump showed his refusal with what Clinton said about abortion. Then to maintain her argument, Clinton tried to give the evidence of abortion issue in the other countries such as China and Romania. She used the evidentiality strategy to emphasize what she said.

You know, I've had the great honor of traveling across the world on behalf of our country. I've (PN.5.1) been to countries where governments either forced women to have abortions, like they (PN.5.2) used to do in China, or forced women to bear children like they used to do in Romania (EV.5.3). And I can tell you the government has no business in the decisions that women make with their families in accordance with their faith, with medical advice. And I will stand up for that right.

In the first sentence, she rightfully proud of herself who has traveled across of the world, by stating that sentence she tried to draw herself in term of a good image. She then added information about abortion on the other country in (EV.5.3) by using the pronoun 'I' (PN.5.1), it meant she wanted to show her power relation that she confident enough while delivering the information of what she wanted to say was the right thing. She used this strategy actually to show how the other countries face the issue of abortion in their country, and unfortunately, she compared the way the U.S and the other countries to solve this case. She wanted to deliver ideology by giving the evidence above; she wanted to draw positive self-presentation to the other country and negative self-presentation to her

country at the same time. And in a sarcastic manner, she stressed what she believed in the last sentence. Hence, by the used of the pronoun 'I' and 'they' she representing her power relation for group affiliation by trying to deliver her ideological construction.

3.1.6 Excerpt 6

In this data, Trump gave his statement about Wallace question toward the immigration issue. Related to what Clinton and Trump believed about this issue, then in this data Trump explained why he wanted to build a strong border.

We need strong borders. In the audience we have four mothers of - I mean, these are unbelievable people that I've (PN.6.1) gotten to know over a period of years whose children have been killed, brutally killed, by people that came into the country illegally (PR.6.2) (EV.6.3).

In his first sentence, he said 'we need strong border' it meant that their country right now in the position of did not have a strong border enough. He then associated what he just said to the evidence of not have a strong border which made people come to their country illegally. By stating that in (PR.6.2), he presupposed the information whether it was true or not. He wanted to put his opponent in the negative self-presentation by giving the assumption without any evidence. Although his statement ran without any evidence, he stated (PR.6.2) by the used pronoun 'I', it meant that he confident enough to deliver what he said and it made people convince to what he said. By using a pronoun as a part of rhetorical devices and presupposition as a part of discursive strategies, he ideologically used his power relation to influence people's mind for group affiliation.

3.1.7 Excerpt 7

In this data, Trump continued his statement in the previous data about U.S's border. He used two strategies to strengthen his statement while delivered what he thought in this data; generalization and evidentiality.

They're (PN.7.1) coming in illegally (G.7.2). Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border. Hillary wants to give amnesty. She wants to have open borders. As you know, the border patrol agents, 16,500 plus I.C.E. last week endorsed me. The first time they've endorsed a candidate. It means their job is tougher. But they know what's going on. They know it better than anybody. They want strong borders. They feel we have to have strong borders. I (PN.7.3) was up in New Hampshire the other day. The biggest complaint they (PN.7.4) have, it's with all the problems going on in the world (EV.7.6), many of the problems caused by Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama. All of the problems. The single biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern borders. Just pouring and destroying their youth it is poisoning the blood of their youth and plenty of other people.

To control the listener's concept about people who came in their country illegally, in the first sentence he used generalization strategy. He used the pronoun 'they' as a part of rhetorical devices in that sentence was aim to emphasize his statement to the audience that people who came in their country illegally were not a part of American people, he clearly put illegally people in the other group presentation. Yet, he generalized them to negative self-presentation. In the next sentence, he correlated drugs with border, then gave assumption about there was no their country if there was no border in. By using that sentence with the pronoun 'we' he wanted to all of the audiences to see what he saw toward the case that their country needs to solve.

To provoke the audience, Trump then received Clinton's plan in a sarcastic manner, he emphasized his argument that Clinton's plan is not acceptable to solve their country's problem. In the next sentence, he showed his power relation while used the pronoun 'me' to make him in the positive self-presentation and prove what he said is not nonsense. After that, he stated about the border patrol agents who endorsed him, he proud about that, and drew his position in the good image. In the next sentence (EV.7.6), he added the evidence to make Clinton and Obama in the bad image. By stating that sentence, he made the audience curious about what he said, and once again he showed his power relation by used pronoun 'they' to strengthen his statement that it is not nonsense. In conclusion, he used a pronoun to represent his power relation for group affiliation by delivered his ideology.

3.1.8 Excerpt 8

Below is the next Trump's statement about a border that the U.S has to build. In this data, he used polarization and repetition strategies to make his statement stronger.

We have to have strong borders. We (PN.8.1) have to keep the drugs out of our country. Right now, we're (PN.8.2) getting the drugs, they're (PN.8.3) getting the cash (PL.8.4). We need strong borders. We (PN.8.5) need absolute, we cannot give amnesty. Now, I want to build the wall. We need the wall (RP.8.6).

Donald Trump delivered ideology through his statement about the drugs (PL.8.4). With his power relation, he used the pronoun 'we' and 'they' in polarization strategy to differ positive self-presentation of a good image in (PN.8.1) (PN.8.2), and negative other presentation of a bad figure in (PN.8.3). He

then emphasized his argument by repetition strategy in (RP.8.6) to make the audience focused on the content of utterance through his similar words 'we need'. Once again he showed his power relation by using the pronoun 'we' (PN.8.5) on purpose to point out that those were the problem of their country. Hence, he used a pronoun as a part of rhetorical devices and discursive strategy in this data to showed his power relation for group affiliation by discursively influence people's ideology.

3.1.9 Excerpt 9

Still, in the issue of immigration, Clinton answered Wallace question about why she was right and Trump was wrong in this data. She used two strategies namely evidentiality and repetition.

Well, as he was talking, I (PN9.1) was thinking about a young girl I met here in Las Vegas, Carla who is very worried that her parents might be deported because she was born in this country but they (PN.9.2) were not (EV.9.3). They work hard. They do everything they can to give her a good life. And you're right. I (PN.9.4) don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending families away from children. I don't want to (RP.9.5) see the deportation force that Donald has talked about in action in our country. We have 11 million undocumented people; they have 4 million American citizen children, 15 million people.

In (EV.9.3) she used evidentiality strategy aimed to make people think when they were in illegal people position by giving the evidence of the deportation issue. And then she used the pronoun 'I' as a part of the rhetorical device (PN.9.1) aimed to show her power relation and to draw her in positive self-presentation while showed her empathy at that time. Then in (RP.9.5), she used the repetition strategy to deliver the ideology. When emphasized her statement she

used the pronoun 'I' (PN.9.4), in purpose to showed her power relation and to made situation only her who care to the problem of undocumented people, and that thing automatically made the audience think more about what Clinton see toward this issue. Then in the last sentence, she used the pronoun 'we' while delivering her statement to once more showed her power relation and to convinced the audience that deportation was an inappropriate solution to this issue consider to too much the number of undocumented people in their country. She ideologically affirmed that her plan was the best plan. By using the combination of the pronoun as rhetorical devices and discursive strategies he showed his power relation for group affiliation.

3.1.10 Excerpt 10

In this data, Clinton received Trump's idea about the deportation of undocumented people. She used repetition and pronoun while delivered her statement.

I (PN.10.1) think that is an idea that is not in keeping with who we are as a nation. I think (RP.10.2) it is an idea that would rip our country apart. I have been for border security for years. I voted for border security in the United States Senate. And my comprehensive immigration reform plan, of course, includes border security.

She used the pronoun 'I' while delivering her disagree in repetition strategy about the deportation of undocumented people, in purpose to show her power relation by drew positive self-presentation and make the situation seems only she who thought that issue in (RP.10.2). This strategy used to convince her argument on the problem they had and also to make the audience focus on the

content of similar words. Thus, the used of rhetorical devices was aimed to show her power relation for group affiliation.

3.1.11 Excerpt 11

In this data Clinton concluded her argument about immigration issue; she used the national self-presentation strategy, and this was her argument;

I think we (PN.11.1) are both a nation of immigrants and we are (PN.11.2) a nation of laws and that we (PN.11.3) can act accordingly (NS.11.4). And that's why I'm introducing comprehensive immigration reform within the first 100 days with a path to citizenship.

She concluded her argument about immigration in a peaceful way. By using the pronoun 'we' in national self-presentation, she showed her power relation by uniting all of the American people in one group, she drew their country, their nation and their principle in a good image. And then in the last sentence, she introduced her comprehensive immigration reform by using the number, to make her plan in a real statistic. She used the pronoun 'I' while delivered her last sentence once again to show her power relation and aimed to place her position in positive self-presentation and to make people aware that Clinton's plan was more acceptable than Trump's. In conclusion, she used a pronoun to represent her power relation for group affiliation by delivering her ideological construction.

3.1.12 Excerpt 12

In this data Trump wanted to respond to what Clinton said about his meeting with the Mexican president, she said about what Mexican president would do if the Donald Trump's wall failed to build.

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 (PN.12.1) never gets anything done, so naturally, the wall wasn't built (VC.12.2). But Hillary Clinton wanted the wall.

He tried to reject what Clinton said about Mexican president by stating 'very nice man', his assumption told that what they signed is very much better than what Clinton's husband did. He then emphasized that actually, Clinton need the wall. To draw Clinton in the bad image, he then victimized Clinton in (VC.12.2), he used the pronoun 'she' to make her in the negative image of out-group presentation, whatever Clinton did about the wall, he underestimated her, and he did it because he had power relation. By using this strategy, he ideologically affirmed that he was a better candidate who will offer the solutions for the problems existed in the U.S. Yet, he used a pronoun as one of the rhetorical devices in purpose to represent his power relation for group affiliation by delivering his ideological construction.

3.1.13 Excerpt 13

To receive what Trump's said about Clinton, she emphasized and explained the differences between her and Trump's proposed if they will be the next president by used victimization strategy, this strategy used to victimize Trump and to make people focus on Trump's negative self-presentation.

