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**«COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN THE US PRESIDENTIAL
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA – Conversation Analysis

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

CL – Critical Linguistics

MDA – Multimodal Discourse Analysis

DHA – Discourse Historical Approach

SF MDA – Systemic-functional MDA

INTRODUCTION

Communication as an essential human activity has experienced an evolution from being a method of understanding between two people for the sake of survival to becoming a method of people's opinions management. The first splash of interest in communication is registered in ancient times. It goes back to Homer, Empedocles, Aristophanes, Isocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and others.

Since the beginning of the XX century, science shifted its interest from technical to humanitarian fields. Communication as an essential activity of human beings is studied upon different directions. Linguistics has been combined with other disciplines and new directions have appeared, e.g. structural linguistics, media linguistics, applied linguistics, and computational linguistics. Linguistics now focuses not only on the verbal exchange of information, but also takes into account various social, cultural, and economic peculiarities that influence both verbal and non-verbal communication.

Scientists (F. Batsevyeh, K. Bayer, A. Belova, O. Dmytruk, Ye. Dozenko, N. Fairclough, G. Gerbner, E. Hall, M. Halliday, O. Halloran, K. Hyland, M. Ivanytska, E. Katz, M. Knill, O. Kuchma, H. Lasswell, R. Lay, W. Lippmann, W. Liu, O. Pavlychko, Ye. Tymchenko, T. Van Dijk, R. Wodak, I. Zhukov and others) do research into the use of language and other semiotic systems aimed at manipulations of human cognition, which previously seemed to be the object of interest predominantly to psychology. Unfortunately, today's linguistic research on manipulative communication strategies do not fully reveal the abundance of possible means that might be used in the specific situations. General tactics are well-known, but it is difficult to specify the range of tools that are used in political discourse within a particular country, taking into account cultural peculiarities and mind-set of the nation, which determine the **relevance** of this study.

The **aim** of the study is to perform comprehensive research into communicative strategies and their implementation by means of specific tactics within culturally bounded, political discourse of the United States of America.

To reach the **aim** we have to outline and complete the next **research objectives**:

- to explore modern approaches to communicative studies;
- to determine and systemize manipulative strategies and tactics that can be implemented within the debates;
- to detect the implementation of these tactics within political discourse in the USA based on 2016 3rd presidential debates (between D. Trump and H. Clinton);
- to outline the most often used strategies that the candidates use, and define, which of them were effective and which failed to influence the American society.

The **subject** of the research is the speech by Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton, in which manipulative strategies are used.

The **object** of the research is verbal and non-verbal means representation of argumentative manipulative strategies and tactics.

We outlined the set of most appropriate **methods** of linguistic research for this study. They are content analysis (used to outline the presence of certain words, topics, or concepts within the given text (debates' script)), conversation analysis (to study social interaction between the candidates during open discussions), and critical discourse analysis (to investigate discourse and outline the manipulative tactics used within the debates).

The **novelty** of the research lies in the detailed study of manipulative argumentation, the target of which is not only the opponent, but also broad audience.

The **language data of the research** includes the script of the debates, where each candidate delivers a speech and participates in an open discussion of six questions determined by the moderator.

The **findings of the research** were presented at the conference "English across Discourse, Literature, and Culture" held on April 15-16, 2020 and reported on in the scientific publication "*Manipulative techniques research in the US*".

The study consists of an introduction, three chapters, conclusions to each chapter, a summary, an annotation of the thesis, references with 94 positions on the list (80 of which are sources in English), supporting data and appendices. The main concepts of the paper is outlined on 90 pages.

I. COMMUNICATION SCIENCE

1.1. The origins and historical development of communication science.

It is generally known that **communication** is one of the most developed fields in the modern world as all the people learn to communicate and socialize from an early childhood. People have never communicated on today's scale. Even fifty years ago, during the times of the Cold War, it was difficult to imagine that people would be as much connected as they are today. Though the bloom of rhetoric, art of persuasion, and oratory (which, in fact, are predecessors of communication science) in ancient Greece and Rome, the modern approach to **communication science** started at the beginning of the previous century.

Charles Horton Cooley, an American sociologist, defined communication as "*the mechanism through which human relations exist and develop – all the symbols of the mind, together with the means of conveying them through space and preserving them in time.*" in his book *Social Organization: a Study of the Larger Mind*, 1909 [16, p. 62]. Since then, social relations started revolving around communication. C. Cooley, W. Lippmann, and J. Dewey became the first scientists who boosted the development of communication science of the modern era [3, p.21-35]. P. Lazarsfeld, H. Lasswell, and W. Schramm were the pioneers of making communication science a part of the processes of higher education [3, p.13].

From that time and onwards, the University of Chicago, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, and Columbia University had have become the hotbed of Communication Studies in the USA [49, p.19]. If we talk about Europe, G. Tarde and T. Adorno were the ones who raised the question of the need of study and critical analysis of rhetoric and public speaking for the first time [49, p.19].

If we go back to communication research in the USA, obviously, the prerogative was granted to public communication. The reasons for it become clear if we take into consideration the political situation across the globe and the relationship between communication, culture, community, and democracy that has been quickly changing by the influence of technologies. The next steps have been made in order to

try and control the quality of information that people receive by means of any communication. The examples are:

The Committee on Communication and Public Opinion, which was an independent agency created by the government of the USA in order to influence public opinion. The background event for the creation of the committee was the US participation in World War I [10].

Due to the interest in communications under the conditions of World War I, *the Committee on Public Information (CPI)* was established in 1917 through the executive order of President Woodrow Wilson. In fact, it was the first time in the history of the USA when the government created a special bureau to influence public opinion and to convey propaganda [9].

The Office of Censorship, which was set up by the American government in 1941 in order to control the communications of the USA and its territories with the outer world. The unofficial motto was “loose lips sink ships” [41].

The United States Office of War Information (OWI) operated since 1942 till the end of the World War II. The agency, which also had several branches, organized and shaped communication between civilians and battlefront. The campaign of information propaganda was launched within the country, as well as abroad [9].

The Hutchins Commission on the Freedom of the Press and the Committee on Communication was created by the request of Henry Luce, the publisher of Time and Life magazines. The aim of the commission was to respond to the critique of media ownership [10].

After the wars were over, it seemed there was no need to control the public opinion anymore. However, as the USSR had become the main enemy of the USA, propaganda and methods of fear appeal were widely used in terms of McCarthyism. During the times of Cold War, propaganda became more sophisticated. Officially, it was not so evident that people are manipulated. That is why communication became the centre of attention for scientists, not for politicians.

Just after the World War II, for example, in 1946, *the National Association of Teachers of Speech* changed its name to *the Speech Association of America*. Its aim

still was to study the process of communication on the scale of public speaking and the art of persuasion. Basic communication studies were precluded from the agenda. After the change of the name, they continued to conduct studies and to publish the journal *Speech Teacher* [2].

In the 1950s, the activities of the agencies that dealt with communication and its research expended.

The National Society for the Study of Communication (NSSC), which was established in 1950 as a subsidiary of *the Speech Association of America*, founded their own *Journal of Communication*, where the latest research on communication with the focus on rhetoric was published. In 1969, *NSSC* became *the International Communication Association*. The restructuration took place and cooperation with colleges interested in the same topic of research began [36].

In 1958, the first college of communication was established on the basis of Michigan State University. In the same year, the *Annenberg School of Communications* with only a master's programme at the University of Pennsylvania, was founded. More departments of communication were soon opened throughout the country.

There were also some books published that boosted interest in communication and its role in human evolution, social changes, world's transformation into a 'global village', etc. They were *Empire and Communications* by Harold Innis, *Understanding Media* by Marshall McLuhan, *No Sense of Place* by Joshua Meyrowitz, etc [51, 35]. Therefore, communication studies started separating from political science, sociology, linguistics, and psychology into an independent field of research.

Since the 1960s, the demand for both PhD and post-doctoral level studies in business and technical communication has increased [63, p.3]. In addition, the fact that communication as an interdisciplinary issue is testified by the emergence of the following works: *Cybernetics: Or the Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* by Norbert Wiener [78], *Mathematical Theory of Communication* by Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver [71]. As a result, a PhD programme in communication and rhetoric was opened in 1965 on the premises of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute [63].

Rapid changes in technological development, political uncertainty, and other social factors contributed to communication science becoming a mature and independent discipline. New terms, attitudes, methods, and approaches appeared. The organisations that were investigating communication earlier were constantly growing. The scale of the USA changed to international. As the modes and mediums of communication expanded, the approaches towards propaganda, manipulation, information control were forced to grow as well. New theories of communication and its effects developed.

In the 1980s, communication was seen as a discipline, the main concerns of which were media production and journalism. That was the time when the term ‘mass communication’ became popular. University departments used to change names in order to contain the word “communication” itself.

As it was mentioned before, *the National Association of Teachers of Speech* has gone through a number of reforms. Since 1997, the official name has been the *National Communication Association*. The institution became a scholarly society, the mission of which is to advance Communication Studies as the discipline that deals with all modes, mediums and effects of the process of communication. [2].

The former *NSSC* now releases six scholarly journals, with the focus on human communication under various circumstances, including the difference between cultures, methods of communication (interpersonal or computer-mediated), etc. The topics of the journals reveal the agenda of the institution [36].

Nowadays the *Annenberg School of Communication* investigates the following topics: political communication; culture and communication; activism, communication and social justice; visual communication; health communication; media and communication effects; digital media and social networks; media institutions and systems; global and comparative communication; communication neuroscience; and critical journalism studies. The school offers a joint doctoral degree in communication and political science.

The overview of the historical development of communication studies has proven that the speed of the development of the discipline has been accelerating as the

processes of communication simplifies and diversifies. Our data suggest that communication becomes multimodal and interdisciplinary in virtue of the technological advancement.

1.2. Modern approach to communication.

1.2.1. Communication types

Communication science today is seen as an academic discipline, which studies the processes of human communication and behaviour, patterns of communication in interpersonal relationships, social interactions, and communication in different cultures [13, p.1]. Different methods of empirical investigations and critical analysis are used within communication science.

The process of communication within communication science is classified into various categories and, depending on the criterion of analysis, there exist various possible classifications. Florii Batsevyeh, a Ukrainian communication scientist, gives the detailed classifications of communication based on various criteria. They include the use of verbal signs, the form of verbal code, the topic of communication, the communicative goal, control level, and the number of participants [81, p.34].

The first classification presents verbal and non-verbal communication. Participants exchange information by means of verbal signs within verbal communication. *Nonverbal communication* studies the transmission of information, which is usually rendered by means of a language, through visual, tactile, olfactory, kinaesthetic (physical), and auditory channels. Experts also study the difference between verbal messages and the use of non-verbal signs. The subfields of nonverbal communication studies are proxemics, kinesics, paralanguage studies, oculusics, chronemics, and haptics [50, p.1-2].

The form of the verbal code indicates whether the communication is oral, written, printed, or electronic. Each of the options has its own peculiarities and characteristics [81, p.34]. In terms of presidential debates, this study is interested in oral communication. The process of debates definitely belongs to the *political* type of

communication, and F. Batsevych indicates it as one of the communication types by topic [81, p.34]:

- political,
- scientific,
- everyday,
- religious,
- philosophical,
- educational.

As for the types of communication classified according to the communicative goal, the scientist distinguishes between *informative* and *entertaining* communication. The control level classification presents either *formal* or *informal* communication [81, p.34]. The presidential debates belong to formal informative communication. Classifying communication by the number of people, we can participate in intercultural, international, interpersonal, intrapersonal, organizational (group), or mass communication [81, p.35].

Intercultural (or cross-cultural) communication studies the process of communication across world cultures and social groups. The main questions are how a certain culture affects the process of communication and what problems might appear within communication conveyed by individuals from different ethnic, social, or religious backgrounds. Stereotypes of other countries and the perception of the world by different cultures are also in the scope of attention of intercultural communication.

International communication studies the practices that occur across borders as the process of globalization is affecting the way people live. According to this type, communication could be classified according to different levels: “government-to-government”, “business-to-business”, “people-to-people”, each of which is investigated on the global level [73, p.25]. Thus, international communication is important not only for humanitarian sciences, but also for business dealing, economy, military, and politics.

Interpersonal communication studies the process of information exchange between two and more people, both verbally and non-verbally. The basic issues that interpersonal communication deals with are the skills required for effective communication; message production process; deceptions in communication; social interaction mediated by technologies [31, p.4]. Interpersonal communication usually

means the interaction of acquainted people, for instance, a mother and a son, two students, an employee and an employer, two relatives, etc.

Intrapersonal communication studies the use of verbal elements in the process of thinking or self-reflection. It can include reading or speaking aloud, the speech of dreams, internal monologues, etc. This type of communication is difficult to be studied. Some of the scientists argue that the activities studied within intrapersonal communication should be studied within interpersonal one [20, p.12-13].

Mass communication studies the process of rendering information to large segments of population, which is conducted mostly by mass media or other special platforms. Journalism and advertising are the constituents of mass media. They are the most studied fields, because they have a substantial influence on the majority of the population. The methods of impact on emotions, behaviour, choice, attitude, opinion, etc. of the locutionary target are of interest of mass communication.

Before the spread of the Internet, one of the problems of mass communication was the lack of effective channels for feedback. However, nowadays various chats, bots, social media, online surveys, etc. give the media an opportunity to check how they affect the customers and whether they are satisfied with the chosen medium [30, p.6]

Organizational communication studies the way communication is organized within a certain company (e.g., formally or informally). The main notion is the network because all organizations are a kind of network, within which the information is exchanged. The patterns of information exchange might be chain, circle, star, all-channel, and wheel. The type of communication with a company is mostly influenced not by the intention of the employees, but by the company's policy. The current issues that challenge experts are power distribution, self-identification, and constitutability of the company through communication and vice versa [53, p.3-4].

Nowadays, mass communication is one of the biggest branches of political campaigns because it offers a possibility to influence a large number of people. As the United States is a multicultural country, the process of intercultural communication is always involved into the process of election campaign. Interpersonal and nonverbal

types of communication are a constitutional part of human lives in general and the process of debates in particular.

1.2.2. Theories within communication science

Mass media are the field for the implementation of manipulative techniques these days. This is the reason why political scientists, PR experts, and political consultants implement *uses and gratifications theory*. This theory is aimed at answering the question *why* people use a certain medium. The grounds of media consumption might give a cue about how to choose manipulative techniques effectively.

Here it is important to highlight the fact that because of the rapid development of the communication as a science, a lot of schools, theories and approaches have been developed. We would focus our attention on some of these approaches as all of them might be used for manipulation within the election campaign.

Since its invention, the television has always been the major influencer of the public opinion. With the development of the Internet, TV was expected to become extinct. However, recent statistics prove that TV is a source of information for most people [26, p.1]. This is the reason for applying the *cultivation theory*, which was founded by George Gerbner. The theory is used to examine the long-term effects of television on the formation of people's beliefs and assumptions [5, p.4].

According to the theory, the real world is perceived through the veil of ideological messages that people see on the screen. The main assumptions of the theory are the fundamental difference of TV from other types of mass media, the limitations of the TV effect, and television's ability to shape the prevailing thoughts and relations within a society. While analysing, it is important to take into account the message system, viewers' social realities, peculiarities of the audience (the time they spent in front of the TV, age, gender, education, etc.) [25, p.23-24].

Agenda-setting theory, which was developed in the study of the 1968 American presidential election by Max McCombs and Donald Shaw, suggests that news media have the ability to change the importance of the certain topic by putting it into a specific

position on the public agenda. By highlighting the salient issues, news media are able to create public concerns about a certain situation. Installing the 'proper' thoughts into the community or creating a kind of information bubble is the ability and aim of the media according to this theory.

Agenda-setting theory also assumes that media do not reflect reality, but shape it. The concentration of a number of issues in media makes people see these issues as the most important ones. The roots of the theory go back to Walter Lippmann's book *Public Opinion* [46], in which he claims that the reality reflected in people's heads is the result of mass media news coverage. The most relevant to our research is the political agenda setting type [11, p.67].

After the invention of the Internet, the agenda setting theory has acquired a new dimension. Some people argue that, for instance, Twitter and other social networking sites are the places for teens to follow celebrities. However, the last tendencies of the elections both in the United States and in Ukraine prove that social networking sites influence the elections pretty much. One of the most popular examples of agenda setting theory application is the use of Twitter during the last presidential election in the United States. By means of the option to retweet the message, the political news is spreading faster than ever before.

With the development of the agenda-setting theory, the new directions for the research were founded. They are agenda-building and *agenda-melding theories*. The difference lies in the agents that take part in the interaction. Agenda-setting deals with the impact of media on a society, agenda-building is about the influence of both media and society on the policy creation, and agenda-melding investigates the influence of personal agendas on the groups that they belong to. This is timely important, because of the technological progress and the multitude of social groups within the Internet [77, p.65].

The simple model of media influence analysis is the hypodermic needle model (or *magic bullet theory*). The theory suggests that the intended message (a certain mental image) aimed directly at the receiver is wholly accepted. The theory is now outdated as people have become more critical, and media are forced to use more

implicit methods of influence [72, p.80]. Later, the theory has evolved into the *two-step flow of communication theory*, which was propounded by Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz in 1950s. This theory affirms that people are influenced not directly by the media, but by certain ‘opinion leaders’, who are influenced by media. Nowadays, scientists talk about multistep flows of communication [47, p.2-4].

The extension of the theory of flows of information is the theory of *opinion leadership*, which was elaborated by the founders of *two-step flow of communication theory*. Opinion leadership is aimed at explaining the process of new idea diffusion and has two main types (monomorphic and polymorphic). The main difference in types is the domain of influence. A monomorphic influencer can be an opinion leader in one sphere (for example, sport), but seek for other opinions in the fields of, for instance, education, politics, medicine, etc. A polymorphic influencer is an opinion leader in several domains, for example, literature, movies, and sport.

The other name for an ‘opinion leader’ is a ‘thought leader’. E. Katz claims that opinion leaders are perceived as a source of information with higher credibility than media, and many of them now operate in social networks (blogs on Instagram, YouTube, etc.). The scientist notes that a true opinion leader has to express a certain level of competence, stick to a range of values, and prove that the nature of his or her social network corresponds to the topic that they discuss [40, p.63-65]. The spectacular example of an opinion leader nowadays is Greta Thunberg, who has no professional education, but has proved her interest in the topic and has influenced environmental activists all around the world to pool efforts.

The literature review shows that the theory of *framing* is widely used in social sciences, including communication. Framing was firstly defined as “*a spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages*” by Gregory Bateson in 1972 [7, p.191]. In terms of this paper, it is sufficient to define the frame in terms of communication science. The frame here is a mental representation and/or simplification of reality. As mentioned above, mass media use various methods of influence both of short- and long-term effect. Framing is one of the basic means of manipulations that news media, in particular, employ.

Today scientists argue whether emphasis or equivalency type of framing is used more. *Emphasis framing* use presupposes a frequent use of certain pieces of information context depending on the purposive omission of some other relevant information that might distort the pre-arranged set of stereotypes, symbols, or judgements. *Equivalency framing* use implies presenting the situation as an urgent need to make a decision based on risks, the result of such decision is usually either a victory or a fail. In practice, both methods are used depending on the event and the context [17, p.1].

As methods listed above are widely used, the majority of people perceive mass media as an unalloyed truth. This leads to the fact that a human is in fear of being turned out in the cold because of voicing his or her opinion. Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann described such situation as the *spiral of silence theory* [55, p.144]. Thereupon, mass media serve as a ‘wire puller’ and decide not only the popular topics (as stated in the agenda-setting theory) but also people’s attitude towards these topics.

1.2.3. Methods of analysis within communication science

In 1954, an American sociologist Harold Garfinkel, founded a new approach – *ethnomethodology*, the origins of which are far from communication studies. This method was aimed at social order comprehension and creation [61, p.160]. However, it is ethnomethodology which led to the development of *conversation analysis* (henceforth CA). Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson are the founders of CA, which to date has become an interdisciplinary field [66]. The method is used to investigate human social interaction. It is typical of CA to use data extracted from real-life situations and to stick to orderliness [33, p.151], which shape the oral dialogue discourse to be the object of research. According to this particular approach, a conversation should contain the following core elements: a topic, a sequence, an adjacency pair, a turn (reply), and a repair [33, p.153].

