

**A Sociolinguistic Study on the Effect of Gender on
Politeness and Communication in the Presidential
Debates between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton for
the Year of 2016/2017**

دراسة في علم اللغة الاجتماعي عن تأثير الجنس على الادب الاجتماعي والتواصل
الاجتماعي في المناظرات الرئاسية بين دونالد ترامب وهيلاري كلينتون لعام
2017/2016

Prepared by:

Rahaf Mahmmoud Saleh Ali

Supervised by:

Dr. Nadia Tareq

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master in English Language and Literature
Department of English Language and Literature
Faculty of Arts and Sciences
Middle East University**

January, 2018

Authorization

I, Rahaf Mahmoud Saleh Ali, hereby authorize Middle East University to supply copies of my thesis to libraries, organizations or individuals when required.

Name : Rahaf Mahmoud Saleh Ali

Date : 6 / 1 / 2018

Signature : 

Thesis committee decision

This thesis entitled "A Sociolinguistic study on the effect of gender on politeness and communication in the presidential debates between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton for the year of 2016/2017" was successfully defended and approved on 6 / 1 / 2018

Thesis committee

Signature

1. Prof. Ahmad Hamad AlKhawaldeh

2. Dr. Mohammad Mahameed

3. Dr. Nadia Hamendi

Acknowledgement

My deepest gratitude goes to my parents whose continuous support and encouragement made me who I am today. Special thanks go to my husband and daughter for their patience, support, sacrifice and love throughout my journey and for the fact that they were behind me every step of the way. I would like to thank my supervisor -what's more, guide, - Dr. Nadia Tareq, for extending her wisdom and feedback throughout my journey of composing this thesis, and for offering her most gracious and kind guidance which enabled me to complete this work. I would also like to extend my gratitude to all the professors who humbled me with their endless help, advice, and effort in answering all my questions and guiding me to the right path. Due thanks are extended to Dr. Norma Al- Zayed and Dr. Majid Abdullatif whose collaboration exceeded all expectations.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to every last one of these individuals without whom it might have never been written, the ones who supported me interminably throughout my journey,

To my father -who has always been my role model.

To my mother -who has been with me through thick and thin.

To my husband, and daughter -who have been a constant source of support and encouragement.

Table of Contents

| Subject | Page |
|--|-------------|
| Cover page..... | I |
| Authorization..... | II |
| Thesis committee decision..... | III |
| Acknowledgement..... | IV |
| Dedication..... | V |
| Table of Contents..... | VI |
| List of Appendices..... | VII |
| English Abstract..... | VIII |
| Arabic Abstract..... | X |
| Chapter One: Background of the study | 1 |
| Chapter Two : Review of empirical and theoretical literature | 7 |
| Chapter Three: Methodology..... | 17 |
| Chapter Four: Results of the study..... | 23 |
| Chapter Five: Discussion and Recommendation..... | 27 |
| References:..... | 35 |
| Appendices:..... | 46 |

| List of appendices | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Number | Title | Page |
| Appendix (A) | Validation letter | 46 |
| Appendix (B) | Debate | 69 |

**A Sociolinguistic Study on the Effect of Gender on Politeness and
Communication in the Presidential Debates between Donald Trump and
Hillary Clinton
for the Year of 2016\2017**

**By
Rahaf Mahmoud Saleh Ali
Supervised by
Dr. Nadia Tareq**

Abstract

This study aims to investigate the effect of gender on politeness and communication, and its reflection of gender on politeness and communication in men and women. Also, this study is to find out the domains where the effect of gender on politeness and communication play a role, and the resulting reasons. To achieve the objectives of the study, the researcher selected a sample that consisted of debates that had taken place in the elections of 2016/2017. The instruments of the study were based on an analytical approach and three tables that were divided into categories of rude responses, interruption, and sarcasm. Each category was divided into two columns: male and female. The findings revealed that the effect of politeness in speech engages the participants in the speech, from both genders, and encourages respect and effective communication. The differences in the use of language - in speeches- between male and female also, identifies the group of listeners and their responses. However, the study shows that the differences between the percentages of males and females in different categories does not change based on the nature of the speaker, but rather, the changes, by using different speaking strategies, including good choice of words , less interruptions and

questions, politeness, and ensuring that all parts of the conversation are communicated effectively.

Key words: politeness, gender, communication, president, elections, speeches.

دراسه في علم اللغة الاجتماعي عن تأثير الجنس على الادب الاجتماعي والتواصل الاجتماعي في
2016/2017 المناظرات الرئاسيه بين دونالد ترامب وهيلاري كلينتون لعام

اعداد

رهف محمود صالح علي

اشراف

د. نادية طارق

الملخص

تهدف الدراسة إلى البحث في تأثير التهذيب على الجنس وطرق التواصل وانعكاساتها على السلوك لدى الرجال والنساء. كما وتهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التعرف على المجالات التي يؤثر فيها الجنس على التهذيب وطرق التواصل إضافة إلى الأسباب التي أدت إلى ذلك.

ولغايات تحقيق أهداف هذه الدراسة قامت الباحثة باختيار عينة من المرشحين الذين فازوا بالانتخابات 2017/2016.

أدوات هذه الدراسة اعتمدت على المنهج التحليلي وجدول تم تقسيمه إلى عدة فئات (قلة الأدب، الاستجابات، المقاطعة في الحديث، السخرية). وانقسمت كفاءة إلى عمودين الأول يمثل الذكور والثاني يمثل الإناث.

أظهرت الدراسة أن تأثير التهذيب في الخطاب يشمل كلا الجنسين والسبب في ذلك يعود إلى رغبتهم في كسب الاحترام والوصول إلى طرق التواصل الفعالة. إضافة إلى ذلك فإن الاختلافات في نوعية اللغة المستخدمة في الخطاب بين الذكور والإناث تحدد نوعية المستمعين وطرق استجاباتهم.

وبالرغم من ذلك فإن الدراسة أظهرت أن الاختلافات في النسب المئوية بين الذكور والإناث بناء على الفئات لا يمكن تغييرها حسب طبيعة المتحدث، ولكنه من الممكن تحسينها عن طريق استخدام استراتيجيات متنوعة كالاختيار المناسب للكلمات وتقليل المقاطعة أثناء الحديث وطريقة طرح الأسئلة إضافة إلى التهذيب والتأكد من أن جميع أطراف الحديث لديهم القبول التام للتواصل الفعال.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التهذيب، الجنس، التواصل، الرئيس، الانتخابات، الخطابات.

Chapter One

1.0 Introduction:

This section starts with a detailed explanation on gender and its impact on politeness and communication. It reveals insight as to what the problem is, certain objectives, questions, significant occurrences, and the limits and limitations of the study, followed by a conclusion that clarifies a few technical terms.

Recently, language, and its constant changes have been a point of interest among numerous sociolinguists. On the other hand, sociolinguistics, is the study of language in connection to society and its effect of society on the language we use. After all, language is the method of communication that distinguishes us from animals as well as differentiates between one individual and another, a gender and another, and also indicates the social qualities, social class, and gender of the speaker. Language also changes based on the social setting one finds himself in. This research will focus on the distinctive routes preferred by males and females when using language, where social and cultural factors are at play, and how the different communication strategies impact the sexes.

1.1 Background of the study:

According to the Genderlect theory, Tannen (1990), women listen carefully when others speak, communicate to express their feelings and build a relationship. Women also prefer to include their emotions in both public speeches and private conversations, while men prefer to engage in conversations that make them appear stronger, independent, and in control. For example, men interrupt to grab attention in addition to avoiding asking questions as it will shift the control back to the other side of the conversation. The Genderlect theory aims to show the difference in use of language between males and females and helps us to know and understand the way others communicate.

Of the most crucial elements of positive communication is ensuring politeness because it reflects the speaker's character and behavior. Politeness is also far more effective than using logic because it can engage the opposing parties where logic cannot convince them and thus, the opposing party will take opinions and ideas more seriously and will feel more comfortable when given the option to agree or disagree. In addition, polite and civil communication preserves the relationship between the parties.

Nonetheless, there are differences in the way men and women communicate and what they perceive as polite. This study will delve further into the topic by

studying both male and female figures in detail. Mainly: Donald Trump, the Republican Party's newly elected president who attacks minorities, such as women, and more particularly, his opponents. His speeches and use of language raise many questions related to civil communication and politeness. On the other hand, former senator and Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, relied more on love and support in her speeches, because, in her opinion, her campaign was not about one individual or one election, but rather, about building and loving the country collectively. This thesis will rely heavily on both parties' speeches as adequate data sources that will help accomplish the objectives of this study.

1.2 Statement of the problem

People of both genders cannot live without communication, and a deficient communication and lack of consideration can prompt false impressions that encourage negative outcomes. Thus, people must locate a middle ground to have healthy communication, and this examination reveals that the middle ground is through communication and politeness. also, through analysis of the three categories of interruption, rude responses and sarcasm.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The present study aims to:

- Investigate the effect of gender on politeness and communication.
- Clarify the differences in the use of language between female and male respondents.

1.4 Questions of the study

- What is the effect of gender on politeness and communication?
- What are the differences in the use of language between female and male respondents?

1.5 Significance of the study

Considering that correspondence has a significant part in our lives, the discoveries of this investigation benefits society and clarifies the accomplishments that lie behind communication and politeness. Additionally, the reasons better comprehended, men and women will be more expectant of the issue in communication and will have a plan that will help facilitate the correspondence between them.

1.6 Limits of the study

Result of the research is limited to the academic year 2016-2017 within which the study was conducted. The results are also limited to the effect of gender in the use of politeness and communication, in the debates and

speeches of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the election year of 2016, and not any other subject area.

1.7 Limitation of the study

The findings of the study cannot be generalized beyond the sample which is composed of the speeches of the two major figures, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. The results are also limited to the instruments used in the study.

1.8 Definitions of terms

Communication: theoretically, it is more than a process of language, for it is a continuous focus of our attention on a place where communication declines based on what the specialist can get, and what s/he can look for. It strengthens our capabilities to stay human, even under tough conditions. (Rosenberg, 2015) Operationally, it is the way we speak with each other to deliver a specific message.

Donald Trump: he is defined operationally as a billionaire, real estate businessman, former reality television star, and most importantly the 45th United States president. Trump was born in 1946, Queens, New York, the fourth of five children of Frederick C. and Mary MacLeod Trump. Trump did well at school and graduated in 1964. He has a degree in economics from the University of Pennsylvania from which he graduated in 1968.

Genderlect: theoretically, it is the distinction between male and female use of language, and the features assigned to them; it differs from one generation to the other (Wodak,1997). Furthermore, genderlect is an arrangement of properties that patterned stereotypical male and female discourse, and it is not a matter of manliness or womanliness but rather relative measures of status and power. (Perry, Turner, Streck, 1992)

Hillary Clinton: is defined operationally as the democratic candidate for the election of 2016 for the presidency of the United States. She is a former first lady, U.S. senator and Secretary of State. Hillary Clinton was born on October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois. She went on to earn her law degree from Yale University and got married to a fellow law school graduate, Bill Clinton, former U.S. president.

Politeness: theoretically, it is the process of acting graciously by a distinct individual representing himself/ herself or an association. That comes intrinsically, and it has measures which remains past the act itself, and is known by the performer, listener, and outsider who may be part of the communication, wherever it intends to set up social contact and divert from social pressure. (Reiter,1984) Operationally, politeness is the behavior that enriches communication and is accepted by society.

Sociolinguistics: theoretically, it is the part of linguistics that is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon. Additionally, it makes the use of subject matter, and the methodology of sociologies. (Trudgill, 2000). Operationally, it is the logical investigation of language as indicated by society.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts: theoretical literature concerning the study and experimental investigations done on comparative subjects. Studies which address communication and politeness and its connection to gender will be discussed.

2.1 Review of theoretical literature concerning Politeness, Gender, and Communication.

Brown and Levinson (1978) decided that politeness by nature is a constant cycle of give -and- take among societies everywhere regardless if they are isolated from the modern world or not. To explain politeness, the theory was split into two types: positive face, which is the consistent and constructive image people have of themselves, the part of them that wants others' approval, and the other, negative face, is the claim to territories, rights to non-distraction or interruption, and personal domains. Using each type is connected to social norms, in particular, the addressee and the effectiveness or rudeness of the content.

Holmes, Janet, and Meyerhoff (1995) have given the most specific and practical narrowing down of linguistic politeness especially when it comes to communication between the genders by studying speech in a wide variety of settings. She also concludes that female speakers are kinder because they are aware of their partner's feelings, while males are more concerned with coming off with the upper hand in the conversation.

Clift (1999) suggests that sarcasm is a branch of irony that splits into two sections. The first is that it is a general term that includes sarcasm, and the other is that irony is linguistic play presented with inexperience and lack of hostility on the speaker's end. Whether the speaker is aware of their use of irony or not, and whether their expression involves any aggression or sentiment needs more review from the speaker's perspective. However, Cliff has clarified his statement more by saying that sarcasm is intended as an aggressive weapon against another party in communication while irony does not necessarily indicate so. He also explains sarcasm as a type of irony.

Empirical psycholinguistic study from Lee and Katz (1998) has shown the listeners see aggressiveness as the factor that draws the line between sarcasm and irony. Interestingly enough, it is quite fascinating to delve into speakers using sentimental words when using both irony and sarcasm.

Colston, and O'Brien (2000) have evaluated previous cases and partially agrees that there are two conditions for verbal irony. The first being a violation of listener's expectation, and the other being an insincere, or mocking relationship between what is said and what is intended.

Coates (2004) has come to a conclusion that both sexes have preferences for different styles of conversation. Women in most western societies, lean towards a collective conversational style, where they show support to different speakers and prefer language that strongly emphasizes their support of the other person. However, when it comes to men, their method of conversation tends to be one that can come off as competitive, and focuses more on individuality and a hierarchical relationship rather than supporting and showing solidarity to the other person.

Claire Newton (2009) has concluded that people speak to each other in different ways based on the message and the setting in which it is said. He explains that the point of communication is to have all communicating parties understand what is being said and attempting to convey and accept that others understand the message they are trying to get across. The different parties bring their own personal conviction, along with emotion, musing, and thought to try to pass along the intended message. The parties must imagine

themselves on both sides of the conversation to think about it from their listeners' perspective. Oral conversations, face to face, help the individuals to understand each other through facial expressions, body language, and other forms of non-verbal communication. The parties trust or distrust others based on non-verbal communication which is affected by pitch, tone, volume and clarity of speech and expression.

Herk (2012) declared that women use linguistic styles to give themselves the upper hand in social gatherings and the like. Therefore, women lean towards standard methods of communication that will elate status and open more doors, while men, on the other hand, are against change, and instead, prefer to stick to methods of communication that serve their immediate purpose. When comparing the two, one may find that women conform more to a standard method of communication or politeness since it is more directly connected to elevated social status and more opportunities or open doors.

Coats (2016) notes that men have remained an unstudied group for much longer than women. Previously, man and individual were interchangeable terms, however, recently, issues of men and manliness have risen and there have been more studies on men as they delve into a mission to understand themselves and concentrating on what makes or labels them men.

All throughout, women were believed to have an alternative voice, distinctive brain science, and a different affair of love, work and, family from men. The good side of this is that women were able to communicate and be studied outside the system of oppression and lack of power and to strengthen their linguistic abilities, characteristics, and to praise and appreciate women's abilities to talk. Gender does not have much to do with one's ability to communicate, but rather, communication is something that is refined and improved each time we speak.