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 (PN.13.1) started his campaign bashing immigrants, calling Mexican immigrants rapists and criminals and drug dealers, that he (PN.13.2) has a very different there view about what we (PN.13.3) should do to deal with immigrants (VC.13.4). 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 (PN.13.5) used undocumented labor to build the Trump tower. He (PN.13.6) underpaid undocumented workers and when they complained, he (PN.13.7) basically said what a lot of employers do. You (PN.13.8) complain I'll (PN.13.9) get you (PN.13.10) deported (VC.13.11). 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.

Clinton drew Trump as her opponent in the negative self-presentation in (VC.13.4). By stating that statement she tried to show that if Trump began his campaign with bashed and judged so he can do the same thing of negativity more than while he delivered his campaign. It made people think about what will happen if Trump is their president. She used the pronoun 'he' with her power relation in (PN.13.1) to put Trump in the position of other group presentation, she emphasized the negative image of other group presentation. She then tried to deliver the ideology that Clinton's proposed was better than Trump's by influenced people's mind while stated the differences both of them. In the (VC.13.11) she

also used victimization strategy to draw a bad image of Trump. She illustrated what will happen if undocumented people complain about their salary to Trump. Hopefully by giving illustrate that thing; people can see what she see about the issue of immigration. By using the pronoun 'he' and 'you' while gave the illustration, she showed her power relation to draw Trump in the negative image of out-group presentation. Through her power relation she tried to build the ideological construction that what she thought was right and her opponent was wrong, and by using victimization strategy and pronoun at the same time she strengthened her argument and influenced other people about group affiliation.

3.1.14 Excerpt 14

Below was Trump's argument while received the accusation of Clinton. He delivered his statement by putting him become citizen's point of view about undocumented people, gave the evidence of undocumented people then compared them with documented people, and in the last sentence, he showed the choice of what will happen if citizen under Clinton's plan.

We're (PN.14.1) a country of laws (NS.14.2). We either have a border or we don't. Now, you can come back in and you can become a citizen. But it's very unfair. We have millions of people that did it the right way. They're online. They're waiting. We're going to speed up the process bigly because it's very inefficient. But they're online and they're waiting to become citizens. Very unfair that somebody runs across the border, becomes a citizen. Under her plan, you (PN.14.3) have open borders. You (PN.14.4) would have a disaster on trade and you (PN.14.5) will have a disaster with your open borders (VC.14.6).

He delivered his first sentence in this data by used national self-presentation strategy; he emphasized (NS.14.2) before stated about the civil rights

in purpose to make documented people thought what he thinks to solve this issue. By using the pronoun 'we' in (PN.14.1) he showed his power relation and made people feel their position in the Trump's group. Explained the rights of the documented citizen and made a good image of their nation actually aimed to draw him in the positive self-presentation. He then used victimization strategy in (VC.14.6) to make sure that citizen aware of whom they gave their voting and what the consequence of their choice was. He used this strategy by using the pronoun 'you' once again to show his power relation and in purposed to wake up the citizen that under Clinton's plan they made their country not save because she wanted an open border. Hence, by using a pronoun as a rhetorical device ideologically to represent his power relation for group affiliation through delivering his ideological construction.

3.1.15 Excerpt 15

Trump against Clinton again in this data and drew her in the negative self-presentation more than once. He tried to victimize Clinton, and tried to make Clinton admit that she wanted an open border, and below was Trump's argumentation;

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 (PN.15.1) have no idea where they come from. And you (PN.15.2) see we (PN.15.3) are going to stop radical Islamic terrorism in this country (VC.15.4). She won't even mention the words and neither will President Obama. So I just want to tell you. She wants open borders.

He used number game to make his statement convince, by the used pronoun 'she' he really wanted to show his power relation and as his opponent, she got a bad image because of his statement. He correlated his statement about open border and Syria, and then in (VC.15.4), he talked about radical Islamic terrorism. It was mean that if citizen gave their vote for Clinton, so that meant they want an open border, they allowed people from Syria came in and they will get the consequence namely radical Islamic terrorism in their country. Yet, if they gave their vote for Trump so their country would be saved from radical Islamic terrorism so that he said (VC.15.4) with the pronoun 'we'. He wanted people knew his power relation and wanted people to gain together with the radical Islamic terrorism with him by building a strong border. By using that pronoun, he actually represents his power relation for group affiliation through building the ideological construction.

3.1.16 Excerpt 16

Before Clinton delivered her statement below, Trump gave his statement about Clinton's accusation that he has the help of Vladimir Putin in the election 2016, he rejected what Clinton said. Then this data Clinton gave her argument to receive Trump's blamed for her. She put Trump in the corner with accused him more than once to make him admit what he did to the election. She drew Trump in the negative self-presentation by presupposition strategy.

It is pretty clear you (PN.16.1) won't admit that the Russians have engaged in cyber attacks against the United States of America. That you (PN.16.2) encouraged espionage against our people. That you (PN.16.3) are willing to spout the Putin line, sign up for his wish list, break up NATO, do whatever he

(PN.166.4) wants to do. And that you (PN.16.5) continue to get help from him because he (PN.16.6) has a very clear favorite in this race. So I think that this is such an unprecedented situation (PR.16.7). 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.

In (PR.16.7) she blamed Trump more than once to convince what she thought to him was true. Whatever unprecedented situation in the election was Trump responsibility because as she thought Trump would do anything to get help from Putin in this election included the issue of her about the wanted open border in the Wiki Leaks. She used the pronoun 'you' to show her power relation and to blame Trump as her opponent, and used 'he' in (PN.16.4) (PN.16.6) to put Putin in other groups with her. She really used that pronoun as a rhetorical device to differentiate her position, Trump's and Putin's. She then emphasized her argument in the next sentence to convince the audience that they also concluded the same thing as her. By using the pronoun 'we' she showed her power relation and put her position in the same place with American people, in one group. She used the pronoun as a part of rhetorical devices in this data to represent her power relation for group affiliation.

3.1.17 Excerpt 17

Trump refused Clinton's statement about to influence the election all intelligence; military and civilian have concluded that those espionage attacks and cyber attacks come from Trump. And when Clinton asked about did Trump doubt military's and civilian's agencies conclusion, then he admitted about it, he doubts it. So this was Clinton's statement to receive Trump confession.

He (PN.17.1) would rather believe Vladimir Putin than the military and civilian intelligence professionals who are sworn to protect us (PN.17.2) (EV.17.3).

In (EV.17.3) statement Clinton convinced the audience that actually Trump really did the cyber attack and espionage attack in the election because he doubts the civilian rather than believe them. She used the evidentiality strategy to draw Trump in the negative self-presentation by giving the evidence of what she argued. She used the pronoun 'he' (PN.17.1) and 'us' (PN.17.2) to make those pronouns showed her power relation and strengthen her argument by differentiating Trump's position and Clinton's and civilian's position. She truly used the combination of rhetorical device and discursive strategy in this data to represent her power relation for group affiliation and to strengthen her argument about Trump, discursively she used her power relation to build ideological construction and to make other people convince to what she said.

3.1.18 Excerpt 18

In this data, Clinton used the evidentiality strategy to make Donald Trump in the negative self-presentation. At first, she explained what Clinton did, then she added the evidence of her statement. Her statement as follows;

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 are 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 (PN.18.1) would not trust Donald Trump with the nuclear codes or to have his finger on the nuclear button (EV.18.2).

After gave the explanation about the bottom line on nuclear weapons, then she added the information in (EV.18.2). She used the evidentiality strategy to convince the audience by giving the evidence of her statement about how terrifying he was. Then when she used the pronoun 'they' (PN.18.1) in that sentence in purpose to show her power relation and make sure that what she said was nonsense and people whom she was said were real. Thus, she used evidentiality as the strategy of discursive strategy combined with the pronoun as one of the rhetorical devices in purpose to strengthen her argument and to represent her power relation for group affiliation by building the ideological construction.

3.1.19 Excerpt 19

This data was the last argument of the issue of immigration, Clinton's argumentation. For the last time in this issue, she wanted to humiliate Trump and convince the audience by using national self-glorification and presupposition strategy.

The United States has kept the peace through our (PN.19.1) alliances (NS.19.2). Donald wants to tear up our (PN.19.3) alliances (PR.19.4). I think it makes the world safer and frankly, it makes the United States safer. I would work with our allies in Asia, in Europe, in the Middle East and elsewhere.

She used national self-glorification in her statement in (NS.19.2) to show their country in positive self-presentation and to make a good image of their nation. She used the pronoun 'our' (PN.19.1) (PN.19.3) to make people also had a sense of belonging the country, put her position in the same group made people agree to what she said about their country. She then used presupposition in the

next sentence (PR.19.4) to show the bad image of Trump. She used the pronoun 'our' in that sentence to show her power relation and to make people agree with her about Trump's plan. In a calm way, she discursively portrayed the concept on people's mind that she was a better candidate to solve U.S' problems than her opponent. By using the pronoun 'our' she actually represent her power relation for group affiliation.

3.2 Discussions

The findings above showed that in order to manifest the ideological construction Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump used a pronoun as a part of rhetorical devices in purpose to stress group affiliation namely positive and negative self-presentation. By using positive and negative self-presentation they would influence people's mind and show that both of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton were powerful than their opponent in the presidential debate at that time. Yet, they used the positive self-presentation to make their image in a good picture and they used the negative self-presentation to downgrade their opponent in the bad image. They tried to influence people's mind and ideology through positive and negative self-presentation to control people's concept through their power relation.

From finding above, in the last presidential debate under topic Supreme Court and immigration, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton mostly used a pronoun as one of the rhetorical devices. That rhetorical device aimed to represent their power relation for group affiliation. They used a pronoun to differentiate their

position and their opponent as other group presentation. Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump used the pronoun 'I', 'we', 'us' and 'our' as positive self-presentation (see it in excerpt 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19). The use of the pronoun 'you' and 'he/she' in excerpt 12, 13, 15, 17 for negative self-presentation. Then the use of the pronoun 'they' not only for negative other presentation but also for positive other presentation (excerpt 2, 5, 18). In the context of the presidential debate, they not used metaphor, euphemism, the rule of three and parallelism as rhetorical devices, because they required delivering direct and straight communication. Because of that they not required too long-winded argumentation which characterized not straight communication.