Taking turns here means the construction of a dialogue around a certain topic. Turns provide the conversation with a certain order and predetermination. An adjacency pair

is the backbone for sequence organization [38, p.710]. Each of the members of this pair provides the conversation with coherence and completeness.



Table 1.1. Parameters for CA

Due to the fact that CA is seen as the study of talk-in-interaction, which means an unpredictable flow of utterances, there might appear some misunderstandings [70, p.20]. They happen because of possible problems with hearing, speaking, or understanding and scientists, who use CA, call such situation a repair. Three core elements compose a repair: they are a trouble itself (for example, an unknown word), a repair initiation (an action or an utterance that makes the trouble visible), and a repair solution (for instance, explaining the word) [33, p.153-154]. To conduct a CA, it is important to use a number of parameters, presented by Henne, Rehbock in *Table 1.1*. [32].

When studying communication, it is also important to analyse the lexical grammatical, and disfluency features. Talking about CA, the focus of the research should be on the rules of spoken grammar and language usage. They include the use of vague words, informal vocabulary, interactional word chunks, and some syntactical and grammatical peculiarities [12]. Here is the more detailed scheme:

I. Vocabulary

- *General nouns*, which are semantically empty and depend on the context (*thing, stuff, place*), or *general noun clusters*, which are (“ask *what’s-her-face*”);
- *Short names, informal forms of address, or nicknames* (*Mon, granny*);
- *Colloquial and swear words*, when the last are used predominantly in male discourse (“*pretty nice*”, “*bloody hell*”);
- *General verbs*, which are semantically empty and depend on the context (*do, happen*);
- *Delexical verbs*, which are verbs that define an action only when used with a noun (to take a shower, to make an effort);
- *Vague quantifiers*, which express quantity without specifying a number (*loads of, dozens of*);
- *Adjectives and adverbs of everyday use* (*lovely, basically*);
- *General extenders*, which are vague endings of the sentence serving as a filler or referring to the rest of a category (*and so on; and things*);

- *Discourse markers, communication checks, confirmations and backchannels*, which serve as a formal borders between topics and stages of conversation (*anyway, all right; do you know, what I mean?; I see*);
- *Fillers, hedges, and expressions of politeness*, which are used to avoid conflicts, hesitation and pauses (*thanks; it is a bit abstract; like I had no idea*).

II. Syntax

- *Indefinite pronouns*, which are not supposed to correspond to a particular person or thing (*nobody's dancing, we'll buy something else*);
- *Personal pronouns and deixis*, which might be used for depict the things evident from the context (*he is about to com; that was a week before*);

III. Grammar

- Incomplete utterances, which include the use of *initial clausal ellipsis, stand-alone subordinate clauses, or unfinished utterances*;
- Informal grammar, which consists of *short clauses* (composed by help of “*but*”, “*then*”), *headers* (which are mostly fronted adjuncts, e.g. “*Hillary, the woman I know*”), *tails* (which are separated from the clause itself, for example “*They're slow, these traffic lights*”), etc;
- *Vernacular grammar*, the proper meaning of which is breaking the actual grammar rules (‘He vowed *to boldly go*’, ‘Give it to Sue and *I*’).

IV. Disfluency

- *Repetitions*, which often happen, when a speaker is emotionally loaded (if we were on *the –the* right track);
- *Pauses*, which are another expression of hesitation, embarrassment, or other emotion (*I wanted to confess (1), it was me, who (0,5) called the police*);
- *Recasting*, which is an effort to reformulate to the same part of sentence in mid-utterance (*when it happened, there – with me – were four people in the room*);
- *Overlap*, which means that the speaker is talking on two main topics simultaneously, when, for example, trying to remember or rephrase the utterance);

- *Interruption*, which means that both speakers are talking almost simultaneously because of either trying to help to complete the utterance, or conflict.

If CA is an interdisciplinary field and can be applied to almost any conversation, there also exists another approach – *Critical Discourse Analysis* (henceforth *CDA*) – used in the domains of politics, media, and education. This approach was founded by a group of linguists, the most prominent of whom are Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak [24]. Nowadays, the method is applied for investigation of the rhetoric that lies at the root of political speech acts. CDA is sometimes confused with *Critical Linguistics* (henceforth *CL*) – a preceding, more theoretical approach. Both CL and CDA are interested in semiotic dimensions of power; cultural, political, or/and economic changes within a society; identity politics [79].

Currently CDA deals with urgent range of question, including the following:

- The influence of Knowledge-based Economy (KBE) on various spheres of human’s life;
- Exploring new phenomena in modern political systems, the reasons for their appearance, the role of media in constructing reality and defining global challenges;
- Investigating new genres, which appeared because of change in time and space perception;
- Comprehension and explanations of modern multimodal methods of discourse used in the public sphere with the aim to make a certain impact on audience [79, p.11-12].

R. Wodak and her colleagues from Vienna, working in the traditions of Frankfurt school, developed a *Discourse-Historical Approach* (henceforth *DHA*). In fact, the approach is interdisciplinary and focuses on such social issues as anti-Semitism, racism, identity politics, sexism, and more. This approach defines discourse as “*a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action*” [34, p.48]. R. Wodak’s understanding of context is based on a four level model, which is presented in the *Table 1.2* [79, p.67]. Most recently, DHA

has been combined with other methods of research, e.g. ethnographics, in order to investigate the political decisions that are made within EU countries [80, p.160].

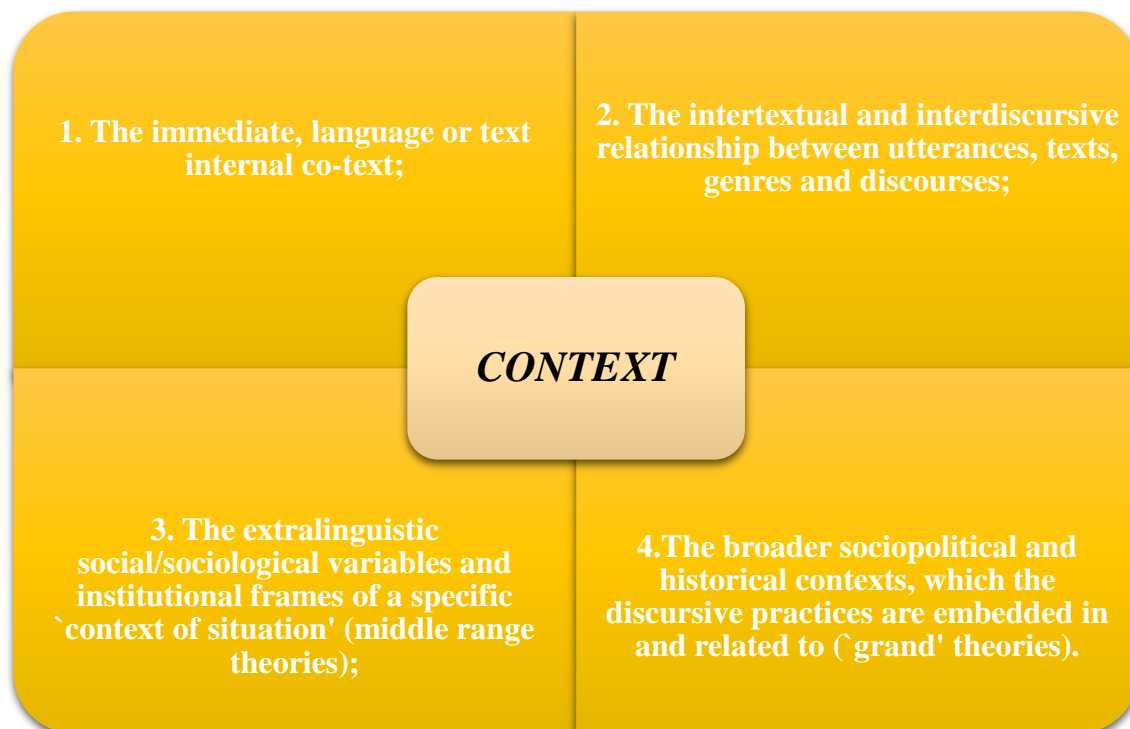


Table 1.2. Ruth Wodak’s concept of ‘context’

Scientific and technological progress, shifts in geopolitical environment, improvements in literacy rate, the policy of multiculturalism, and other social processes set the scientists on changing the methods of research. Such changes in approaches allow researchers to gather more information about the way humans behave and function.

One of the approaches that emerged because of these factors is *Multimodal Discourse Analysis* (henceforth *MDA*). *MDA “is an emerging paradigm in discourse studies which extends the study of language per se to the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music and sound”* [34, p.120]. Stated differently, *MDA* studies how all five senses are influenced in the discourse.

K. O’Halloran, a founding director of the Multimodal Analysis Laboratory, claims that each semiotic resource integrates across sensory modalities [56, p.121], so multimodal analysis can also be called multisemiotic. The scientist supports the idea,

developed by her colleague M. Halliday, which assumes that any semiotic resource reflects a culture in which it was created [29, p 268].

The use of multiple semiotic resources assumes the creation of a certain model of analysis that will include the impact of the combination of all communication modes (layout, gesture, colour, composition, etc.). The number of factors to consider is greater than within CA or CDA, therefore a scientist needs outlining the major analysis points in order to understand verbal logic of the message. Consequently, different experts (Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, Michael O'Toole, Michael Halliday, etc) tried to develop their own approaches to MDA [43, 58, 29].

Systemic-functional approach (henceforth *SF*) to multimodal discourse analysis has become the final result of these trials. *SF* was developed in order to be applied to the Mandarin language system. Later, K. O'Halloran implied it for English and other semiotic systems, saying that the range of semiotic systems is wider than a language only [57, p.137]. The object of the research is the connotative meaning of the semiotic systems. In fact, a researcher uses intentionally developed computer software. In case, research needs to be done into a video, the programme allows decoding time-stamped annotations of various semiotic systems.

The goal of this approach is to investigate all levels of the combination of semiotic choices in a particular context [57, p.143]. The approach presupposes the analysis of linguistic choices (the organisation of clause complexes, the use of loaded linguistic units, making emphasis, etc.), visual and audial elements, and more depending on the material. This choice usually depends on the context as well. The patterns of choice may differ due to the situation: a family talk, a debate, or doing research. In terms of linguistics, the meaning includes several levels:

- 1) experiential (the way our experience is reflected in the world);
- 2) logical (the way people build logical links in the world);
- 3) interpersonal (the way people build relations with society);
- 4) textual (the way people cohere the pre-existing knowledge and new texts) [56, p.122-123].

The wave of interest to MDA sparked in mid-2000. Scientists have set sights on the studies of a language in combination with other fields. Discourse analysis, which roots in intercultural communication, has become a platform for new trials. The exponents of disciplines with a similar object of study have started engaging new theories and methodologies. Conventional discipline frames have been destroyed, and multimodal studies have become a novelty for the scientific world.

Conclusions.

Communication is a fundamental human activity, which has been generating interest since ancient times. One of the greatest breakthroughs of this interest to communication, which involves the USA, was noted during the World Wars. At that time, the authorities firstly thought of creating a special service that can help tracking and controlling the population's attitude towards social processes. The examples include The Committee on Communication and Public Opinion, the Committee on Public Information, the Office of Censorship, the United States Office of War Information. The main tasks of these services was to make the US citizens think positively of the actions of the government.

The post-war period shifted the study of communication from political to scientific ground. The first universities that showed interest in the topic were Michigan State University and the University of Pennsylvania. The scientific and technological progress has become the key factor of the communication science development. The growth of the TV-network and the development of the Internet boosted the speed of communication and created grounds for combining the methods of influence. Such growth has made the communication studies popular for experts in different fields (psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, linguists) and turned communication to becoming the object of interdisciplinary research. Consequently, a number of theories and approaches was developed. The most relevant to the analysis of political discourse are the management of mass, intercultural, interpersonal, and nonverbal communication.

After detailed analysis, the most widespread theories within communication studies that can be used during the presidential campaigns by a candidate's team were outlined. They are cultivation, framing, agenda-setting, and agenda-melding theories. The application of these theories helps to create the information bubble, within which the recipient would be 'fed' with the information presenting a certain candidate as 'the right choice'. In addition, the implementation of the spiral of silence theory helps to avoid being blamed for the improper deeds, political failures, or scandals. In fact, the use of the instruments within these theories is manipulations.

The succeeding studies of social interaction management by scientists and the interest in culture, human communication and its dimensions in ethnomethodology has led to the emergence of Conversation Analysis and, sequentially, Critical Discourse Analysis.

CDA means the research into the interdependence of social context and communication within the society in this context. Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak are the prominent experts in this field. This approach focuses on new phenomena in social contexts and its influence on the real life on global scale. Multimodality of the discourse is also of interest to the CDA experts. In addition, having changed the focus from modern phenomena to the historic events, R. Wodak has developed Discourse-Historical Approach, which studies, for instance, the process of anti-Semitism and its influence on the modern society.

The new step to the study of human interaction was Multimodal Analysis, which allows scientists to analyse not only the verbal elements of speech, but also the influence on the whole sensory nervous system. Special software (or detailed human) analysis provides an opportunity to detect the impact made on visual, auditory, olfactory, and gustatory cortexes. In addition, this approach involves the analysis of gestures and facework, so that all the dimensions of influence are studied within the analysis.

To sum up, people in authority have tried to control the interaction between others in a social group since ancient times. The methods of this control have sparked the interest of educated people, scientists, and experts of different fields. The modern

era of communication research in the USA stems from the desire to control the information on the World Wars and citizen's attitude towards the American participation in them. With time, the universities found it interesting to study communication and the scientists all over the world have developed a number of theories and methods of information control within a social group. These methods have been studied in order to detect the approaches and be able to use them to the personal benefit and, as a result, some scientists have described a number of manipulative techniques, and some have explored the ways of detecting the influence of a social group.

II. MANIPULATIVE STRATEGIES IN COMMUNICATION

2.1. The phenomenon of manipulation

Manipulation is a social phenomenon because it cannot happen outside society. Therefore, it is the subject of research for many social disciplines, each of which looks at manipulation from a different angle. In fact, the term ‘manipulation’ is a general notion for reflecting the techniques of insidious psychological impact on the behavioural patterns of a particular human being, group of people or a community [85, p.10]. The analysis of dictionary definitions can help to understand the notion deeper.

McMillian Dictionary defines manipulation as the “*behaviour that influences someone or controls something in a clever or dishonest way*” [48]. Oxford Learners Dictionary gives the following definitions: “*behaviour that controls or influences somebody/something, often in a dishonest way so that they do not realize it*” and “*the control or use of something in a way that shows skill*” [59]. Cambridge Dictionary explains the notion as “*controlling someone or something to your own advantage, often unfairly or dishonestly*” [14]. All these dictionaries emphasize that the concept is used rather as negative, mainly in a disapproving manner.

The analysis of the historical background of communication studies shows that the interest in manipulations is caused by the change of the focus of social sciences and by the fact that it has become one of the most influential strategies of communication. Scientists explore the same phenomenon, but from different points of view. Not only psychologists, but also political scientists, PR experts, linguists, and many more are interested in manipulation. However, every science focuses on a different aspect. For example, PR experts take interest in the way specific manipulations influence mass behaviour, whereas linguists centre on the verbal means of manipulation used in communication. As it allows politicians to control people’s behaviour, they are highly interested in mastering the art of manipulation.

The additional advantage of manipulation is brought by the technical advancement of modern mass media. The Internet opens a new dimension for

manipulative strategies. A manipulator can influence more people at the same time while being broadcast than, for example, giving a speech at the university. Unlike traditional media (newspaper, television, radio), the Internet allows to create new space for interaction between a politician and his potential electors. Firstly, social media make people see the politician as the same person they are, which automatically makes him or her more attractive. The examples of active social media use are Barack Obama (Facebook), Donald Trump (Twitter), and Volodymyr Zelenskyi (YouTube). Secondly, electronic media make it possible to influence more sensory receptors by using multiple semiotic resources. A video might include manipulations with voice, gestures, colours, scenery, fonts, and many more. This leads us to the conclusion that the more technically advanced the manipulation is, the more effective it works.

Having contemplated studies on manipulation, Yevhen Dozenko, a Ukrainian psychologist, outlined seven fundamental characteristics of manipulation as a social phenomenon. They are as follows:

- 1) psychologic influence;
- 2) seeing the manipulated person as a means to an end;
- 3) an aim to get all the benefits;
- 4) the influence being indirect or hidden;
- 5) the use of psychological power;
- 6) promotion and the use of implied incentives;
- 7) particular communicative skills of the manipulator [86, p.58].

Considering these features, we can assume that manipulation is rather a pre-planned process than a single action.

Manipulation is one of the key notions for CDA, though it lacks a theoretical basis for analysis because it is a talk-in-interaction, which involves human beings and text [75]. T. van Dijk suggests the use of a triangulated approach for the analysis [76, p.359]. The approach includes looking at manipulation as *social* power abuse, *cognitive* mind control, and *discursive* interaction. For the scientist, it is crucial to explore the abuse of power by means of manipulation. Manipulation, in its turn, is seen

as an illegitimate impact made through discourse. He considers manipulation as a communicative process.

According to T. van Dijk, people can be manipulated under such *social* conditions as belonging to the dominant group and possessing means of control. Firstly, he says that analysis on a macro-level defines the power of the groups and their members [76, p.362]. The candidates are in the position of authority and power, whereas the voters are to be manipulated. Secondly, the candidates receive the ground for manipulation and control when participating in TV-shows, radio programmes, debates, and being broadcasted to millions of people [76, p.362].

Manipulation in linguistics is, firstly, about cognition. The manipulator forces people to do something implicitly – by changing their beliefs. T. van Dijk emphasizes the complexity of human cognition. He writes about levels of cognitive influence. The first is the level of understanding which deals with short term memory based discourse, for instance, the news headlines, colours, slogans, visual design (position, style of the text, etc.) [76, p.365]. For example, H. Clinton’s slogan “*Love trumps hate*”.

With time, humans forget the context and the understanding of a certain situation grows into constructed mental models, which constitute the second level – long term memory based discourse. These biased models specify our understanding of the context [76, p.367]. For example, the significant number of news and discussion around the attack on September 11 made Americans perceive all the people from the Middle East as terrorists. This manipulation is aimed not against the people, who live in the East, but at making people’s attitude towards the politicians, who make anti-terrorist statements, positive. Such manipulations are based on understanding and mental models but work on more general beliefs, called social representations.

According to T. van Dijk, scientists see the discourse as the means of manipulation. However, it is essential to note that discourse is not manipulative itself unless it is used in a specific context [76, p.372]. In this case, T. van Dijk sees discourse as a complex of both verbal and non-verbal (facework, gestures, colours, text layout) elements, which can lose its manipulative properties when the context is changed [76, p.372]. Talking about the 2016 US presidential debates, experts noted the

success of Donald Trump's gestures and facework [28]. T. van Dijk emphasizes the ideological constituent of manipulation in the political discourse and the use of "We/They-strategy" for this effect [76, p.374]. In fact, the analysis of D. Trump's speech shows that he uses this opposition quite often. For instance, discussing the Supreme Court "*I don't think we should have justices appointed that decide what they want to hear.*", supporting the Second Amendment "*We are going to appoint justices <...> We are going to appoint justices that will feel very strongly about the Second Amendment*", giving his opinion on immigration "*We need strong borders. <...> They're coming in illegally.*", and more.

T. van Dijk introduces a list of social, cognitive, and emotional criteria to define which groups of people can be manipulated. Having experienced one or a number of following conditions, a person becomes vulnerable to manipulations:

- 1) incompetence in the discussed issues and, thus, being unable to raise a logical objection;
- 2) ideology, moral norms, or customs that hold the person off criticism;
- 3) emotional disturbance, traumas within folk memory, etc. connected to a similar event;
- 4) belonging to a particular social group (profession, status, etc), which influences personal decision [76, p.375].

On this basis, we conclude that there exist a plenty of manipulative methods, but they work effectively only in a specific context. It is vital for a manipulator to consider the social and cognitive conditions of the target audience for a successful implementation of manipulations into the discourse, which in a broad sense includes text, voice characteristics, use of images and colours, and non-verbal communication. T. van Dijk describes the breeding ground for manipulations but, unfortunately, does not present any complete classification of manipulative strategies that we could have applied for this investigation.

2.2. Types of manipulative strategies

The analysis of historical development of institutions that controlled communication made in Chapter I shows that a great number of scholars have been elaborating manipulative strategies applicable in different fields. Manipulations made by the help of language within political discourse are of substantial interest to investigate within this study.