2.2 Review of Empirical Literature

Lakoff's (1975) studies led her to believe that women were considered lower ranking in social positions than men. Moreover, she studied the deficit model in depth, showing that gender affects the use of linguistic features such as tag questions. Lakoff believed that female's use of indicated vulnerability and the use of well-mannered terms demonstrated women's inferior status.

Zimmerman and West (1975) study interruptions in discussions in more depth. Their key focus points were everyday conversations in public places such as coffee shops, stores, and colleges. The conclusion of their work showed a clear difference between men and women in communication. Men applied power and control to achieve dominance when speaking to women. In addition, men use this technique of power and control to confine women in

expressing themselves in conversation. They recorded unplanned conversations on different campuses and concluded that 96% of interruptions (46 of 48) were cases of men interrupting women.

Deborah Tannen (1984) dominance can be connected to the fact that in conversations that involve both genders, men are more likely to interrupt than women. However, it is an old study conducted on a small group of people video taped by Don Zimmerman and Candace West at the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California in 1975. The people in the recordings were white, middle class, and under the age of 35. In their study, Zimmermand and West produced as evidence 31 segments of different conversations. In eleven different conversations between men and women, men interrupted women 46 times while women only interrupted twice.

O'Barr and Atkins (1980) directed their investigations at ten fundamental speech differences between men and women. The researchers studied witness speeches and conversations in courtroom cases for 30 months. They arrived at a conclusion that the distinctions Lakoff made about women, were actually not unique to women, but rather to individuals that were helpless in their setting. These findings challenged Lakoff's view on women's language. The researchers then concluded that there are speech patterns which

are "neither characteristic of all women nor limited only to women." But rather, women who use the women's language attributes with the lowest frequency had interestingly high status. While, a corresponding pattern was noted among the men who speak with a low frequency of women's language attributes. In their study, O'Barr and Atkins studied courtroom cases and witnesses' speeches. Their findings conflicted with Lakoff's opinion on women's language. They did some background studying on what they described as "powerless language," showing that language differences are not based on gender but rather on power and control. They realized that cited speech designs were neither usual for all women nor associated only with women. Consequently, women who exerted the lowest occurrences of women's language qualities had interestingly high ranks according to the researchers. These women were well-educated and came from middle-class backgrounds. These results were also similar with men who spoke with a low occurrence of women's language qualities. O'Barr and Atkins attempted to point out that stem from the research either social upright in society or rank put in place by the court.

According to Cameron, Doberah and Coates (1985) the amount people talk fluctuates based on who they are with and what they are doing. They also

conclude that when a multitude of studies are looked into, there is little difference between the amount women and men talk.

Brizendine (1994) discovered that women will talk three times as much as men. In opposing views, however, Drass (1986), in an experiment on gender identity, concluded that men speak more than women.

Antonopoulos (2000) mentioned that sex does play a role in linguistic politeness. She observed that women were generally politer than men. For example, women were more likely to use discourse that links markers of politeness, tact, hesitation, and uncertainty. The main reasons proposed by Antonopoulos were sociological rather than linguistic reasons. The three major reasons were: the deficit model, which explained that women have a disadvantage in view of their upbringing; the predominance display, which explains that women are more social but powerless in comparison to men, and last of all, the cultural difference model, which draws connections between gender and other social factors like ethnicity.

Salem (2004), video taped the speeches of 500 Jordanian students to study their methods of communications and politeness strategies. The study showed that female students were politer than their male counterparts. Discoveries like this reveal that men speak for longer amounts of time, ask

less questions -which may give off an impression of being weaker, or handing the upper hand to their partner- and regularly reminded others, by causing disruption, of their status and power. However, with the ladies, they asked more questions to keep up the conversation and connection with the speaker. They interrupt less to give a sense of understanding and harmony. In general, it was noted that women spoke to establish connections, while men spoke to reflect power and status.

2.3 Conclusion

This study focuses on the relationship between gender and politeness in communication because communication -and language- are a fundamental part of social and political settings. Most studies reveal a close connection between the effect of gender on politeness in communication. In the process investigating, great many previous studies were carefully considered and compared to help develop the methodology used in conducting the study.

This study sheds light on the differences in the use of language between female and male respondents. It also carefully delved into presidential debates which have been closely studied as the focus point, thus making it possible to collect new, and contemporary data that would help reveal more about the

difference in communication and the effect of gender on politeness between the sexes.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Procedure

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodological approach used in the study, and delves more into the sample of the study. It describes the validity and reliability of the instrument. Finally, it shows how the data will be gathered through the study's instruments, and explains how each instrument is constructed.

3.1 Method of the Study

The methodological approach used for the present investigation is a quantitative analytical one. The quantitative approach gives information that discusses the questions of the study, while the analytical offers extra data that expands understanding with respect to the explanations of the outcomes from the analyst's point of view.

3.2 Population and Sample of the Study

The population of this study consists of the three debates between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in the year of 2016/2017, which were held in different places and at different times, in which the debate includes six speeches between the candidates. The researcher chose specific debates that

included breaches of politeness such as interruptions, rude responses, and sarcasm. The speeches were analyzed and investigated to identify how males and females apply politeness in their conversational topics.

3.3 Instrument of the Study

In this examination, the researcher depended on using a checklist that has been divided into the following categories (interruption, rude responses, sarcasm). Each category was counted as a unit on its own as (words, and phrases). Each debate has the three categories, each of them is specified for male and female. The researcher revised the debates and when finding any of these categories, she filled them according to gender. The results reveal the effect of gender on politeness and communication by examining features like non-violent communication, types of politeness, and genderlect qualities.

Examples of all categories by male and female figures were derived from the debate script as shown in Table (No.1):

Table No.1

Examples of the Three Categories by Males/females in the presidential debates.

| | Interruption | Rude responses | Sarcasm | Total |
|--|--------------|----------------|---------|-------|
| First debate Monday Sep.26th.2016 | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | |
| Donald Trump | | | | |
| Hilary Clinton | | | | |
| Second debate Sunday Oct.9th.2016 | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | |
| Donald Trump | | | | |
| Hilary Clinton | | | | |
| Third debate Wednesday Oct.19th.2016 | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | |
| Donald Trump | | | | |
| Hilary Clinton | | | | |

3.4 Study Data and Resources

The researcher has relied upon two main resources for gathering information: Primary and secondary resources. When it comes to the primary resources, the researcher has picked an agenda to group and categorize the contrasts among the

sexes in discussions at the presidential debates in the following categories: interruption, rude responses, and asking questions.

As for secondary resources, this relates to library investigated and composed resources. For example: books, diaries, papers, articles, daily papers, magazines, and records of the meetings, letters, site pages, the web, journals, and other composed archives which are taken from the internet that relate to the examined subject.

3.5 Validity of the Instrument

To attain the validity of the instrument, the researcher asked a panel of experts (appendix 1) to judge whether the instrument; checklist examined presents the correct information or not. The content validity was considered after receiving the debates feedback regarding the validity of each unit of the table.

3.6 Reliability of the Instrument

The table reliability was established by means of a quantitative analytical approach. The table contains the number of times Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton interrupted, gave rude or sarcastic responses in the presidential debates to count and fill out the categories after watching and reading the presidential debates.

3.7 Data Analysis

The following procedure was carried out to analyze the data:

1. The information was put in order based on whether the speeches were given by a male or female. At this point, the information is investigated by using the theory of

gender differences in the topic selection by Tannen (1993), The data is introduced in one table which presents the analysis of three investigated categories (interruption, rude responses, and sarcasm) with its units. In addition, the table contains the frequency and percentage of each unit, and the total frequencies and percentages for both categories of males and females.

2. The number of interruptions, rude responses, and sarcastic responses, when analyzed using the theory of gender differences by Tannen (1993) and politeness and power theory by Loacher (2004) it explains that males and females sometimes become scheming in particular occasions that are mixed-sex interactions and in particular, stylistic strategies.

3.8 Procedures

The following procedure is followed while carrying out the study: -

- Choosing the speeches -in particular controversial subjects- and distinguishing between what is said by males and females.
- Calculating the number of interruptions and rude responses which are produced by males and females in the given situations.
- Determining the objectives and related questions of the study.
- Reading empirical studies that have been conducted in the domain of differences between male and female communication by discussing certain controversial topics during the conversations limited by the topic.

- Specifying the sample of the study.
- Checking the validity and reliability of the table by submitting it to a panel of academic experts.
- Drawing the findings with reference to the table.
- Discussing the findings with reference to the previous studies mentioned in the review of literature.
- Proposing recommendations and suggesting further studies.
- Recording the list of references according to the APA style.
- Adding the appendices

Chapter Four

Results of the Study

4.0 Introduction

The information gathered from the speeches' contents were analyzed in a quantitative, analytical approach to answer the examination questions and set forth this investigation. The present chapter displays the categories' analysis and their units. It sheds light on the most frequently used categories by males and females.

4.1 Data Analysis

The researcher has classified data and speeches from the presidential debates according to the following categories: interruption, rude responses, and sarcasm. Within their units, each category has two columns, each of which is specific for male and female figures. The researcher reviews the debates, and when applicable, the researcher fills the categories in accordance to gender as presented in the table:

4.2 Results related to table one which conveys the male figure in this study.

Table (1)
Frequencies of the Three Categories by Male in Presidential Debates

| | Interruption | | Rude responses | | Sarcasm | | Total |
|--|--------------|------------|----------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|
| First debate Monday Sep.26th.2016 | | | | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | | | | |
| Donald Trump | 55 times | 83.3% | 40 times | 63.5% | 15 times | 40.5% | 66.3% |
| Hilary Clinton | | | | | | | |
| Second debate Sunday Oct.9th.2016 | | | | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | | | | |
| Donald Trump | 15 times | 75% | 28 times | 90% | 7 times | 43.8% | 74.6% |
| Hilary Clinton | | | | | | | |
| Third debate Wednesday Oct.19th.2016 | | | | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | | | | |
| Donald Trump | 48 times | 81.4% | 25 times | 71.4% | 6 times | 25% | 66.9% |
| Hilary Clinton | | | | | | | |

From table (1), one can see that the first category interruption, differs from one debate to another. It was high in some debates analysis and low in others. For example, the number of interruptions in the first debate was at its peak, and reached (83.3%), while it reduced on the second debate to reach (75%) then it rose again in the third debate to be (81.4%) close to the first

time. On the other hand, the rude responses in the first debate reached (63.5%) then the numbers started rising in the second debate to reach the percentage of (90%), and finally it reached its peak in the third debate to be (91.4%). Meanwhile, sarcasm was used slightly with the male figure in the three debates. It was (40.5%) in the first debate then reached its peak with a percentage of (43.8%) in the second debate, then reduced to its lowest on the third debate (25%). The previous analysis for the male number of interruptions indicated that the overall amount of interruption, rude responses and sarcasm by the male in the first debate is with the percentage of (66.3%). Also, the second debate reached (74.6%). Finally, the third debate reached (66.9%).

4.3 Results related to table two which conveys the female figure in this study:

Table (No.2)
Frequencies of the Three Categories by female in presidential debates

| | Interruption | | Rude responses | | Sarcasm | | Total |
|--|---------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------------|-------|--------------|
| First debate Monday Sep.26th.2016 | | | | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | | | | |
| Donald Trump | | | | | | | |
| Hilary Clinton | 11 times | 16.7% | 23 times | 36.5% | 22 times | 59.5% | 33.7% |
| Second debate Sunday Oct.9th.2016 | | | | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | | | | |
| Donald Trump | | | | | | | |
| Hilary Clinton | 5 times | 25% | 3 times | 9.7% | 9 time | 56.2% | 25.4% |
| Third debate Wednesday Oct.19th.2016 | | | | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | | | | |
| Donald Trump | | | | | | | |
| Hilary Clinton | 11 times | 18.6% | 10 time | 28.6% | 18 times | 75% | 33.1% |

From table (2), one can see that the amounts in each category (interruptions, rude responses, and sarcasm) differ from one debate to the other. It was high in some debates analysis and low in others, starting with eleven interruptions in the first debate, and which equaled the interruptions in

the third debate. While interruption was reduced during the second debate to less than half to be (25%) for the female figure. On the other hand, the rude responses during the three debates were almost the same range. Rude responses reached 23 times in the first debate with the percentage of (36.5%), then reduced to three in the second debate to be (9.7%), while it reached its peak on the third debate to reach ten times with the percentage of (28.6%). Meanwhile, sarcasm was more prominent with the female figure at 22 times in the first debate with the percentage of (59.5%), nine in the second to be (56.2%), and 18 in the third with the percentage of (75%). We notice here that the number of times is rising after every debate to reach its peak of 18 times (75%). The analysis of the female results indicates that the overall total amount of interruption, rude responses, and sarcasm by the female in the first debate was with the percentage of (33.7%), the second debate reached (25.4%), and finally the third reached (33.1%).

Chapter Five

Discussions, Conclusions, and Recommendations

5.0 Introduction:

This chapter presents a brief summary and a short discussion of the findings of the two research questions. It also attempts to explain and interpret the results in light of the reviewed literature. The chapter concludes with recommendations and suggestions for future research.

5.1 Discussion of the Study Results:

Based on the statistical analysis, the researcher distinguished the differences of the percentages between males and females in different categories. Therefore, the researcher took into consideration the answers to the two questions of the study during discussing these results. Table (No.3) explains the differences of frequencies and percentages in all categories and its items by male and female in the presidential debates between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton for the year 2016\2017.

Table (No.3) differences of frequencies and percentages in all categories and its items by male and female in the presidential debates

| | Interruption | | Rude responses | | Sarcasm | | Total |
|--|--------------|-------|----------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|
| First debate Monday Sep.26th.2016 | | | | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | | | | |
| Donald Trump | 55 times | 83.3% | 40 times | 63.5% | 15 times | 40.5% | 66.3% |
| Hilary Clinton | 11 times | 16.7% | 23 times | 36.5% | 22 times | 59.5% | 33.7% |
| Second debate Sunday Oct.9th.2016 | | | | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | | | | |
| Donald Trump | 15 times | 75% | 28 times | 90% | 7 times | 43.8% | 74.6% |
| Hilary Clinton | 5 times | 25% | 3 times | 9.7% | 9 time | 56.2% | 25.4% |
| Third debate Wednesday Oct.19th.2016 | | | | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | | | | |
| Donald Trump | 48 times | 81.4% | 25 times | 71.4% | 6 times | 25% | 66.9% |
| Hilary Clinton | 11 times | 18.6% | 10 time | 28.6% | 18 times | 75% | 33.1% |

5.2 Discussion of the First Question's Results:

5.2.1 Gender and its effect on Communication.

The table shows that males use interruption more than females. For example, the male in the first debate tends to interrupt more than the female. A good example of male interrupting female is “ I didn’t say that, because you would be in jail, or thank you”. Other examples of female interrupting male “I think science is real , it is just not true, or I am not quoting myself”. The result

indicates that the overall percentage of interruption was higher for males which was (83.3%) while in female usage of language was (16.7%). However, the participants generally performed best to the study when they spoke in the debates which involved all the three categories. The quantitative data clearly suggests that the candidates had a great effect on the other's overall performance in the following debate.