From finding above, in the last presidential debate under topic Supreme Court and immigration, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton mostly used discursive strategy namely evidentiality and repetition strategy. Generally, they mostly used evidentiality strategy to give the evidence of what they said; they want to show to the audience that what they said is not nonsense. Yet, they also used those strategies to surpass their opponent in that presidential debate. Moreover, I also found that they mostly used repetition strategy. They commonly used repetition strategy to emphasize and make people focus on the content of the utterance. Yet, they also show the argument repetitively to convince their argument on the problem they have.

This research provides complete analysis because using the theory of rhetorical devices and power relation at the same time in the presidential debate. Essentially the theory of rhetorical devices and discursive strategies cannot be

separated in the presidential debate, even if they only used one device of rhetorical devices. Because both of that theories are equipped the way politician to deliver their argument straightly, equip the way politician to deliver their ideology, and equip the way politician control people's concept through the ideological construction of their power relation. In conclusion, power relation was represented by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton by using rhetorical devices for group affiliation namely positive and negative self-presentation.



CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter presents the conclusion and suggestion of the study. It concludes the data findings in the previous chapter to answer the research problem. It also provides a suggestion for the reader, principally the next researcher who wants to conduct the similar research or to continue this study.

4.1 Conclusion

From the data analysis, the use of rhetorical devices and power relation theories while delivering the argument in the presidential debate support the intended meaning of the debate. By that combination theories, as the candidate of U.S president Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton can reveal their power relation for group affiliation. Through their power relation, they discursively influence and control other people as the hearer to follow their ideological construction.

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton used rhetorical devices and discursive strategies in the way they reflect power relation. The used of rhetorical devices aimed to show their power relation especially when stressed up group affiliation. They used the pronoun 'I' 'we' 'us' and 'our' as positive self-presentation. Then they used the pronoun 'you' and 'he/she' for negative self-presentation, and the use 'they' not only for negative other presentation but also for positive other presentation. Then the used of discursive strategies of power relation becomes a significant way of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton to portray their power relation by strengthening and emphasizing their argument and to build the

ideological construction to convince the audience for what they spoke. Therefore to draw their opponent in negative other presentation they used rhetorical devices and discursive strategies in their presidential debate. Principally to make their opponent in negative other presentation they stressed up group affiliation.

4.2 Suggestion

From the conclusion, the result of this research is useful to discuss because it gives more understanding to people who are interested in the linguistic field. This research hopefully gives more valuable information and advantages for the linguistic area particularly in the area of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

It is suggested for the next researchers who conduct the similar research on CDA to investigate the language phenomena related to the use of rhetorical devices representing power relation in media discourse or another subject. Or other subjects which usually indicates the dominance, discrimination, and stereotyping. Moreover, it is also suggested to conduct the research using other theories of CDA and rhetorical devices, combining two or more theory may find a new finding.

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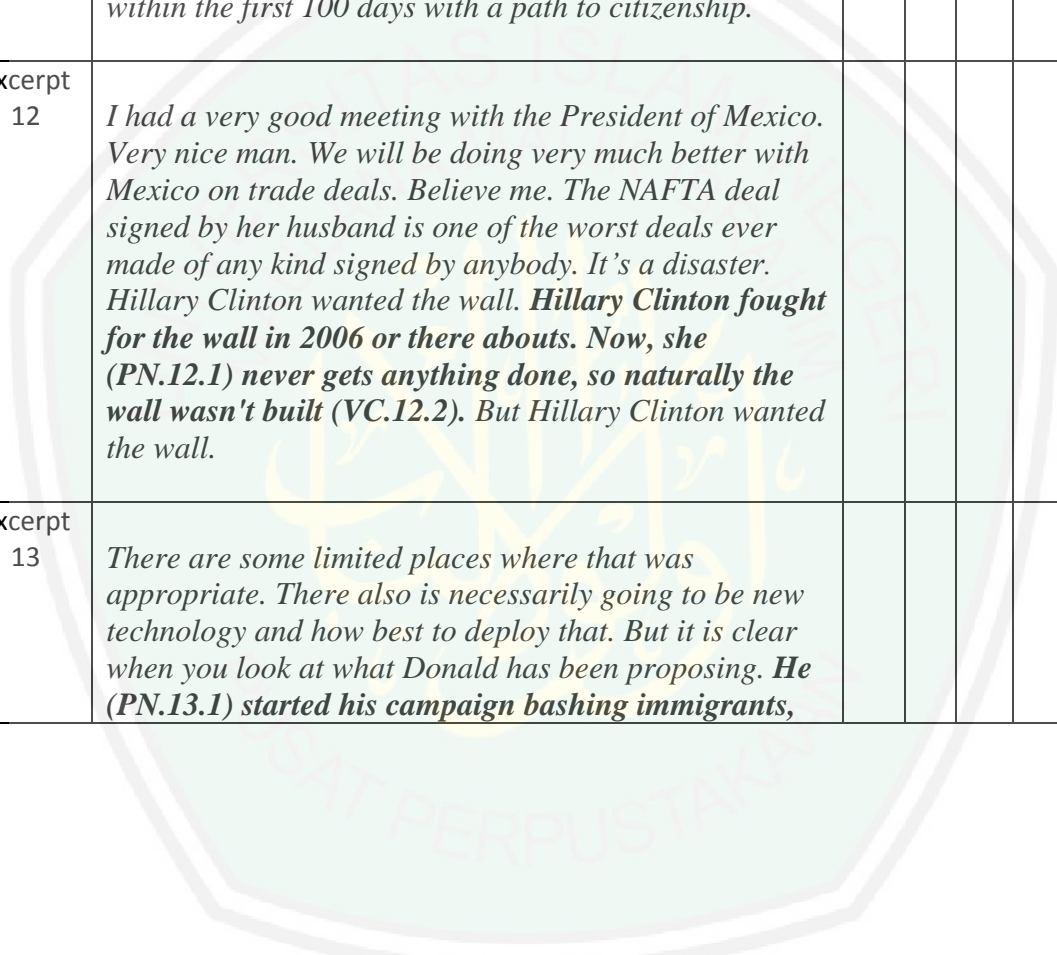
APPENDIX

NO	DATA	UTTERANCES	DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES												RHETORICAL DEVICES				
			NS	G	D	EV	M	C	PR	PL	VC	HY	NG	RP	M	EU	TT	P	PN
1	Excerpt 1	<i>I have major disagreements with my opponent about these issues and others that will be before the Supreme Court. But I feel that at this point in our country's history, it is important that we (PN.1.1) not reverse marriage equality, that we not reverse (RP.1.2) Roe v. Wade, that we (PN.1.3) stand up against Citizens United, we stand up for the rights of people in the workplace, that we stand up (RP1.4) and basically say, the Supreme Court should represent all of us.</i>												V					V
2	Excerpt 2	<i>I feel that the justices that I am going to appoint and I've named 20 of them. The justices that I am going to appoint will be pro-life. They will have a conservative bent. They will be protecting the second amendment. They are great scholars in all cases and they're people of tremendous respect. They (PN2.1) will (RP.2.2) interpret the constitution the way the founders wanted it interpreted and I believe that's very important.</i>												V					V
3	Excerpt 3	<i>And you know, look. I (PN.3.1) understand that Donald has been strongly supported by the NRA; the gun lobby is on his side (EV.3.2). They're running millions of dollars of ads against me and I regret that</i>				V													V

6	Excerpt 6	<p><i>We need strong borders. In the audience we have four mothers of - I mean, these are unbelievable people that I've (PN.6.1) gotten to know over a period of years whose children have been killed, brutally killed, by people that came into the country illegally (PR.6.2) (EV.6.3).</i></p>				V			V													V
7	Excerpt 7	<p><i>They're (PN.7.1) coming in illegally (G.7.2). Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border. Hillary wants to give amnesty. She wants to have open borders. As you know, the border patrol agents, 16,500 plus I.C.E. last week endorsed me. First time they've endorsed a candidate. It means their job is tougher. But they know what's going on. They know it better than anybody. They want strong borders. They feel we have to have strong borders. I (PN.7.3) was up in New Hampshire the other day. The biggest complaint they (PN.7.4) have, it's with all the problems going on in the world, many of the problems caused by Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama (EV.7.6). All of the problems. The single biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern borders. Just pouring and destroying their youth it is poisoning the blood of their youth and plenty of other people.</i></p>		V		V																V

8	Excerpt 8	<i>We have to have strong borders. We (PN.8.1) have to keep the drugs out of our country. Right now, we're (PN.8.2) getting the drugs, they're (PN.8.3) getting the cash (PL.8.4). We need strong borders. We (PN.8.5) need absolute, we cannot give amnesty. Now, I want to build the wall. We need the wall (RP.8.6).</i>								V				V						V
9	Excerpt 9	<i>Well, as he was talking, I (PN9.1) was thinking about a young girl I met here in Las Vegas, Carla who is very worried that her parents might be deported because she was born in this country but they (PN.9.2) were not (EV.9.3). They work hard. They do everything they can to give her a good life. And you're right. I (PN.9.4) don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending families away from children. I don't want to (RP.9.5) see the deportation force that Donald has talked about in action in our country. We have 11 million undocumented people; they have 4 million American citizen children, 15 million people.</i>				V								V						V
10	Excerpt 10	<i>I (PN.10.1) think that is an idea that is not in keeping with who we are as a nation. I think (RP.10.2) it is an idea that would rip our country apart. I have been for border security for years. I voted for border security in the United States Senate. And my comprehensive</i>												V						V

		<i>immigration reform plan, of course includes border security.</i>																	
11	Excerpt 11	<i>I think we (PN.11.1) are both a nation of immigrants and we are (PN.11.2) a nation of laws and that we (PN.11.3) can act accordingly (NS.11.4). And that's why I'm introducing comprehensive immigration reform within the first 100 days with a path to citizenship.</i>	V																V
12	Excerpt 12	<i>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 (PN.12.1) never gets anything done, so naturally the wall wasn't built (VC.12.2). But Hillary Clinton wanted the wall.</i>									V								V
13	Excerpt 13	<i>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 (PN.13.1) started his campaign bashing immigrants,</i>									V								V