Alla Belova, a Ukrainian linguist, highlights the main characteristics of political discourse in her research *Linguistic aspects of argumentation*. The study states that appealing to the basic human and societal values is the ground for any political manipulation [82, p.13]. In fact, politicians are oriented at making a certain social group believe that their principles and the most important interests will be satisfied. The concepts of ‘freedom’ and ‘equality’ are widely used for manipulations in the United States. For instance, H. Clinton appeals to the basic American value of equality when discussing the Second Amendment “...*the Supreme Court needs to stand on the side of the American people, not on the side of the powerful corporations and the wealthy. <...> we need a Supreme Court that will stand up on behalf of women's rights, on behalf of the rights of the LGBT community, <...> The Supreme Court should represent all of us.”.*

More specifically, a number of strategies can imply the manipulations. As technical advancement allows to employ new techniques, each year, politicians use various new methods to influence the voters indirectly by means of more sophisticated, devious, and evasive manipulative strategies. The Internet makes people of different age, sex, social status, and material wealth the participants of the same target group. The last political events in the world show that the use of the Internet bots for the promotion of a certain party or candidate is becoming more and more popular. They spread untruthful information, manipulative images, and videos, and/or negatively comment on the actions of the opponents. However, politicians still continue delivering speeches at personal meetings, on air, during the interviews or debates, etc. This gives a wide variety of data to research the linguistic means of manipulations.

Rupert Lay, a German scientist, and expert in Communications, states that a human is an easily manipulable creature. He notes that humans face manipulations in all spheres of their lives, and learning to distinguish them helps to make unbiased choices [45, p.160]. He introduces four manipulative strategies classified by *discourse type* presented in *Table 2.1. [45, p.165]*:

<p>Blockade Strategy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Following this strategy, the manipulator gives no direct answers, gets out of the point, pretends he or she does not understand the speaker at all or intendedly misunderstands the collocutor.
<p>Enforcement Strategy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When using this strategy, the manipulator simply lies, threatens, hurts personal feelings, puts him or her under pressure, and more.
<p>Sabotage-In-Discourse Strategy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In this case, the manipulator provokes a bust-up and blames the collocutor; he also avoids answering questions, listening to explanations and clarifications, refuses accepting the opposite point of view.
<p>Sabotage-After-Discourse Strategy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategy involves manipulative quoting, consciously intended misunderstanding and misinterpreting.

Table 2.1. Manipulative Strategies by Discourse Type

The examples of these strategies can be traced in the 2016 US presidential debates as well. Donald Trump, the actual winner of the elections, uses the Blockade Strategy when being asked about abortions: “**Chris Wallace:** *Well, let's pick up on another issue <...>, and that's the issue of abortion.*

Donald J. Trump: *Right.*

Chris Wallace: *Mr. Trump, you're pro-life. But 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?*

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

Chris Wallace: *But I'm asking you specifically. Would you like to...*

Donald J. Trump: *If they overturned it, it will go back to the states.*

Chris Wallace: *But what I'm asking you, sir, is, do you want to see the court overturn -- you just said you want to see the court protect the Second Amendment. Do you want to see the court overturn *Roe v. Wade*?*

Donald J. Trump: *Well, if we put another two or perhaps three justice on, that's really what's going to be -- that will happen. And that'll 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.*”.

He also uses the Enforcement strategy when he argues about the H. Clinton’s attitude towards immigrants trying to make the audience feel unsafe: “*She wants open borders. People are going to pour into our country. People are going to come in from Syria. She wants 550 percent 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 wants open borders.*”.

His opponent, Hillary Clinton implements the Sabotage-In-Discourse Strategy by insulting her opponent: “*Well, that's because he'd rather have a puppet as president of the United States.*” She also tries to involve the Sabotage-After-Discourse Strategy while proving D. Trump’s madness about nuclear weapon: “*He said, well, if we have them, why don't we use them, which I think is terrifying.*”

The examples above show that the Blockade Strategy is less effective, because the moderator of the debates can insist that you have to answer the question directly. At the same time, the use of this strategy can help to gain time for thinking cap. In addition, the use of the Enforcement Strategy nowadays is risky, because the experts can quickly perform a fact check and this would definitely damage the reputation of

the manipulator. The Sabotage-After-Discourse Strategy is possible if the same topic reoccurs after the first debates.

The classification is rather general and can be implemented for analysis of different types of discourse. R. Lay outlines the difference between these types and presents another classification by *spheres of communication*. Describing the possible manipulations as ethical and racist, business (including manipulations both within a company and PR-campaigns aimed for customers), class (aimed at a certain social group), political, or religious, [45, p.178] R. Lay suggests implementing methods used within political, economic, social and religious manipulations as presented in *Table 2.2* [45, p.181,188,234,264].

D. Trump uses the method of scandalization when he refers to the negative past experience of H. Clinton's husband. He presents the signature of NAFTA deal as inadmissible and evil: "*We're going to have 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. Our jobs are being sucked out of our economy.*" He also involves the spread of disinformation about H. Clinton's deals with the State Department by saying, "*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.*" However, the information is untrue and it was debunked.

The Agitation and Propaganda Strategy is impossible to be traced within one debate session because in order to conduct propaganda of high quality, the manipulator needs to implement a number of methods and tactics during the defined time. The Announcement Journalism method cannot be used within the debates as well because it applies the relentlessly critical publication of any information in the interests of certain politicians, parties, or institutions [45, p.234,264].

Scandalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> provokes interest in a certain event of the present or past. Typically, the event is presented as bizarre, inadmissible, and evil. This includes the practice of over-toning, distorting or fabricating special messages for commercial (or others) reasons.
Disinformation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> includes deliberate spread of incorrect, one-sided or distorted information.
Agitation and Propaganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> might include a number of techniques combined and used within a certain timeline.
Announcement Journalism method	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> applies the relentlessly critical publication of any information in the interests of a certain politicians, parties, or institutions.

Table 2.2 Rupert Lay's manipulative methods.

These strategies can be widely used during the presidential campaign for creating both a positive image of the candidate and a negative image of the opponent. In fact, these strategies should be thought of in advance and implemented evenly throughout the campaign. And in such a way, they can create a certain ground for presenting the candidate during the debates.

Harold Lasswell, an American political scientist and communications theorist, dedicated his studies to the role of a word within propaganda. He based his works on the material of communication during the World Wars. H. Lasswell developed methods of political texts' semantic analysis. The scientist focused his attention on key terms, slogans, and doctrines and the use of language in them. In addition, he developed

the system of creating political myths by employing proper word usage [44]. This system has become the basis for censorship in many countries [85, p.54].

Olha Dmytruk, a Ukrainian linguist, dissects the main features of political manipulations and presents her classification of manipulative strategies and tactics within her PhD research. The classification is presented in *Table 2.3*. [85, p.224].

<p>TRUTH EVASION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • labelling • shining generalizations • transfer • use of neologisms 	<p>INFORMATION DISTORTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • repetition • hyperbole • diminution • simplification • silencing • unfair shuffling • fact fabrication • coherent picture shredding 	<p>STATEMENT IMMUNISATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reference to authorities • the use of universal expressions
<p>ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE OF UTTERANCES MODIFICATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • categorical nomination • non-categorical nomination 	<p>GROUP IDENTIFICATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inclusiveness • distancing 	<p>STRUCTURING INFORMATION ACCORDING TO ITS RELEVANCE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing important information at the beginning & end • use of structures with an implicit potential

Table 2.3. O. Dmytruk's classification of manipulation in political discourse

According to the scientist, the use of TRUTH EVASION STRATEGY lies in the nominalisation of events and phenomena that take place in a society indirectly. For example, 'bombing' might be called 'air-support'. In this case, people think not of the possibly injured or killed, but of protecting their soldiers. The meaning is transferred and, therefore, the audience gets positive emotions about the events [85, p.54]. Often the use of such euphemisms makes them perceived as needed and beneficial by society. In addition, some neologisms are invented to create a certain atmosphere.

The other important cluster of political discourse is the cliché. Generally, speechwriters use certain phrases that evoke a positive feeling in the audience. They also involve human values (which is the basis of manipulation according to A. Belova) by the help of shining generalities. For instance, the appeal of freedom and equality to the notions can be expressed by the famous cliché ‘human rights’ [85, p.55]. The abovementioned can be illustrated by the discussion in the Supreme Court, when H. Clinton refers to the provision of the basic rights, which is an utterly important question for the USA “*What kind of opportunities will we provide for our citizens? What kind of rights will Americans have?*” and while discussing the election process, she makes similar references as well: “*So that is not the way our democracy works. We've been around for 240 years. We've had free and fair elections.*”.

The INFORMATION DISTORTION STRATEGY is represented by the following tactics: repetition, hyperbolisation, diminution, simplification, silencing, unfair shuffling, fact fabrication, and coherent picture shredding. Repetition is the constant representation of some information in various sources of information [85, p.86]. Constant repetition makes people think that the information is truthful and needs no verification. Psychologists claim that this manipulation operates with emotions, not with the shreds of evidence of the statement. The recipient does not react to any contradictions because he or she perceives the repeated information as granted, and with time, it might convert into a stereotype. When the idea is ‘installed’ into the mind, it shapes the behaviour [90, p.240].

Tactics of hyperbolisation or diminution functions similarly. Both are used to change the focus of attention from problems, the authority cannot solve to other news, presented as scandalous and earth-shattering. Even if a recipient understands that the importance of the event is exaggerated, he or she gets used to it after constant repetition [83, p.7]. The manipulator can also convert some information into figures, tables, or schemes, which could be manipulative themselves. People believe in the verity of the information presented in this way with no additional check [85, p.91]. For many, it is still challenging to analyse the statistics. For example, when we hear that the death toll of a particular disease is three percent when the other source claims it is

fifteen. A person can hardly believe that there could be such a mistake, so he or she supports the source that seems more reliable. In fact, there might be no mistake. The studies might take into consideration different criteria: one counts the correlation between the dead people and the infected, the other – between the dead and the cured. The combination of hyperbole and diminution is effective for information distortion because it allows to create a contrast. For instance, the authorities can hide the number of killed soldiers but hyperbolise the number of killed enemies in order to show people that the war is effective. The vivid example of hyperbolisation is the D. Trump's statement the "*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.*", which from the point of logic, is not objective.

The tactic of simplification lies in reconstructing the message in a way it can be understood by anyone. The simpler and the briefer the message is, the greater impact it has. O. Dmytruk defines simplification as "the selection of multiple or single simple features in order to denote complex phenomena of a reality" [85, p.96]. She adds that these features help to create stereotypes of what is 'good' or 'bad' and, as a result, the recipient sees the events as either positive or negative with no personal evaluation. Therefore, this tactic creates ground for further manipulations. To exemplify it, we should look at H. Clintons's statement on open borders "*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. <...> I don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending parents away from children.*". The politician tries to simplify the question of immigration just by referring to a general example.

The tactic of silencing presupposes 'deleting' certain events or notions from the recipient's picture of the world [94, p.114]. For example, when politicians describe the reasons for war, they mention democracy, freedom and other human values, but they rarely talk about possible economic benefits. Silencing helps to shift the centre of the audience's attention by making the people think some events are more important than the others.

Morally, the tactics of unfair shuffling and fact fabrication are more than a means of manipulation, because they involve lies. Unfair shuffling lies in presenting several events to the audience. The events might have taken place in real life and might be presented with no lies, but the sequence of events makes people interpret them differently [87, p.185]. Usually, this tactic is combined with the tactic of silencing. For instance, some positive actions of the politician are presented in the press, and the scandals are silenced. This helps to create a positive image of the politician in minds of the target group [93, p.118]. The opposite process is also possible: fact fabrication enhances the effect created by unfair shuffling, silencing, or other tactics. Both mass media and politicians appeal to humans' emotions in order to manipulate. The fabricated facts aim at creating emotional distress [85, p.94]. For example, H. Clinton says that the quote was fabricated when discusses the issue of immigration: "*we've learned from the WikiLeaks, <...> to quote. "My dream is a hemispheric common market with open trade and open borders."* <...> *That's the question.* <...>

Hillary Clinton: *Well, if you went on to read the rest of the sentence, I was talking about energy."*

The philosophical, ethical, and legal foundations of manipulation are outside the scope of this study; however, this strategy also violates the Cooperative principle and the Maxims of Conversation developed by Herbert Grice. The scientist outlines four maxims, a person has to stick to while communicating to make it effective and equal. They are:

- the maxim of quantity (informativeness);
- the maxim of quality (veracity);
- the maxim of relation (relevance);
- the maxim of manner (clarity) [27, p.47].

The tactic of coherent picture shredding lies in emphasising the peculiarities of a specific event in the light beneficial for the ordering politician without explaining the causes and effects of the situation [93, p.44]. The other dimension of this tactic involves overloading the audience with information so that the person cannot focus on a certain event and all the events lose their significance [93, p.45]. The application of

this tactic might be used not only with the text itself but also with the accompanying material, such as photo, music, video (depending on the medium) [85, p.100]. Sometimes this tactic is applied by the use of the ‘sandwich’ method: a negative beginning and a summary of the message negate the positive kernel information or vice versa [92, p.36].

The STATEMENT IMMUNISATION STRATEGY presupposes the tactics of reference to authorities and the use of universal expressions. The aim of this strategy is to prevent the statement from any disproof or contradictions. The tactic of reference to authorities works because the majority of the people is afraid to voice their opinion against the quotes and arguments of well-known experts, such as scientists, successful business people, politicians, etc. In fact, this strategy might be used alternatively: the manipulator refers to a dubious source so that the audience impugns the statement [64, p.303]. D. Trump’s quotes of an independent politician with democratic views Bernie Sanders’s and a political expert John Podesta’s statements on H. Clinton’s vision of the situation in the Middle East can be used to illustrate this tactic: “*Bernie Sanders, he said you have bad judgment. You do. <...> Now, John Podesta said you have terrible instincts. Bernie Sanders said you have bad judgment. I agree with both.*”.

Moreover, it is possible that the reference is done to a third party presented as independent. Instead, the statement of the person can be completely wrong, but it is difficult to check. This tactic influences the evaluative process of some events, people, programmes, activities; therefore, its primary target is the emotion of the target audience [84, p.152]. For instance, the H. Clinton’s reference to Google as the source of knowledge about D. Trump’s position on Iraq invasion: “*I just want everybody to go Google it. Google "Donald Trump Iraq". And you will see the dozens of sources which verify that he was for the invasion of Iraq.*” The use of universal expressions has similar functions. For a human being, it is emotionally problematic to raise an objection to the argument that starts with “Every educated person knows...” or “It is well-known...” Such expressions make a person think that all the other members of his or her social group agree with the statement.

The ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE OF UTTERANCES MODIFICATION STRATEGY includes the tactics of inclusiveness and distancing. The illocutionary force of the utterance is the fundamental notion for the speech act theory [18, p.51], which is a subfield of pragmatics. The main point is that the form of the utterance can differ from the meaning, making it manipulative. The author of the theory indicates that each utterance is the first step to a certain action [6]. Further development of the theory added to the importance of a psychological interpretation of each speech act for understanding the illocutionary force of the utterance [69]. There exists a number of classifications of speech acts, but this study is interested in the ways of their possible change. Within this strategy, modality can be seen as the way to express the personal attitude towards reality and subjective evaluation of a specific situation [68, p.86]. Modality can be used on the levels of morphology, lexicology, and syntax, which allows to implement of the tactics of inclusiveness and distancing.

The linguistic tools of modality usage are the processes of either categorical nomination or hedging [89, p.13]. The more categorical the expression is, the more trustworthy it is perceived by the recipient. Ivan Zhukov, a Russian communication scientist, outlines five basic functions of modality in his research on Russian and German way of representing the events in the North Caucasus [88]:

1. To limit speaker's responsibility for the utterance, which allows to avoid the blame if the facts were fabricated.

For example, D. Trump's opinion on the war in Iraq: "*We should never have been in Iraq, but once we were there, we should have never got out the way they wanted to get out*" and blaming H. Clinton "*She shouldn't be allowed to run. <...> she's guilty of a very, very serious crime. She should not be allowed to run. <...> she should never... have been allowed to run for the presidency based on what she did with e-mails and so many other things.*".

2. To show the (un)importance of event or information, which creates the atmosphere of either inclusiveness or distancing from the official claims.

H. Clinton's statement about the international policy exemplifies this function: "*I would work with our allies in Asia, in Europe, in the Middle East, and elsewhere.*"

and D. Trump's evaluation of the last jobs report: "*if it is, I should win easily, it was so bad. The report was so bad.*".

3. To show either uncertainty or certitude in the information, which transforms the utterance from suggestion to categorical statement.

For instance, H. Clinton's arguments about the effectiveness of her economic plan: "*That is a plan that has been analyzed by independent experts which said that it could produce 10 million new jobs*" and D. Trump when discussing the US international policy: "*We should have never let ISIS happen in the first place.*".

4. To put the veracity of the utterance under doubt, which helps to implode the opponent's reputation.

For example, Hillary Clinton uses it when speaking about Donald Trump's possible connection with Russia's authority "*He'd rather believe Vladimir Putin than the military and civilian intelligence professionals who are sworn to protect us.*" In addition, D. Trump uses it when criticising H. Clinton's experience: "*If we could run our country the way I've run my company, we would have a country that you would be so proud of. You would even be proud of it.*".

5. To indicate the level of speaker's certainty in the verity of the information.

H. Clinton uses this tactic while discussing possible access to nuclear weapon: "*10 people who have had that awesome responsibility <...> said they would not trust Donald Trump with the nuclear codes or to have his finger on the nuclear button*" and D. Trump's suggestion on what happens if Hillary wins the race: "*I believe if my opponent should win this race <...> we will have a Second Amendment which will be a very, very small replica of what it is right now*".

The use of modal verbs, expressions, and grammatical structures can change the meaning of the utterance and, therefore, modify the illocutionary force of the utterance.

The use of GROUP IDENTIFICATION STRATEGY lies in the emphasis on the difference between 'friends' and 'foes'. To belong to a certain group is one of the basic human needs because they aim to share common values, interests and points of view within their ambit of acquaintances. Therefore, people who belong to the same group

tend to believe in the ideas shared within the group. The members of the group seem to be better and smarter than the other groups; the new ideas are perceived as positive and right. The basic verbal representation of this strategy is expressed by semantic primitives within the opposition 'I, we' to 'they' [86, p.68-69]. In the United States, one of the most widely used is the speculation on the concepts of 'freedom', 'equality', and 'democracy' [91, p.83]. The blatant examples are the implementation of these concepts as opposed to the basic values of other countries in the rhetoric of American politicians. For instance, Donald Trump uses 'they' to talk about immigration: "*They're coming in illegally. <...> We have no country if we have no border. <...> We have to have strong borders. We have to keep the drugs out of our country. We are -- right now, we're getting the drugs, they're getting the cash. We need strong borders. We need absolute -- we cannot give amnesty".*

STRUCTURING INFORMATION ACCORDING TO ITS RELEVANCE STRATEGY, presented by tactics of providing relevant and valuable information at the beginning and end of the text and the use of structures with an implicit potential, is applicable to all textual levels. To begin with, people comprehend the information presented in the beginning and at the end of the text better than in the middle. This means not only putting the most important information at the start or end of the text (including headlines and leads) but also distinctive structuring of the paragraphs and sentences [85, p.115]. For the study of debates, the study of this strategy on the level of a sentence is relevant. Compare D. Trump's quotes on immigration: "*President Obama has moved millions of people out*" and "*millions of people have been moved out of this country. They've been deported*". In the first sentence, Trump uses active voice and, so he emphasises the role of B. Obama. However, in the second sentence, the candidate uses passive construction, which directs attention to the problem itself, not to the executive agent of the action.

Among the linguistic means of implementing this manipulative strategy, the following can be outlined: inversion, choice of voice and mood of the sentence, the use of special syntactic patterns, impersonal constructions. The use of inversion serves for

accenting the most important part of the sentence by putting it at the beginning of the sentence. The opposite method is called postposition.

Passive voice and impersonal constructions implicitly change the focus of the recipient from the participants to the event itself. D. Trump's comments on relationship with Russia are the typical examples: "*Putin* [agent of the action] *has outsmarted her and Obama*" and "*She* [object of the action] *has been outsmarted by Putin.*" The first sentence introduces Putin as a powerful politician, but the second one evokes negative emotions about the object of the action.