The findings of this study agree with West and Zimmerman (1983), in which they said that 75 % of interruptions (21 of 28) were incidents of men interrupting women, they also claim that silence shows dominance. This study also agrees with the results of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson's (1974), on the structure of the conversation turns in speaking is at the largest with the current speaker, and the result as shown in the table of male interrupting female (83.3%) is clear evidence that males interrupt more to gain back the control of the conversation, and females tend to listen more by using the silent device for exercising the dominant part of the debate. This result highly effects the communication between both parties to lead them to concentrate on how to not get interrupted rather than how to deliver the information. Interruption is considered to violate the rules of conversation. According to Lakoff (1990), interruption may be heard as aggressive speech act, and as it is shown in the above table it has (83.3%) of males interrupting females and (16.7 %) of

female interrupting male. This result concludes that in this case the male figure was more aggressive to the female figure to express his ideas and defend himself, using interruption. It is obvious that interruption is a negative habit that violates other speakers, and leads the speaker to be a conversational bully.

5.2.2 Politeness according to rude responses and sarcasm.

Language is a method of expressing feelings, social relationships, and information. Politeness in this study is specified as a demeanor to achieve positive concern for others. This definition is derived from Brown and Levinson (1987) who describe politeness as expressing concern for people, in which it displays warmth toward the addressee in positive politeness behavior. Using this definition, behavior such as interruption, rude responses, and sarcasm to the opponent in this case in the three presidential debates are expressions of negative politeness. On the other hand, holding themselves from interrupting, rude responses, and sarcasm, are expressions of positive politeness. The figures in this study expressed their politeness by their use of language.

Hence, women tend to be politer than men. According to this study, the male figure gave (63.5%) rude responses in the first debate. For example; he used “ you have no plan, she should be ashamed of herself, or you’re the

puppet” while the female figure expressed (36.5%). For example; she used “I know you live in your own reality, he was not fit, or rather have a puppet”.

According to Haiman (1998), from a purely linguistic or grammatical point of view, the speaker is doing two things at once; he\she is conveying information to the listener, and at the same time he\ she is framing this message with a commentary that says something that means the exact opposite of what has been said. Sarcasm narrows the range of impoliteness, because according to Bousfeils & Locher (2008) the theory of politeness consists of two categories: in record and off record, and sarcasm is considered an off record reply.

Agreeing with Bousfield, the female figure used sarcasm more than the male, which was (40.5%) for the male figure in which he said “ you are going to stop them I don’t think so, and she is playing chicken “. Furthermore, (59.5%) for the female figure in the first debate, and (43.8%) for male and (56.2%) for the female figure in the second debate, and finally reached (25%) for males, and (75%) for male figures, to conclude that the female figure was impolitely off record.

5.3 Discussion of the Second Question Results

5.3.1 Male and Female Responses

According to this study, the researcher found that female responses tend to carefully choose the language and words to defeat their opponent in the

field they are debating in. Therefore, the female opponent would only reply to the male opponent with a rude response when she is faced with rudeness. Based on the above information, when females feel they are being attacked verbally, they tend to be on the defensive side, but they are vigilant in choosing smart comebacks. Having this weapon up their sleeve, women feel that this factor keeps them a step ahead of their opponent. According to table number 3, the female opponent's interruption increased only when the male opponent's interruptions were at a higher rate. Hence, when male interruption decreases, females' interruption decreases, and when it increases in the last debate the female interruption increases to reflect it. Sarcasm, in this study, was only carried out by the female figure, where she used it as a safe weapon to deliver her point in an indirect way, rather than giving a straight forward answer as males tend to do. When the male figure attacks with rudeness, the female uses sarcasm as a defense mechanism. Furthermore, men, in this case, tend to depend on spontaneous responses, and less sarcasm because they speak in a direct way, so the male figure used less sarcasm in his debates, but concentrated on rude responses to throw the female figure off the topics that she attacked him with.

5.4 Conclusion

It is believed that males and females are linguistically different from each other. They use different communicative competencies in daily conversations. This study proves that there is indeed a difference between males and females in the conversations where interruption, rude responses, and sarcasm are concerned. The research revealed that the results from this study may be quite limited, but it might indicate how male and female speakers perform differently when interrupted or receive rude responses or sarcasm in formal and political situations.

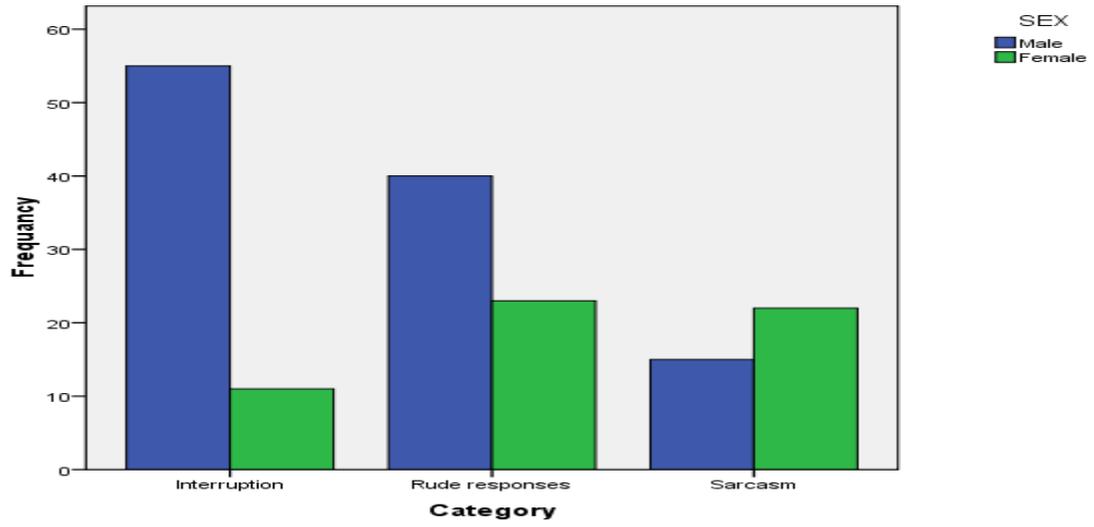
This study concluded the following:

* According to the results of the study, the researcher found that males use interruption more than females in all three debates. Since the researcher pays more attention to the context, interruption can be identified properly according to the nature of topics, and the topic selected, in addition to the speaker and addressee. Therefore, after the researcher watched and read the debates, she noticed that there are reasons behind interruption results in this study, since the female and male figures are totally different from each other. The female figure has stronger language, and better expressing abilities than the male figure. Therefore, the researcher notices that the female appears to use good listenership, polite agreement/ disagreement language. The male figure, in

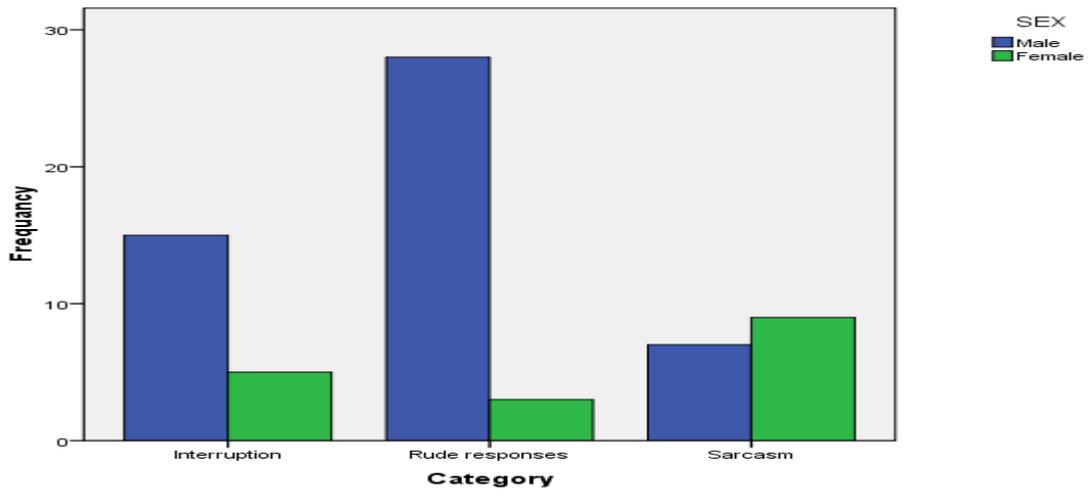
contrast, used interruption to fill a turn, showing a decided lack of encouragement and displaying a lack of interest.

* According to the second and third category, the researcher found that rude responses, and sarcasm results in male's reaction represented with a short and strong shock of passionate language which is provoked by disappointment or anger. Furthermore, males used the rude responses, and sarcasm to show their annoyance from females. They also seek to use rude responses in a rough manner as a defense mechanism to the points. Female characters, in contrast tend to use what are described as polished and more refined words than male characters and also tend to be less explicit, more repressed in their use of rude responses, and use sarcasm instead.

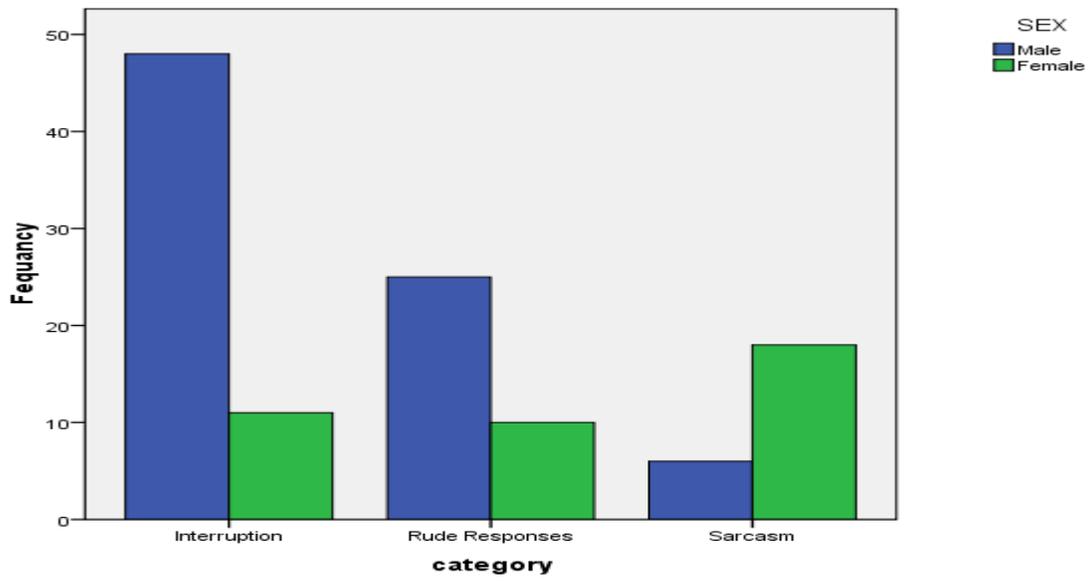
* In conclusion, the following charts explain the differences of percentages and average between male and female in all selected categories as shown in the following charts:



(No.1)



(No.2)



(No.3)

5.5 Recommendations

On the basis of the results of this study, the researcher suggests the following recommendations:

- Encourage conducting the same investigation with regards to gender differences in debatable topics at presidential debates.
- Investigate gender differences in debatable topics in other fields or occasions such as social interactions, friendship, peers, love, and other related situations.
- Conduct a comparative study between Arab males and females and foreign males and females, to remark upon a process of comparison and identification to find out who is more talkative: Arab males and females or foreign males and females.

References

- Antonopoulou, E. (2000). Brief Service Encounters: Gender and Politeness. In: Bayraktaroulu & Sifianou (ed), *Linguistic Politeness Across Boundaries: The case of Greek and Turkish* (241-269) Germany: Cambridge Center for Languages.
- Bousfeils, D.E, & Locher, M.I. (2008). *Impoliteness in language: studies on its interplay with power in theory and practice*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Brizendine, L. (1994) *The Female Brain*, Women's Mood & Hormone Clinic, UCSF.
- Brown, P.E & Lenvinson, S.T (1987). *Politeness some universals in language usage*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Claire, N.E. (2009). The five communication styles, *CLAIRE NEWTON*, *On-Line*, available: <http://www.clairenewton.co.za/my-articles/the-five-communication-styles.html> .
- Clift, Rebecca (1999). Irony in Conversation. *Language in Society*, 28:523–553

- Coates, J.E. (2004). *Women, men and language: a sociolinguistic account of gender differences in language*, (3ed) New York: Routledge.
- Coates, J.E. (2016). *Women, men and language: a sociolinguistic account of gender differences in language*, (3ed) New York: Routledge.
- Colston, H. L., and J. O'Brien (2000). Contrast and pragmatics in figurative language: Anything understatement can do, irony can do better. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32, 1557–1583.
- Cameron, Deborah and Coates, J. (1985) *Some problems in the sociolinguistic explanation of sex differences*. *Language and communication* 5:143-51.
- Drass, K. (1986) 'The effect of gender identity on conversation'. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 49/4: 294-301
- Haiman, John, (1998). **Talk is cheap**, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Herk, G.E, V.A, (2012). *What is sociolinguistics?*, London: Willey-blackwell.

- Holmes, Janet and Meyerhoff, Miriam (1999). The community of practice: Theories and methodologies in language and gender research. *Language in Society* 28, 173,183.
- Holmes, Janet, (1995). **Women, Men and Politeness**, London, and New York: Routledge.
- Jefferson, Gail (1974). Error correction as an interactional resource. *Language in Society*, 3(2), 181-199.
- Johnson, David, Wilson, Chris, (2016). Donald Trump's 'Nasty Woman' Comment Was 1 of His 48 Interruptions at the Presidential Debate, TIME POLITICS, (On-Line), available:
<http://time.com/4538271/donald-trump-nasty-woman-interruption-presidential-debate/>
- Krieg, Gregory, Diaz, Daniella, (2016). Donald Trump vs. Hillary Clinton II: The nastiest lines, CNN POLITICS, (On-Line), available:
<http://edition.cnn.com/2016/10/10/politics/presidential-debate-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-quotes/index.html>
- Lakoff (1999). Brief Service Encounters: Gender and Politeness. In: Bayraktaroulu & Sifianou (ed), *Linguistic Politeness Across*

Boundaries: The case of Greek and Turkish (241-269) Germany:

Cambridge Center for Languages.

- Lakoff, Robin. (1975). *Language and woman's place*. Language and society, 2, 45-79.
- Lakoff (1990). **Taking power: the politics of language in our lives**, New York: Basic Books.
- Lee, Christopher, Kats, Albert, (1998). The differential role of ridicule in sarcasm and irony, *Metaphor and symbol*, ed1, (vol 13).
- Loacher, Miriam (2004). **Power and politeness in action**, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co.
- Nyquist, L, Crosby, F (2014) The female register: an empirical study of Lakoff's hypotheses. Cambridge University Press, 6 (313-322).
- O' Barr, W. and Atkins, B. (1980) **"Women's language" or "powerless language"?**, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Perry, L.I, Turner, L.Y, & Sterk, H.E. (1992). *Constructing and reconstructing gender: the links among communication, language, and gender*, New York: State University of New York.
- Reiter, R.O, M.A. (2000). *Linguistic politeness in Britain and Uruguay: a contrastive study of requests and apologies*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins publishing.