		<p><i>calling Mexican immigrants rapists and criminals and drug dealers, that he (PN.13.2) has a very different there view about what we (PN.13.3) should do to deal with immigrants (VC.13.4). 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 (PN.13.5) used undocumented labor to build the Trump tower. He (PN.13.6) underpaid undocumented workers and when they complained, he (PN.13.7) basically said what a lot of employers do. You (PN.13.8) complain, I'll (PN.13.9) get you (PN.13.10) deported (VC.13.11). 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.</i></p>																	
14	Excerpt 14	<p><i>We're (PN.14.1) a country of laws (NS.14.2). We either have a border or we don't. Now, you can come back in and you can become a citizen. But it's very unfair. We have millions of people that did it the right way. They're on line. They're waiting. We're going to speed up the process bigly, because it's very inefficient. But they're on line and they're waiting to become citizens. Very unfair that somebody runs across the</i></p>	V								V								V

		<p><i>(PN.19.1) alliances (NS.19.2). Donald wants to tear up our (PN.19.3) alliances (PR.19.4). I think it makes the world safer and frankly, it makes the United States safer. I would work with our allies in Asia, in Europe, in the Middle East and elsewhere.</i></p>																		
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Notes:

- 1. NS = National self glorification
- 2. G = Generalization
- 3. D = Disclaimer
- 4. EV = Evidentiality
- 5. M = Metaphor
- 6. C = Counterfactual
- 7. PR = Presupposition
- 8. PL = Polarization
- 9. VC = Victimization
- 10. HY = Hyperbole
- 11. NG = Number game
- 12. RP = Repetition
- 13. M = Metaphor
- 14. EU = Euphemism
- 15. TT = The rule of three



- 16. P = parallelism
- 17. PN = Pronoun



2. THE SCRIPT OF THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE 2016

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The third and final presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump

The third and final presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, on October 19, 2016 at University of Nevada in Las Vegas.

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Full transcript: Third 2016 presidential debate

By POLITICO STAFF 10/20/2016 12:04 AM EDT

Chris Wallace: Good evening from the Thomas and Mack Center at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. I'm Chris Wallace of Fox News and I welcome you to the third and final of the 2016 presidential debates between secretary of state Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump. This debate is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates. The commission has designed the format. Six roughly 15-minute segments, with two minute answers to the first question then open discussion for the rest of each segment. Both campaigns have agreed to those rules. For the record, I decided the topics and the questions in each topic. None of those questions has been shared with a commission or the two candidates. The audience here in the hall has promised to remain silent. No cheers, boos or other interruptions so we and you can focus on what the candidates have to say. No noise except right now as we welcome the Democratic nominee for president, secretary Clinton, and the Republican nominee for president, Mr. Trump.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton, Mr. Trump, welcome. Let's get right to it. The first topic is the Supreme Court. You both talked briefly about the court in the last debate, but I want to drill down on this because the next president will almost certainly have at least one appointment and likely or possibly two or three appointments which means that you will in effect determine the balance of the court for what could be the next quarter century. First of all, where do you want to see the court take the country? And secondly, what's your view on how the constitution should be interpreted? Do the founders' words mean what they say or is it a living document to be applied flexibly, according to changing circumstances? In this segment, secretary Clinton, you go first. You have two minutes.

Clinton: Thank you very much Chris and thanks to UNLV for hosting us. You know, I think when we talk about the Supreme Court, it really raises the central

issue in this election. Namely, what kind of country are we going to be? What kind of opportunities will we provide for our citizens? What kind of rights will Americans have? And I feel strongly that the Supreme Court needs to stand on the side of the American people. Not on the side of the powerful corporations and the wealthy. For me, that means that we need a Supreme Court that will stand up on behalf of women's rights, on behalf of the rights of the LGBT community, that will stand up and say no to Citizens United, a decision that has undermined the election system in our country because of the way it permits dark, unaccountable money to come into our electoral system. I have major disagreements with my opponent about these issues and others that will be before the Supreme Court. But I feel that at this point in our country's history, it is important that we not reverse marriage equality, that we not reverse Roe v. Wade, that we stand up against Citizens United, we stand up for the rights of people in the workplace, that we stand up and basically say, the Supreme Court should represent all of us. That's how I see the court. And the kind of people that I would be looking to nominate to the court would be in the great tradition of standing up to the powerful, standing up on behalf of our rights as Americans. And I look forward to having that opportunity. I would hope that the Senate would do its job and confirm the nominee that President Obama has sent to them. That's the way the constitution fundamentally should operate. The President nominates and the Senate advises and consents or not. But they go forward with the process.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton, thank you. Mr. Trump, same question. Where do you want to see the court take the country and how do you believe the constitution should be interpreted?

Trump: Well, first of all, it's so great to be with you and thank you, everybody. The Supreme Court, it is what it is all about. Our country is so, so, it is just so imperative that we have the right justices. Something happened recently where Justice Ginsburg made some very inappropriate statements toward me and toward a tremendous number of people. Many, many millions of people that I represent and she was forced to apologize. And apologize she did. But these were statements that should never, ever have been made. We need a Supreme Court that in my opinion is going to uphold the second amendment and all amendments, but the second amendment which is under absolute siege. I believe, if my opponent should win this race, which I truly don't think will happen, we will have a second amendment which will be a very, very small replica of what it is right now. But I feel that it is absolutely important that we uphold because of the fact that it is under such trauma. I feel that the justices that I am going to appoint, and I've named 20 of them. The justices that I am going to appoint will be pro-life. They will have a conservative bent. They will be protecting the second

amendment. They are great scholars in all cases and they're people of tremendous respect. They will interpret the constitution the way the founders wanted it interpreted and I believe that's very important. I don't think we should have justices appointed that decide what they want to hear. It is all about the constitution of, and it is so important. The constitution the way it was meant to be. And those are the people that I will appoint.

Wallace: Mr. Trump, thank you. We now have about ten minutes for an open discussion. I want to focus on two issues that in fact, by the justices that you name, could end up changing the existing law of the land. First, is one that you mentioned Mr. Trump, and that is guns. Secretary Clinton, you said last year, and let me quote: "The Supreme Court is wrong on the second amendment." And now, in fact, in the 2008 Heller case the court ruled that there is a constitutional right to bear arms, but a right that is reasonably limited. Those were the words of the judge Antonin Scalia, who wrote the decision. What's wrong with that?

Clinton: Well, first of all, I support the second amendment. I lived in Arkansas for 18 wonderful years. I represented upstate New York. I understand and respect the tradition of gun ownership that goes back to the founding of our country, but I also believe that there can be and must be reasonable regulation. Because I support the second amendment doesn't mean that I want people who shouldn't have guns to be able to threaten you, kill you or members of your family. And so when I think about what we need to do, we have 33,000 people a year who die from guns. I think we need comprehensive background checks, need to close the online loophole, close the gun show loophole. There's other matters that I think are sensible, that are the kinds of reforms that would make a difference, that are not in any way conflicting with the second amendment. You mentioned the Heller decision and what I was saying that you referenced, Chris, was that I disagreed with the way the court applied the second amendment in that case. Because what the District of Columbia was trying to do was to protect toddlers from guns. And so they wanted people with guns to safely store them. And the court did not accept that reasonable regulation but they've accepted many others. So I see no conflict between saving people's lives and defending the second amendment.

Wallace: Let me bring Mr. Trump in here. The bipartisan debate coalition got millions of votes on questions to ask here. And this was in fact one of the top questions that they got. How will you ensure the second amendment is protected? You just heard secretary Clinton's answer. Does she persuade you that while you may disagree on regulation, that in fact she in fact she supports the second amendment right to bear arms.

Trump: Well the D.C. versus Heller decision was very strongly... and she was extremely angry about it. I watched. I mean, she was very, very angry when upheld. And Justice Scalia was so involved and it was a well crafted decision. But Hillary was extremely upset. Extremely angry. And people that believe in the second amendment and believe in it very strongly were very upset with what she had to say.

Wallace: Let me bring in secretary Clinton. Were you extremely upset?

Clinton: Well, I was upset because unfortunately, dozens of toddlers injure themselves, even kill people with guns because unfortunately, not everyone who has loaded guns in their homes takes appropriate precautions. But there is no doubt that I respect the second amendment. That I also believe there is an individual right to bear arms. That is not in conflict with sensible, common sense regulation. And you know, look. I understand that Donald has been strongly supported by the NRA, the gun lobby is on his side. They're running millions of dollars of ads against me and I regret that because what I would like to see is for people to come together and say, of course we're going to protect and defend the second amendment. But we're going to do it in a way that tries to save some of these 33,000 lives that we lose every year.

Wallace: Let me bring Mr. Trump back into this because in fact, you oppose any limits on assault weapons, any limits on high capacity magazines. You support a national right-to-carry law. Why, sir?

Trump: Well, let me just tell you before we go any further, in Chicago, which has the toughest gun laws in the United States, probably you could say by far, they have more gun violence than any other city. So we have the toughest laws and you have tremendous gun violence. I am a very strong supporter of the second amendment. And I don't know if Hillary was saying it in a sarcastic manner but I'm very proud to have the endorsement of the NRA and it was the earliest endorsement they've ever given to anybody who ran for president. So I'm very honored by all of that. We are going to appoint justices, this is the best way to help the second amendment. We are going to appoint justices that will feel very strongly about the second amendment. That will not do damage to the second amendment.

Wallace: Well, let's pick up on another issue which divides you, and the justices that, whoever ends up winning this election appoints, could have a dramatic effect there. That's the issue of abortion. Mr. Trump, you're pro-life. And I want to ask you specifically. Do you want the court, including the justices that you will name,

to overturn Roe v. Wade, which includes, in fact, states a woman's right to abortion.

Trump: Well, if that would happen, because I am pro-life and I will be appointing pro-life judges, I would think that would go back to the individual states.

Wallace: I'm asking you specifically would you-

Trump: If they overturned it, it would go back to the states.

Wallace: But what I'm asking you, do you want to see the court overturn it? You just said you want to see the court protect the second amendment, do you want to see the court overturn-

Trump: If we put another two or perhaps three justices on, that is really what will happen. That will happen automatically in my opinion. Because I am putting pro-life justices on the court. I will say this. It will go back to the states and the states will then make a determination.