A statement in the indicative mood functions as rather informative, but the use of other moods can become a structure with an implicit potential. Compare "*Stop stealing our taxes! Make this country better!*" and "*We could make our country better if we stopped stealing our taxes!*" The first sentence sounds like an appeal to action, whereas the second one is regret about the present that cannot be changed.

O. Dmytruk, after the detailed analysis of the use of manipulations by press, summarises that the mass media implement a complex of strategies into their texts by the use of specific tactics. This approach works for a long-term application of manipulative effect, but the topic of our research is limited to the process of debates itself. Some of the tactics mentioned above can be definitely used during the speech of the candidate. However, the art of argumentation within the dialogue with the opponent or while answering the questions of the reports and political experts might slightly differ. The limitations of the present studies naturally exclude the possible analysis of manipulative strategies complexes used within a campaign. Therefore, the use of O. Dmytruk's classification for our study is the most reasonable because the scientist focuses her attention on linguistic means.

2.3. Argumentative strategies within the debates

The previous subsection shows that there exist a number of ways to conduct verbal manipulations. Trying to change somebody's mind is not an easy process, but it always contains at least one type of communication. The arguments and discussions are natural processes here. We argue in order to show validity and rectitude of our views [8, p.18]. To put it briefly, argumentation is the means of persuasion. One can use it both in an oral or a written conversation. This study is focused on the oral one, so it is important to outline the main features of the discussion. Klaus Bayer, a professor at Hannover University, has classified argumentation by goal into:

- scientific (with the aim to solve the problem),
- objective (with the goal to adopt a correct decision),
- polemic (conducted in order to win, for example, the elections).

He notes that the participants should speak on the same topic, use common terminology, present the talking point, and offer 'for and against' arguments [8, p.143].

According to K. Bayer's theory, we can erect three main types of argumentation structure:

- rational argumentation,
- argumentation with the means of plausibility,
- moral argumentation.

Rational argumentation means the use of statistics, dates, figures, laws, etc. in order to either prove your point of view, or confute an opponent's argument. For instance, D. Trump tries to blame H. Clinton for incompetence in economy "...*right now, our country is dying at 1 percent GDP*", whereas H. Clinton tries to reckon people her Foundation's interests do not harm the country's interests: "*the Clinton Foundation made it possible for 11 million people around the world with HIV-AIDS to afford treatment, and that's about half all the people in the world who are getting treatment*".

Argumentation with the means of plausibility implies the reference to personal or general experience, customs, traditions, common sense. For example, H. Clinton argues she is qualified enough to improve the economy by saying: "*I also will not add*

a penny to 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... <...> When President Obama came into office, <...> He has cut the deficit by two-thirds.”.

The involvement of promises, common moral norms, ideals, values, justice builds the moral argumentation. To exemplify, we can use the D. Trump’s argumentation of his view on abortions: “*Well, I think it's terrible. If you go with what Hillary is saying, <...> you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb in the ninth month on the final day. And that's not acceptable.*”.

M. Ivanytska, O. Pavlychko, O. Kuchma and Ye. Tymchenko, Ukrainian scientists who investigate communication in different contexts, have developed the system of strategies for argumentation divided by the target of the reference:

- authority,
- facts,
- analogy,
- norms,
- experience,
- logic.

These strategies are presented in the *Table 2.4* [37, p.46].

The argument with the reference to the authority means the appeal to any kind of expert, starting from a world-known scientist through a famous politician, doctor, reporter, to a usual person that is respected by the audience or seems to be trustworthy. The example of this manipulation is the reference to the intelligence finds by H. Clinton: “*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.<...> 17 intelligence agencies, civilian and military, who have all concluded that these espionage attacks, these cyberattacks, come from the highest levels of the Kremlin*”. However, the manipulator might face some problems because the audience might not share the opinion that the quoted person is a trustworthy and qualified enough on this specific question.

The appeal to beliefs, values and *lex non scripta* is described as a reference to norms strategy. This involves showing the standard, conservative approach to the problem as D. Trump does when he appeals to the importance of national symbols “*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.*”. On the other hand, modern

society is not homogenous in views and tends to frequent change of attitudes towards some values, therefore, there is a risk to lose a great part of the voters.

The reference to certain facts is often used in communication. People try to convince the opponents by enumerating the figures, statistical data, or research results that show the reality to their advantage. The glaring illustration of this is the use of death toll for backing up the weapon control by H. Clinton “*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. <...> a way that tries to save some of these 33,000 lives”*. The manipulator has to be very accurate when dealing with scientific facts, because the opponent can easily find contra arguments as the science is exploring the world from different angles.

Referring to your own experience requires the similarity of the situation or the universal value of your experience. Hillary Clinton mentions her personal experience in order to explain her position on abortions “*I have met with women who toward the end of their pregnancy get the worst news one could get <...> 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.*”

The problem that manipulator might face in this case is lack of personal experience or difference of the circumstances.

The strategy that includes the reference to analogy means suggesting comparison for argumentation. For example, H. Clinton shows the absurd of D. Trump's assessment of all the refugees as dangerous by the following statement: “*In fact, the killer of the dozens of people at the nightclub in Orlando, the Pulse nightclub, was born in Queens, the same place Donald was born.*”

Lack of comparable situations might make the manipulator struggle with this strategy.

The argument with the reference to logic is the process of calling on “laws” of common sense when you present the situation simply, and try to show the logic. For instance, D. Trump tries to logically explain the absence of connection between weapon control and the number of people shot: “*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.”. The problem is that the logic might be illusory, because humans are unable to analyse without wrench.

Kind of argument	Requirements for the persuasiveness	Weaknesses of the argument
AUTHORITY Appeal to generally recognized personalities, experts (authorities)	Recognition of the competence of the authority	Differences of opinion between equally important authorities on a specific question
NORMS Appeal to values, laws (norms) prevailing in society	Acknowledgment of the general binding nature and applicability of the standards to the problem	Competing values in a pluralistic society of constant change of values
FACTS Citing verifiable research results, statistics	Verifiability Timeliness	Concurrent research approaches and results
EXPERIENCE Relying on own experience	Generalization of the possibility Traceability	Different or lacks of experiences Non-transferability
ANALOGIE Appeal to similar processes, comparison	Comparability Traceability	Pseudo comparability
LOGIC Calling on "laws" of thought (causality, finality etc.)	Being basic and, thus logically indisputable	Fallacy illusory logic (syllogism)

Table 2.4. Classification of Argumentative Strategies by M. Ivanytska, O. Pavlychko, O. Kuchma and Ye. Tymchenko

The argumentative strategies presented by the Ukrainian scientists are rather succinct and concise. One can apply them for the debates by means of a number of tactics. Having explored communicative strategies used for manipulation, we have reached the conclusion that the format of debates requires special argumentative manipulations, which presuppose the use of a number of tactics. Marcus Knill, a

contemporary Swiss communication expert, has presented a detailed and multifaceted classification of argumentative tactics that a person can use during discussions or debates [42]:

The tactic of **PLAUSIBILITY** lies in making the argument sound intuitively plausible. The manipulator can reach it by the use of generalisations, or implicitness of the utterance. For instance, D. Trump uses this tactic: “*what's happened in Haiti with the Clinton Foundation is a disgrace. And you know it, and they know it, and everybody knows it.”*

The tactic of **RATIONALITY** involves making the argument sound logical and, thus, credible. The manipulator can use statistics, enumerate evidences or refer to personal experience. For example, H. Clinton uses this tactic: “*I lived in Arkansas for 18 wonderful years. I represented upstate New York. I understand and respect the tradition of gun ownership.*”

The tactic of **MORALÐIC** consists of appealing to recognized behavioural models or good in people. For example, D. Trump used this tactic: “*If you go with what Hillary is saying, in the ninth month, you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth of the baby. <...> But it's not OK with me, <...> you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb in the ninth month on the final day. And that's not acceptable.*

The tactic of **HYPERBOLISATION** can be implemented by means of exaggerating the opposing arguments. For instance, D. Trump exaggerates the scale of taxes' change: “*We will have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan.*”

The tactic of **DEFINITION** can be presented by clarifying the utterance (not always as it was meant by the speaker). For example, H. Clinton uses it: “*Now, here's what 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.*”

The tactic of **PSEUDOLOGIC** lies in creating a false logical model in human's brain. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **PSEUDOCAUSALITY** involves the exaggerated use of a logical thinking scheme. For example, D. Trump uses it to show that the gun ban is not effective: *“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.”*

The tactic of **CIRCULAR ARGUMENT** consists of substantiation of a claim with the same claim. For instance, D. Trump uses this tactic in order to justify his economic plan: *“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. <...> we don't use our great leaders, <...> 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.”*

The tactic of **AUTHORITY CITATION** is realised when instead of arguments, phrases or sentences are quoted from well-known personalities. For example, H. Clinton uses this tactic to depict Donald Trump in an unfavourable light *“Bernie Sanders <...> has said <...> you are the most dangerous person to run for president in the modern history of America. I think he's right.”*

The tactic of **HISTORICAL DISPARITY** can be implemented by means of comparison of the facts of the present and the phenomenon of the past. It is also possible that a candidate simply refers to a certain even in the past or future. For instance, D. Trump uses this tactic: *“They will interpret the Constitution the way the founders wanted it interpreted. And I believe that's very, very important.”*

The tactic of **SELECTION** can be presented by leaving out the important statements. A single statement can be presented as a popular opinion. For example, D. Trump uses it to talk about Clinton's Foundation: *“they hate the Clintons, <...> And you know it, and they know it, and everybody knows it.”*

The tactic of **ANTICIPATION** lies in contradiction of possible contra-arguments before they are expressed. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **ADJOURNMENT** involves postponing the answer to later (but, in fact, forgetting or deliberately ignoring it). For example, D. Trump uses this tactic to avoid predicting Hillary's victory: "Chris Wallace: *the loser concedes to the winner.* <...> *Are you saying you're not prepared now to commit to that principle?* Donald Trump: *What I'm saying is that I will tell you at the time. I'll keep you in suspense. OK?*".

The "**PLUS-MINUS**" tactic consists of the listed advantages and disadvantages and presenting them in such a way that the manipulator's opinion is convincing (certain disadvantages are admitted). Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **DIVISION** is realised by reducing the disadvantages so that they are hardly significant. Thanks to this tactic, for example, expenses appear low. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **MULTIPLICATION** can be implemented by means of showing the opponent's drawbacks in large dimensions. (Your own advantages can also be enlarged using this technique). For instance, D. Trump uses it to speak on the topic of immigration: "Well, first of all, she wants to give amnesty, which is a disaster <...> 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."

The "**CORKSCREW**" tactic can be presented by bringing out some additional information and additional objections with provocations and stimuli. For example, H. Clinton uses this tactics to emphasize Donald's involvement with Russia: "the Russian government has engaged in espionage against Americans. <...> 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?"

The tactic of **BOOMERANG** lies in the use of the opponent's objection for the manipulator's reasons. The opponent is beaten with his own objection. For instance, H. Clinton uses this tactic: "*he said women should be punished, that there should be some form of punishment for women who obtain abortions.*".

The tactic of **ACCUSATION** involves implicit blaming the opponent for doing or saying something. For example, H. Clinton blames Donald: "*He is denigrating -- he's talking down our democracy.*"

The tactic of **APOLOGY** consists of Justifying your actions. For instance, H. Clinton uses this tactic: "*when I voted as a senator, I did not think that that was the case.*".

The "**YES, BUT...**" tactic can be implemented by means of conditional consent (yes) with subsequent transfer to the objections (but). For example, H. Clinton uses this tactic: "*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.*"

The tactic of **EVASION** can be presented by deliberately directing the argumentation discussion to a new topic (with an attractive story or new claim, etc.). Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **STATISTICS** lies in referring to authority through numbers, data and statistics. For example, H. Clinton uses this tactic: "*to save some of these 33,000 lives that we lose every year.*"

The "**SALAMI**" tactic lies in presenting the sub-arguments, which can easily be answered in the affirmative lead to the main argument. Approval of the argument is sought in small steps (slice by slice). For instance, D. Trump uses it to justify his aim to build the wall: "*Well, first of all, <...> We need strong borders. <...> They're coming in illegally. Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border. <...> heroin that pours across our southern border. It's just pouring and destroying <...> youth and plenty of other people. <...> Now, I want to build the wall. We need the wall. <...> 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."

The “**THUNDER STEALING**” tactic involves compensating the lack of convincing arguments with rhetorical statements or with quick comments. For example, H. Clinton uses this tactic: *“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?”*

The tactic of **HUSH** consists of unsettling the partner with silence so that he or she says more than he or she wants. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **ICEBREAKER** can be implemented by means of small provocations used in order to break the silence. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **TEASING** can be presented by giving some additional arguments. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **REVERSION** lies in returning the objection. For example, H. Clinton questions Donald’s fitness for presidency after he criticises her: *“what he just said about the State Department is not only untrue, it's been debunked numerous times. <...> 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, called her an eating machine.”*

The tactic of **REVELATION** involves getting an answer from a persistent partner who ignores all suggestions. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The “**BANDWAGON**” tactic consists of presenting the manipulator’s view to the majority. The recipients should have the feeling of being allowed to sit down with the celebrities. For example, D. Trump uses this tactic: “*very inappropriate statements toward me and toward a tremendous number of people, many, many millions of people that I represent*”.

The tactic of **ISOLATION** can be implemented by means of making anyone who shares the view of the opposite side feel like an outsider. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **DISPUTE** can be presented by the attacks against the fundamental facts of the opponent. (Data are questioned. New accents are put. Figures are supposed to have been convincingly presented). For example, H. Clinton uses this tactic to show that Donald lies: “*Donald is implying that he didn't support the invasion of Iraq. I said it was a mistake. I've said that years ago. He has consistently denied <...> a very clear fact that <...> before the invasion, he supported it. And, you know, I just want everybody to go Google it. Google "Donald Trump Iraq." And you will see the dozens of sources which verify that he was for the invasion of Iraq. <...> And you can actually hear the audio of him saying that.”.*

The tactic of **CONTRADICTION** lies in seeking for and clearly revealing the contradictions. For instance, D. Trump uses it to show that Hillary’s position on immigration is not this unambiguous and unbiased: “*President Obama has moved millions of people out. Nobody knows about it, nobody talks about it. <...> She doesn't want to say that, but that's what's happened, <...> she doesn't say is that President Obama has deported millions and millions of people just the way it is.”.*

The tactic of **REVALUATION** involves the usage of the same term or situation either in a positive or negative sense. For example, D. Trump’s reaction when he is blamed for unclear activities of his trust: “*If you don't like what I did, you should have changed the laws.”.*

The tactic of **REPETITION** consists of repeating the most important claim or argument constantly. For instance, H. Clinton uses this tactic: “*I will defend Roe v. Wade, and I will defend women's rights to make their own health care decisions. <...>*”

I do not think the United States government should be stepping in and making those most personal of decisions. <...> 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.”.

The tactic of **EMOTIONAL APPEAL** is realised through overlaying facts and logical arguments with emotions and prejudices. For example, H. Clinton uses this tactic when talking about foreign hotspots: *“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.”*.

The tactic of **DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW** can be implemented by means of drawing attention to a new point of view. It is similar to the tactic of “Evasion”, but there is no intention to distract the attention. For instance, *“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's no doubt that I respect the Second Amendment, that I also believe there's an individual right to bear arms.”*.

The tactic of **REINTERPRETATION** lies in reinterpreting the statement without offending the partner. The candidates do not use it within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **SORROW** can be presented by proving that the opponent’s peculiar opinion is unthoughtful and imprudent. For example, H. Clinton uses it to show the drawbacks of Donald Trump’s economic plan: *“When it comes to the wall that Donald talks about building, he went to Mexico, he had a meeting with the Mexican president. 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. <...> And that's why I'm introducing comprehensive immigration reform within the first 100 days with the path to citizenship.”; *“my plan <...> 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.”*.*

The tactic of **VISUAL INSPECTION** consists of holding up an article, a book, or a document while talking. This illustration can be impressive. An object, a photo or a

person can also be helpful as 'evidence'. For example, H. Clinton shows the unambiguity of deportation: “*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.*”.

The tactic of **EXPOSURE** involves helping the opponent to create ‘a problem’. For instance, D. Trump uses this tactic: “*her plan is going to raise taxes and even double your taxes. Her tax plan is a disaster. <...> We will have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan.*”.

The tactic of **ANALOGY** is realised by leading the opponent into a situation that is analogous or similar, but in which he or she would not behave that way (as previously stated). For example, H. Clinton uses this tactic to ensure the support of the audience: “*I will defend Planned Parenthood. I will defend Roe v. Wade, and I will defend women's rights to make their own health care decisions.*”

The tactic of **DIFFERENTIATION** can be implemented by means of emphasising the distinction between ‘A’ and ‘B’ after the agreement has been reached in principle. Differentiation creates new conditions. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **COMPARISON** lies in showing that comparison is lagging. For example, H. Clinton uses this tactic in order to show that Donald Trump’s arguments are illogical: “*the killer of the dozens of people at the nightclub in Orlando, the Pulse nightclub, was born in Queens, the same place Donald was born. So let's be clear about what the threat is*”.

The tactic of “**EITHER ... OR**” involves defining just two possible outcomes. For instance, D. Trump uses this tactic to accent the importance of immigration decrease: “*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.* ”

The tactic of “**AS WELL ... AS**” lies in downplaying the differences. Neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton uses this tactic within the third presidential debate.

The tactic of **NONSENSE** can be implemented by means of describing the opponent’s proposal in detail and showing how absurd the realization of the project

would be. For instance, H. Clinton uses this tactic: *“When it comes to the wall that Donald talks about building, he went to Mexico, he had a meeting with the Mexican president. 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.”*.

The tactic of **“EVERY-COIN-HAS-TWO-SIDES”** can be realised through rating the argument as weak after thinking of the opponent’s argument thoroughly. D. Trump uses this tactic to question the importance of Hillary’s experience as women’s right activist: *“Saudi Arabia giving \$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.”*.

The tactics described by M. Knill include tactics that can be implemented within the manipulative strategies described by O. Dmytruk, K. Bayer, M. Ivanytska, O. Pavlychko, and other scientists. This makes these tactics rather universal for any discussion. The examples from the debate show that the majority of tactics were used by both candidates but only the more detailed analysis of the tactics can show which of the tactics are easier to implement and have greater manipulative effect.

Conclusions

The phenomenon of manipulation is perceived negatively within the society, because it means psychological influence that is usually conducted in an unfair way. The definitions from dictionaries prove that manipulation is the process, where one of the participants becomes a victim of delusion. Concept of manipulation sparkles the interest of psychologists, anthropologists, linguists, political experts, and experts from other fields. The technical advancement is both an engine for new manipulative techniques and the grounds for hybridization of the existing ones.

The manipulations on the political scene are the object of concern for humanity today. In order to be able to analyse the concept of manipulation as a part of discourse, we have explored the works of psychologists (Ye. Dozenko), linguists (T. van Dijk,

O. Dmytuk, M. Ivanytska, O. Pavlychko, O. Kuchma, and Ye. Tymchenko), communication theorists (K. Bayer, M. Knill, H. Lasswell, R. Lay).

According to T. van Dijk, the adequate choice of the context is important. For our research, the essential point is to know the manipulative strategies and the ways they can be implemented. R. Lay has developed a four-element system of manipulative strategies classified according to the discourse type and broadened these strategies by explaining particular manipulative methods. In terms of presidential debates analysis, scandalization and disinformation could be used by any of the opponents. Agitation, Propaganda, and Announcement Journalism methods are time consuming and can be used within the debate as a part of complex of manipulations, which started before.

O. Dmytruk's classification presents the strategies and tactics that can be used in mass media for manipulations but some of them are also relevant for the debates. The examples of the truth Evasion Strategy, Information Distortion Strategy, Statement Immunisation Strategy, Illocutionary Force of Utterances Modification Strategy, Group Identification Strategy, and Structuring Information According to its Relevance Strategy can be found within the debates.

Both H. Clinton and D. Trump implement shining generalities, label their opponent's decisions, quote authorities, refer statistics, and structure their speech in a way to accent issues most relevant for the speaker. The candidates also use such linguistic means as repetition, hyperbole, modality, and inversion. In addition, D. Trump is an active user of Group Identification Strategy. He often uses the tactic of distancing by means of semantic primitives 'I' and 'you'. H. Clinton often employs simplification, transfer, and reference to a third party presented as independent.