- Reiter, R.O, M.A. (1984). *Linguistic politeness in Britain and Uruguay: a contrastive study of requests and apologies*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins publishing.
- Rosenberg, M.A (2015). *Non violent communication: a language of life*, (3ed ed.) New York: Puddledancer press.
- Salem, E. (2000). Politeness strategies in the speech of male and female students at Jordanian Universities. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University, Jordan.
- Tannen, D. (1984) *Conversational Style: Analyzing talk among friends*. Norwood: Albex.
- Tannen, Deborah (1990). **You just don't understand: women and men in conversation**, New York: Quill
- Tannen, Deborah (1993). *Gender and conversational interaction*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Taneen, Deborah (1994), **Gender and discourse**, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Trudgill, P.E. (2000). *Sociolinguistics: an introduction to language and society*, (4th ed), England: Penguin group.
- The Washington Post, (2016). When Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump Will Debate. *THE WASHINGTON POST* (On-Line), available:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/2016-election/presidential-debate-schedule/>

- Wang, Po-Ya, Angela, (2013). A Quantitative and Qualitative Study Based on Twitter. (unpublished thesis), National Taiwan University, Taiwan, China.
- Wodak, Ru, (1997). *Gender and discourse*, London: Sage publications
- West, C. and Zimmerman, D. (1983) “*small insults: a study of interruptions in cross- sex conversations between unacquainted persons*’. In Thorne, B., Kramarae, C. And Henley, N (eds) (1983) *Language, Gender and Society*. Rowley: Newbury House. 103- 17.
- Zimmerman, D. H., West, C. (1975). **Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversation**. In Thorne, B., Henley, N. (eds.), **Language and sex: Difference and dominance** (pp. 105–129). Rowley, MA: Newbury House

**Appendices
Appendix (A)**

The Validation Letter

Dear Professors:

My name is Rahaf Ali. I am a graduate student at Middle East University for Graduate Studies. My supervisor; Dr. Nadia Tareq, has recommended your name to serve as a member of the panel of jurors for the test instrument I am using for my M.A thesis entitled:

A Sociolinguistic Study on the Effect of Politeness on Gender and Communication in the Presidential Debates between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton for the year of 2016\2017

Please find the attached checklist which is supposed to answer the following two research questions:

| | Interruption | Rude responses | Sarcasm | Total |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------|
| First debate Monday Sep.26th.2016 | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | |
| Donald Trump | | | | |
| Hilary Clinton | | | | |
| Second debate Sunday Oct.9th.2016 | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | |
| Donald Trump | | | | |
| Hilary Clinton | | | | |
| Third debate Wednesday Oct.19th.2016 | | | | |
| Percentages % | | | | |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Donald Trump | | | | |
| Hilary Clinton | | | | |

Q1 - What is the effect of politeness on gender and communication?

Q2 - What are the differences in the use of language between female and male respondents?

Kindly review the checklist hoping to provide me with your comments, notes and recommendations on the adequacy of the content and its suitability to measure what is intended to be measured. Once again, thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Panel of experts

| Name | University | Specialization |
|---------------------------|-------------------|---|
| Prof. Dr. Omar Atari | Petra University | Methods in Teaching English, linguistics, literature. |
| Dr.Majed Abdellatif | MEU University | Linguistics |
| Dr. Mohammad Haj Mohammad | MEU University | Literature |
| Dr. Norma Al- Zayed | MEU University | Literature |
| Dr. Majed Al Najjar | Petra University | Translation and Linguistics |

Appendix (B)
First presidential debate
TRANSCRIPT

CLINTON: How are you, Donald?

CLINTON: Well, thank you, Lester, and thanks to Hofstra for hosting us.

The central question in this election is really what kind of country we want to be and what kind of future we'll build together. Today is my granddaughter's second birthday, so I think about this a lot. First, we have to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top. That means we need new jobs, good jobs, with rising incomes.

I want us to invest in you. I want us to invest in your future. That means jobs in infrastructure, in advanced manufacturing, innovation and technology, clean, renewable energy, and small business, because most of the new jobs will come from small business. We also have to make the economy fairer. That starts with raising the national minimum wage and also guarantee, finally, equal pay for women's work. I also want to see more companies do profit-sharing. If you help create the profits, you should be able to share in them, not just the executives at the top.

And I want us to do more to support people who are struggling to balance family and work. I've heard from so many of you about the difficult choices you face and the stresses that you're under. So let's have paid family leave, earned sick days. Let's be sure we have affordable child care and debt-free college.

How are we going to do it? We're going to do it by having the wealthy pay their fair share and close the corporate loopholes.

Finally, we tonight are on the stage together, Donald Trump and I. Donald, it's good to be with you. We're going to have a debate where we are talking about the important issues facing our country. You have to judge us, who can shoulder the immense, awesome responsibilities of the presidency, who can put into action the plans that will make your life better. I hope that I will be able to earn your vote on November 8th.

TRUMP: Thank you, Lester. Our jobs are fleeing the country. They're going to Mexico. They're going to many other countries. You look at what China is doing to our country in terms of making our product. They're devaluing their currency, and there's nobody in our government to fight them. And we have a very good fight. And we have a winning fight. Because they're using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other countries are doing the same thing.

So we're losing our good jobs, so many of them. When you look at what's happening in Mexico, a friend of mine who builds plants said it's the eighth wonder of the world. They're building some of the biggest plants anywhere in the world, some of the most sophisticated, some of the best plants. With the United States, as he said, not so much.

So Ford is leaving. You see that, their small car division leaving. Thousands of jobs leaving Michigan, leaving Ohio. They're all leaving. And we can't allow it to happen anymore. As far as child care is concerned and so many other things, I think Hillary and I agree on that. We probably

disagree a little bit as to numbers and amounts and what we're going to do, but perhaps we'll be talking about that later.

But we have to stop our jobs from being stolen from us. We have to stop our companies from leaving the United States and, with it, firing all of their people. All you have to do is take a look at Carrier air conditioning in Indianapolis. They left -- fired 1,400 people. They're going to Mexico. So many hundreds and hundreds of companies are doing this. We cannot let it happen. Under my plan, I'll be reducing taxes tremendously, from 35 percent to 15 percent for companies, small and big businesses. That's going to be a job creator like we haven't seen since Ronald Reagan. It's going to be a beautiful thing to watch.

Companies will come. They will build. They will expand. New companies will start. And I look very, very much forward to doing it. We have to renegotiate our trade deals, and we have to stop these countries from stealing our companies and our jobs.

.
CLINTON: Well, I think that trade is an important issue. Of course, we are 5 percent of the world's population; we have to trade with the other 95 percent. And we need to have smart, fair trade deals.

We also, though, need to have a tax system that rewards work and not just financial transactions. And the kind of plan that Donald has put forth would be trickle-down economics all over again. In fact, it would be the most extreme version, the biggest tax cuts for the top percent of the people in this country than we've ever had.

I call it trumped-up trickle-down, because that's exactly what it would be. That is not how we grow the economy.

We just have a different view about what's best for growing the economy, how we make investments that will actually produce jobs and rising incomes.

I think we come at it from somewhat different perspectives. I understand that. You know, Donald was very fortunate in his life, and that's all to his benefit. He started his business with \$14 million, borrowed from his father, and he really believes that the more you help wealthy people, the better off we'll be and that everything will work out from there.

I don't buy that. I have a different experience. My father was a small-businessman. He worked really hard. He printed drapery fabrics on long tables, where he pulled out those fabrics and he went down with a silkscreen and dumped the paint in and took the squeegee and kept going.

And so what I believe is the more we can do for the middle class, the more we can invest in you, your education, your skills, your future, the better we will be off and the better we'll grow. That's the kind of economy I want us to see again.

.
TRUMP: Well, for one thing -- and before we start on that -- my father gave me a very small loan in 1975, and I built it into a company that's worth many, many billions of dollars, with some of the greatest assets in the world, and I say that only because that's the kind of thinking that our country needs.

Our country's in deep trouble. We don't know what we're doing when it comes to devaluations and all of these countries all over the world, especially China. They're the best, the best ever at it. What they're doing to us is a very, very sad thing.

So we have to do that. We have to renegotiate our trade deals. And, Lester, they're taking our jobs, they're giving incentives, they're doing things that, frankly, we don't do.

Let me give you the example of Mexico. They have a VAT tax. We're on a different system. When we sell into Mexico, there's a tax. When they sell in -- automatic, 16 percent, approximately. When they sell into us, there's no tax. It's a defective agreement. It's been defective for a long time, many years, but the politicians haven't done anything about it.

Now, in all fairness to Secretary Clinton -- yes, is that OK? Good. I want you to be very happy. It's very important to me.

But in all fairness to Secretary Clinton, when she started talking about this, it was really very recently. She's been doing this for 30 years. And why hasn't she made the agreements better? The NAFTA agreement is defective. Just because of the tax and many other reasons, but just because of the fact...

.
TRUMP: Secretary Clinton and others, politicians, should have been doing this for years, not right now, because of the fact that we've created a movement. They should have been doing this for years. What's happened to our jobs and our country and our economy generally is -- look, we owe \$20 trillion. We cannot do it any longer, Lester.

.
TRUMP: Well, the first thing you do is don't let the jobs leave. The companies are leaving. I could name, I mean, there are thousands of them. They're leaving, and they're leaving in bigger numbers than ever.

And what you do is you say, fine, you want to go to Mexico or some other country, good luck. We wish you a lot of luck. But if you think you're going to make your air conditioners or your cars or your cookies or whatever you make and bring them into our country without a tax, you're wrong.

And once you say you're going to have to tax them coming in, and our politicians never do this, because they have special interests and the special interests want those companies to leave, because in many cases, they own the companies. So what I'm saying is, we can stop them from leaving. We have to stop them from leaving. And that's a big, big factor.

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

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

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

.
CLINTON: Nine million people -- nine million people lost their jobs. Five million people lost their homes. And \$13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out.

Now, we have come back from that abyss. And it has not been easy. So we're now on the precipice of having a potentially much better economy, but the last thing we need to do is to go back to the policies that failed us in the first place.

Independent experts have looked at what I've proposed and looked at what Donald's proposed, and basically they've said this, that if his tax plan, which would blow up the debt by over \$5 trillion and would in some instances disadvantage middle-class families compared to the wealthy, were to go into effect, we would lose 3.5 million jobs and maybe have another recession.

They've looked at my plans and they've said, OK, if we can do this, and I intend to get it done, we will have 10 million more new jobs, because we will be making investments where we can grow the economy. Take clean energy. Some country is going to be the clean-energy superpower of the 21st century. Donald thinks that climate change is a hoax perpetrated by the Chinese. I think it's real.

.TRUMP: I did not. I did not. I do not say that.

.CLINTON: I think science is real.

.TRUMP: I do not say that.

.CLINTON: And I think it's important that we grip this and deal with it, both at home and abroad. And here's what we can do. We can deploy a half a billion more solar panels. We can have enough clean energy to power every home. We can build a new modern electric grid. That's a lot of jobs; that's a lot of new economic activity.

So I've tried to be very specific about what we can and should do, and I am determined that we're going to get the economy really moving again, building on the progress we've made over the last eight years, but never going back to what got us in trouble in the first place.

.TRUMP: She talks about solar panels. We invested in a solar company, our country. That was a disaster. They lost plenty of money on that one.

Now, look, I'm a great believer in all forms of energy, but we're putting a lot of people out of work. Our energy policies are a disaster. Our country is losing so much in terms of energy, in terms of paying off our debt. You can't do what you're looking to do with \$20 trillion in debt.

The Obama administration, from the time they've come in, is over 230 years' worth of debt, and he's topped it. He's doubled it in a course of almost eight years, seven-and-a-half years, to be semi-exact.

So I will tell you this. We have to do a much better job at keeping our jobs. And we have to do a much better job at giving companies incentives to build new companies or to expand, because they're not doing it.

And all you have to do is look at Michigan and look at Ohio and look at all of these places where so many of their jobs and their companies are just leaving, they're gone.

And, Hillary, I'd just ask you this. You've been doing this for 30 years. Why are you just thinking about these solutions right now? For 30 years, you've been doing it, and now you're just starting to think of solutions.

.CLINTON: Well, actually...

.TRUMP: I will bring -- excuse me. I will bring back jobs. You can't bring back jobs.

.CLINTON: Well, actually, I have thought about this quite a bit.

.TRUMP: Yeah, for 30 years.

.CLINTON: And I have -- well, not quite that long. I think my husband did a pretty good job in the 1990s. I think a lot about what worked and how we can make it work again...

.TRUMP: Well, he approved NAFTA...

.CLINTON: ... million new jobs, a balanced budget...

.TRUMP: He approved NAFTA, which is the single worst trade deal ever approved in this country.

.CLINTON: Incomes went up for everybody. Manufacturing jobs went up also in the 1990s, if we're actually going to look at the facts.

When I was in the Senate, I had a number of trade deals that came before me, and I held them all to the same test. Will they create jobs in America? Will they raise incomes in America? And are they good for our national security? Some of them I voted for. The biggest one, a multinational one known as CAFTA, I voted against. And because I hold the same standards as I look at all of these trade deals.

But let's not assume that trade is the only challenge we have in the economy. I think it is a part of it, and I've said what I'm going to do. I'm going to have a special prosecutor. We're going to enforce the trade deals we have, and we're going to hold people accountable.

When I was secretary of state, we actually increased American exports globally 30 percent. We increased them to China 50 percent. So I know how to really work to get new jobs and to get exports that helped to create more new jobs.

.TRUMP: But you haven't done it in 30 years or 26 years or any number you want to...

.CLINTON: Well, I've been a senator, Donald...

.TRUMP: You haven't done it. You haven't done it.

.CLINTON: And I have been a secretary of state...

.TRUMP: Excuse me.

.CLINTON: And I have done a lot...

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

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

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

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

.CLINTON: Well, that is just not accurate. I was against it once it was finally negotiated and the terms were laid out. I wrote about that in...

.TRUMP: You called it the gold standard.

.TRUMP: You called it the gold standard of trade deals. You said it's the finest deal you've ever seen.

.CLINTON: No.

.TRUMP: And then you heard what I said about it, and all of a sudden you were against it.

.CLINTON: Well, Donald, I know you live in your own reality, but that is not the facts. The facts are -- I did say I hoped it would be a good deal, but when it was negotiated...

.TRUMP: Not.

.CLINTON: ... which I was not responsible for, I concluded it wasn't. I wrote about that in my book...

.TRUMP: So is it President Obama's fault?

.CLINTON: ... before you even announced.

.TRUMP: Is it President Obama's fault?

.CLINTON: Look, there are differences...

.TRUMP: Secretary, is it President Obama's fault?

.CLINTON: There are...

.TRUMP: Because he's pushing it.

.CLINTON: There are different views about what's good for our country, our economy, and our leadership in the world. And I think it's important to look at what we need to do to get the economy going again. That's why I said new jobs with rising incomes, investments, not in more tax cuts that would add \$5 trillion to the debt.

.TRUMP: But you have no plan.

.CLINTON: But in -- oh, but I do.

.TRUMP: Secretary, you have no plan.

CLINTON: In fact, I have written a book about it. It's called "Stronger Together." You can pick it up tomorrow at a bookstore...

TRUMP: That's about all you've...

TRUMP: That's about all you've...

CLINTON: ... or at an airport near you.

CLINTON: But it's because I see this -- we need to have strong growth, fair growth, sustained growth. We also have to look at how we help families balance the responsibilities at home and the responsibilities at business.

So we have a very robust set of plans. And people have looked at both of our plans, have concluded that mine would create 10 million jobs and yours would lose us 3.5 million jobs, and explode the debt which would have a recession.

TRUMP: You are going to approve one of the biggest tax cuts in history. You are going to approve one of the biggest tax increases in history. You are going to drive business out. Your regulations are a disaster, and you're going to increase regulations all over the place.