Clinton: Well, I strongly support Roe v. Wade which guarantees a constitutional right to a woman to make the most intimate, most difficult in many cases, decisions about her health care that one can imagine. And in this case, it is not only about Roe v. Wade. It is about what is happening right now in America. So many states are putting very stringent regulations on women that block them from exercising that choice to the extent that they are defunding planned parenthood which, of course provides all kinds of cancer screenings and other benefits for women in our country. Donald has said he is in favor of defunding planned parenthood. He even supported shutting the government down to defund planned parenthood. I will defend planned parenthood. I will defend Roe v. Wade and I will defend women's rights to make their own healthcare decisions. We have come too far to have that turn back now. And indeed, he said women should be punished. There should be some form of punishment for women who obtain abortions. And I could just not be more opposed to that kind of thinking.

Wallace: I'm going to give you a chance to respond. But I wanted to ask you secretary Clinton, I want to explore how far you think the right to abortion goes. You have been quoted as saying that the fetus has no constitutional rights. You also voted against a ban on late term partial birth abortions. Why?

Clinton: Because Roe v. Wade very clearly sets out that there can be regulations on abortion so long as the life and the health of the mother are taken into account. And when I voted as a senator, I did not think that that was the case. The kinds of cases that fall at the end of pregnancy are often the most heartbreaking, painful

decisions for families to make. I have met with women who have, toward the end of their pregnancy, get the worst news one could get. That their health is in jeopardy if they continue to carry to term. Or that something terrible has happened or just been discovered about the pregnancy. I do not think the United States government should be stepping in and making those most personal of decisions. So you can regulate if you are doing so with the life and the health of the mother taken into account.

Wallace: Mr. Trump, your reaction. Particularly on this issue of late term partial birth abortions.

Trump: Well I think it is terrible. If you go with what Hillary is saying, in the ninth month you can take baby and rip the baby out of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth of the baby. Now, you can say that that is okay and Hillary can say that that is okay, but it's not okay with me. Because based on what she is saying and based on where she's going and where she's been, you can take baby and rip the baby out of the womb. In the ninth month. On the final day. And that's not acceptable.

Clinton: Well that is not what happens in these cases. And using that kind of scare rhetoric is just terribly unfortunate. You should meet with some of the women I've met with. Women I've known over the course of my life. This is one of the worst possible choices that any woman and her family has to make. And I do not believe the government should be making it. You know, I've had the great honor of traveling across the world on behalf of our country. I've been to countries where governments either forced women to have abortions, like they used to do in China, or forced women to bear children like they used to do in Romania. And I can tell you the government has no business in the decisions that women make with their families in accordance with their faith, with medical advice. And I will stand up for that right.

Trump: And honestly, nobody has business doing what I just said. Doing that as late as one or two or three or four days prior to birth. Nobody has that.

Wallace: All right. Let's move on to the subject of immigration. And there is almost no issue that separates the two of you more than the issue of immigration. Actually there are many issues that separate the two of you. Mr. Trump. You want to build a wall. Secretary Clinton, you have offered no specific plan for how you want to secure our southern border. Mr. Trump, you are calling for major deportations. Secretary Clinton, you say that within your first 100 days as president, you're going to offer a package that includes a pathway to citizenship.

The question really is why are you right and your opponent wrong? Mr. Trump, you go first in this segment, you have two minutes.

Trump: Well first of all, she wants to give amnesty, which is a disaster. And very unfair to all of the people waiting in line for many, many years. We need strong borders. In the audience we have four mothers of - I mean, these are unbelievable people that I've gotten to know over a period of years whose children have been killed, brutally killed, by people that came into the country illegally. You have thousands of mothers and fathers and relatives all over the country.

They're coming in illegally. Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border. Hillary wants to give amnesty. She wants to have open borders. As you know, the border patrol agents, 16,500 plus I.C.E. last week endorsed me. First time they've endorsed a candidate. It means their job is tougher. But they know what's going on. They know it better than anybody. They want strong borders. They feel we have to have strong borders. I was up in New Hampshire the other day. The biggest complaint they have, it's with all the problems going on in the world, many of the problems caused by Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama. All of the problems. The single biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern borders. Just pouring and destroying their youth. It is poisoning the blood of their youth and plenty of other people. We have to have strong borders. We have to keep the drugs out of our country. Right now, we're getting the drugs, they're getting the cash. We need strong borders. We need absolute, we cannot give amnesty. Now, I want to build the wall. We need the wall. The border patrol, I.C.E., they all want the wall. We stop the drugs; we shore up the border. One of my first acts will be to get all of the drug lords, all of the bad ones, we have some bad, bad people in this country that have to go out. We're going to get them out. We're going to secure the border. And once the border is secured, at a later date, we'll make a determination as to the rest. But we have some bad hombres here and we're going to get them out.

Wallace: Mr. Trump, thank you. Same question to you, secretary Clinton. Basically, why are you right and Mr. Trump is wrong?

Clinton: Well, as he was talking, I was thinking about a young girl I met here in Las Vegas, Carla who is very worried that her parents might be deported because she was born in this country but they were not. They work hard. They do everything they can to give her a good life. And you're right. I don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending families away from children. I don't want to see the deportation force that Donald has talked about in action in our country. We have 11 million undocumented people. They have 4 million American citizen children. 15 million people. He said as recently as a few weeks

ago in Phoenix, that every undocumented person would be subject to deportation. Here's with a that means. It means you would have to have a massive law enforcement presence where law enforcement officers would be going school to school, home to home, business to business. Rounding up people who are undocumented. And we would then to have put them on trains, on buses to get them out of our country. I think that is an idea that is not in keeping with who we are as a nation. I think it is an idea that would rip our country apart. I have been for border security for years. I voted for border security in the United States Senate. And my comprehensive immigration reform plan, of course includes border security. But I want to put our resources where I think they're most needed. Getting rid of any violent person, anybody who should be deported, we should deport them. When it comes to the wall that Donald talks about building. He went to Mexico. Had a meeting with the Mexican president. He didn't even raise it. He choked. And then got into a Twitter war because the Mexican president said we're not paying for that wall. So I think we are both a nation of immigrants and we are a nation of laws and that we can act accordingly. And that's why I'm introducing comprehensive immigration reform within the first 100 days with a path to citizenship.

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.

Wallace: Well, let me --

Trump: We are a country of laws. By the way --

Wallace: I would like to hear from secretary Clinton.

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.

Trump: President Obama has moved millions of people out. Nobody knows about it. Nobody talks about it. But under Obama, millions of people have been moved out of this country. They've been deported. She doesn't want to say that, but that's what has happened and that's what happened - big league. As far as moving these people out and moving, we either have a country or we don't. We're a country of laws. We either have a border or we don't. Now, you can come back in and you can become a citizen. But it's very unfair. We have millions of people that did it the right way. They're on line. They're waiting. We're going to speed up the process bigly, because it's very inefficient. But they're on line and they're waiting to become citizens. Very unfair that somebody runs across the border, becomes a citizen. Under her plan you have open borders. You would have a disaster on trade and and you will have a disaster with your open borders. What she doesn't say is that President Obama has deported millions and millions of people.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton --

Clinton: We will not have open borders. That is a rank mischaracterization. We will have secure borders. But we will also have reform. This used to be a bipartisan issue. Ronald Reagan was the last president to sign --

Wallace: Excuse me.

Clinton: To sign immigration reform and George W. Bush supported it as well.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton, I want to clear up your position on this issue because in a speech you gave to a Brazilian bank for which you were paid \$225,000, we've learned from Wikileaks, that you said this. And I want to quote. "My dream is a hemispheric common market with open trade and open borders."

Trump: Thank you.

Wallace: That's the question. Please, quiet, everybody. Is that your dream? Open borders?

Clinton: If you went on to read the rest of the sentence, I was talking about energy. We trade more energy with our neighbors than we trade with the rest of the world combined. And I do want us to have an electric grid, an energy system that crosses borders. I think that would be a great benefit to us. But you are very clearly quoting from WikiLeaks. What is really important about WikiLeaks is that the Russian government has engaged in espionage against Americans. They have hacked American websites, American accounts of private people, of institutions. Then they have given that information to WikiLeaks for the purpose of putting it on the internet. This has come from the highest levels of the Russian government. Clearly from Putin himself in an effort, as 17 of our intelligence agencies have confirmed, to influence our election. So I actually think the most important question of this evening, Chris, is finally, will Donald Trump admit and condemn that the Russians are doing this, and make it clear that he will not have the help of Putin in this election. That he rejects Russian espionage against Americans, which he actually encouraged in the past. Those are the questions we need answered. We've never had anything like this happen in any of our elections before.

Trump: That was a great pivot off the fact that she wants open borders. Okay? How did we get on to Putin?

Wallace: Hold on, folks. Because this is going to end up getting out of control. Let's try to keep it quiet. For the candidates and for the American people.

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.

Clinton: Wait.

Trump: Putin from everything I see has no respect for this person.

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.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton-

Clinton: And I think it is time --

Trump: She has no idea whether it is Russia, China or anybody else.

Clinton: I am not quoting myself.

Trump: You have no idea.

Clinton: I am quoting 17, 17 -- do you doubt?

Trump: Our country has no idea.

Clinton: Our military and civilian -

Trump: Yeah, I doubt it, I doubt it.

Clinton: He would rather believe Vladimir Putin than the military and civilian intelligence professionals who are sworn to protect us. I find that just absolutely --

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.

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.

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.

Clinton: Well, I'm just quoting you when-

Trump: There is no quote. You won't find a quote from me.

Clinton: Nuclear competition in Asia. You said go ahead. Enjoy yourselves, folks.

Trump: And defend yourselves. And defend yourselves. I didn't say -- and defend yourself.

Clinton: The United States has kept the peace through our alliances. Donald wants to tear up our alliances. I think it makes the world safer and frankly, it makes the United States safer. I would work with our allies in Asia, in Europe, in the Middle East and elsewhere. That is the only way --

Wallace: We are going to move on to the next topic which is the economy. And I hope we handle that as well as we did immigration. You also have very different ideas about how to get the economy growing faster. Secretary Clinton, in your plan, government plays a big role. You see more government spending, more entitlements, more tax credits, more tax penalties. Mr. Trump, you want to get government out with lower taxes and less regulation. We're going to drill down into this a little bit more. In this overview, please explain to me why you believe your plan will create more jobs and growth for this country and your opponent's plan will not. In this round, you go first, secretary Clinton.