We have also studied three argumentative tactics classifications: one by K. Bayer, one by M. Ivanytska, O. Pavlychko, O. Kuchma and Ye. Tymchenko, and one by M. Knill. The research shows that basically all the tactics refer either to human mind, or to feelings. The speech analysis show that the candidates usually appeal both for scientific facts, figures, and logic, and for stereotypes, emotions, and *lex non scripta*. M. Knill's classification is the broadest and, thus, fits best for the extensive analysis of the debate.

III. MANIPULATIONS IN 2016 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES IN THE UNITED STATES

3.1. The US presidential elections and the role of the debates.

The US presidential election system differs much from the Ukrainian one. Firstly, the election is indirect. This means that the US citizens do not vote directly for the candidate. They redirect their votes to the Electoral College which consists of representatives of each state called the electors. The number of the electors from a particular state is defined by taking the same number of electors as the number of the Senate and House of Representative members. In addition, the District of Columbia has another three electors [74]. Overall, 538 electors participate in the presidential elections; therefore, a candidate needs 270 votes to win.

Secondly, both the president and the vice president are elected during the voting, because snap elections are impossible in the United States. If something happened to the president, the vice president would have the authority [74].

Thirdly, the elections in the US always take place on Tuesday after the first Monday of November and the votes are casted on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December. Congress counts the results and publishes them in the first week of January. If the candidate does not get the majority of the votes, the House of Representatives acts like a presidential election session and chooses the president [62].

Fourthly, the elections consist of two stages. To begin with, each state holds presidential primary elections and caucuses (by population) and the presidential nominating conventions (by political party). In fact, they conduct a mini-version of the elections within the party to define their candidate for presidency. The procedure differs from party to party, from state to state [62].

To sum up, the timeline of any presidential elections includes the following steps: announcements of the intention to run by each of the candidates, primary debates, primary elections, nomination conventions, presidential election debates, the elections themselves, and vote count [1].

2016 US presidential debates consisted of four stages. The first presidential debate took place on September 26 at Hofstra University, New York. Each of six parts of the debates lasted for about 15 minutes. Lester Holt, the moderator, solely chose the questions and supervised the process. The topics included economy and labour market, the national debt and social policies, fight against terrorism, the US geopolitical interests and aims, personal experience of each candidate in management, and more. He presented the topic and made sure each of the candidates had two minutes to express themselves. Then about 10 minutes of discussion followed. According to the *Morning Consult's* data, 49% of viewers decided that Hillary Clinton has won, while only 26% supported Donald Trump [22]. The other surveys showed a similar result [23, 52].

After the first presidential debate, the vice presidential debate takes place. The debate of 2016 took place on October 4 in Virginia with Elaine Quijano as the moderator. The principle of the debate was similar to the presidential one. Candidates received nine topics for discussion and had two minutes to speak out, the remaining time was used for an open discussion. Both Tim Kaine and Mike Pence had an opportunity to sit at the table and discuss the candidates for presidency, the economy, police, interracial conflicts, nuclear weapons, social care programmes, religion and some ethical questions. The opinion of the audience split, and later it became known that each candidate had received almost the same percentage of votes according to the *CNN instant-poll* [4].

The second presidential debate was held on October 9 at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. The Gallup Organization chose the independent voters from a “town meeting” format beforehand. The debate moderators were Martha Daddals and Anderson Cooper. In general, there were eight main questions, which highlighted education, social care, immigration, taxes, the Supreme Court justice, and more. According to the *Morning Consult's* data, 42% of viewers decided that Hillary Clinton won, while only 28% supported Donald Trump [60]. The other surveys showed the similar outcomes [39, 67].

The third presidential debate, which provides data for our research, was conducted on October 19 at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas. The format of the

debates resembled the first debates but there were just six topics chosen by the moderator to discuss – two minutes for each candidate. After each pair of their answers, Chris Wallas, the moderator, held an open discussion approximately for ten minutes. The officially announced topics were immigration, national debt, the Supreme Court, fitness to be elected, economic growth, and foreign hot spots. Except for these topics, the candidates also discussed the Second Amendment, the issue of abortions, the relationship with Russia and Mexico, and more. According to the *Morning Consult's* data, 43% of the respondents supported Hillary Clinton, while only 26% considered Donald Trump to be the winner of the debates [54]. The other surveys showed a similar result [65, 21].

In this study, we focus on the last completed presidential elections that took place in the United States – in 2016. For sure, we cannot say that only debates convince people to make choices. The presidential campaign as a complex of events aims at convincing the population to vote for a certain candidate, but regarding the limitations of this study's volume, the whole campaign cannot be analysed. It was decided to focus on the debates because the main ground of the debates is verbal communication, which is of our interest. We assume that the third and last stage of the presidential debates has played an important role in election the process because they have taken place directly before the elections – on October 19.

Speeches by both candidates were analysed in terms of the use of argumentative tactics for manipulation. The case should be pointed out because Donald Trump, the winner of the elections, formerly an eccentric businessman, had no support even from his party at the beginning of the campaign. His victory was a thunderclap for many people, both US residents and the world community. The experts said that Hillary Clinton won all three presidential debates [54]. Despite the experts' conclusions, D. Trump has won a victory. Therefore, the analysis of the verbal content of the debates and the manipulations made by the candidates can help to find the key of Donald Trump's success.

It is considered that the debates can hardly influence the results of the elections in the USA. However, scholars agree that 2016 presidential debates were not the

case [15]. From the beginning of the campaign, H. Clinton was the obvious leader, while D. Trump had no support even from his party. Meanwhile, D. Trump became more popular. In addition, active use of Twitter made D. Trump popular among youth. It made people all around the world observe the presidential fight between Clinton and Trump [15].

D. Trump is used to being in the spotlight. Behaving extraordinarily and erratically, he managed to get the attention from various kinds of people. Later on, by criticising the controversial decisions of B. Obama, he won the support of the population. Being 'new' in politics also worked for D. Trump's benefit. He managed to criticise H. Clinton's decisions on her long path to presidency, whereas she had no such opportunity. The debates were a breeding ground for showing D. Trump's pros and H. Clinton's cons on the level of emotions and, though the experts concluded that H. Clinton won the debate, the emotional appeal within the debates helped D. Trump to win the elections [15].

To sum up, the third stage of presidential debates is of interest of our research because it is the last chance to influence the voters and candidates exert all powers to win the victory. Political scientists claim that the debates can rarely influence the elections result in the USA. These debates confirm the theory: D. Trump has become the President of the United States whereas H. Clinton garnered a significant support and won the debate. Therefore, the tactics they use within the debate are of interest to this study.

3.2. Manipulative strategies used in 2016 US presidential debates by Donald J. Trump.

Before the elections *Donald Trump* had been known as an eccentric businessman, a television personality, and a billionaire. He has changed his political views: for example, he supported Democrats until 1987, then he changed his views to republican and since 2009 Donald has been supporting the Republican party. Not many people believed in his success. It looked like a joke that he was running for presidency – even the Republican Party did not back him. However, Donald Trump managed to

win 2016 US presidential elections. Here, we are exploring the tactics that he used within the debates.

The tactic of Accusation revealed to be the most frequently used by both candidates. D. Trump uses this tactic 16 times to simply offend Hillary (“*Such a nasty woman.*”) and to blame her for it:

➤ loyalty to abortions: “*If you go with what Hillary is saying, in the ninth month, you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth of the baby.*”;

➤ flexibility towards immigrants: “*she wants to give amnesty, which is a disaster and very unfair to all of the people that are waiting on line for many, many years. <...> Hillary wants to give amnesty. She wants to have open borders.”, “*the Border Patrol agents, <...> The biggest complaint they have -- it's with all of the problems going on in the world, many of the problems caused by Hillary Clinton and by Barack Obama.*”;*

➤ support of her husband’s decision to sign North American Free Trade Agreement: “*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.”, “*Now, she can say that her husband did well, but, boy, <...> because it didn't really kick in very much, but it kicked in after they left.*”, and “*Our jobs are being taken out by the deal that her husband signed, NAFTA, one of the worst deals ever.*”.*

➤ silencing her colleague’s policy: “*President Obama has moved millions of people out. <...> 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's happened <...> But what she doesn't say is that President Obama has deported millions and millions of people just the way it is.*”;

➤ weak position in geopolitical questions: “*Putin has outsmarted her and Obama at every single step of the way <...> I can't believe they allowed us to do this. They create warheads, and we can't. <...> She has been outsmarted and outplayed worse than anybody”, “*She gave us ISIS, <...> we should never have 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. And now I listen how she's going to get rid of ISIS. She's going to get rid of nobody.”, and “It's a criminal enterprise. Saudi Arabia giving \$25 million, Qatar, all of these countries. <..> 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? <...> She shouldn't be allowed to run. It's crooked -- she's - she's guilty of a very, very serious crime. She should not be allowed to run. <...> she should never have been allowed to run for the presidency based on what she did with e-mails and so many other things.”.

➤ manipulations and telling lies: “*she's been proven to be a liar on so many different ways. This is just another lie.”; “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.”, “I believe it was her campaign that did it. <...> She's the one and Obama that caused the violence. They hired people -- they paid them \$1,500”, “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 of 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?”,*

➤ moderate economic policy: “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's bad experience, because what you've done has turned out badly. For 30 years, you've been in a position to help, <...>-- make it impossible for me to do that. I wouldn't mind. The problem is, you talk, but you don't get anything

done, Hillary. You don't.”, “*You should have changed the law. But you won't change the law, because you take in so much money. I mean, I sat in my apartment today <...> watching ad after ad after ad, false ad. All paid for by your friends on Wall Street that gave so much money because they know you're going to protect them. <...> If you don't like what I did, you should have changed the laws.”, and “*She's been doing this for 30 years. Why the hell didn't you do it over the last 15, 20 years?*”.*

The tactic of Repetition is the second most frequent tactic used by D. Trump. He uses it to present Hillary's views on the following issues as incompetent and evil:

➤ abortions: “*in the ninth month, you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth of the baby. <...> you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb in the ninth month on the final day.*”;

➤ immigration: “*she wants to give amnesty, <...> Hillary wants to give amnesty. She wants to have open borders.*”, “*We need strong borders. <...> We have no country if we have no border. <...> They want strong borders. They feel we have to have strong borders. <...> We have to have strong borders. We have to keep the drugs out of our country. <...> We need strong borders. <...> We shore up the border.*”, and “*Clinton wanted the wall. Hillary Clinton fought for the wall in 2006 <...> Clinton wanted the wall.*”.

➤ international policy: “*these are very rich, powerful countries. Saudi Arabia, nothing but money. We protect Saudi Arabia. Why aren't they paying? <...> I questioned NATO. Why aren't the 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 -- 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. <...> it's awfully hard to get them to pay up when you have somebody saying we think how great they are.”, and “*She gave us ISIS, <...> She gave us ISIS as sure as you are sitting there. And what happened is now ISIS is in 32 countries. And now I listen how she's going to get rid of ISIS. She's going to get rid of nobody.”.**

➤ economy: “So my plan -- we're going to renegotiate trade deals. We're going to have a lot of free trade. We're going to have free trade, more free trade”, “Our jobs are being taken out <...>. Our jobs are being sucked out of our economy. <...> Our jobs have fled to Mexico and other places.” and “You should have changed the law. But you won't change the law, because you take in so much money. <...> frankly, you should have changed the laws. <...> If you don't like what I did, you should have changed the laws.”;

In addition, he blames Hillary for paying women to come out with claims he has harassed them: “I don't know those people. I have a feeling how they came. I believe it was her campaign that did it. <...> I think they want either fame or her campaign did it. And I think it's her campaign.”.

D. Trump uses the tactic of Rationality:

➤ to talk about the Second Amendment and the Supreme Court: “I feel that the justices <...> -- and I've named 20 of them...”, “We're going to bring the \$2.5 trillion <...> offshore back into the country. We are going to start the engine rolling again, because <...> right now, our country is dying at 1 percent GDP”;

➤ to prove blames on him are fake: “She's the one and Obama <...> hired people -- they paid them \$1,500, and they're on tape saying be violent, cause fights, do bad things.”;

➤ to justify his Foundation activities: “Trump Foundation, small foundation. People contribute, I contribute. The money goes 100 percent -- 100 percent goes to different charities, including a lot of military.”;

➤ to show Hillary's incompetence in international policy and economics: “We gave them \$150 billion back. We give 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 -- he has aligned with Russia and with Iran.”.

He appeals to moral and stereotyped models of behaviour within the tactic “Moral&Ethic” in order to:

➤ prove Hillary Clinton's cruelty on the question of abortion: “If you go with what Hillary is saying, in the ninth month, you can take the baby and rip the baby out

of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth of the baby. <...> But it's not OK with me, <...> you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb in the ninth month on the final day. And that's not acceptable.”;

➤ talk about Supreme Court: *“They will have a conservative bent”;*

➤ condemn Hillary Clinton’s immigration policy: *“But it's very unfair. We have millions of people that did it the right way. They're on line. They're waiting. <...> 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.”;*

➤ show Hillary’s doublespeak: *“Saudi Arabia <...> 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.”.*

D. Trump uses the tactic of Statistics four times for:

➤ showing he is supported by a great number of experts in immigration *“the Border Patrol agents, 16,500-plus ICE last week, endorsed me.”;*

➤ highlighting weak points of Hillary’s international policy *“She wants open borders. <...> People are going to come in from Syria. She wants 550 percent more people than Barack Obama”, “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's playing chicken.”,* and *“We've spent \$6 trillion. They've taken over the Middle East.”.*

D. Trump quotes well-known personalities instead of using his own arguments within the tactic of Authority citation in order to:

➤ protect his view on open border and economy: *“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.”;*

- blame H. Clinton for inefficient international policy: “*The Russians have said, according to many, many reports, <...> They create warheads, and we can't.*”;
- show H. Clinton’s unfitness to be the president: “*Now, John Podesta said you have terrible instincts. Bernie Sanders said you have bad judgment. I agree with both.*”.

Within Multiplication tactic, D. Trump exaggerates:

- the outcomes of Hillary Clinton’s immigration policy: “*Well, first of all, she wants to give amnesty, which is a disaster <...> 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.*”, “*many of the problems caused by Hillary Clinton and by Barack Obama. <...> biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern border. It's just pouring and destroying.*”;
- drawbacks of her international policy “*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.*”

D. Trump uses exaggerations within the tactic of Hyperbolisation to show the horridness of free abortions: “*If you go with what Hillary is saying, in the ninth month, you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth of the baby. <...> you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb in the ninth month on the final day.*”; and possible financial problems that can result from Hillary’s policy on economy: “*We will have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan.*”.

He also uses of a hyperbolized logical thinking scheme to express lack of changes to Second Amendment in the future, which causes Pseudocausality: “*I believe if my opponent should win this race, <...> we will have a Second Amendment which will be a very, very small replica of what it is right now*”; and lack of interdependence between the violence rate and law strictness: “*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.”.

Within the tactic of Historical disparity, D. Trump refers to the phenomena of the past to show he is right about the Supreme Court: *“They will interpret the Constitution the way the founders wanted it interpreted. And I believe that's very, very important.”*; and about the importance of being an industrious country: *“I pass factories that were thriving 20, 25 years ago, and because of the bill that her husband signed and she blessed 100 percent, it is just horrible what's happened to these people in these communities.”*.

He uses the tactic of Selection to make people believe he is on the same side with the population: *“some very, very inappropriate statements toward me and toward a tremendous number of people, many, many millions of people that I represent”* and *“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.”*.

The tactic of Adjournment is difficult to be implemented in a talk-in-interaction as debates, but D. Trump uses it twice: *“Chris Wallace: 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?”*

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

Chris Wallace: But I'm asking you specifically. Would you like to...

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

Chris Wallace: But what I'm asking you, sir, is, do you want to see the court overturn -- you just said you want to see the court protect the Second Amendment. Do you want to see the court overturn Roe v. Wade?

Donald Trump: Well, if we put another two or perhaps three justice on, that's really what's going to be -- that will happen. And that'll 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.” and *“Chris Wallace:*

the loser concedes to the winner. <...> Are you saying you're not prepared now to commit to that principle?

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

D. Trump implements the “Salami” tactic to make people approve his statements on immigration: “*Well, first of all, <...> We need strong borders. <...> They're coming in illegally. Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border. <...> heroin that pours across our southern border. It's just pouring and destroying <...> youth and plenty of other people. <...> Now, I want to build the wall. We need the wall. <...> 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.”; and economy: “*I'm going to create tremendous jobs. And we're bringing GDP <...> from 1 percent up to 4 percent. And I actually think we can go <...> to 5 percent or 6 percent. 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'm 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 don't use our great leaders, <...> Those are the people -- these are the greatest negotiators in the world. We have the greatest businesspeople in the world. We have to use them to negotiate our trade deals. We use political hacks <...> 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.”**

D. Trump appeals to people’s emotions on the issues of abortions: “*I think it's terrible. If you <...> can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth of the baby. <...> And that's not acceptable.”, and D.C. vs. Heller decision: “*she was extremely angry about it. I watched. I mean, she was very, very**

angry when upheld. <...> a well-crafted decision. But Hillary was extremely upset, extremely angry.”.

D. Trump also refers to impressive illustrations of his arguments, when talking about immigration: “In the audience tonight, 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.” and D.C. vs. Heller decision “she was extremely angry about it. I watched.”

D. Trump uses the tactic of Plausibility only once to blame Hillary Clinton for her Foundation activity: “what's happened in Haiti with the Clinton Foundation is a disgrace. And you know it, and they know it, and everybody knows it.”.

The politician also uses the tactic of Circular Argument to prove his economic plan would work: “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'm 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 don't use our great leaders, <...> Those are the people -- these are the greatest negotiators in the world. We have the greatest businesspeople in the world. We have to use them to negotiate our trade deals. We use political hacks <...> 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.”.

He uses the “Corkscrew” tactic to talk about the immigration: “the Border Patrol agents, <...> endorsed me. <...> means their job is tougher. But they know what's going on. They know it better than anybody.”

The candidate uses the “Boomerang” tactic to show that his opponent used to share his views: “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.”.

The tactic of Apology helps D. Trump to justify his actions: “Trump Foundation, small foundation. People contribute, I contribute. The money goes 100

percent -- 100 percent goes to different charities, including a lot of military. I don't get anything. I don't buy boats. I don't buy planes. What happens -- the money goes to them."

"Yes, but..." tactic helps him to present Hillary's victory in an ironic light: "*I believe if my opponent should win this race, which I truly don't think will happen*".

Being short of arguments, D. Trump uses "Thunder Stealing" tactic and asks rhetorical questions instead of giving convincing arguments: "*she destroyed 33,000 e-mails criminally, criminally, <...> We have a great general, four-star general, today you read it in all of 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. <...> she gets away with it, and she can run for the presidency of the United States?*"

In addition, he makes people feel united with him, using the "Bandwagon" tactic: "*very inappropriate statements toward me and toward a tremendous number of people, many, many millions of people that I represent*".

The candidate implements the tactic of Dispute to reveal Hillary's attitude towards Trans-Pacific Partnership: "*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. I was so honored.*".

The candidate also implements the tactic of Contradiction to accent the difference between what Hillary is saying and her team is doing: "*President Obama has moved millions of people out. Nobody knows about it, nobody talks about it. <...> She doesn't want to say that, but that's what's happened, <...> she doesn't say is that President Obama has deported millions and millions of people just the way it is.*".

Moreover, being blamed by Hillary for his business activities, D. Trump uses Revaluation tactic to blame her for that opportunity: "*If you don't like what I did, you should have changed the laws.*"

He also depicts the possible economic problems for the audience by implementing the tactic of Exposure: "*her plan is going to raise taxes and even double*

your taxes. Her tax plan is a disaster. <...> We will have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan.”.

In terms of the “Sorrow” tactic, the candidate tries to prove the imprudence of Hillary’s opinion on immigration: “she wants to give amnesty, which is a disaster and very unfair <...> We need strong borders. <...> children have been killed, brutally killed by people that came into the country illegally. <...> Drugs are pouring in through the border. <...> heroin that pours across our southern border. <...> We need strong borders. We need absolute -- we cannot give amnesty.”.

In addition, he uses “Either...or” tactic to enforce his arguments: “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. ”.