And by the way, my tax cut is the biggest since Ronald Reagan. I'm very proud of it. It will create tremendous numbers of new jobs. But regulations, you are going to regulate these businesses out of existence.

When I go around -- Lester, I tell you this, I've been all over. And when I go around, despite the tax cut, the thing -- the things that business as in people like the most is the fact that I'm cutting regulation. You have regulations on top of regulations, and new companies cannot form and old companies are going out of business. And you want to increase the regulations and make them even worse.

I'm going to cut regulations. I'm going to cut taxes big league, and you're going to raise taxes big league, end of story.

CLINTON: That can't -- that can't be left to stand.

CLINTON: I kind of assumed that there would be a lot of these charges and claims, and so...

TRUMP: Facts.

CLINTON: So we have taken the home page of my website, HillaryClinton.com, and we've turned it into a fact-checker. So if you want to see in real-time what the facts are, please go and take a look. Because what I have proposed...

TRUMP: And take a look at mine, also, and you'll see.

CLINTON: ... would not add a penny to the debt, and your plans would add \$5 trillion to the debt. What I have proposed would cut regulations and streamline them for small businesses. What I have proposed would be paid for by raising taxes on the wealthy, because they have made all the gains in the economy. And I think it's time that the wealthy and corporations paid their fair share to support this country.

TRUMP: Well, could I just finish -- I think I..

.

TRUMP: I think I should -- you go to her website, and you take a look at her website.

TRUMP: She's going to raise taxes \$1.3 trillion.

.

TRUMP: And look at her website. You know what? It's no difference than this. She's telling us how to fight ISIS. Just go to her website. She tells you how to fight ISIS on her website. I don't think General Douglas MacArthur would like that too much.

CLINTON: Well, at least I have a plan to fight ISIS.

.

TRUMP: No, no, you're telling the enemy everything you want to do.

CLINTON: No, we're not. No, we're not.

TRUMP: See, you're telling the enemy everything you want to do. No wonder you've been fighting -- no wonder you've been fighting ISIS your entire adult life.

CLINTON: That's a -- that's -- go to the -- please, fact checkers, get to work.

.

TRUMP: Well, I'm really calling for major jobs, because the wealthy are going create tremendous jobs. They're going to expand their companies. They're going to do a tremendous job.

I'm getting rid of the carried interest provision. And if you really look, it's not a tax -- it's really not a great thing for the wealthy. It's a great thing for the middle class. It's a great thing for companies to expand.

And when these people are going to put billions and billions of dollars into companies, and when they're going to bring \$2.5 trillion back from overseas, where they can't bring the money back, because politicians like Secretary Clinton won't allow them to bring the money back, because the taxes are so onerous, and the bureaucratic red tape, so what -- is so bad.

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

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

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

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

.
CLINTON: I have a feeling that by, the end of this evening, I'm going to be blamed for everything that's ever happened.

TRUMP: Why not?

CLINTON: Why not? Yeah, why not?

CLINTON:

You know, just join the debate by saying more crazy things. Now, let me say this, it is absolutely the case...

TRUMP: There's nothing crazy about not letting our companies bring their money back into their country.

.
TRUMP: Yes.

CLINTON: Yeah, well, let's start the clock again, Lester. We've looked at your tax proposals. I don't see changes in the corporate tax rates or the kinds of proposals you're referring to that would cause the repatriation, bringing back of money that's stranded overseas. I happen to support that.

TRUMP: Then you didn't read it.

CLINTON: I happen to -- I happen to support that in a way that will actually work to our benefit. But when I look at what you have proposed, you have what is called now the Trump loophole, because it would so advantage you and the business you do. You've proposed an approach that has a...

TRUMP: Who gave it that name? The first I've -- who gave it that name?

CLINTON: ... \$4 billion tax benefit for your family. And when you look at what you are proposing...

TRUMP: How much? How much for my family?

CLINTON: ... it is...

TRUMP: Lester, how much?

CLINTON: ... as I said, trumped-up trickle-down. Trickle-down did not work. It got us into the mess we were in, in 2008 and 2009. Slashing taxes on the wealthy hasn't worked.

And a lot of really smart, wealthy people know that. And they are saying, hey, we need to do more to make the contributions we should be making to rebuild the middle class. I don't think top-down works in America. I think building the middle class, investing in the middle class, making college debt-free so more young people can get their education, helping people refinance their -- their debt from college at a lower rate. Those are the kinds of things that will really boost the economy. Broad-based, inclusive growth is what we need in America, not more advantages for people at the very top.

.

TRUMP: Typical politician. All talk, no action. Sounds good, doesn't work. Never going to happen. Our country is suffering because people like Secretary Clinton have made such bad decisions in terms of our jobs and in terms of what's going on.

Now, look, we have the worst revival of an economy since the Great Depression. And believe me: We're in a bubble right now. And the only thing that looks good is the stock market, but if you raise interest rates even a little bit, that's going to come crashing down.

We are in a big, fat, ugly bubble. And we better be awfully careful. And we have a Fed that's doing political things. This Janet Yellen of the Fed. The Fed is doing political -- by keeping the interest rates at this level. And believe me: The day Obama goes off, and he leaves, and goes out to the golf course for the rest of his life to play golf, when they raise interest rates, you're going to see some very bad things happen, because the Fed is not doing their job. The Fed is being more political than Secretary Clinton.

TRUMP: I don't mind releasing -- I'm under a routine audit. And it'll be released. And -- as soon as the audit's finished, it will be released.

But you will learn more about Donald Trump by going down to the federal elections, where I filed a 104-page essentially financial statement of sorts, the forms that they have. It shows income -- in fact, the income -- I just looked today -- the income is filed at \$694 million for this past year, \$694 million. If you would have told me I was going to make that 15 or 20 years ago, I would have been very surprised.

But that's the kind of thinking that our country needs. When we have a country that's doing so badly, that's being ripped off by every single country in the world, it's the kind of thinking that our country needs, because everybody -- Lester, we have a trade deficit with all of the countries that we do business with, of almost \$800 billion a year. You know what that is? That means, who's negotiating these trade deals?

We have people that are political hacks negotiating our trade deals.

TRUMP: Excuse me.

TRUMP: Well, I told you, I will release them as soon as the audit. Look, I've been under audit almost for 15 years. I know a lot of wealthy people that have never been audited. I said, do you get audited? I get audited almost every year.

And in a way, I should be complaining. I'm not even complaining. I don't mind it. It's almost become a way of life. I get audited by the IRS. But other people don't.

I will say this. We have a situation in this country that has to be taken care of. I will release my tax returns -- against my lawyer's wishes -- when she releases her 33,000 e-mails that have been deleted. As soon as she releases them, I will release.

TRUMP:

I will release my tax returns. And that's against -- my lawyers, they say, "Don't do it." I will tell you this. No -- in fact, watching shows, they're reading the papers. Almost every lawyer says, you don't

release your returns until the audit's complete. When the audit's complete, I'll do it. But I would go against them if she releases her e-mails.

.
TRUMP: It's not negotiable, no. Let her release the e-mails. Why did she delete 33,000...

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

So you've got to ask yourself, why won't he release his tax returns? And I think there may be a couple of reasons. First, maybe he's not as rich as he says he is. Second, maybe he's not as charitable as he claims to be. Third, we don't know all of his business dealings, but we have been told through investigative reporting that he owes about \$650 million to Wall Street and foreign banks. Or maybe he doesn't want the American people, all of you watching tonight, to know that he's paid nothing in federal taxes, because the only years that anybody's ever seen were a couple of years when he had to turn them over to state authorities when he was trying to get a casino license, and they showed he didn't pay any federal income tax.

TRUMP: That makes me smart.

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

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

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

.
CLINTON: I do. You know, I made a mistake using a private e-mail.

TRUMP: That's for sure.

CLINTON: And if I had to do it over again, I would, obviously, do it differently. But I'm not going to make any excuses. It was a mistake, and I take responsibility for that.

.
TRUMP: That was more than a mistake. That was done purposely. OK? That was not a mistake. That was done purposely. When you have your staff taking the Fifth Amendment, taking the Fifth so they're not prosecuted, when you have the man that set up the illegal server taking the Fifth, I think it's disgraceful. And believe me, this country thinks it's -- really thinks it's disgraceful, also.

As far as my tax returns, you don't learn that much from tax returns. That I can tell you. You learn a lot from financial disclosure. And you should go down and take a look at that.

The other thing, I'm extremely underleveraged. The report that said \$650 -- which, by the way, a lot of friends of mine that know my business say, boy, that's really not a lot of money. It's not a lot of money relative to what I had.

The buildings that were in question, they said in the same report, which was -- actually, it wasn't even a bad story, to be honest with you, but the buildings are worth \$3.9 billion. And the \$650 isn't even on that. But it's not \$650. It's much less than that.

But I could give you a list of banks, I would -- if that would help you, I would give you a list of banks. These are very fine institutions, very fine banks. I could do that very quickly.

I am very underleveraged. I have a great company. I have a tremendous income. And the reason I say that is not in a braggadocios way. It's because it's about time that this country had somebody running it that has an idea about money.

When we have \$20 trillion in debt, and our country's a mess, you know, it's one thing to have \$20 trillion in debt and our roads are good and our bridges are good and everything's in great shape, our airports. Our airports are like from a third world country.

You land at LaGuardia, you land at Kennedy, you land at LAX, you land at Newark, and you come in from Dubai and Qatar and you see these incredible -- you come in from China, you see these incredible airports, and you land -- we've become a third world country.

So the worst of all things has happened. We owe \$20 trillion, and we're a mess. We haven't even started. And we've spent \$6 trillion in the Middle East, according to a report that I just saw. Whether it's 6 or 5, but it looks like it's 6, \$6 trillion in the Middle East, we could have rebuilt our country twice.

And it's really a shame. And it's politicians like Secretary Clinton that have caused this problem. Our country has tremendous problems. We're a debtor nation. We're a serious debtor nation. And we have a country that needs new roads, new tunnels, new bridges, new airports, new schools, new hospitals. And we don't have the money, because it's been squandered on so many of your ideas.

.
CLINTON: And maybe because you haven't paid any federal income tax for a lot of years.
 (APPLAUSE)

And the other thing I think is important...

.TRUMP: It would be squandered, too, believe me.

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

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

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

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

.CLINTON: Well, to...

.TRUMP: Which our country should do, too.

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

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

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

.TRUMP: Wrong. Wrong.

.CLINTON: Well, sometimes there's not a direct transfer of skills from business to government, but sometimes what happened in business would be really bad for government.

.CLINTON: And we need to be very clear about that.

.TRUMP: So, yeah, I think -- I do think it's time. Look, it's all words, it's all sound bites. I built an unbelievable company. Some of the greatest assets anywhere in the world, real estate assets anywhere in the world, beyond the United States, in Europe, lots of different places. It's an unbelievable company.

But on occasion, four times, we used certain laws that are there. And when Secretary Clinton talks about people that didn't get paid, first of all, they did get paid a lot, but taken advantage of the laws of the nation.

Now, if you want to change the laws, you've been there a long time, change the laws. But I take advantage of the laws of the nation because I'm running a company. My obligation right now is to do well for myself, my family, my employees, for my companies. And that's what I do.

But what she doesn't say is that tens of thousands of people that are unbelievably happy and that love me. I'll give you an example. We're just opening up on Pennsylvania Avenue right next to the White House, so if I don't get there one way, I'm going to get to Pennsylvania Avenue another.

But we're opening the Old Post Office. Under budget, ahead of schedule, saved tremendous money. I'm a year ahead of schedule. And that's what this country should be doing.

We build roads and they cost two and three and four times what they're supposed to cost. We buy products for our military and they come in at costs that are so far above what they were supposed to be, because we don't have people that know what they're doing.

When we look at the budget, the budget is bad to a large extent because we have people that have no idea as to what to do and how to buy. The Trump International is way under budget and way ahead of schedule. And we should be able to do that for our country.

.CLINTON: Well, you're right. Race remains a significant challenge in our country. Unfortunately, race still determines too much, often determines where people live, determines what kind of education in their public schools they can get, and, yes, it determines how they're treated in the criminal justice system. We've just seen those two tragic examples in both Tulsa and Charlotte.

And we've got to do several things at the same time. We have to restore trust between communities and the police. We have to work to make sure that our police are using the best training, the best techniques, that they're well prepared to use force only when necessary. Everyone should be respected by the law, and everyone should respect the law. Right now, that's not the case in a lot of our neighborhoods. So I have, ever since the first day of my campaign, called for criminal justice reform. I've laid out a platform that I think would begin to remedy some of the problems we have in the criminal justice system.

But we also have to recognize, in addition to the challenges that we face with policing, there are so many good, brave police officers who equally want reform. So we have to bring communities together in order to begin working on that as a mutual goal. And we've got to get guns out of the hands of people who should not have them.

The gun epidemic is the leading cause of death of young African- American men, more than the next nine causes put together. So we have to do two things, as I said. We have to restore trust. We have to work with the police. We have to make sure they respect the communities and the communities respect them. And we have to tackle the plague of gun violence, which is a big contributor to a lot of the problems that we're seeing today.

TRUMP: Well, first of all, Secretary Clinton doesn't want to use a couple of words, and that's law and order. And we need law and order. If we don't have it, we're not going to have a country.

And when I look at what's going on in Charlotte, a city I love, a city where I have investments, when I look at what's going on throughout various parts of our country, whether it's -- I mean, I can just keep naming them all day long -- we need law and order in our country.

I just got today the, as you know, the endorsement of the Fraternal Order of Police, we just -- just came in. We have endorsements from, I think, almost every police group, very -- I mean, a large percentage of them in the United States.

We have a situation where we have our inner cities, African- Americans, Hispanics are living in hell because it's so dangerous. You walk down the street, you get shot.

In Chicago, they've had thousands of shootings, thousands since January 1st. Thousands of shootings. And I'm saying, where is this? Is this a war-torn country? What are we doing? And we have to stop the violence. We have to bring back law and order. In a place like Chicago, where thousands of people have been killed, thousands over the last number of years, in fact, almost 4,000 have been killed since Barack Obama became president, over -- almost 4,000 people in Chicago have been killed. We have to bring back law and order.

Now, whether or not in a place like Chicago you do stop and frisk, which worked very well, Mayor Giuliani is here, worked very well in New York. It brought the crime rate way down. But you take the gun away from criminals that shouldn't be having it.

We have gangs roaming the street. And in many cases, they're illegally here, illegal immigrants. And they have guns. And they shoot people. And we have to be very strong. And we have to be very vigilant.

We have to be -- we have to know what we're doing. Right now, our police, in many cases, are afraid to do anything. We have to protect our inner cities, because African-American communities are being decimated by crime, decimated.

.
TRUMP: No, you're wrong. It went before a judge, who was a very against-police judge. It was taken away from her. And our mayor, our new mayor, refused to go forward with the case. They would have won an appeal. If you look at it, throughout the country, there are many places where it's allowed.

.
TRUMP: No, the argument is that we have to take the guns away from these people that have them and they are bad people that shouldn't have them.

These are felons. These are people that are bad people that shouldn't be -- when you have 3,000 shootings in Chicago from January 1st, when you have 4,000 people killed in Chicago by guns, from the beginning of the presidency of Barack Obama, his hometown, you have to have stop-and-frisk.

You need more police. You need a better community, you know, relation. You don't have good community relations in Chicago. It's terrible. I have property there. It's terrible what's going on in Chicago.