Clinton: Well I think the middle class thrives, America thrives. So my plan is based on growing the economy, giving middle class families many more opportunities. I want us to have the biggest jobs program since World War II. Jobs in infrastructure and advanced manufacturing. I think we can compete with high wage countries and I believe we should. New jobs in clean energy. Not only to fight climate change, which is a serious problem but to create new opportunities and new businesses. I want us to do more to help small business, that's where

two-thirds of the new jobs are going to come from. I want to us raise the national minimum wage because people who work full time should not still be in poverty. And I sure do want to make sure women get equal pay for the work we do. I feel strongly that we have to have an education system that starts with preschool and goes through college. That's why I want more technical education and community colleges, real apprenticeships to prepare young peel for the jobs of the future. I want to make college debt-free and for families making less than \$125,000, you will not get a tuition bill from a public college or a university if the plan that I worked on with Bernie Sanders is enacted. And we're going to work hard to make sure that it is. Because we are going to go where the money is. Most of the gains in the last years since the great recession have gone to the very top. 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.

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. But I would like to start off where we left. Because when I said Japan and Germany and I'm not just singling them out. But South Korea, these are very rich countries. Saudi Arabia. Nothing but money. We protect Saudi Arabia. Why aren't they paying? She immediately, when she heard this, I questioned it, and I questioned NATO, why aren't they NATO questioned? Why aren't they paying? Because they weren't paying. Since I did this, this was a year ago. All of a sudden they're paying. And I've been given a lot of credit for it. All of a sudden, they're starting to pay up. They have to pay up. We're protecting people. They have to pay up. And I'm a big fan of NATO but they have to pay up. She comes out and says "we love our allies. We think our allies are great." Well, it is awfully hard to get them to pay up when you have somebody saying we think how great they are. We have

to tell Japan in a very nice way, we have to tell Germany, all of these countries, South Korea. We have to say, you have to help us out. We have, during his regime, during President Obama's regime, we've doubled our national debt. We're up to \$20 trillion. So my plan, we're going to negotiate trade deals. We're going to have a lot of free trade. More free trade than we have right now. But we have horrible deals. Our jobs are being taken out by the deal that her husband signed. NAFTA. One of the worst deals ever. The jobs are being sucked out of our economy. You look at the places I just left. You go to Pennsylvania, you go to Ohio, you go to Florida, you go to any of them. You go to upstate New York. Our jobs have fled to Mexico and other places. We're bringing our jobs back. I'm going to renegotiate NAFTA. And if I can't make a great deal, then we're going to terminate NAFTA and we're going to create new deals. We're going to have trade but we're going to terminate it. We're going on make a great trade deal. If we can't, we're going to go our separate way because it has been a disaster. We're going to cut taxes massively. We're going to cut business taxes massively. They're going to start hiring people we're going to bring the \$2.5 trillion that's offshore back into the country. We are going to start the engine rolling again because right now, our country is dying. At 1% GDP.

Clinton: Let me translate that if I can, Chris.

Trump: You can't.

Clinton: The fact is, he is going to advocate for the largest tax cuts we've ever seen. Three times more than the tax cuts under the Bush administration. I have said repeatedly throughout this campaign, I will not raise taxes on anyone making \$250,000 or less. I also will not add a penny to the debt. I have costed out what I'm going to do. He will, through his massive tax cuts, add \$20 trillion to the debt. He mentioned the debt. We know how to get control of the debt. When my husband was president, we went from a \$300 billion deficit to a \$200 billion surplus and we were actually on the path to eliminating the national debt. When President Obama came into office, he inherited the worst economic disaster since the great depression. He has cut the deficit by two-thirds. So yes, one of the ways you go after the debt, one of the ways you create jobs is by investing in people. So I do have investments. Investments in new jobs, investments in education, skill training, and the opportunities for people to get ahead and stay ahead. That's the kind of approach--

Wallace: Secretary --

Clinton: -- that will work. Cutting taxes on the wealthy. We've tried that. It has not worked the way that it has been --

Wallace: Secretary Clinton, I want to pursue your plan because in many ways, it is similar to the Obama stimulus plan in 2009, which has led to the slowest GDP growth since 1949.

Trump: Correct.

Wallace: Thank you, sir. You told me in July when we spoke that the problem is that President Obama didn't get to do enough in what he was trying to do with the stimulus. So is your plan basically more, even more of the Obama stimulus?

Clinton: Well, it is a combination, Chris. Let me say that when you inherit the level of economic catastrophe that President Obama inherited, it was a real touch and go situation. I was in the Senate before I became secretary of state. I've never seen people as physically distraught as the Bush administration team was because of what was happening to the economy. I personally believe that the steps that President Obama took saved the economy. He doesn't get the credit he deserves for taking some very hard positions.

But it was a terrible recession. So now we've dug ourselves out of it. We're standing, but we're not yet running. So what I am proposing is that we invest from the middle out, and the ground up. Not the top down. That is not going to work. That is why what I have put forward doesn't add a penny to the debt. But it is the kind of approach that will enable more people to take those new jobs, higher paying jobs. We're beginning to see some increase in incomes. And we certainly have had a long string of increasing jobs. We have got to do more to get the whole economy moving and that's what I believe I will be able to do.

Wallace: Mr. Trump, even conservative economists who have looked at your plan say that the numbers don't add up. That your idea, and you've talked about 25 million jobs created. 4% growth-

Trump: Over a 10-year period.

Wallace: -- is unrealistic. And they say, you talk a lot about growing the energy industry. They say with oil prices as low as they are right now, that's unrealistic as well. Your response?

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.

Wallace: I want to give you a chance to briefly speak to that then I want to pivot -- to Obamacare. But go ahead. Briefly.

Trump: And that will be as bad as NAFTA.

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.

Trump: Can I ask a simple question? She's been doing this for 30 years. Why the hell didn't you do it over the last 15, 20 years? You were very much involved.

Clinton: I voted --

Trump: Excuse me. My turn. You were very much involved in every aspect of this country. Very much. And you do have experience. I say the one thing you have over me is experience. But it is bad experience because what you've done has turned out badly. For 30 years you've been in a position to help. And if you say that I used steel or I used something else, I- make it impossible for me to do. I wouldn't mind. The problem is, you talk but you don't get anything done, Hillary. You don't. Just like when you ran the State Department, \$6 billion was missing. How do you miss \$6 billion? You ran the State department. \$6 billion was either stolen, they don't know. It's gone. \$6 billion. If you become president, this country is going to be in some mess. Believe me.

Clinton: Well, first of all, what he just said about the State Department is not only untrue, it's been debunked numerous times. but I think it's really an important issue. He raised the 30 years of experience, so let me just talk briefly about that. You know, back in the 1970s, I worked for the children's defense fund and I was taking on discrimination against African-American kids in schools. He was getting sued by the Justice Department for racial discrimination in his apartment buildings. In the 1980s, I was working to reform the schools in Arkansas. He was borrowing \$14 million from his father to start his businesses. In the 1990s, I went to Beijing and I said women's rights are human rights. He insulted a former Miss Universe, Alicia Machado, and called her an eating machine.

Trump: Give me a break.

Clinton: And on the day when I was in the situation room monitoring the raid that brought Osama bin laden to justice, he was hosting The Celebrity Apprentice. So I'm happy to compare my 30 years of experience, what I've done for this country, trying to help in every way I could, especially kids and families, get ahead and stay ahead, with your thirty years and I'll let the American people make that decision.

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.

Wallace: We're going to get to foreign hot spots in a few moments, but the next segment is fitness to be president of the United States. Mr. Trump, at the last debate, you said your talk about grabbing women was just that, talk, and that you'd never actually done it. And since then, as we all know, nine women have come forward and said that you either groped them or kissed them without their consent. Why would so many different women from so many different circumstances over so many different years, why would they all in this last couple of weeks make up -- you deny this. Why would they make up these stories? And since this is a question for both of you, secretary Clinton, Mr. Trump says what your husband did and what you defended was even worse. Mr. Trump, you go first.

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. These women, the woman on the plane, the woman on the - I think they want either fame or her campaign did it. And I think it's her campaign because what I saw what they did, which is a criminal act, by the way, where they're telling people to go out and start fistfights and start violence -- and I'll tell you what. In particular, in Chicago, people were hurt and people could have killed in that riot. And that's now all on tape started by her. I believe, Chris, she got these people to step forward. If it wasn't, they get their ten minutes of fame, but they were all totally -- it was all fiction. It was lies and it was fiction.

Clinton: Well --

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.

Clinton: In fact, he went on to say --

Wallace: Her two minutes. Sire, her two minutes.

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.

Wallace: Mr. Trump --

Trump: Nobody has more respect for women than I do. Nobody.

(Laughter)

Wallace: Please, everybody.

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.

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. That is not who America is, and I hope that as we move in the last weeks of this campaign more and more people will understand what's at stake in this election. It really does come down to what kind of country we are going to have.

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.

Wallace: Okay.

Trump: But those other charges, as she knows, are false.

Wallace: In this bucket about fitness to be president there's been a lot of developments over the last ten days since the last debate. I'd like to ask you about them. These are questions that the American people have. Secretary Clinton,

during your 2009 Senate confirmation hearing you promised to avoid even the appearance of a conflict of interest with your dealing with the Clinton Foundation while you were secretary of state, but e-mails show that donors got special access to you, those seeking grants for Haiti relief separately from non-donors and some of those donors got contracts, government contracts, taxpayer money. Can you really say you've kept your pledge to that Senate committee and why isn't what happened and what went on and between you and the Clinton Foundation? Why isn't it what Mr. Trump calls pay-to-play?

Clinton: Well, everything I did as secretary of state was in furtherance of our country's interests and our values. The state department has said that. I think that's been proven, but I am happy -- in fact, I'm thrilled to talk about the Clinton Foundation because it is a world renowned charity and I'm so proud of the work that it does. I could talk for the rest of the debate. I know I don't have the time to do that, but just briefly the Clinton Foundation made it possible for 11 million people around the world with HIV AIDS to afford treatment and that's about half of all the people in the world that are getting treatment in partnership with the American health association.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton, respectfully, this is an open discussion.