Trump outlines Hillary’s doublespeak with the help of “Every-coin-has-two-sides” tactic: “Saudi Arabia giving \$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.”.

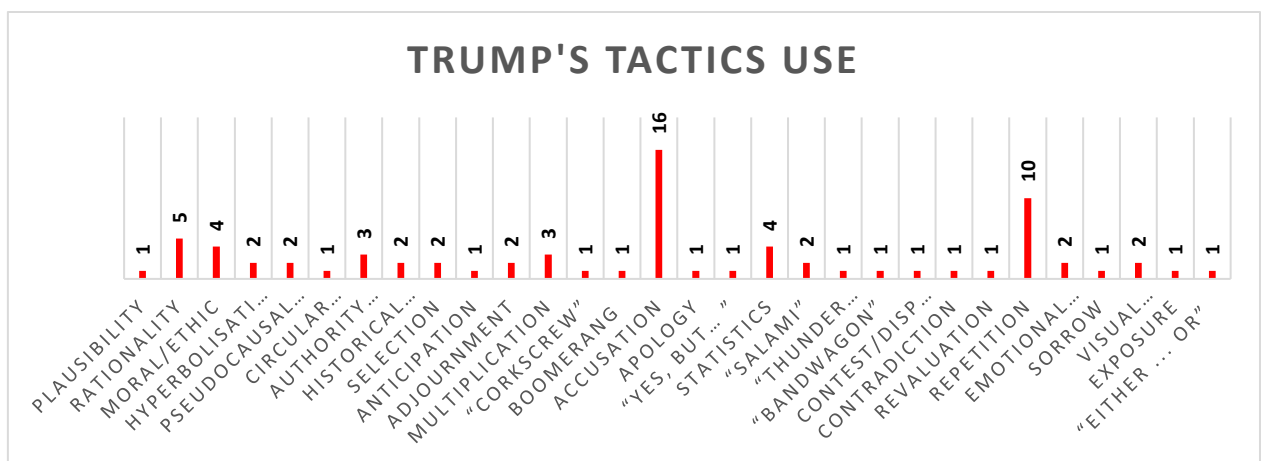


Table 3.1. Argumentative Tactics used by D. Trump

Overall, D. Trump is skilful in arguing. He constantly uses the tactics of Accusation, Repetition, Rationality, Moral&Ethic, and Statistics. The other tactics are not so widely implemented within D. Trump’s speech. The detailed number of each tactic used by D. Trump is presented in Table 3.1.

3.3. Manipulative strategies used in 2016 US presidential debates by Hillary Clinton.

Before the elections, *Hillary Clinton* held the office as the US Secretary of State. Since her youth (1968), she shared the democratic views. She started as a lawyer, and her political career started in Arkansas, where she moved to with her husband, the future US President, Bill Clinton. Thus, Hillary Clinton was presented as an experienced politician, ready to various possible challenges. Here, we are exploring the tactics that she used within the debates.

The tactic of Accusation revealed to be the most frequently used by both candidates, H. Clinton uses it less in comparison with D. Trump. She implements this tactic 12 times to blame the opponent for:

➤ the support of the Second Amendment: *“I understand that Donald's been strongly supported by the NRA. The gun lobby's on his side. They're running millions of dollars of ads against me.”*;

➤ strict immigration policy: *“Donald <...> started his campaign bashing immigrants, calling Mexican immigrants rapists and criminals and drug dealers, <...> And Donald <...> 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."”*

➤ undermining national security and dangerous statements on international policy: *“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?”, “that the Russians have engaged in cyberattacks 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”, “Donald wants to tear up our alliances.”, and “He is denigrating -- he's talking down our democracy.”;*

➤ presenting disastrous economic plan: *“Donald's plan <...> truly will be trickle-down economics on steroids. <...> The plan he has will cost us jobs and*

possibly lead to another Great Recession.”; “There's only one of us on this stage who's actually shipped jobs to Mexico, because that's Donald. He's 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. <...> 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.”;

➤ *disrespect of women: “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 who 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.”;*

➤ *Donald Trump's hot temper, responsibility evasion, and, thus, unfitness to be the President “every time Donald is pushed on something which is obviously uncomfortable, like what these women are saying, he immediately goes to denying responsibility.”, “He is 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.”, and “that's horrifying. You know, every time Donald thinks things are not going in his direction, he claims whatever it is, is rigged against him. The FBI conducted a year-long 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.”.*

The second most frequently used tactic is Rationality. H. Clinton aims at making her arguments sound credible by means of references to personal experience, enumerating evidences, and quoting figures. She implements this tactic to talk about a number of issues, which are:

➤ gun ban: “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.”, “I understand and respect the tradition of gun ownership. It goes back to the founding of our country. But I also believe that there can be and must be reasonable regulation.”, “I lived in Arkansas for 18 wonderful years. I represented upstate New York. I understand and respect the tradition of gun ownership.”

➤ the right to abortion: “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.”;

➤ immigration: “I don't want to be sending parents away from children. We have 11 million undocumented people. They have 4 million American citizen children”;

➤ open borders: “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.”;

➤ Clinton Foundation interests: “Foundation raised \$30 million to help Haiti after the catastrophic earthquake and all of the terrible problems the people there had.”.

➤ economy and national debt: “he's going to advocate for the largest tax cuts we've ever seen, three times more than the tax cuts under the Bush administration.”, “He will, through his massive tax cuts, add \$20 trillion to 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”, “what Donald is proposing with these massive tax cuts will result in a \$20 trillion additional national debt.”.

Emotional Appeal is one of the most frequently used tactics. The candidate applies it to the following topics:

➤ gun ban: “I regret that, because what I would like to see people to come together and say: <...> we're going to protect and defend the Second Amendment. <...> in a way that tries to save some of these 33,000 lives that we lose every year.”

➤ abortions: “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 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.”

➤ immigration: “Carla, who is very worried that her parents might be deported, <...> I don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending parents away from children. I don't want to see the deportation force <...> I think it's an idea that would rip our country apart.”

➤ national security: “espionage attacks, these cyberattacks, come from the highest levels of the Kremlin and they are designed to influence our election. I find that deeply disturbing.”

➤ international policy and foreign hotspots: “The United States has kept the peace <...> 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's the only way we're going to be able to keep the peace.”, and “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.”

➤ economy: “we have undocumented immigrants in America who are paying more federal income tax than a billionaire. I find that just astonishing.”, and “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.”

H. Clinton uses the Moral&Ethic tactic with the same frequency, but for slightly different topics:

➤ the right to abortions: “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”, “...I will defend women's rights to make their own

health care decisions.”, “he said women should be punished, that 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”;

➤ gun ban: “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”; “to protect toddlers from guns”, “I don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending parents away from children.”;

➤ Donald Trump’s fitness for presidency: “We have 17 -- 17 intelligence agencies, civilian and military, who have all concluded that these espionage attacks, these cyberattacks, come from the highest levels of the Kremlin and they are designed to influence our election.”, “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.”

She implements the Statistics tactic for elaborating the following topics:

➤ gun ban: “we have 33,000 people a year who die from guns” and “to save some of these 33,000 lives that we lose every year.”

➤ immigration: “We have 11 million undocumented people. They have 4 million American citizen children, 15 million people. <...> 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 “half of all immigrants -- undocumented immigrants in our country -- actually pay federal income tax.”

➤ national security: “the Russian government has engaged in espionage against Americans. <...> 17 of our intelligence agencies have confirmed, to influence our election.”

➤ economic plan: “That's where two- thirds of the new jobs are going to come from. <...> I want to make college debt-free and for families making less than \$125,000, <...> 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 <...> adding \$20 trillion to our debt”

➤ Clinton Foundation interests: “*the Clinton Foundation made it possible for 11 million people around the world with HIV-AIDS to afford treatment, and that's about half all the people in the world who are getting treatment*.”.

H. Clinton frequently compares present to a similar past event or refers to a particular historical date within the Historical Disparity tactic:

➤ to emphasise the threat to national security: “*the Russian government has engaged in espionage against Americans. <...> 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? <...> We've never had anything like this happen in any of our elections before*.”, “*So I think that this is such an unprecedented situation. We've never had a foreign government trying to interfere in our election*.”

➤ to commend her economic plan: “*I want us to have the biggest jobs program since World War II*”, “*The plan he has will cost us jobs and possibly lead to another Great Recession*.”, “*he's going to advocate for the largest tax cuts we've ever seen, three times more than the tax cuts under the Bush administration*.”, “*Cutting taxes on the wealthy, we've tried that. It has not worked the way that it has been promised*.”

➤ to express indignation at Trump’s attitude towards her possible victory: “*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*.”

From time to time, the former Secretary of State uses Authority Citation tactic. She backs up with quotes from well-known personalities the statements on:

➤ national security: “*I am not quoting myself. <...> I am quoting 17<...> intelligence -- do you doubt 17 military and civilian <...> agencies*”

➤ Donald Trump’s fitness to be the President: “*The bottom line on nuclear weapons is that when the president gives the order, it must be followed. <...> 10 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.”, “President Obama said the other day when you're whining before the game is even finished”, and “Bernie Sanders <...> has said <...> you are the most dangerous person to run for president in the modern history of America. I think he's right.”

➤ an economic plan: “*plan that I worked on with Bernie Sanders <...> has been analyzed by independent experts which said that it could produce 10 million new jobs.*”, and “*by independent experts <...>, Donald's plan has been analyzed to conclude it might lose 3.5 million jobs.*”.

Another tactic, actively used by H. Clinton is Sorrow tactic, which helps to present the weak points of the opponent and show how unthoughtful his opinion is. She uses the tactic in order to voice her opinion on:

➤ the right to abortion: “*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's in favor of defunding Planned Parenthood. He even supported shutting the government down to defund Planned Parenthood.*”;

➤ the immigration issue: “*When it comes to the wall that Donald talks about building, he went to Mexico, he had a meeting with the Mexican president. 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. <...>And that's why I'm introducing comprehensive immigration reform within the first 100 days with the path to citizenship.*”;

➤ an economic plan: “*my plan <...> 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.*”, and “*he has been criticizing our government for decades. You know, back in 1987, he took out a \$100,000 ad in the New York Times, during the time when President Reagan was*

president, and basically <...> was criticizing President Reagan. This is the way Donald thinks about himself, <...> "You know, I alone can fix it,"";

➤ international hotspots: “what's really important here is to understand all the interplay. <...> Mosul is on the border of Syria. And, yes, we do need to go after Baghdadi, and -- 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 an estimated 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 amazed that he seems to think that 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 theories”.

The candidate often uses the Apology tactic for defending and justifying her actions:

➤ voting for law on abortions: “when I voted as a senator, I did not think that that was the case.”;

➤ voting for law on immigration “I voted for border security, and there are... <...> some limited places where that was appropriate.”;

➤ elaborating the plan similar to the 2009 Obama stimulus plan: “And so my plan is based on growing the economy, giving middle-class families many more opportunities.”;

➤ stating approval of Trans-Pacific Partnership: “Well, first, <...> 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. <...> I'm against it now. I'll be against it after the election. I'll be against it when I'm president.”

H. Clinton makes the argument sound Plausible by the use of generalisation, and implicitness of the utterance while discussing:

➤ the Supreme Court, she refers to the American nation generally: “when we talk about the Supreme Court, it really raises the central issue in this election, namely,

<...> *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.”;*

➤ Donald’s fitness to be the President: *“10 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”;*

➤ Donald’s attitude towards (all) women: *“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.”.*

The candidate implements the Definition tactic in order to clarify and present as positive her utterances about:

➤ the Supreme Court: *“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.”;*

➤ the right to abortion: *“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.”;*

➤ the immigration law: *“Now, here's what 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.”.*

By contrast with Donald Trump, she does not use the Repetition tactic much. The only issues that H. Clinton constantly arguments are:

➤ the right to abortions: *“I will defend Roe v. Wade, and I will defend women's rights to make their own health care decisions. <...> I do not think the United*

States government should be stepping in and making those most personal of decisions. <...> 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.”

➤ national security: *“that the Russian government has engaged in espionage against Americans. They have hacked American websites, American accounts of private people, of institutions.”*

Aiming at protection of her views on abortions and women’s rights, H. Clinton uses the tactic of Analogy: *“I will defend Planned Parenthood. I will defend Roe v. Wade, and I will defend women's rights to make their own health care decisions.”, and “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, called her an eating machine.”.*

The candidate uses “Yes, but...” tactic in order to transfer attention from her disapproval of the Second Amendment: *“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.”, and of enhancing deportation measures: “I voted for border security, <...> But it is clear, when you look at what Donald has been proposing, <...> he has a very different view about what we should do to deal with immigrants.”.*

H. Clinton uses the tactic of Visual Inspection in order to show the evidence of Donald’s one-dimensional view on immigration and foreign spots regulation: *“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.” and “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.”.*

The implementation of the tactic “Different Point of View” is contingent on the gun regulation: “*You mentioned the Heller decision. <...> 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. <...> So I see no conflict between saving people's lives and defending the Second Amendment.*” and “*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's no doubt that I respect the Second Amendment, that I also believe there's an individual right to bear arms.*”

The candidate returns the objection by using the Reversion tactic in order to discuss:

➤ open borders “*I was talking about energy. <...> And I do want <...> an energy system that crosses borders. I think that would be a great benefit to us. But you are very clearly quoting from WikiLeaks. And what's really important about WikiLeaks is that the Russian government has engaged in espionage against Americans. <...> 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?*”;

➤ economic plan: “*what he just said about the State Department is not only untrue, it's been debunked numerous times. <...> 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, called her an eating machine.*”.

H. Clinton uses the “Thunder Stealing” tactic in order to compensate lack of valid arguments on the issue of Supreme Court: “*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 economic development “By contrast, Donald's plan has been analyzed to conclude it might lose 3.5 million jobs. Why? Because his whole plan is...” with rhetorical statements.

She also implements the Salami tactic to:

➤ explain the importance of making immigrants legal workers rather than deporting them: “he started his campaign bashing immigrants, calling Mexican immigrants rapists and criminals and drug dealers, <...> Now, what I am also arguing is that bringing undocumented immigrants out from the shadows, putting them into the formal economy will be good, because then employers can't exploit them and undercut Americans' wages. <...> 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”;

➤ highlight Donald's refusal to accept his failure: “that's horrifying. You know, every time Donald thinks things are not going in his direction, he claims whatever it is, is rigged against him. The FBI conducted a year-long 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.”.

By the help of Pseudocausality tactic, the candidate wants to stem the death-from-gun toll from the permission to bear weapon: “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.”, and to present her economic plan as beneficial: “I think when the middle class thrives, America thrives.”.

H. Clinton uses the “Corkscrew”, Boomerang, Comparison, Dispute, and Nonsense tactics only once. She uses “Corkscrew” tactic as a provocation for Donald to speak emotionally: *“the Russian government has engaged in espionage against Americans. <...> 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?”*.

The aim of Boomerang’s tactic is to beat the opponent with his own argument, so H. Clinton puts an emphasis on Donald Trump’s irrespective attitude towards women when discussing the issue of abortions: *“he said women should be punished, that 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?”*.

The candidate uses the tactic of Comparison to show that there is no really strong connection between terrorist attacks and protecting civilians: *“the killer of the dozens of people at the nightclub in Orlando, the Pulse nightclub, was born in Queens, the same place Donald was born. So let's be clear about what the threat is?”*.

H. Clinton confutes Donald’s accusation by questioning one of the Donald Trump’s fundamental statements within the campaign: *“Donald is implying that he didn't support the invasion of Iraq. I said it was a mistake. I've said that years ago. He has consistently denied <...> a very clear fact that <...> before the invasion, he supported it. And, you know, I just want everybody to go Google it. Google "Donald Trump Iraq." And you will see the dozens of sources which verify that he was for the invasion of Iraq. <...> And you can actually hear the audio of him saying that.”*.

She uses the tactic of Nonsense to show how absurd the realization of Donald’s project would be: *“When it comes to the wall that Donald talks about building, he went to Mexico, he had a meeting with the Mexican president. 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.”*.

To sum up, H. Clinton, being an experienced public speaker and a politician, feels most herself when participating in such events as debates. She has masterfully implemented various argumentative strategies, as presented in *Table 3.2*. The

calculations also show that H. Clinton has used argumentative strategies more often than her opponent (96 against 77). The most frequently used tactics are Accusation, Rationality, Moral&Ethic, Emotional Appeal, and Historical disparity.

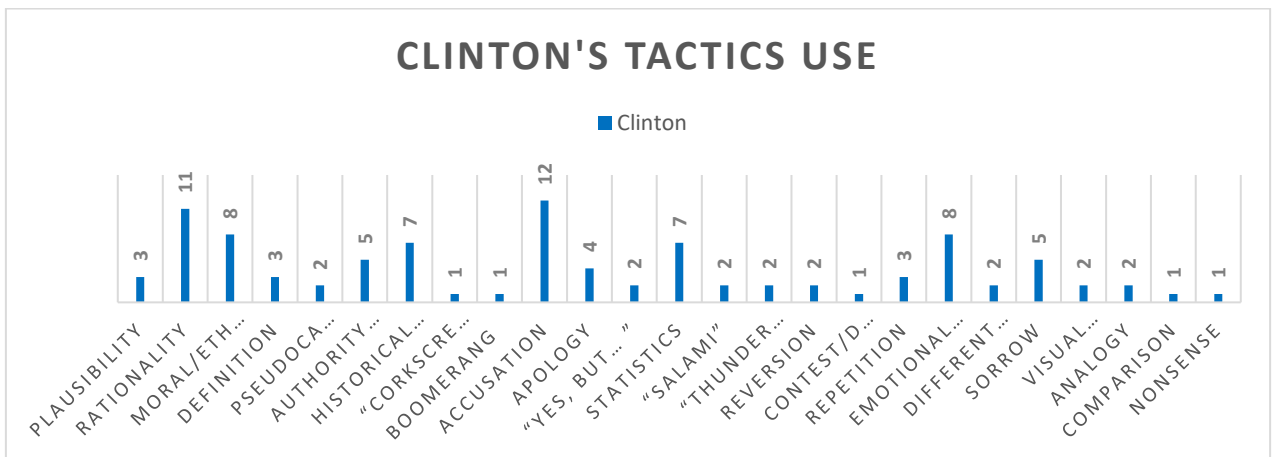


Table 3.2. Argumentative Tactics used by H. Clinton

Conclusions.

In the United States, the election procedure starts two years before the actual Election Day, because the candidates need to go through all the stages (primary and caucus debates, primaries and caucuses, nominating conventions, presidential election debates) in advance.

The experts claim that the debates themselves can hardly influence the outcomes of the elections, though it happened several times throughout the history. Having reviewed a number of studies on the topic, we found out that 2016 presidential elections were the case. Political experts and sociologists claimed that H. Clinton won the debate but D. Trump won the victory in the final elections as is generally known.

This study shows that both H. Clinton and D. Trump have used a lot of argumentative tactics in order to win the debate but the general tendency is to use the similar tactics for both of the candidates, although there are some differences. For instance, H. Clinton uses tactics of Rationality and Emotional Appeal whereas D. Trump almost avoids using them. By contrast, D. Trump frequently implements the tactics of Multiplication and Repetition, which is not typical of H. Clinton. The most popular tactic for both candidates is the tactic of Accusation. D. Trump used it 16 times,

and H. Clinton –12. Overall, H. Clinton used the tactics 96 times, whereas D. Trump used them only 77 times. In addition, D. Trump uses psychological manipulative means. For example, he constantly takes the word when Hillary tries to explain her opinion.

In fact, neither D. Trump, nor H. Clinton used the following tactics: Pseudologic, Anticipation, “Plus-Minus”, Division, Evasion, Hush, Icebreaker, Teasing, Revelation, Isolation, Reinterpretation, Differentiation, and “As well ... as”. We cannot be sure about the reasons of such choices, but we can claim that some tactics were impossible to implement because of the format of debates, e.g. Hush and Icebreaker. The more detailed figures are presented in the *Table 3.3*.

To conclude, the majority of the argumentative tactics have found their representation within the debates, which can be seen from the examples. As H. Clinton won the debate (according to the experts), we assume that the tactics that she used and Donald Trump avoided to use are more effective for argumentation. The tactics of Rationality, Historical Disparity, Emotional Appeal, and Sorrow can be outlined as the most frequently used. Hence, we reach a conclusion that their choice by both candidates is not accidental. We assume that this underlines their effectiveness.