But when you look -- and Chicago's not the only -- you go to Ferguson, you go to so many different places. You need better relationships. I agree with Secretary Clinton on this. You need better relationships between the communities and the police, because in some cases, it's not good.

But you look at Dallas, where the relationships were really studied, the relationships were really a beautiful thing, and then five police officers were killed one night very violently. So there's some bad things going on. Some really bad things.

.
TRUMP: But we need -- Lester, we need law and order. And we need law and order in the inner cities, because the people that are most affected by what's happening are African-American and Hispanic people. And it's very unfair to them what our politicians are allowing to happen.

.
CLINTON: Well, I've heard -- I've heard Donald say this at his rallies, and it's really unfortunate that he paints such a dire negative picture of black communities in our country.

.
TRUMP: Ugh.

.
CLINTON: You know, the vibrancy of the black church, the black businesses that employ so many people, the opportunities that so many families are working to provide for their kids. There's a lot that we should be proud of and we should be supporting and lifting up.

But we do always have to make sure we keep people safe. There are the right ways of doing it, and then there are ways that are ineffective. Stop-and-frisk was found to be unconstitutional and, in part, because it was ineffective. It did not do what it needed to do.

Now, I believe in community policing. And, in fact, violent crime is one-half of what it was in 1991. Property crime is down 40 percent. We just don't want to see it creep back up. We've had 25 years of very good cooperation.

But there were some problems, some unintended consequences. Too many young African-American and Latino men ended up in jail for nonviolent offenses. And it's just a fact that if you're a young African-American man and you do the same thing as a young white man, you are more likely to be arrested, charged, convicted, and incarcerated. So we've got to address the systemic racism in our criminal justice system. We cannot just say law and order. We have to say -- we have to come forward with a plan that is going to divert people from the criminal justice system, deal with mandatory minimum sentences, which have put too many people away for too long for doing too little.

We need to have more second chance programs. I'm glad that we're ending private prisons in the federal system; I want to see them ended in the state system. You shouldn't have a profit motivation to fill prison cells with young Americans. So there are some positive ways we can work on this.

And I believe strongly that commonsense gun safety measures would assist us. Right now -- and this is something Donald has supported, along with the gun lobby -- right now, we've got too many military- style weapons on the streets. In a lot of places, our police are outgunned. We need comprehensive background checks, and we need to keep guns out of the hands of those who will do harm.

And we finally need to pass a prohibition on anyone who's on the terrorist watch list from being able to buy a gun in our country. If you're too dangerous to fly, you are too dangerous to buy a gun. So there are things we can do, and we ought to do it in a bipartisan way.

.
CLINTON: Lester, I think implicit bias is a problem for everyone, not just police. I think, unfortunately, too many of us in our great country jump to conclusions about each other. And therefore, I think we need all of us to be asking hard questions about, you know, why am I feeling this way?

But when it comes to policing, since it can have literally fatal consequences, I have said, in my first budget, we would put money into that budget to help us deal with implicit bias by retraining a lot of our police officers.

I've met with a group of very distinguished, experienced police chiefs a few weeks ago. They admit it's an issue. They've got a lot of concerns. Mental health is one of the biggest concerns, because now police are having to handle a lot of really difficult mental health problems on the street. They want support, they want more training, they want more assistance. And I think the federal government could be in a position where we would offer and provide that.

.
TRUMP: I'd like to respond to that.

.
TRUMP: First of all, I agree, and a lot of people even within my own party want to give certain rights to people on watch lists and no-fly lists. I agree with you. When a person is on a watch list or a no-fly list, and I have the endorsement of the NRA, which I'm very proud of. These are very, very good people, and they're protecting the Second Amendment.

But I think we have to look very strongly at no-fly lists and watch lists. And when people are on there, even if they shouldn't be on there, we'll help them, we'll help them legally, we'll help them get off. But I tend to agree with that quite strongly.

I do want to bring up the fact that you were the one that brought up the words super-predator about young black youth. And that's a term that I think was a -- it's -- it's been horribly met, as you know. I think you've apologized for it. But I think it was a terrible thing to say.

And when it comes to stop-and-frisk, you know, you're talking about takes guns away. Well, I'm talking about taking guns away from gangs and people that use them. And I don't think -- I really don't think you disagree with me on this, if you want to know the truth.

I think maybe there's a political reason why you can't say it, but I really don't believe -- in New York City, stop-and-frisk, we had 2,200 murders, and stop-and-frisk brought it down to 500 murders. Five hundred murders is a lot of murders. It's hard to believe, 500 is like supposed to be good?

But we went from 2,200 to 500. And it was continued on by Mayor Bloomberg. And it was terminated by current mayor. But stop-and-frisk had a tremendous impact on the safety of New York City. Tremendous beyond belief. So when you say it has no impact, it really did. It had a very, very big impact.

.CLINTON: Well, it's also fair to say, if we're going to talk about mayors, that under the current mayor, crime has continued to drop, including murders. So there is...

.TRUMP: No, you're wrong. You're wrong

.CLINTON: No, I'm not.

.TRUMP: Murders are up. All right. You check it.

.CLINTON: New York -- New York has done an excellent job. And I give credit -- I give credit across the board going back two mayors, two police chiefs, because it has worked. And other communities need to come together to do what will work, as well.

Look, one murder is too many. But it is important that we learn about what has been effective. And not go to things that sound good that really did not have the kind of impact that we would want. Who disagrees with keeping neighborhoods safe?

But let's also add, no one should disagree about respecting the rights of young men who live in those neighborhoods. And so we need to do a better job of working, again, with the communities, faith communities, business communities, as well as the police to try to deal with this problem.

.

.TRUMP: I'd like to just respond, if I might.

.TRUMP: I'd just like to respond.

.

.TRUMP: I will. Look, the African-American community has been let down by our politicians. They talk good around election time, like right now, and after the election, they said, see ya later, I'll see you in four years.

The African-American community -- because -- look, the community within the inner cities has been so badly treated. They've been abused and used in order to get votes by Democrat politicians, because that's what it is. They've controlled these communities for up to 100 years.

.CLINTON: Well, I -- I do think...

.TRUMP: And I will tell you, you look at the inner cities -- and I just left Detroit, and I just left Philadelphia, and I just -- you know, you've seen me, I've been all over the place. You decided to stay home, and that's OK. But I will tell you, I've been all over. And I've met some of the greatest

people I'll ever meet within these communities. And they are very, very upset with what their politicians have told them and what their politicians have done.

.
CLINTON: I think -- I think -- I think Donald just criticized me for preparing for this debate. And, yes, I did. And you know what else I prepared for? I prepared to be president. And I think that's a good thing.

TRUMP: I'll tell you very -- well, just very simple to say. Sidney Blumenthal works for the campaign and close -- very close friend of Secretary Clinton. And her campaign manager, Patti Doyle, went to -- during the campaign, her campaign against President Obama, fought very hard. And you can go look it up, and you can check it out. And if you look at CNN this past week, Patti Solis Doyle was on Wolf Blitzer saying that this happened. Blumenthal sent McClatchy, highly respected reporter at McClatchy, to Kenya to find out about it. They were pressing it very hard. She failed to get the birth certificate.

When I got involved, I didn't fail. I got him to give the birth certificate. So I'm satisfied with it. And I'll tell you why I'm satisfied with it.

.
TRUMP: Because I want to get on to defeating ISIS, because I want to get on to creating jobs, because I want to get on to having a strong border, because I want to get on to things that are very important to me and that are very important to the country.

.
TRUMP: Yeah.

.
TRUMP: Well, nobody was pressing it, nobody was caring much about it. I figured you'd ask the question tonight, of course. But nobody was caring much about it. But I was the one that got him to produce the birth certificate. And I think I did a good job.

Secretary Clinton also fought it. I mean, you know -- now, everybody in mainstream is going to say, oh, that's not true. Look, it's true. Sidney Blumenthal sent a reporter -- you just have to take a look at CNN, the last week, the interview with your former campaign manager. And she was involved. But just like she can't bring back jobs, she can't produce.

.
TRUMP: Well, it was very -- I say nothing. I say nothing, because I was able to get him to produce it. He should have produced it a long time before. I say nothing.

But let me just tell you. When you talk about healing, I think that I've developed very, very good relationships over the last little while with the African-American community. I think you can see that.

And I feel that they really wanted me to come to that conclusion. And I think I did a great job and a great service not only for the country, but even for the president, in getting him to produce his birth certificate.

.
CLINTON: Well, just listen to what you heard.

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

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

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

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

But I like to remember what Michelle Obama said in her amazing speech at our Democratic National Convention: When they go low, we go high. And Barack Obama went high, despite Donald Trump's best efforts to bring him down.

TRUMP: I would love to respond. First of all, I got to watch in preparing for this some of your debates against Barack Obama. You treated him with terrible disrespect. And I watched the way you talk now about how lovely everything is and how wonderful you are. It doesn't work that way. You were after him, you were trying to -- you even sent out or your campaign sent out pictures of him in a certain garb, very famous pictures. I don't think you can deny that.

But just last week, your campaign manager said it was true. So when you tried to act holier than thou, it really doesn't work. It really doesn't.

Now, as far as the lawsuit, yes, when I was very young, I went into my father's company, had a real estate company in Brooklyn and Queens, and we, along with many, many other companies throughout the country -- it was a federal lawsuit -- were sued. We settled the suit with zero -- with no admission of guilt. It was very easy to do. I notice you bring that up a lot. And, you know, I also notice the very nasty commercials that you do on me in so many different ways, which I don't do on you. Maybe I'm trying to save the money.

But, frankly, I look -- I look at that, and I say, isn't that amazing? Because I settled that lawsuit with no admission of guilt, but that was a lawsuit brought against many real estate firms, and it's just one of those things.

I'll go one step further. In Palm Beach, Florida, tough community, a brilliant community, a wealthy community, probably the wealthiest community there is in the world, I opened a club, and really got great credit for it. No discrimination against African-Americans, against Muslims, against anybody. And it's a tremendously successful club. And I'm so glad I did it. And I have been given great credit for what I did. And I'm very, very proud of it. And that's the way I feel. That is the true way I feel.

CLINTON: Well, I think cyber security, cyber warfare will be one of the biggest challenges facing the next president, because clearly we're facing at this point two different kinds of adversaries. There are the independent hacking groups that do it mostly for commercial reasons to try to steal information that they can use to make money.

But increasingly, we are seeing cyber attacks coming from states, organs of states. The most recent and troubling of these has been Russia. There's no doubt now that Russia has used cyber attacks against all kinds of organizations in our country, and I am deeply concerned about this. I know Donald's very praiseworthy of Vladimir Putin, but Putin is playing a really...

CLINTON: ... tough, long game here. And one of the things he's done is to let loose cyber attackers to hack into government files, to hack into personal files, hack into the Democratic National Committee. And we recently have learned that, you know, that this is one of their preferred methods of trying to wreak havoc and collect information. We need to make it very clear -- whether it's Russia, China, Iran or anybody else -- the United States has much greater capacity. And we are not going to sit idly by and permit state actors to go after our information, our private-sector information or our public-sector information.

And we're going to have to make it clear that we don't want to use the kinds of tools that we have. We don't want to engage in a different kind of warfare. But we will defend the citizens of this country.

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

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

TRUMP: I do want to say that I was just endorsed -- and more are coming next week -- it will be over 200 admirals, many of them here -- admirals and generals endorsed me to lead this country. That just happened, and many more are coming. And I'm very proud of it.

In addition, I was just endorsed by ICE. They've never endorsed anybody before on immigration. I was just endorsed by ICE. I was just recently endorsed -- 16,500 Border Patrol agents.

So when Secretary Clinton talks about this, I mean, I'll take the admirals and I'll take the generals any day over the political hacks that I see that have led our country so brilliantly over the last 10 years with their knowledge. OK? Because look at the mess that we're in. Look at the mess that we're in.

As far as the cyber, I agree to parts of what Secretary Clinton said. We should be better than anybody else, and perhaps we're not. I don't think anybody knows it was Russia that broke into the DNC. She's saying Russia, Russia, Russia, but I don't -- maybe it was. I mean, it could be Russia, but it could also be China. It could also be lots of other people. It also could be somebody sitting on their bed that weighs 400 pounds, OK? You don't know who broke in to DNC.

But what did we learn with DNC? We learned that Bernie Sanders was taken advantage of by your people, by Debbie Wasserman Schultz. Look what happened to her. But Bernie Sanders was taken advantage of. That's what we learned.

Now, whether that was Russia, whether that was China, whether it was another country, we don't know, because the truth is, under President Obama we've lost control of things that we used to have control over.

We came in with the Internet, we came up with the Internet, and I think Secretary Clinton and myself would agree very much, when you look at what ISIS is doing with the Internet, they're beating us at our own game. ISIS.

So we have to get very, very tough on cyber and cyber warfare. It is -- it is a huge problem. I have a son. He's 10 years old. He has computers. He is so good with these computers, it's unbelievable. The security aspect of cyber is very, very tough. And maybe it's hardly doable.

But I will say, we are not doing the job we should be doing. But that's true throughout our whole governmental society. We have so many things that we have to do better, Lester, and certainly cyber is one of them.

CLINTON: Well, I think there are a number of issues that we should be addressing. I have put forth a plan to defeat ISIS. It does involve going after them online. I think we need to do much more with our tech companies to prevent ISIS and their operatives from being able to use the Internet to radicalize, even direct people in our country and Europe and elsewhere.

But we also have to intensify our air strikes against ISIS and eventually support our Arab and Kurdish partners to be able to actually take out ISIS in Raqqa, end their claim of being a Caliphate.

We're making progress. Our military is assisting in Iraq. And we're hoping that within the year we'll be able to push ISIS out of Iraq and then, you know, really squeeze them in Syria.

But we have to be cognizant of the fact that they've had foreign fighters coming to volunteer for them, foreign money, foreign weapons, so we have to make this the top priority.

And I would also do everything possible to take out their leadership. I was involved in a number of efforts to take out Al Qaida leadership when I was secretary of state, including, of course, taking out bin Laden. And I think we need to go after Baghdadi, as well, make that one of our organizing principles. Because we've got to defeat ISIS, and we've got to do everything we can to disrupt their propaganda efforts online.

TRUMP: Well, first I have to say one thing, very important. Secretary Clinton is talking about taking out ISIS. "We will take out ISIS." Well, President Obama and Secretary Clinton created a vacuum the way they got out of Iraq, because they got out -- what, they shouldn't have been in, but once they got in, the way they got out was a disaster. And ISIS was formed.

So she talks about taking them out. She's been doing it a long time. She's been trying to take them out for a long time. But they wouldn't have even been formed if they left some troops behind, like 10,000 or maybe something more than that. And then you wouldn't have had them.

Or, as I've been saying for a long time, and I think you'll agree, because I said it to you once, had we taken the oil -- and we should have taken the oil -- ISIS would not have been able to form either, because the oil was their primary source of income. And now they have the oil all over the place, including the oil -- a lot of the oil in Libya, which was another one of her disasters.

.
CLINTON: Well, I hope the fact-checkers are turning up the volume and really working hard. Donald supported the invasion of Iraq.

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: That is absolutely proved over and over again.

TRUMP: Wrong. Wrong.

CLINTON: He actually advocated for the actions we took in Libya and urged that Gadhafi be taken out, after actually doing some business with him one time. But the larger point -- and he says this constantly -- is George W. Bush made the agreement about when American troops would leave Iraq, not Barack Obama.