Clinton: Well, it is an open discussion.

Wallace: The specific question is about pay to play --

Clinton: There is a lot of evidence about the very good work --

Trump: And it's a criminal enterprise --

Wallace: Please let Mr. Trump speak.

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.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

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.

Trump: I don't want you to help them anymore. I'd like to mention one thing. Trump Foundation, small foundation. People contribute. I contribute. The money goes, 100%, 100% goes to different charities, including a lot of military. I don't get anything. I don't buy boats. I don't buy planes.

Wallace: Wasn't some of the money used to settle your lawsuit, sir?

Trump: No, we put up the American flag and that's it. They put up the American flag. We fought for the right in Palm Beach to put up the American flag.

Wallace: There was a penalty that was imposed by Palm Beach county --

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.

Trump: We're entitled because of the laws that people like her pass to take massive amounts of depreciation on other charges and we do it. And all of her

donors, just about all of them. I know Buffett took hundreds of millions of dollars. Soros, George Soros took hundreds of millions of dollars.

Wallace: Mr. Trump --

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.

Wallace: Mr. Trump, I want to ask you about one last question in this topic. You've been warning at rallies recently that this election is rigged and that Hillary Clinton is in the process of trying to steal it from you. Your running mate Governor Pence pledged on Sunday that he and you, his words, will absolutely accept the result of this election. Today your daughter Ivanka said the same thing. I want to ask you here on the stage tonight, do you make the same commitment that you'll absolutely accept the result of the election.

Trump: I will look at it at the time. I'm not looking at anything now, I'll look at it at the time. What I've seen, what I've seen, is so bad. First of all, the media is so dishonest and so corrupt and the pile on is so amazing. "The New York Times" actually wrote an article about it, but they don't even care. It is so dishonest, and they have poisoned the minds of the voters. But unfortunately for them, I think the voters are seeing through it. I think they're going to see through it, we'll find out on November 8th, but I think they're going to see through it. If you look --

Wallace: But, but --

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.

Wallace: But, sir, there is a tradition in this country, in fact, one of the prides of this country is the peaceful transition of power and no matter how hard fought a campaign is that at the end of the campaign, that the loser concedes to the winner. Not saying you're necessarily going to be the loser or the winner, but that the loser concedes to the winner and the country comes together in part for the good of the country. Are you saying you're not prepared now to commit to that principle?

Trump: What I'm saying is that I will tell you at the time. I'll keep you in suspense, okay?

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.

Trump: Should have gotten it.

(Laughter)

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.

Trump: I think what the FBI did and what the Department of Justice did, including meeting with her husband, the Attorney General, in the back of an airplane on the tarmac in Arizona, I think it's disgraceful. I think it's a disgrace.

Wallace: All right.

Trump: I think we've never had a situation so bad

(Applause)

Wallace: Hold on, folks. This doesn't do any good for anyone. Let's please continue the debate and let's move onto the subject of foreign hotspots. The Iraqi offensive to take back Mosul has begun. If they are successful in pushing ISIS out of that city and out of all of Iraq, the question then becomes, what happens the day after and that's something whoever of you ends up as president is going to have to confront. Will you put U.S. troops into that vacuum to make sure ISIS doesn't come back or isn't replaced by something even worse? Secretary Clinton, you go first in this segment. You have two minutes.

Clinton: Well, I am encouraged there is an effort led by the Iraqi Army, supported by Kurdish forces and also given the help and advice from the number of special forces and other Americans on the ground, but I will not support putting American soldiers into Iraq as an occupying force. I don't think that is in our interest, and I don't think that would be smart to do. In fact, Chris, I think that would be a big red flag waving for ISIS to reconstitute itself. The goal here is to take back Mosul. It's going to be a hard fight. I've got no illusions about that. And then continue to press into Syria to begin to take back and move on Raqqa, which is the ISIS headquarters. I am hopeful that the hard work that American military advisers have done will pay off and that we will see a really successful military operation. But we know we've got lots of work to do. Syria will remain a hotbed of terrorism as long as the civil war aided and abetted by the Iranians and the Russians continue, so I have said, look, we need to keep our eye on ISIS. That's why I want

to have an intelligence surge that protects us here at home, why we have to go after them from the air, on the ground, online, why we have to make sure here at home we don't let terrorists buy weapons. If you're too dangerous to fly, you're too dangerous to buy a gun. And I'm going to continue to push for a no-fly zone and safe havens within Syria, not only to help protect the Syrians and prevent the constant outflow of refugees, but to frankly gain some leverage on both the Syrian government and the Russians so that perhaps we can have the kind of serious negotiation necessary to bring the conflict to an end and go forward on a political track.

Wallace: Mr. Trump, same question. If we are able to push ISIS out of Mosul and out of Iraq, would you be willing to put U.S. troops in there to prevent their return or something else?

Trump: Let me tell you, Mosul is so sad. We had Mosul. But when she left, she took everybody out, we lost Mosul. Now we're fighting again to get Mosul. The problem with Mosul and what they wanted to do is they wanted to get the leaders of ISIS who they felt were in Mosul. About three months ago, I started reading they want to get the leaders and they're going to attack Mosul. Whatever happened to the element of surprise, okay? We announce we're going after Mosul. I've been reading about going after Mosul now for about how long is it, Hillary, three months? These people have all left. They've all left. The element of surprise. Douglas MacArthur, George Patton spinning in their graves at the stupidity of our country.

So we're now fighting for Mosul. That we had. All she had to do was stay there, now we're going in to get it. But you know who the big winner in Mosul is going to be after we eventually get it -- and the only reason they did it is because she's running for office of president and they want to look tough. They want to look good. He violated the red line in the sand, and he made so many mistakes. He made all mistakes. That's why we have the great Migration, but she wanted to look good for the election. So they're going in.

But who is going to get Mosul really? We'll take Mosul eventually. By the way, if you look at what's happening, much tougher than they thought. Much, much tougher. Much more dangerous, going to be more deaths than they thought. But the leaders that we wanted to get are all gone because they're smart. They say what do we need this for. So Mosul is going to be a wonderful thing, and Iran should write us a letter of thank you. Just like the really stupid, the stupidest deal of all time, a deal that's going to give Iran absolutely nuclear weapons. Iran should write us yet another letter saying thank you very much because Iran, as I said many years ago, Iran is taking over Iraq. Something they've wanted to do forever,

but we've made it so easy for them. So we're now going to take Mosul and you know who is going to be the beneficiary? Iran. Boy are they making, they are outsmarting... Look you're not there. You might be involved in that decision, but you were there when you took everybody out of Mosul and out of Iraq. You shouldn't have been in Iraq, but you did vote for it. You shouldn't have been in Iraq, but once you were in Iraq, you should have never left the way -- the point is the big winner is going to be Iran.

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.

Trump: Wrong.

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--

Trump: We don't gain anything. Iran is taking over --

Wallace: Secretary Clinton --

Trump: Iran is taking over Iraq.

Clinton: --his conspiracy theories--

Wallace: Secretary Clinton --

Trump: We would have gained --

Clinton: For quite sometime --

Wallace: Secretary Clinton, it's an open discussion. Secretary, please let Mr. Trump speak. Go ahead.

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.

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.

Wallace: Let's turn to Aleppo. Mr. Trump, in the last debate you were both asked about the situation in the Syrian city of Aleppo, and I want to follow up on that because you said several things in that debate which were not true, sir. You said that Aleppo has basically fallen. In fact, there are --

Trump: It's a catastrophe.

Wallace: It is a catastrophe.

Trump: It's a mess. Have you seen it? Have you seen it? Have you seen what's happened to Aleppo?

Wallace: Sir, if I may finish my question.

Trump: Okay, so it hasn't fallen. Take a look at it.

Wallace: Well there are quarter of a million people still living there and being slaughtered.

Trump: That's right. And they are being slaughtered because of bad decisions.

Wallace: If I may just finish here. And you also said that Syria and Russia are busy fighting ISIS. In fact, they have been the ones who have been bombing and shelling eastern Aleppo, and they just announced a humanitarian pause, in effect admitting they have been bombing and shelling in Aleppo. Would you like to clear that up, sir?

Trump: Well Aleppo is a disaster. It's a humanitarian nightmare, but it has fallen from any standpoint. What do you need, a signed document? Take a look at Aleppo. It is so sad when you see what's happened. And a lot of this is because of Hillary Clinton. Because what's happened is by fighting Assad, who turned out to be a lot tougher than she thought -- now she's going to say oh he loves Assad. He's much tougher and much smarter than her and Obama. And everyone thought he was gone two years ago, three years ago. He aligned with Russia. He now also aligned with Iran, who we made very powerful. We gave them \$150 billion back. We gave them \$1.7 billion in cash. I mean, cash, bundles of cash as big as this stage. We gave them \$1.7 billion.

Now they have lined -- he has aligned with Russia and with Iran. They don't want ISIS, but they have other things because we're backing, we're backing rebels. We don't know who the rebels are. We're giving them lots of money, lots of everything. We don't know who the rebels are, and when and if -- and it's not going to happen because you have Russia and you have Iran now. But if they ever did overthrow Assad, you might end up with as bad as Assad is. And he's a bad guy. But you may very well end up with worse than Assad. If she did nothing, we would be in much better shape. And this is what's caused the Great Migration where she's taking in tens of thousands of Syrian refugees, who probably in many cases -- not probably, who are definitely in many cases, ISIS-aligned. And we now have them in our country. Wait til you see -- this is going to be the great Trojan horse. Wait til you see what happens in the coming years. Lots of luck, Hillary. Thanks a lot for doing a great job.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton, you have talked about in the last debate and again today that you would impose a no-fly zone to try to protect the people of Aleppo and to stop the killing there. President Obama has refused to do that because he fears it's gonna draw us closer and deeper into the conflict. And General Joseph Dunford, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, says you want to impose a no-fly zone, chances are you are going to get into a war, his words, with Syria and

Russia. So the question I have is first, how do you respond to their concerns? Secondly, if you impose a no-fly zone and a Russian plane violates that, does President Clinton shoot that plane down?