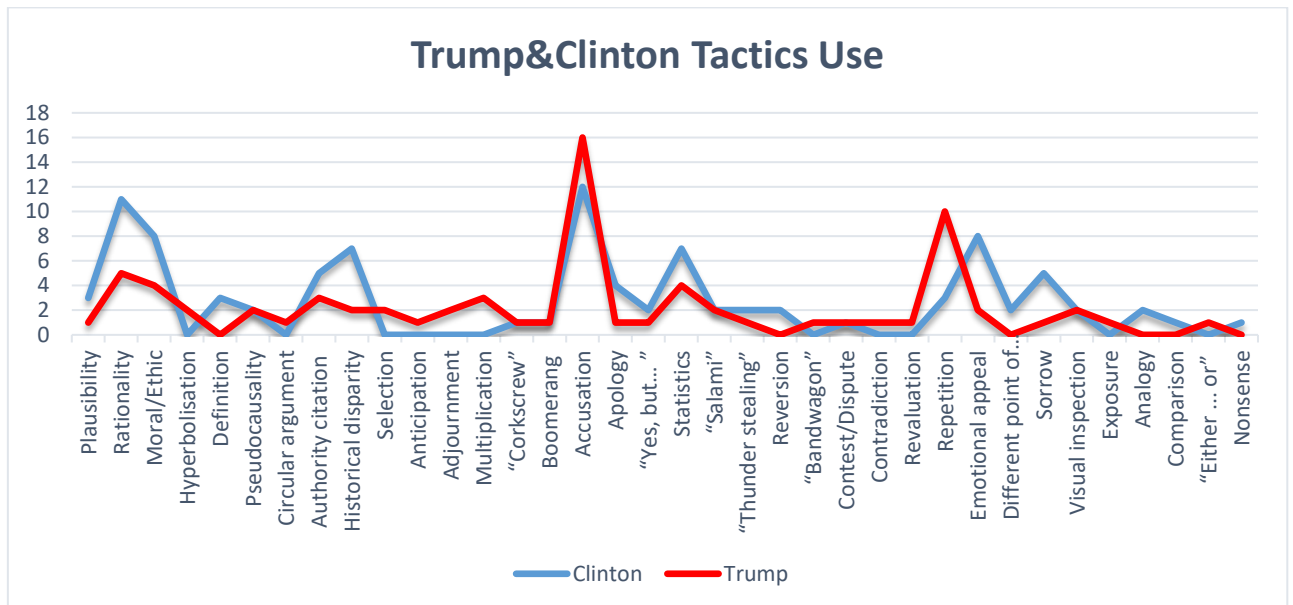


Table 3.3. The use of Argumentative Tactics by H. Clinton and D. Trump

SUMMARY

Since ancient times people have been interested in communication, because communication between people is one of the driving forces of the development of civilization. In the modern world, politicians and public figures cover their activities through linguistic signs and, thus, communication plays a significant role in the socio-political life of citizens. The US authorities' interest in communication emerged during the war years of the XX century. The government tried to cover the news and regulate the correspondence of soldiers from the front so that the population should have supported US intervention in the World War I and World War II.

When the wars ended, the practical need of strict control disappeared. Psychologists (C. Cooley, J. Dewey), sociologists (H. Innis, P. Lazarsfeld, W. Schramm), political scientists (H. Lasswell, W. Lippmann), linguists (N. Chomsky, M. McLuhan), and communication experts (E. Hall, J. Meyrowitz) gained interested in communicative strategies and manipulation tactics that can be performed within them. Universities (such as Michigan State University, the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, and the University of Pennsylvania) have begun to open up new programmes in communications research. Communication has thus become the subject of interdisciplinary research and subsequently separated into an independent discipline – Communication Science. Hence, the number of approaches to study communication were developed and as for now, there exist a great number of scientific investigations into communication science.

In the study, we analyse the approaches presented by F. Batsevych, T. Van Dijk, N. Fairclough, G. Gerbner, E. Hall, M. Halliday, O. Halloran, K. Hyland, E. Katz, H. Lasswell, W. Lippmann, R. Wodak. As the result of this analysis, we can outline that for this study the most relevant are categories of intercultural, interpersonal, non-verbal, and mass communication on the political scene. The research showed that *cultivation, opinion leadership theories, emphasis and equivalency framing, and spiral of silence theory* are the approaches the most widely used in modern society for influencing the masses, for example, within the electoral campaign.

The speeches of H. Clinton and D. Trump made during 2016 third presidential debate are the subject of this research and it is of our interest to detect the most frequently used manipulative strategies in order to assess the most appealing ones. We studied scientific works of A. Belova, Ye. Dozenko, W. Liu, and I. Zhukov on manipulations and their use within the society. Having analysed their studies, we can conclude that manipulation is a subject of interdisciplinary research among social disciplines and is not possible without social interaction. The manipulative methods become better each year. Those in power need to control people, not to lose their favours. At the same time, people want to get the truth and learn to avoid being manipulated for the sake of a better life. These two factors conduce the bloom of new manipulative techniques.

The analysis of manipulative strategies and tactics classifications by K. Bayer, O. Dmytruk, M. Ivanytska, M. Knill, O. Kuchma, R. Lay, O. Pavlychko and Ye. Tymchenko shows that not all the strategies can be implemented within the debates. For example, the method of Announcement Journalism (presented by R. Lay) is too time consuming and require the use of media, which is impossible within the debates. On the other hand, both H. Clinton and D. Trump use such linguistic means described by O. Dmytruk as hyperbole, inversion, modality, repetition, semantic primitives, and shining generalities within the debates.

The most relevant for our research is the classification by M. Knill because it is the most comprehensive and extensive. He outlines 49 tactics that any of the debate participants can use. In fact, the majority of the tactics that he describes is implemented by both H. Clinton and D. Trump, but our analysis has shown that neither H. Clinton, nor D. Trump used 13 of these tactics (Pseudologic, Anticipation, Plus-Minus, Division, Evasion, Hush, Icebreaker, Teasing, Revelation, Isolation, Reinterpretation, Differentiation, and “As well ... as”). Partially, it was due to the format of the debates.

The most frequently used tactic is the tactic of Accusation (H. Clinton and D. Trump use those 12 and 16 times correspondingly). Both candidates use the tactics of almost equally. The exceptions include the tactics of and Rationality (11 and 5

times), Repetition (3 and 10 times), Moral&Ethic (8 and 4 times), Statistics (7 and 4 times), Historical disparity (7 and 2 times), Emotional appeal (8 and 2 times),

Having analysed the debate and its importance in the election process, we reached the conclusion that in the United States debates usually do not influence the outcomes of the elections. Our research demonstrates this statement: H. Clinton used more argumentative tactics; the experts concluded that she won the debate but D. Trump was elected as a president.

To conclude, this study presents a ground for the future studies on the effectiveness of the outlined argumentative tactics within the debates. Moreover, it can help to develop the system of tactics, the implementation of which can change the voter's opinion after the debates.

ABSTRACT

Since ancient times, communication as the fundamental human activity which helped humanity to socialize and evolve was of interest to great minds (Aristophanes, Aristotle, Cicero, Plato, and more). With the evolution of society and technical progress, communication has become more than a tool to survive. Nowadays, it is one of the methods of managing public opinion.

Such modern social conditions as becoming a ‘global village’, spread of democracy, and high rate of communication between people worldwide, make it more difficult for the authorities to control the population. Therefore, they develop new communicative strategies to stay in power and hold the office. This makes the **relevance** of the research into manipulative strategies used within the political discourse of a culturally-bounded community significant. In addition, lack of investigations of the simultaneous speaker’s influence of the opponent and the audience determines the **novelty** of this paper. The script of the debates, which includes the speech of each candidate and their dialogue in an open discussion is chosen as the **language data** of the research.

As the **aim** of this paper is the analysis of implementation of argumentative tactics within communicative strategies during the US presidential debates, the **research objectives** include the study of modern approaches to communicative studies, manipulative strategies and tactics systematizing, identification of these tactics in the speeches of H. Clinton and D. Trump within the third presidential debates of 2016, and the investigation into the frequency of these strategies implementation by each of the candidates. In order to accomplish these objectives, we determined the speech by Donald Trump and Hilary Clinton as the **subject** of this study and verbal means that represent the argumentative manipulative strategies and tactics as the **object** of this study. The most appropriate **methods** for this research are content analysis, conversation analysis, and critical discourse analysis.

The basic concepts of the research are presented on 95 pages. The structure includes an introduction, three chapters, conclusions to each chapter, a summary, an

annotation of the thesis, references with 94 positions on the list (80 of which are sources in English), supporting data and appendices.

In Chapter I, we firstly investigated the historical development of communication science in the USA. The research shows that as propaganda was used on massive scale during World Wars I and II, the number of institutions aimed at controlling communication within the population (for example, The Committee on Communication and Public Opinion, the Committee on Public Information, The Office of Censorship) were founded. When the necessity of such tough control obviated, research into communication became theoretical. C. Cooley, J. Dewey, H. Innis, W. Lippmann, M. McLuhan, J. Meyrowitz, and other scientists started developing new theories and approaches to communication on the basis of National Society for the Study of Communication (NSSC), Annenberg School of Communications along with the University of Chicago, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, and Columbia University.

Secondly, after the investigation into the types of communication using the comprehensive classification by F. Batsevych, we reached the conclusion that the debates belong to oral communication by verbal code, obviously to political type by topic. By the communicative goal debates are rather informative than entertaining, and by the control level they are classified as formal communication. By number of people involved, debates can be studied from a number of points of view. It can be seen as interpersonal communication, because candidates participate in a dialogue with each other and the moderator. Alternatively, debates belong to intercultural communication, because the recipients come from various backgrounds. In addition, debates are always mass communication because the candidates are broadcast to a number of people

Thirdly, the studies of G. Gerbner, E. Katz, P. Lazarsfeld, and M. McCombs showed us that the theories of communication are constantly developing, new types of influence appear. The analysis showed that among communication theories, cultivation, framing, agenda-setting, and agenda-melding theories can be implemented in the presidential campaign.

Fourthly, having studied the modern approaches to communication by N. Fairclough, H. Garfinkel, G. Jefferson, K. O'Halloran, H. Sacks, and R. Wodak, we have outlined Conversation Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Multimodal Analysis as the most effective methods for linguistic analysis.

In Chapter II, the concept of manipulation was explored. Firstly, we have researched the studies of T. van Dijk, a linguist, and Ye. Dozenko, a psychologist, to explain the concept of manipulation in communication. The common conclusion is that manipulation is always a social phenomenon, usually perceived as negative. In terms of linguistics, manipulation is possible only in the specific context within discursive interaction.

Secondly, the review of analysis of manipulative strategies use by A. Belova, O. Dmytruk, H. Lasswell, R. Lay, I. Zhukov showed that manipulation as such may require not only verbal tools, so not all the strategies can be used within the debate. For example, a candidate cannot implement the strategy of Agitation and Propaganda without advance preparations within the campaign. The strategy of Announcement Journalism is completely impossible within the debates because it required the use of either printed press, or electronic medium.

Thirdly, the investigation of classifications of argumentative tactics used within manipulative strategies by K. Bayer, M. Ivanytska, M. Knill, O. Kuchma, O. Pavlychko, and Ye. Tymchenko show the abundance of possible tools of manipulation. The linguistic analysis of the tactics show that both candidates implement the tactics that appeal to both emotions and common sense. M. Knill has developed the most comprehensive classification, so we have chosen to use it for practical analysis of the debates.

In Chapter III, we start with the investigation of the role of the debates in the election process. In fact, political scientists claim that the debates in the USA are not essential for a candidate to win the election. Their conclusions also claim that H. Clinton won over D. Trump during the debates but it is obvious that this had not influenced the elections' result.

The detailed examination of speeches and conversations between the candidates during an open discussion shows that H. Clinton implements more manipulative tactics than D. Trump. To be more precise, she uses them 96 times, while D. Trump – only 77. Generally, the candidates implement the identical tactics and avoid using the others. For instance, the tactic of Accusation is dominant for both debate participants and neither H. Clinton, nor D. Trump uses the tactics of Pseudologic, Anticipation, Plus-Minus, Division, Evasion, Hush, Icebreaker, Teasing, Revelation, Isolation, Reinterpretation, Differentiation, and “As well ... as”.

On the other hand, the choice of the other key tactics differs. For example, D. Trump uses the tactic of Repetition ten times, while H. Clinton implements it only three times. H. Clinton appeals for emotions 8 times, while D. Trump does it only twice. Overall, the tactics of Emotional Appeal, Historical Disparity, Rationality, Repetition, Sorrow, and Statistics are the most frequently used.

The main conclusion that can be drawn is that the main tactic both candidates use is connected to having a negative impact on the opponent’s reputation. The choice of other tactics is based on either appealing to emotions or mind. Predominantly, both candidates have taken turns in the use of these types of manipulative tactics. We suppose that this helped to spread the influence on the wider audience. This assumption might be addressed in future studies.

Future research should consider the potential effects of each of the tactics, its effectiveness, and peculiarities connected to the social context. It is important that future research investigates the layout for effective influence of public opinion within the debates, so that they become not only the formal procedure but the space for passage at arms that can change the history of the country.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Script of the Third Presidential Debate (from October 19, 2016; University of Nevada, Las Vegas)

Source: <https://cs.pn/3b1vRZB>

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.

Unidentified Speaker: Hillary Clinton, Democratic Presidential Candidate, and Donald Trump, Republican Presidential Candidate, participate in a debate Time: 9:00 pm EDT, Date: Wednesday, October 19th, 2016

Chris Wallace: 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 the 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. [APPLAUSE] Secretary Clinton, Mr. Trump, welcome. Let's get right to it. The first topic is the Supreme Court.

Chris 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.

Hillary 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 then the Senate advises and consents, or not, but they go forward with the process.

Chris 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?

Donald J. Trump: Well, first of all, it's great to be with you, and thank you, everybody. The Supreme Court: It's what it's all about. Our country is so, so -- it's just

so imperative that we have the right justices. Something happened recently where Justice Ginsburg made some very, 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's 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'm 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, very important. I don't think we should have justices appointed that decide what they want to hear. It's all about the Constitution of -- of -- and so important, the Constitution the way it was meant to be. And those are the people that I will appoint.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump, thank you. We now have about 10 minutes for open discussion. I want to focus on two issues that in fact by the justices that you named, could end up changing the existing of the land. First is one that you mentioned, Mr. Trump, and that is guns. Secretary Clinton, you said last year, 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?

Hillary 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. It 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 kind 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 didn't 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.

Chris Wallace: Let me bring Mr. Trump in here. The bipartisan Open 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 supports a Second Amendment right to bear arms?

Donald J. Trump: Well, the D.C. vs. 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.

Chris Wallace: Well, let me bring in Secretary Clinton. Were you extremely upset?

Hillary 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's no doubt that I respect the Second Amendment, that I also believe there's an individual right to

bear arms. That is not in conflict with sensible, commonsense regulation. And, you know, look, I understand that Donald's been strongly supported by the NRA. The gun lobby's 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.

Chris 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?

Donald J. 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 am -- 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's 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.

Chris 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, and that's the issue of abortion.

Donald J. Trump: Right.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump, you're pro-life. But 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?

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

Chris Wallace: But I'm asking you specifically. Would you like to...

Donald J. Trump: If they overturned it, it will go back to the states.

Chris Wallace: But what I'm asking you, sir, is, do you want to see the court overturn -- you just said you want to see the court protect the Second Amendment. Do you want to see the court overturn *Roe v. Wade*?

Donald J. Trump: Well, if we put another two or perhaps three justice on, that's really what's going to be -- that will happen. And that'll 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.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

Hillary Clinton: 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's 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 health care decisions.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton...

Hillary Clinton: And we have come too far to have that turned back now. And, indeed, he said women should be punished, that 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.

Chris Wallace: I'm going to give you a chance to respond, but I want to ask you, Secretary Clinton, I want to explore how far you believe 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?

Hillary 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 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.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump, your reaction? And particularly on this issue of late-term, partial-birth abortions.

Donald J. Trump: Well, I think it's terrible. If you go with what Hillary is saying, in the ninth month, you can take the 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's OK and Hillary can say that that's OK. But it's not OK with me, because based on what she's saying, and based on where she's going, and where she's been, you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb in the ninth month on the final day. And that's not acceptable.

Hillary 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 that I have met with, women I have 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.

Chris Wallace: All right. But just briefly, I want to move on to another segment...

Donald J. 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.

Chris 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 a lot of issues that separate the two of you.

Chris Wallace: 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.

Donald J. Trump: Well, first of all, she wants to give amnesty, which is a disaster and very unfair to all of the people that are waiting on line for many, many years. We need strong borders. In the audience tonight, 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. The border -- as you know, the Border Patrol agents, 16,500-plus ICE last week, endorsed me. First time they've ever 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 of the problems going on in the world, many of the problems caused by Hillary Clinton and by Barack Obama. All of the problems -- the single biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern border. It's just pouring and destroying their youth. It's 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. We are -- 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. And the Border Patrol, ICE, 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.

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

Hillary 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 parents 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. Now, here's what 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 have to 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's 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, he had a meeting with the Mexican president. 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 the path to citizenship.

Chris Wallace: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. I want to follow up...

Donald J. Trump: Chris, I think it's... I think I should respond to that. 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.

Chris Wallace: Well, let me -- wait, wait, sir, let me...

Donald J. Trump: We are a country of laws. We either have -- and by the way...

Chris Wallace: Now, wait. I'd like to hear from...

Donald J. Trump: Well -- well, but she said one thing.

Chris Wallace: I'd like to hear -- I'd like to hear from Secretary Clinton.

Hillary Clinton: I voted for border security, and there are...

Donald J. Trump: And the wall.

Hillary 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 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 will 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.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump?

Donald J. 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's 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, big league, 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 you will have a disaster with your open borders.

Chris Wallace: I want to...

Donald J. Trump: But what she doesn't say is that President Obama has deported millions and millions of people just the way it is.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton, I want to...

Hillary Clinton: We will not have open borders. That is...

Chris Wallace: Well, let me -- Secretary...

Hillary Clinton: That is a rank mischaracterization.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton...

Hillary Clinton: We will have secure borders, but we'll also have reform. And this used to be a bipartisan issue. Ronald Reagan was the last president...

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton, excuse me. Secretary Clinton.

Hillary Clinton:... to sign immigration reform, and George W. Bush supported it, as well.

Chris 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 the WikiLeaks, that you said this, and I want to quote. "My dream is a hemispheric common market with open trade and open borders." So that's the question...

Donald J. Trump: Thank you.

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

Hillary Clinton: Well, if you went on to read the rest of the sentence, I was talking about energy. You know, 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. And what's 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.

Chris Wallace: Well?

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

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

Donald J. Trump: So just to finish on the borders...

Chris Wallace: Yes?

Donald J. Trump: She wants open borders. People are going to pour into our country. People are going to come in from Syria. She wants 550 percent 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's playing chicken. Look, Putin...

Chris Wallace: Wait, but...

Donald J. Trump:... from everything I see, has no respect for this person.

Hillary Clinton: Well, that's because he'd rather have a puppet as president of the United States.

Donald J. Trump: No puppet. No puppet.

Hillary Clinton: And it's pretty clear...

Donald J. Trump: You're the puppet!

Hillary Clinton: It's pretty clear you won't admit...

Donald J. Trump: No, you're the puppet.

Hillary Clinton:... that the Russians have engaged in cyberattacks 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 cyberattacks, come from the highest levels of the Kremlin and they are designed to influence our election. I find that deeply disturbing.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton...

Hillary Clinton: And I think it's time you take a stand...

Donald J. Trump: She has no idea whether it's Russia, China, or anybody else.

Hillary Clinton: I am not quoting myself.

Donald J. Trump: She has no idea.

Hillary Clinton: I am quoting 17...

Donald J. Trump: Hillary, you have no idea.

Hillary Clinton:... 17 intelligence -- do you doubt 17 military and civilian...

Donald J. Trump: And our country has no idea.

Hillary Clinton:... agencies.

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

Hillary Clinton: Well, he'd rather believe Vladimir Putin than the military and civilian intelligence professionals who are sworn to protect us. I find that just absolutely...

Donald J. Trump: She doesn't like Putin because Putin has outsmarted her at every step of the way.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump...

Donald J. Trump: Excuse me. Putin has outsmarted her in Syria.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump...