And the only way that American troops could have stayed in Iraq is to get an agreement from the then-Iraqi government that would have protected our troops, and the Iraqi government would not give that.

But let's talk about the question you asked, Lester. The question you asked is, what do we do here in the United States? That's the most important part of this. How do we prevent attacks? How do we protect our people?

And I think we've got to have an intelligence surge, where we are looking for every scrap of information. I was so proud of law enforcement in New York, in Minnesota, in New Jersey. You know, they responded so quickly, so professionally to the attacks that occurred by Rahami. And they brought him down. And we may find out more information because he is still alive, which may prove to be an intelligence benefit.

So we've got to do everything we can to vacuum up intelligence from Europe, from the Middle East. That means we've got to work more closely with our allies, and that's something that Donald has been very dismissive of.

We're working with NATO, the longest military alliance in the history of the world, to really turn our attention to terrorism. We're working with our friends in the Middle East, many of which, as you know, are Muslim majority nations. Donald has consistently insulted Muslims abroad, Muslims at home, when we need to be cooperating with Muslim nations and with the American Muslim community.

They're on the front lines. They can provide information to us that we might not get anywhere else. They need to have close working cooperation with law enforcement in these communities, not be alienated and pushed away as some of Donald's rhetoric, unfortunately, has led to.

.
TRUMP: Well, I have to respond.

.
TRUMP: The secretary said very strongly about working with -- we've been working with them for many years, and we have the greatest mess anyone's ever seen. You look at the Middle East, it's a total mess. Under your direction, to a large extent.

But you look at the Middle East, you started the Iran deal, that's another beauty where you have a country that was ready to fall, I mean, they were doing so badly. They were choking on the sanctions. And now they're going to be actually probably a major power at some point pretty soon, the way they're going.

But when you look at NATO, I was asked on a major show, what do you think of NATO? And you have to understand, I'm a businessperson. I did really well. But I have common sense. And I said, well, I'll tell you. I haven't given lots of thought to NATO. But two things.

Number one, the 28 countries of NATO, many of them aren't paying their fair share. Number two -- and that bothers me, because we should be asking -- we're defending them, and they should at least be paying us what they're supposed to be paying by treaty and contract.

And, number two, I said, and very strongly, NATO could be obsolete, because -- and I was very strong on this, and it was actually covered very accurately in the New York Times, which is unusual for the New York Times, to be honest -- but I said, they do not focus on terror. And I was very strong. And I said it numerous times.

And about four months ago, I read on the front page of the Wall Street Journal that NATO is opening up a major terror division. And I think that's great. And I think we should get -- because we pay approximately 73 percent of the cost of NATO. It's a lot of money to protect other people. But I'm all for NATO. But I said they have to focus on terror, also.

And they're going to do that. And that was -- believe me -- I'm sure I'm not going to get credit for it -- but that was largely because of what I was saying and my criticism of NATO.

I think we have to get NATO to go into the Middle East with us, in addition to surrounding nations, and we have to knock the hell out of ISIS, and we have to do it fast, when ISIS formed in this vacuum created by Barack Obama and Secretary Clinton. And believe me, you were the ones that took out the troops. Not only that, you named the day. They couldn't believe it. They sat back probably and said, I can't believe it. They said...

.CLINTON: Lester, we've covered...

.TRUMP: No, wait a minute.

.CLINTON: We've covered this ground.

.TRUMP: When they formed, when they formed, this is something that never should have happened. It should have never happened. Now, you're talking about taking out ISIS. But you were there, and you were secretary of state when it was a little infant. Now it's in over 30 countries. And you're going to stop them? I don't think so.

.

.TRUMP: I did not support the war in Iraq.

.

.TRUMP: That is a mainstream media nonsense put out by her, because she -- frankly, I think the best person in her campaign is mainstream media.

.

.TRUMP: Just -- would you like to hear...

.

.TRUMP: Wait a minute. I was against the war in Iraq. Just so you put it out.

.

.TRUMP: The record does not show that.

.

.TRUMP: The record shows that I'm right. When I did an interview with Howard Stern, very lightly, first time anyone's asked me that, I said, very lightly, I don't know, maybe, who knows? Essentially. I then did an interview with Neil Cavuto. We talked about the economy is more important. I then

spoke to Sean Hannity, which everybody refuses to call Sean Hannity. I had numerous conversations with Sean Hannity at Fox. And Sean Hannity said -- and he called me the other day -- and I spoke to him about it -- he said you were totally against the war, because he was for the war.

.
TRUMP: And when he -- excuse me. And that was before the war started. Sean Hannity said very strongly to me and other people -- he's willing to say it, but nobody wants to call him. I was against the war. He said, you used to have fights with me, because Sean was in favor of the war.

And I understand that side, also, not very much, because we should have never been there. But nobody called Sean Hannity. And then they did an article in a major magazine, shortly after the war started. I think in '04. But they did an article which had me totally against the war in Iraq.

And one of your compatriots said, you know, whether it was before or right after, Trump was definitely -- because if you read this article, there's no doubt. But if somebody -- and I'll ask the press -- if somebody would call up Sean Hannity, this was before the war started. He and I used to have arguments about the war. I said, it's a terrible and a stupid thing. It's going to destabilize the Middle East. And that's exactly what it's done. It's been a disaster.

.
TRUMP: No, no. You didn't hear what I said.

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

.
TRUMP:

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

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

.
CLINTON: Whew, OK.

.
CLINTON:

Let's talk about two important issues that were briefly mentioned by Donald, first, NATO. You know, NATO as a military alliance has something called Article 5, and basically it says this: An attack on one is an attack on all. And you know the only time it's ever been invoked? After 9/11, when the 28 nations of NATO said that they would go to Afghanistan with us to fight terrorism, something that they still are doing by our side.

With respect to Iran, when I became secretary of state, Iran was weeks away from having enough nuclear material to form a bomb. They had mastered the nuclear fuel cycle under the Bush administration. They had built covert facilities. They had stocked them with centrifuges that were whirling away.

And we had sanctioned them. I voted for every sanction against Iran when I was in the Senate, but it wasn't enough. So I spent a year-and-a-half putting together a coalition that included Russia and China to impose the toughest sanctions on Iran.

And we did drive them to the negotiating table. And my successor, John Kerry, and President Obama got a deal that put a lid on Iran's nuclear program without firing a single shot. That's diplomacy. That's coalition-building. That's working with other nations.

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

.TRUMP: That would not start a war.

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

.TRUMP: No, they were taunting us.

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

.TRUMP: Wrong.

.CLINTON: ... have a good time, folks.

.TRUMP: It's lies.

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

.TRUMP: That line's getting a little bit old, I must say. I would like to...

.CLINTON: It's a good one, though. It well describes the problem.

.

.TRUMP: It's not an accurate one at all. It's not an accurate one. So I just want to give a lot of things -- and just to respond. I agree with her on one thing. The single greatest problem the world has is nuclear armament, nuclear weapons, not global warming, like you think and your -- your president thinks.

Nuclear is the single greatest threat. Just to go down the list, we defend Japan, we defend Germany, we defend South Korea, we defend Saudi Arabia, we defend countries. They do not pay us. But they should be paying us, because we are providing tremendous service and we're losing a fortune. That's why we're losing -- we're losing -- we lose on everything. I say, who makes these -- we lose on everything. All I said, that it's very possible that if they don't pay a fair share, because this isn't 40 years ago where we could do what we're doing. We can't defend Japan, a behemoth, selling us cars by the million...

.

.TRUMP: Well, wait, but it's very important. All I said was, they may have to defend themselves or they have to help us out. We're a country that owes \$20 trillion. They have to help us out.

.

TRUMP: As far as the nuclear is concerned, I agree. It is the single greatest threat that this country has.

TRUMP: Well, I have to say that, you know, for what Secretary Clinton was saying about nuclear with Russia, she's very cavalier in the way she talks about various countries. But Russia has been expanding their -- they have a much newer capability than we do. We have not been updating from the new standpoint.

I looked the other night. I was seeing B-52s, they're old enough that your father, your grandfather could be flying them. We are not -- we are not keeping up with other countries. I would like everybody to end it, just get rid of it. But I would certainly not do first strike.

I think that once the nuclear alternative happens, it's over. At the same time, we have to be prepared. I can't take anything off the table. Because you look at some of these countries, you look at North Korea, we're doing nothing there. China should solve that problem for us. China should go into North Korea. China is totally powerful as it relates to North Korea.

And by the way, another one powerful is the worst deal I think I've ever seen negotiated that you started is the Iran deal. Iran is one of their biggest trading partners. Iran has power over North Korea.

And when they made that horrible deal with Iran, they should have included the fact that they do something with respect to North Korea. And they should have done something with respect to Yemen and all these other places.

And when asked to Secretary Kerry, why didn't you do that? Why didn't you add other things into the deal? One of the great giveaways of all time, of all time, including \$400 million in cash. Nobody's ever seen that before. That turned out to be wrong. It was actually \$1.7 billion in cash, obviously, I guess for the hostages. It certainly looks that way.

So you say to yourself, why didn't they make the right deal? This is one of the worst deals ever made by any country in history. The deal with Iran will lead to nuclear problems. All they have to do is sit back 10 years, and they don't have to do much.

TRUMP: And they're going to end up getting nuclear. I met with Bibi Netanyahu the other day. Believe me, he's not a happy camper.

CLINTON: Well, let me -- let me start by saying, words matter. Words matter when you run for president. And they really matter when you are president. And I want to reassure our allies in Japan and South Korea and elsewhere that we have mutual defense treaties and we will honor them.

It is essential that America's word be good. And so I know that this campaign has caused some questioning and worries on the part of many leaders across the globe. I've talked with a number of them. But I want to -- on behalf of myself, and I think on behalf of a majority of the American people, say that, you know, our word is good.

It's also important that we look at the entire global situation. There's no doubt that we have other problems with Iran. But personally, I'd rather deal with the other problems having put that lid on their nuclear program than still to be facing that.

And Donald never tells you what he would do. Would he have started a war? Would he have bombed Iran? If he's going to criticize a deal that has been very successful in giving us access to Iranian facilities that we never had before, then he should tell us what his alternative would be. But it's like his plan to defeat ISIS. He says it's a secret plan, but the only secret is that he has no plan.

So we need to be more precise in how we talk about these issues. People around the world follow our presidential campaigns so closely, trying to get hints about what we will do. Can they rely on us? Are we going to lead the world with strength and in accordance with our values? That's what I intend to do. I intend to be a leader of our country that people can count on, both here at home and around the world, to make decisions that will further peace and prosperity, but also stand up to bullies, whether they're abroad or at home.

We cannot let those who would try to destabilize the world to interfere with American interests and security...

.
CLINTON: ... to be given any opportunities at all.

.
TRUMP: Lester, one thing I'd like to say.

.
TRUMP: I will go very quickly. But I will tell you that Hillary will tell you to go to her website and read all about how to defeat ISIS, which she could have defeated by never having it, you know, get going in the first place. Right now, it's getting tougher and tougher to defeat them, because they're in more and more places, more and more states, more and more nations.

TRUMP: And it's a big problem. And as far as Japan is concerned, I want to help all of our allies, but we are losing billions and billions of dollars. We cannot be the policemen of the world. We cannot protect countries all over the world...

.
TRUMP: ... where they're not paying us what we need.

.
TRUMP: And she doesn't say that, because she's got no business ability. We need heart. We need a lot of things. But you have to have some basic ability. And sadly, she doesn't have that. All of the things that she's talking about could have been taken care of during the last 10 years, let's say, while she had great power. But they weren't taken care of. And if she ever wins this race, they won't be taken care of.

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

.
TRUMP: You have -- wait a minute. Wait a minute, Lester. You asked me a question. Did you ask me a question?

You have to be able to negotiate our trade deals. You have to be able to negotiate, that's right, with Japan, with Saudi Arabia. I mean, can you imagine, we're defending Saudi Arabia? And with all of the money they have, we're defending them, and they're not paying? All you have to do is speak to them. Wait. You have so many different things you have to be able to do, and I don't believe that Hillary has the stamina.

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

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

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

CLINTON: Well, one thing. One thing, Lester.

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

.TRUMP: I never said that.

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

.TRUMP: I didn't say that.

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

.TRUMP: Where did you find this? Where did you find this?

.CLINTON: Her name is Alicia Machado.

.TRUMP: Where did you find this?

.CLINTON: And she has become a U.S. citizen, and you can bet...

.TRUMP: Oh, really?

.CLINTON: ... she's going to vote this November.

.TRUMP: OK, good. Let me just tell you...

TRUMP: You know, Hillary is hitting me with tremendous commercials. Some of it's said in entertainment. Some of it's said -- somebody who's been very vicious to me, Rosie O'Donnell, I said very tough things to her, and I think everybody would agree that she deserves it and nobody feels sorry for her.

But you want to know the truth? I was going to say something...

TRUMP: ... extremely rough to Hillary, to her family, and I said to myself, "I can't do it. I just can't do it. It's inappropriate. It's not nice." But she spent hundreds of millions of dollars on negative ads on me, many of which are absolutely untrue. They're untrue. And they're misrepresentations.

And I will tell you this, Lester: It's not nice. And I don't deserve that.

But it's certainly not a nice thing that she's done. It's hundreds of millions of ads. And the only gratifying thing is, I saw the polls come in today, and with all of that money...

TRUMP: ... \$200 million is spent, and I'm either winning or tied, and I've spent practically nothing.

CLINTON: Well, I support our democracy. And sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. But I certainly will support the outcome of this election.

And I know Donald's trying very hard to plant doubts about it, but I hope the people out there understand: This election's really up to you. It's not about us so much as it is about you and your families and the kind of country and future you want. So I sure hope you will get out and vote as though your future depended on it, because I think it does.

TRUMP: I want to make America great again. We are a nation that is seriously troubled. We're losing our jobs. People are pouring into our country.

The other day, we were deporting 800 people. And perhaps they passed the wrong button, they pressed the wrong button, or perhaps worse than that, it was corruption, but these people that we were going to deport for good reason ended up becoming citizens. Ended up becoming citizens. And it was 800. And now it turns out it might be 1,800, and they don't even know.

TRUMP: Look, here's the story. I want to make America great again. I'm going to be able to do it. I don't believe Hillary will. The answer is, if she wins, I will absolutely support her.

TRANSCRIPT

Second presidential debate

CLINTON: Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that that's a very good question, because I've heard from lots of teachers and parents about some of their concerns about some of the things that are being said and done in this campaign.

And I think it is very important for us to make clear to our children that our country really is great because we're good. And we are going to respect one another, lift each other up. We are going to be looking for ways to celebrate our diversity, and we are going to try to reach out to every boy and girl, as well as every adult, to bring them in to working on behalf of our country.

I have a very positive and optimistic view about what we can do together. That's why the slogan of my campaign is "Stronger Together," because I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals -- and I've set forth some big goals, getting the economy to work for everyone, not just those at the top, making sure that we have the best education system from preschool through college and making it affordable, and so much else.

If we set those goals and we go together to try to achieve them, there's nothing in my opinion that America can't do. So that's why I hope that we will come together in this campaign. Obviously, I'm hoping to earn your vote, I'm hoping to be elected in November, and I can promise you, I will work with every American.

I want to be the president for all Americans, regardless of your political beliefs, where you come from, what you look like, your religion. I want us to heal our country and bring it together because that's, I think, the best way for us to get the future that our children and our grandchildren deserve.