Clinton: Well Chris, first of all, I think a no-fly zone could save lives and hasten the end of the conflict. I am well aware of the really legitimate concerns you have expressed from both the president and the general. This would not be done just on the first day. This would take a lot of negotiation and it would also take making it clear to the Russians and the Syrians that our purpose is to provide safe zones on the ground. We've had millions of people leave Syria, and those millions of people inside Syria who've been dislocated. So I think we could strike a deal and make it very clear to the Russians and Syrians that this was something that we believe the best interests of the people on the ground in Syria. It would help us in the fight against ISIS.

But I want to respond to what Donald said about refugees, made these claims repeatedly. I am not going to let anyone into this country who is not vetted, who we do not have confidence in, but I am not going to slam the door on women and children. That picture of that little 4-year-old boy in Aleppo with the blood coming down his face while he sat in an ambulance is haunting, and so we are going to do very careful, thorough vetting. That does not solve our internal challenges with ISIS and our need to stop radicalization to work with American Muslim communities who are on the front lines to identify and prevent attacks. In fact, the killer of the dozens of people at the nightclub in Orlando, the Pulse Night Club, was born in Queens, the same place Donald was born. So let's be clear about what the threat is and how we are best going to be able to meet it. Yes, some of that threat emanates from over in Syria and Iraq, and we've got to keep fighting. And I will defeat ISIS. And some of it is we have to up our game and be much smarter here at home.

Wallace: Folks, I want to get into our final segment.

Trump: But I just have too... It's so ridiculous what she... she will defeat ISIS. We should never have let ISIS happen in the first place. And right now they are in 32 countries --

Wallace: Mr. Trump --

Trump: Wait one second. They had a cease-fire three weeks ago. A ceasefire: United States, Russia, Syria. And during the cease-fire, Russia took over vast swathes of land and then they said we don't want the cease-fire anymore. We are so outplayed on missiles, on ceasefires. They are outplayed. She wasn't there. I

assume she had nothing to do with it, but our country is so outplayed by Putin and Assad and, by the way, and by Iran. Nobody can believe how stupid our leadership is.

Wallace: Mr. Trump, Secretary Clinton, no. We need to move on to our final segment, and that is the national debt, which has not been discussed until tonight. Our national debt as a share of the economy, our GDP is now 77%. That's the highest since just after World War II, but the non-partisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget says, Secretary Clinton, under your plan, debt would rise to 86% of GDP for the next ten years. Mr. Trump, under your plan, they say it would rise to 105% of GDP over the next ten years. The question is why are both of you ignoring this problem? Mr. Trump, you go first.

Trump: Well I saw they're wrong because I'm going to create tremendous jobs. And we're bringing GDP from really 1%, which is what it is now, and if she got in, it would be less than zero, but we're bringing it from 1% up to 4%, and I actually think we can go higher than 4%. I think you can go to 5% or 6%. And if we do, you don't have to bother asking your question. Because we have a tremendous machine. We will have created a tremendous economic machine once again. To do that, we're taking back jobs. We're not going to let our companies be raided by other countries where we lose all our jobs. We don't make our product anymore. It's very sad, but I am going to create a... the kind of a country that we were from the standpoint of industry. We used to be there. We've given it up. We've become very, very sloppy. We've had people that are political hacks making the biggest deals in the world. Bigger than companies. You take these big companies.

These trade deals are far bigger than these companies, and yet we don't use our great leaders, many of whom back me and many of whom backed Hillary, I must say, but we don't use those people. Those are the people...these are the greatest negotiators in the world. We have the greatest business people in the world. We have to use them to negotiate our trade deals. We use political hacks. We use people that get the position because they made a campaign contribution, and they're dealing with China and people that are very much smarter than they are, so we have to use our great people. But that being said, we will create an economic machine the likes of which we haven't seen in many decades and people, Chris, will again go back to work, and they'll make a lot of money, and we'll have companies that will will grow and expand and start from new.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

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.

But if you look at the debt, which is the issue you asked about, Chris, I pay for everything I'm proposing. I do not add a penny to the national debt. I take that very seriously because I do think it's one of the issues we've got to come to grips with. So when I talk about how we're going to pay for education, how we're going to invest in infrastructure, how we're going to get the cost of prescription drugs down, and a lot of the other issues that people talk to me about all the time, I've made it very clear, we are going where the money is. We are going to ask the wealthy and corporations to pay their fair share. And there is no evidence whatsoever that that will slow down or diminish our growth. In fact, I think just the opposite. We'll have what economists call middle outgrowth. We've got to get back to rebuilding the middle class. The families of America. That's where growth will come from. That's why I want to invest in you. I want to invest in your family. And I think that's the smartest way to grow the economy, to make the economy fairer. And we just have a big disagreement about this. It may be because of our experiences. You know he started off with his dad as a millionaire. I started off with my dad as a small businessman.

Trump: We've heard this before, Hillary. We've heard this before.

Clinton: I think it's a difference that affects how we see the world and what we want to do with the economy.

Wallace: Time.

Trump: Thank you, Hillary. Could I just respond?

Wallace: Well, no. Because we're running out of time.

Trump: Because I disagreed with Ronald Reagan very strongly on trade. I disagreed with him. We should have been much tougher on trade even then. I've been waiting for years. Nobody does it right. And frankly now we're going to do it right.

Wallace: The one last area I want to get into with you in the debate is the fact that the biggest driver of our debt is entitlements, which is 60% of all federal spending. Now the committee for a Responsible Federal Budget has looked at both of your plans and they say neither of you has a serious plan that is going to solve the fact that Medicare is going to run out of money in the 2020s, Social Security is going to run out of money in the 2030s, and at that time, recipients are going to take huge cuts in their benefits. In fact, the final question I want to ask you in this regard is -- and let me start with you, Mr. Trump. Would President Trump make a deal to save Medicare and Social Security that included both tax increases and benefit cuts, in effect a grand bargain on entitlements?

Trump: I'm cutting taxes. We're going to grow the economy. It's going to grow in a record rate.

Wallace: That's not going to help with entitlements.

Trump: It is going to totally help you. And one thing we have to do is repeal and replace the disaster known as Obamacare. It's destroying our country. It's destroying our businesses, our small business and our big businesses. We have to repeal and replace Obamacare. You take a look at the kind of numbers that that will cost us in the year [2017]. It is a disaster if we don't repeal and replace. It is probably going to die of its own weight, but Obamacare has to go. The premiums are going up 60%, 70%, 80%. Next year, they're going to go up over 100%. And I'm really glad that the premiums have started, at least the people see what's happening because she wants to keep Obamacare and she wants to make it even worse and it can't get any worse. Bad health care at the most expensive price. We have to repeal and replace Obamacare.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton, same question because at this point Social Security and Medicare are going to run out -- the trust funds are going to run out of money. Will you, as president, consider a grand bargain, a deal that includes both tax increases and benefit cuts to try to save both programs?

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.

Clinton: Replenish the trust fund by making sure that we have sufficient resources, and that will come from either raising the cap and/or finding other ways to get more money into it. I will not cut benefits. I want to enhance benefits for

low-income workers and for women who have been disadvantaged by the current Social Security system. But what Donald is proposing with these massive tax cuts will result in a \$20 trillion additional national debt. That will have dire consequences for Social Security and Medicare. And I'll say something about the Affordable Care Act, which he wants to repeal. The affordable care act extended the solvency of the medicare trust fund. If he repeals it, our Medicare problem gets worse.

Trump: Your husband disagrees with you.

Clinton: We've got to go after the long-term health care drivers. We've got to get costs down, increase value, emphasize wellness. I have a plan for doing that, and I think that we will be able to get entitlement spending under control but with more resources and smart decisions.

Wallace: This is a final time, probably to both of your delight, that you're going to be on the stage together in this campaign. I would like to end it on a positive note. You had not agreed to closing statements, but it seems to me in a funny way that might make it more interesting because you haven't prepared closing statements. So I would for each of you to take -- and we're going to put a clock up -- a minute as the final question, in the final debate, to tell the American people why they should elect you to be the next president. This is another new mini segment. Secretary Clinton, it's your turn to go first.

Clinton: Well I would like to say to everyone watching tonight that I'm reaching out to all Americans, Democrats, Republicans and independents, because we need everybody to help make our country what it should be, to grow the economy, to make it fairer, to make it work for everyone. We need your talents, your skills, your commitment, your energy, your ambition. You know, I've been privileged to see the presidency up close, and I know the awesome responsibility of protecting our country and the incredible opportunity of working to try to make life better for all of you. I have made the cause of children and families really my life's work. That's what my mission will be in the presidency. I will stand up for families against powerful interests, against corporations. I will do everything that I can to make sure that you have good jobs with rising incomes, that your kids have good educations from preschool through college. I hope you will give me a chance to serve as your president.

Wallace: Secretary Clinton, thank you. Mr. Trump?

Trump: She's raising the money from the people she wants to control. Doesn't work that way. But when I started this campaign, I started it very strongly. It's

called Make America Great Again. We're going to make America great. We have a depleted military. It has to be helped. It has to be fixed. We have the greatest people on Earth in our military. We don't take care of our veterans. We take care of illegal immigrants, people that come into our country illegally better than we take care of our vets. That can't happen. Our policemen and women are disrespected. We need law and order, but we need justice too. Our inner cities are a disaster. You get shot walking to the store. They have no education. They have no jobs. I will do more for African-Americans and Latinos that she can do for ten lifetimes. All she's done is talk to the African-Americans and to the Latinos, but they get the vote and then they come back, they say 'we'll see you in four years.' We are going to make America strong again and we are going to make America great again and it has to start now. We cannot take four more years of Barack Obama, and that's what you get when you get her.

Wallace: Thank you both. Secretary Clinton -- [applause] Hold on just a moment, folks. I want to thank you both for participating in all three of these debates. That brings us to the end of the three debates sponsored by the Commission of Presidential Debates. We want to thank the university of Nevada Las Vegas and its students for having us. Now the decision is up to you. While millions have already voted, election day, November 8, is just 20 days away. One thing everyone here can agree on is we hope you will go vote. It is one of the honors and obligations of living in this great country. Thank you and good night. [Applause

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