Donald J. Trump: He's outsmarted her every step of the way.

Chris Wallace: I do get to ask some questions.

Donald J. Trump: Yes, that's fine.

Chris Wallace: 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?

Donald J. Trump: By Russia or anybody else.

Chris Wallace: You condemn their interference?

Donald J. Trump: Of course I condemn. Of course I -- I don't know Putin. I have no idea.

Chris Wallace: I'm not asking -- I'm asking do you condemn?

Donald J. Trump: I never met Putin. This is not my best friend. But if the United States got along with Russia, wouldn't be so bad. Let me tell you, Putin has

outsmarted her and Obama at every single step of the way. Whether it's 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.

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

Donald J. Trump: And she always will be.

Hillary Clinton: I -- I find it ironic that he's raising nuclear weapons. This is a person who has been very cavalier, even casual about the use of nuclear weapons. He's...

Donald J. Trump: Wrong.

Hillary Clinton:... advocated more countries getting them, Japan, Korea, even Saudi Arabia. He said, well, 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's about four minutes between the order being given and the people responsible for launching nuclear weapons to do so. And that's why 10 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.

Donald J. Trump: I have 200 generals...

Chris Wallace: Very quickly.

Donald J. Trump:... 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 -- 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.

Chris Wallace: OK.

Donald J. Trump: Look, she's been proven to be a liar on so many different ways. This is just another lie.

Hillary Clinton: Well, I'm just quoting you when you were asked...

Donald J. Trump: There's no quote. You're not going to find a quote from me.

Hillary Clinton:... about a potential nuclear -- nuclear competition in Asia, you said, you know, go ahead, enjoy yourselves, folks. That kind...

Donald J. Trump: And defend yourselves.

Hillary Clinton:... of language -- well...

Donald J. Trump: And defend yourselves. I didn't say nuclear. And defend yourself.

Hillary Clinton: The United States has kept the peace -- 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's the only way we're going to be able to keep the peace.

Chris Wallace: We're going to -- no, 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.

Donald J. Trump: Yes.

Chris Wallace: We're going to drill down into this a little bit more. But in this overview, please explain to me why you believe that 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.

Hillary Clinton: Well, I think when the middle class thrives, America thrives. And so my plan is based on growing the economy, giving middle-class families many more opportunities. I want us to have the biggest jobs programme 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 and 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 us to raise the national minimum wage, because people who live in poverty should not -- 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 in high schools and in community colleges, real apprenticeships to prepare young people 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 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.

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

Donald J. 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 of the public's going to be paying for it. We will have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan. But I'd like to start off where we left, because when I said Japan and Germany, and I'm -- not to single them out, but South Korea, these are very rich, powerful 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 the 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 -- 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 said, we love our allies, we think our allies are great. Well, it's 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 renegotiate trade deals. We're going to have a lot of free trade. We're going to have 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. Our jobs are being sucked out of our economy. You look at all of the places that I just left, you go to Pennsylvania, you go to Ohio, you go to Florida, you go to any of them. You go upstate New York. Our jobs have fled to Mexico and other places. We're bringing our jobs back. I am 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 -- we're going to terminate it, we're going to make a great trade deal. And if we can't, we're going to do it -- we're going to go a separate way, because it has been a disaster. We are 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...

Chris Wallace: Time, Mr. Trump.

Donald J. Trump:... that's offshore back into the country. We are going to start the engine rolling again, because...

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump?

Donald J. Trump:... right now, our country is dying at 1 percent GDP.

Hillary Clinton: Well, let me translate that, if I can, Chris, because...

Donald J. Trump: You can't.

Hillary Clinton:... the fact is, he's 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. Well, 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 that will work.

Chris Wallace: Secretary...

Hillary Clinton: Cutting taxes on the wealthy, we've tried that. It has not worked the way that it has been promised. Cutting taxes on the wealthy, we've tried that. It has not worked the way that it has been promised.

Chris 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.

Donald J. Trump: Correct.

Chris 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 his stimulus. So is your plan basically more -- even more of the Obama stimulus?

Hillary Clinton: Well, it's a combination, Chris. And 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's 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've got to do more to get the whole economy moving, and that's what I believe I will be able to do.

Chris 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 percent...

Donald J. Trump: Over a 10-year period.

Chris Wallace:... growth 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, sir?

Donald J. Trump: So I just left some high representatives of India. They're growing at 8 percent. China is growing at 7 percent. And that for them is a catastrophically low number. We are growing -- our last report came out -- and it's right around the 1 percent 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, 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's happened. I pass factories that were thriving 20, 25 years ago, and because of the bill that her husband signed and she blessed 100 percent, it is just horrible what's happened to these people in these communities. Now, she can say that 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's 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. I was so honored.

Chris Wallace: I want you to give you a chance to briefly speak to that, and then I want to pivot to one-sixth of the economy...

Donald J. Trump: And that will be as bad as NAFTA.

Chris Wallace: ... which is Obamacare. But go ahead, briefly.

Hillary 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's actually shipped jobs to Mexico, because that's Donald. He's 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've 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.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump?

Hillary Clinton: That's the kind of approach that is just not going to work.

Donald J. Trump: Well, let me just say -- let me just say.

Hillary Clinton: 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.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton? Go ahead, Mr. Trump.

Donald J. Trump: Let me 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?

Hillary Clinton: No, I voted.

Donald J. Trump: You were very much involved -- 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's 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 use steel or I use something else, I -- make it impossible for me to do that. 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.

Hillary 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, called her an eating machine.

Donald J. Trump: Give me a break.

Hillary 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 30 years, and I'll let the American people make that decision.

Donald J. 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 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 when -- we should never have 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. And now I listen how she's going to get rid of ISIS. She's going to get rid of nobody.

Chris Wallace: All right. We are 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 have 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 all make up these stories? Since

this is a question for both of you, Secretary Clinton, Mr. Trump says what your husband did and that you defended was even worse. Mr. Trump, you go first.

Donald J. 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 \$1,500, 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's sitting right here, because I didn't do anything. I didn't know any of these -- I didn't see these women. These women -- the woman on the plane, 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 fist-fights and start violence. And I'll tell you what, in particular in Chicago, people were hurt and people could have been killed in that riot. And that was now all on tape, started by her. I believe, Chris, that she got these people to step forward. If it wasn't, they get their 10 minutes of fame. But they were all totally -- it was all fiction. It was lies, and it was fiction.

Hillary Clinton: Well...

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

Hillary 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 them to be assaulted.

Donald J. Trump: I did not say that. I did not say that.

Hillary Clinton: In fact, he went on to say...

Donald J. Trump: I did not say that.

Chris Wallace: Her two minutes -- sir, her two minutes. Her two minutes.

Hillary 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 who 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.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump...

Donald J. Trump: Nobody has more respect for women than I do. Nobody. [LAUGHTER] Nobody has more respect...

Chris Wallace: Please, everybody.

Donald J. 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 of 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.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

Hillary 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.

Donald J. Trump: Wrong.

Hillary 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 who 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.

Donald J. Trump: So sad when she talks about violence at my rallies, and she caused the violence. It's on tape.

Chris Wallace: During the last...

Donald J. Trump: 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...

Chris Wallace: OK.

Donald J. Trump: ... but those other charges, as she knows, are false.

Chris Wallace: In this bucket about fitness to be president, there's been a lot of developments over the last 10 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 were considered separately from non-donors, and some of those donors got contracts, government contracts, taxpayer money. Can you really say that you kept your pledge to that Senate committee? And why isn't what happened and what went on between you and the Clinton Foundation, why isn't it what Mr. Trump calls pay to play?

Hillary 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 am so proud of the work that it does. You know, 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 all the people in the world who are getting treatment. In partnership with the American Health Association...

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton... And the specific question went to pay for play. Do you want to talk about that?

Hillary Clinton : Well, but there is no -- but there is no evidence -- but there is... [CROSSTALK]

Donald J. Trump: I think that it's been very well...

Chris Wallace: Let's ask Mr. Trump.

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

Donald J. Trump: It's been very well studied.

Hillary Clinton: ... and the high rankings... [CROSSTALK]

Chris Wallace: Please let me Mr. Trump speak.

Hillary Donald J. Trump: ... and it's a criminal enterprise, and so many people know it.

Chris Wallace: Please let Mr. Trump speak. [CROSSTALK]

Donald J. Trump: It's a criminal enterprise. Saudi Arabia giving \$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 at a 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.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

Hillary Clinton: Well, very quickly, we at the Clinton Foundation spend 90 percent -- 90 percent of all the money that is donated on behalf of programmes of 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'd 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? 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 have done things to help small businesses, agriculture, and so much else. And we're going to keep working to help Haiti...

Chris Wallace: All right.

Hillary Clinton: ... because it's an important part of the American experience.

Donald J. Trump: They don't want you to help them anymore. [CROSSTALK] I'd like to mention one thing. Trump Foundation, small foundation. People contribute, I contribute. The money goes 100 percent -- 100 percent goes to different charities, including a lot of military. I don't get anything. I don't buy boats. I don't buy planes. What happens -- the money goes to them.

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

Donald J. Trump: No, it was -- 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.

Chris Wallace: Right. But there was a penalty that was imposed by Palm Beach County, and the money came from your foundation...

Donald J. Trump: There was. There was. And, by the way...

Chris Wallace: ... instead of Mar-a-Lago or yourself, sir.

Donald J. Trump: ... the money -- 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 vets.

Chris Wallace: I want to get into one...

Hillary Clinton: But, of course, there's no way we can know whether any of that is true, because he hasn't released his tax returns. He is 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. But 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. You know, half of all immigrants -- undocumented immigrants in our country -- 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.

Chris Wallace: I want...

Donald J. Trump: So let me just tell you very quickly, we're entitled because of the laws that people like her passed 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

Chris Wallace: We...

Donald J. Trump: Let me just explain.

Chris Wallace: But, no, we heard this...

Donald J. Trump: Most of her donors have done the same thing as I do.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump, we -- OK.

Donald J. Trump: You know what she should have done?

Chris Wallace: Folks, we heard this...

Donald J. Trump: And you know, Hillary, what you should have done, you should have changed the law when you were a United States senator...

Chris Wallace: Folks, we heard this...

Donald J. Trump: ... because your donors and your special interests are doing the same thing as I do, except even more so.

Hillary Clinton: Well, you know...

Donald J. Trump: You should have changed the law. But you won't change the law, because you take in so much money. I mean, I sat in my apartment today on a very beautiful hotel down the street known as Trump...

Hillary Clinton: Made with Chinese steel.

Donald J. Trump: But I will tell you, I sat there... [LAUGHTER] ... I sat there watching ad after ad after ad, false ad. 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.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump...

Donald J. Trump: If you don't like what I did, you should have changed the laws.

Chris Wallace: Mr. Trump, I want to ask you about one last question in this topic. You have 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 will absolutely -- sir, that you will absolutely accept the result of this election?

Donald J. 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's so dishonest. And they've poisoned the mind 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.

Chris Wallace: But, sir, there's...

Donald J. Trump: If you look -- 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. So I talk about the corrupt media. I talk about the millions of people -- tell you one other thing. She shouldn't be allowed to run. It's crooked -- she'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...

Chris Wallace: But...

Donald J. 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.

Chris 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 that no matter how hard-fought a campaign is, that at the end of the campaign that the loser concedes to the winner. Not saying that you're necessarily going to be the loser or the winner, but that the loser concedes to the winner and that 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?

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

Hillary Clinton: Well, Chris, let me respond to that, because that's horrifying. You know, every time Donald thinks things are not going in his direction, he claims whatever it is, is rigged against him. The FBI conducted a year-long 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 programme three years in a row and he started tweeting that the Emmys were rigged against him.

Donald J. Trump: Should have gotten it. [LAUGHTER]

Hillary Clinton: This is -- this is a mindset. This is how Donald thinks. And it's funny, but it's also really troubling.

Chris Wallace: OK.

Hillary Clinton: So 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]

Chris Wallace: Hold on. Hold on, folks. Hold on, folks.

Hillary Clinton: ... it just shows you're not up to doing the job. And let's -- you know, let's be clear about what he is saying and what that means. He is denigrating -- he's 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.

Donald J. 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.

Chris Wallace: All right.

Donald J. Trump: I think we've never had a situation so bad in this country. [APPLAUSE]

Chris Wallace: Hold on, folks. This doesn't do any good for anyone. Let's please continue the debate, and let's move on to the subject of foreign hot spots. 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 that whichever of you ends up -- 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 that 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.

Hillary Clinton: Well, I am encouraged that 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 real -- 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.

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

Donald J. Trump: Let me tell you, Mosul is so sad. We had Mosul. But when she left, when 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 that they want to get the leaders and they're going to attack Mosul. Whatever happened to the element of surprise, OK? We announce we're going after Mosul. I have 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 when they see the stupidity of our country. So we're now fighting for Mosul, that we had. All she had to do was stay there, and 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 the 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, made all the 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's going to get Mosul, really? We'll take Mosul eventually. But 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 do you know who's going to be the beneficiary? Iran. Oh, yeah, they're making -- I mean, 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.

Chris Wallace: Sir, your two minutes are up.

Donald J. Trump: The point is, the big winner is going to be Iran.

Hillary 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've said that years ago. He has consistently denied what is...

Donald J. Trump: Wrong.

Hillary Clinton: ... a very clear fact that...

Donald J. Trump: Wrong.

Hillary Clinton: ... before the invasion, he supported it. And, you know, I just want everybody to go Google it. Google "Donald Trump Iraq." And you will see the dozens of sources which verify that he was for the invasion of Iraq.

Donald J. Trump: Wrong.

Hillary Clinton: And you can actually hear the audio of him saying that. Now, 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 now 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, and -- 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 an estimated 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 amazed that he seems to think that 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

Donald J. Trump: Chris, we don't gain anything.

Hillary Clinton: He has all the conspiracy theories... [CROSSTALK]

Donald J. Trump: Iran is taking over Iraq.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton, it's... [CROSSTALK]

Donald J. Trump: Iran is taking over Iraq. We don't gain anything.

Hillary Clinton: This conspiracy theory, which he's been spewing out for quite some time.

Donald J. Trump: If they did it by surprise... [CROSSTALK]

Chris Wallace: Wait, wait, wait, Secretary Clinton, it's an open discussion.

Hillary Clinton: He says... [CROSSTALK]

Donald J. Trump: We could have gained if they did it by surprise.

Chris Wallace: Secretary, please let Mr. Trump speak.

Hillary Clinton: ... unfit, and he proves it every time he talks.

Donald J. Trump: No, you are 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 that going into Mosul after we let the world know we're going in, and all of the people that we really wanted -- the leaders -- they're 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.

Hillary Clinton: Well, you should ask Bernie Sanders who he's supporting for president. And he has said...

Donald J. Trump: Which is a big mistake.

Hillary Clinton: ... as he has campaigned for me around the country, you are the most dangerous person to run for president in the modern history of America. I think he's right.

Chris 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 -- in fact, there are...

Donald J. Trump: It's a catastrophe. I mean... It's a catastrophe, but there ... it's a mess.

Chris Wallace: There are a quarter of...

Donald J. Trump: Have you seen it? Have you seen it?

Chris Wallace: Sir...

Donald J. Trump: Have you seen what's happening to Aleppo?

Chris Wallace: Sir, if I may finish my question...

Donald J. Trump: OK, so it hasn't fallen. Take a look at it.

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

Donald J. Trump: That's right. And they are being slaughtered...

Chris Wallace: Yes.

Donald J. Trump: ... because of bad decisions.

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

Donald J. Trump: Well, Aleppo is a disaster. It's a humanitarian nightmare. But it has fallen from the -- from any standpoint. I mean, 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, and now she's going to say, oh, he loves Assad, she's -- he's just much tougher and much smarter than her and Obama. And everyone thought he was gone two years ago, three years ago. He -- he aligned with Russia. He now also aligned with Iran, who we made very powerful. We gave them \$150 billion back. We give 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 -- 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'd 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...

Chris Wallace: Let me...

Donald J. Trump: ... in many cases, ISIS-aligned, and we now have them in our country, and wait until you see -- this is going to be the great Trojan horse. And wait until you see what happens in the coming years. Lots of luck, Hillary. Thanks a lot for doing a great job.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton, you have talked about -- and 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 going to draw us closer or deeper into the conflict. And General Joseph Dunford, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, says you impose a no-fly zone, chances are you're going to get into a war -- his words -- with Syria and Russia. So the question I have is, if you impose a no-fly zone -- first of all, 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?

Hillary Clinton: Well, Chris, first of all, I think a no-fly zone could save lives and could hasten the end of the conflict. I'm well aware of the really legitimate concerns that 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 here was to provide safe zones on the ground. We've had millions of people leave Syria and those millions of people inside Syria who have been dislocated. So I think we could strike a deal and make it very clear to the Russians and the Syrians that this was something that we believe was in the best interests of the people on the ground in Syria, it would help us with our fight against ISIS. But I want to respond to what Donald said about refugees. He's 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 nightclub, 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. And, 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.

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

Donald J. Trump: But I just have to...

Chris Wallace: Real quick.

Donald J. Trump: It's so ridiculous what she -- she will defeat ISIS. We should have never let ISIS happen in the first place. And right now, they're in 32 countries.

Chris Wallace: OK.

Donald J. Trump: We should have -- wait one second. They had a cease-fire three weeks ago. A cease-fire, the United States, Russia, and Syria. And during the cease-fire, Russia took over vast swatches of land, and then they said we don't want the cease-fire anymore. We are so outplayed on missiles, on cease-fires. They are outplayed. Now, 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.

Chris 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 percent. That's the highest since just after World War II. But the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget says, Secretary Clinton, under your plan, debt would rise to 86 percent of GDP over the next 10 years. Mr. Trump, under your plan, they say it would rise to 105 percent of GDP over the next 10 years. The question is, why are both of you ignoring this problem? Mr. Trump, you go first.

Donald J. Trump: Well, I say they're wrong, because I'm going to create tremendous jobs. And we're bringing GDP from, really, 1 percent, which is what it is now, and if she got in, it will be less than zero. But we're bringing it from 1 percent up to 4 percent. And I actually think we can go higher than 4 percent. I think you can go to 5 percent or 6 percent. 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'm 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 back 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 businesspeople 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 gave - - 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 grow and expand and start from new.

Chris Wallace: Secretary Clinton?

Hillary 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 a \$100,000 ad in the New York Times, during the time when President Reagan was president, and basically said exactly what he just said now, that we were the laughingstock 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-out growth. 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...

Donald J. Trump: Yeah, yeah, we've heard -- we've heard this before, Hillary.

Hillary Clinton: I started off with -- my dad was a small-business man.

Donald J. Trump: We've heard this before.

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

Chris Wallace: Time.

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

Chris Wallace: Well, no, sir, because we're running out of time...

Donald J. Trump: Because I did disagree 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.

Chris Wallace: OK.

Donald J. Trump: And frankly, now we're going to do it right.

Chris Wallace: All right. The one last area I want to get into with you in this debate is the fact that the biggest driver of our debt is entitlements, which is 60 percent of all federal spending. Now, the Committee for federal -- 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's 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. So, in effect, 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?

Donald J. Trump: I'm cutting taxes. We're going to grow the economy. It's going to grow at a record rate of growth.

Chris Wallace: That's not going to help in the entitlements.

Donald J. Trump: No, it's going to totally help you. And one thing we have to do: 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 '17, it is a disaster. If we don't repeal and replace -- now, it's probably going to die of its own weight. But Obamacare has to go. It's -- the premiums are going up 60 percent, 70 percent, 80 percent. Next year they're going to go up over 100 percent. 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.

Chris Wallace: And, 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 entertain -- will you consider a grand bargain, a deal that includes both tax increases and benefit cuts to try to save both programmes?

Hillary Clinton: Well, Chris, I am on record as saying that we need to put more money into the 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 to replenish the Social Security Trust Fund...

Donald J. Trump: Such a nasty woman.

Hillary Clinton: ... 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. So if he repeals it, our Medicare problem gets worse. What we need to do is go after...

Donald J. Trump: Your husband disagrees with you.

Hillary Clinton: ... 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 by with more resources and harder decisions.

Chris Wallace: This is -- this is the final time, probably to both of your delight, that you're going to be on a 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'd like you each 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.

Hillary 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 commitments, 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.

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

Donald J. 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, 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 the 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 than she can ever do in 10 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.