TRUMP: Well, I actually agree with that. I agree with everything she said. I began this campaign because I was so tired of seeing such foolish things happen to our country. This is a great country. This is a great land. I've gotten to know the people of the country over the last year-and-a-half that

I've been doing this as a politician. I cannot believe I'm saying that about myself, but I guess I have been a politician.

And my whole concept was to make America great again. When I watch the deals being made, when I watch what's happening with some horrible things like Obamacare, where your health insurance and health care is going up by numbers that are astronomical, 68 percent, 59 percent, 71 percent, when I look at the Iran deal and how bad a deal it is for us, it's a one-sided transaction where we're giving back \$150 billion to a terrorist state, really, the number one terror state, we've made them a strong country from really a very weak country just three years ago.

When I look at all of the things that I see and all of the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential, whether it's in business and trade, where we're doing so badly. Last year, we had almost \$800 billion trade deficit. In other words, trading with other countries. We had an \$800 billion deficit. It's hard to believe. Inconceivable.

You say who's making these deals? We're going to make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order. Just today, policemen was shot, two killed. And this is happening on a weekly basis. We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides. We need justice.

But I want to do things that haven't been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens that are so great, and for the Latinos, Hispanics, and I look forward to doing it. It's called make America great again.

TRUMP: No, I didn't say that at all. I don't think you understood what was -- this was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I'm not proud of it. But this is locker room talk.

You know, when we have a world where you have ISIS chopping off heads, where you have -- and, frankly, drowning people in steel cages, where you have wars and horrible, horrible sights all over, where you have so many bad things happening, this is like medieval times. We haven't seen anything like this, the carnage all over the world.

And they look and they see. Can you imagine the people that are, frankly, doing so well against us with ISIS? And they look at our country and they see what's going on.

TRUMP: And we should get on to much more important things and much bigger things.

TRUMP: I have great respect for women. Nobody has more respect for women than I do.

TRUMP: I've said things that, frankly, you hear these things I said. And I was embarrassed by it. But I have tremendous respect for women.

.

TRUMP: And women have respect for me. And I will tell you: No, I have not. And I will tell you that I'm going to make our country safe. We're going to have borders in our country, which we don't have now. People are pouring into our country, and they're coming in from the Middle East and other places.

We're going to make America safe again. We're going to make America great again, but we're going to make America safe again. And we're going to make America wealthy again, because if you don't do that, it just -- it sounds harsh to say, but we have to build up the wealth of our nation.

.TRUMP: Right now, other nations are taking our jobs and they're taking our wealth.

.

.TRUMP: And that's what I want to talk about.

.CLINTON: Well, like everyone else, I've spent a lot of time thinking over the last 48 hours about what we heard and saw. You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I disagreed with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve.

Donald Trump is different. I said starting back in June that he was not fit to be president and commander-in-chief. And many Republicans and independents have said the same thing. What we all saw and heard on Friday was Donald talking about women, what he thinks about women, what he does to women. And he has said that the video doesn't represent who he is.

But I think it's clear to anyone who heard it that it represents exactly who he is. Because we've seen this throughout the campaign. We have seen him insult women. We've seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten. We've seen him embarrass women on TV and on Twitter. We saw him after the first debate spend nearly a week denigrating a former Miss Universe in the harshest, most personal terms.

So, yes, this is who Donald Trump is. But it's not only women, and it's not only this video that raises questions about his fitness to be our president, because he has also targeted immigrants, African- Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims, and so many others.

So this is who Donald Trump is. And the question for us, the question our country must answer is that this is not who we are. That's why -- to go back to your question -- I want to send a message -- we all should -- to every boy and girl and, indeed, to the entire world that America already is great, but we are great because we are good, and we will respect one another, and we will work with one another, and we will celebrate our diversity.

These are very important values to me, because this is the America that I know and love. And I can pledge to you tonight that this is the America that I will serve if I'm so fortunate enough to become your president.

.

.TRUMP: Am I allowed to respond to that? I assume I am.

.

.TRUMP: It's just words, folks. It's just words. Those words, I've been hearing them for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed.

I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country, which are a disaster education-wise, jobwise, safety-wise, in every way possible. I'm going to help the African-Americans. I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities.

She's done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later. We saw that firsthand when she was United States senator. She campaigned where the primary part of her campaign...

.

.TRUMP: So, she's allowed to do that, but I'm not allowed to respond?

..

.TRUMP: Sounds fair.

.TRUMP: It was locker room talk, as I told you. That was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I am a person who has great respect for people, for my family, for the people of this country. And certainly, I'm not proud of it. But that was something that happened. If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Mine are words, and his was action. His was what he's done to women. There's never been anybody in the history politics in this nation that's been so abusive to women. So you can say any way you want to say it, but Bill Clinton was abusive to women.

Hillary Clinton attacked those same women and attacked them viciously. Four of them here tonight. One of the women, who is a wonderful woman, at 12 years old, was raped at 12. Her client she represented got him off, and she's seen laughing on two separate occasions, laughing at the girl who was raped. Kathy Shelton, that young woman is here with us tonight.

So don't tell me about words. I am absolutely -- I apologize for those words. But it is things that people say. But what President Clinton did, he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law. He had to pay an \$850,000 fine to one of the women. Paula Jones, who's also here tonight.

And I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that and she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it's disgraceful, and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth.

.CLINTON: Well, first, let me start by saying that so much of what he's just said is not right, but he gets to run his campaign any way he chooses. He gets to decide what he wants to talk about. Instead of answering people's questions, talking about our agenda, laying out the plans that we have that we think can make a better life and a better country, that's his choice.

When I hear something like that, I am reminded of what my friend, Michelle Obama, advised us all: When they go low, you go high.

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

He never apologized to Mr. and Mrs. Khan, the Gold Star family whose son, Captain Khan, died in the line of duty in Iraq. And Donald insulted and attacked them for weeks over their religion.

He never apologized to the distinguished federal judge who was born in Indiana, but Donald said he couldn't be trusted to be a judge because his parents were, quote, "Mexican."

He never apologized to the reporter that he mimicked and mocked on national television and our children were watching. And he never apologized for the racist lie that President Obama was not born in the United States of America. He owes the president an apology, he owes our country an apology, and he needs to take responsibility for his actions and his words.

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

your campaign, sent the pictures around with President Obama in a certain garb. That was long before I was ever involved, so you actually owe an apology.

Number two, Michelle Obama. I've gotten to see the commercials that they did on you. And I've gotten to see some of the most vicious commercials I've ever seen of Michelle Obama talking about you, Hillary.

So, you talk about friend? Go back and take a look at those commercials, a race where you lost fair and square, unlike the Bernie Sanders race, where you won, but not fair and square, in my opinion. And all you have to do is take a look at WikiLeaks and just see what they say about Bernie Sanders and see what Deborah Wasserman Schultz had in mind, because Bernie Sanders, between super-delegates and Deborah Wasserman Schultz, he never had a chance. And I was so surprised to see him sign on with the devil.

But when you talk about apology, I think the one that you should really be apologizing for and the thing that you should be apologizing for are the 33,000 e-mails that you deleted, and that you acid washed, and then the two boxes of e-mails and other things last week that were taken from an office and are now missing.

And I'll tell you what. I didn't think I'd say this, but I'm going to say it, and I hate to say it. But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor.

When I speak, I go out and speak, the people of this country are furious. In my opinion, the people that have been long-term workers at the FBI are furious. There has never been anything like this, where e-mails -- and you get a subpoena, you get a subpoena, and after getting the subpoena, you delete 33,000 e-mails, and then you acid wash them or bleach them, as you would say, very expensive process.

So we're going to get a special prosecutor, and we're going to look into it, because you know what? People have been -- their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth of what you've done. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

I'm going to let you talk about e-mails.

.CLINTON: ... because everything he just said is absolutely false, but I'm not surprised.

.TRUMP: Oh, really?

.CLINTON: In the first debate...

..

.CLINTON: ... I told people that it would be impossible to be fact-checking Donald all the time. I'd never get to talk about anything I want to do and how we're going to really make lives better for people.

So, once again, go to HillaryClinton.com. We have literally Trump -- you can fact check him in real time. Last time at the first debate, we had millions of people fact checking, so I expect we'll have millions more fact checking, because, you know, it is -- it's just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is not in charge of the law in our country.

.TRUMP: Because you'd be in jail.

.

CLINTON: Well, Martha, first, let me say -- and I've said before, but I'll repeat it, because I want everyone to hear it -- that was a mistake, and I take responsibility for using a personal e-mail account. Obviously, if I were to do it over again, I would not. I'm not making any excuses. It was a mistake. And I am very sorry about that.

But I think it's also important to point out where there are some misleading accusations from critics and others. After a year-long investigation, there is no evidence that anyone hacked the server I was using and there is no evidence that anyone can point to at all -- anyone who says otherwise has no basis -- that any classified material ended up in the wrong hands.

I take classified materials very seriously and always have. When I was on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I was privy to a lot of classified material. Obviously, as secretary of state, I had some of the most important secrets that we possess, such as going after bin Laden. So I am very committed to taking classified information seriously. And as I said, there is no evidence that any classified information ended up in the wrong hands.

.TRUMP: And yet she didn't know the word -- the letter C on a document. Right? She didn't even know what that word -- what that letter meant.

You know, it's amazing. I'm watching Hillary go over facts. And she's going after fact after fact, and she's lying again, because she said she -- you know, what she did with the e-mail was fine. You think it was fine to delete 33,000 e-mails? I don't think so.

She said the 33,000 e-mails had to do with her daughter's wedding, number one, and a yoga class. Well, maybe we'll give three or three or four or five or something. 33,000 e-mails deleted, and now she's saying there wasn't anything wrong.

And more importantly, that was after getting a subpoena. That wasn't before. That was after. She got it from the United States Congress. And I'll be honest, I am so disappointed in congressmen, including Republicans, for allowing this to happen.

Our Justice Department, where our husband goes on to the back of a airplane for 39 minutes, talks to the attorney general days before a ruling is going to be made on her case. But for you to say that there was nothing wrong with you deleting 39,000 e-mails, again, you should be ashamed of yourself. What you did -- and this is after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.

.TRUMP: You did that. Wait a minute. One second.

TRUMP: If you did that in the private sector, you'd be put in jail, let alone after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.

.CLINTON: Look, it's just not true. And so please, go to...

.TRUMP: Oh, you didn't delete them?

.CLINTON: It was personal e-mails, not official.

.TRUMP: Oh, 33,000? Yeah.

.CLINTON: Not -- well, we turned over 35,000, so...

.TRUMP: Oh, yeah. What about the other 15,000?

.CLINTON: Yes, that's true, I didn't.

.TRUMP: Because you have nothing to say.

.CLINTON: I didn't in the first debate, and I'm going to try not to in this debate, because I'd like to get to the questions that the people have brought here tonight to talk to us about.

.TRUMP: Get off this question.

.CLINTON: OK, Donald. I know you're into big diversion tonight, anything to avoid talking about your campaign and the way it's exploding and the way Republicans are leaving you. But let's at least focus...

.TRUMP: Let's see what happens...

.CLINTON: ... on some of the issues that people care about tonight. Let's get to their questions.

.TRUMP: I'd like to know, Anderson, why aren't you bringing up the e-mails? I'd like to know. Why aren't you bringing...

.TRUMP: No, it hasn't. It hasn't. And it hasn't been finished at all.

.TRUMP: It's nice to -- one on three.

.CLINTON: If he wants to start, he can start. No, go ahead, Donald.

.TRUMP: No, I'm a gentlemen, Hillary. Go ahead.

.CLINTON: Well, I think Donald was about to say he's going to solve it by repealing it and getting rid of the Affordable Care Act. And I'm going to fix it, because I agree with you. Premiums have gotten too high. Copays, deductibles, prescription drug costs, and I've laid out a series of actions that we can take to try to get those costs down.

But here's what I don't want people to forget when we're talking about reining in the costs, which has to be the highest priority of the next president, when the Affordable Care Act passed, it wasn't just that 20 million got insurance who didn't have it before. But that in and of itself was a good thing. I meet these people all the time, and they tell me what a difference having that insurance meant to them and their families.

But everybody else, the 170 million of us who get health insurance through our employees got big benefits. Number one, insurance companies can't deny you coverage because of a pre-existing condition. Number two, no lifetime limits, which is a big deal if you have serious health problems.

Number three, women can't be charged more than men for our health insurance, which is the way it used to be before the Affordable Care Act. Number four, if you're under 26, and your parents have a policy, you can be on that policy until the age of 26, something that didn't happen before.

So I want very much to save what works and is good about the Affordable Care Act. But we've got to get costs down. We've got to provide additional help to small businesses so that they can afford to provide health insurance. But if we repeal it, as Donald has proposed, and start over again, all of those benefits I just mentioned are lost to everybody, not just people who get their health insurance on the exchange. And then we would have to start all over again.

Right now, we are at 90 percent health insurance coverage. That's the highest we've ever been in our country.

.CLINTON: So I want us to get to 100 percent, but get costs down and keep quality up.

.TRUMP: It is such a great question and it's maybe the question I get almost more than anything else, outside of defense. Obamacare is a disaster. You know it. We all know it. It's going up at numbers that nobody's ever seen worldwide. Nobody's ever seen numbers like this for health care.

It's only getting worse. In '17, it implodes by itself. Their method of fixing it is to go back and ask Congress for more money, more and more money. We have right now almost \$20 trillion in debt.

Obamacare will never work. It's very bad, very bad health insurance. Far too expensive. And not only expensive for the person that has it, unbelievably expensive for our country. It's going to be one of the biggest line items very shortly.

We have to repeal it and replace it with something absolutely much less expensive and something that works, where your plan can actually be tailored. We have to get rid of the lines around the state, artificial lines, where we stop insurance companies from coming in and competing, because they want -- and President Obama and whoever was working on it -- they want to leave those lines, because that gives the insurance companies essentially monopolies. We want competition.

You will have the finest health care plan there is. She wants to go to a single-payer plan, which would be a disaster, somewhat similar to Canada. And if you haven't noticed the Canadians, when they need a big operation, when something happens, they come into the United States in many cases because their system is so slow. It's catastrophic in certain ways.

But she wants to go to single payer, which means the government basically rules everything. Hillary Clinton has been after this for years. Obamacare was the first step. Obamacare is a total disaster. And not only are your rates going up by numbers that nobody's ever believed, but your deductibles are going up, so that unless you get hit by a truck, you're never going to be able to use it.

.TRUMP: It is a disastrous plan, and it has to be repealed and replaced.

.CLINTON: No, I mean, he clarified what he meant. And it's very clear. Look, we are in a situation in our country where if we were to start all over again, we might come up with a different system. But we have an employer-based system. That's where the vast majority of people get their health care.

And the Affordable Care Act was meant to try to fill the gap between people who were too poor and couldn't put together any resources to afford health care, namely people on Medicaid. Obviously, Medicare, which is a single-payer system, which takes care of our elderly and does a great job doing it, by the way, and then all of the people who were employed, but people who were working but didn't have the money to afford insurance and didn't have anybody, an employer or anybody else, to help them.

That was the slot that the Obamacare approach was to take. And like I say, 20 million people now have health insurance. So if we just rip it up and throw it away, what Donald's not telling you is we just turn it back to the insurance companies the way it used to be, and that means the insurance companies...

.CLINTON: ... get to do pretty much whatever they want, including saying, look, I'm sorry, you've got diabetes, you had cancer, your child has asthma...

.CLINTON: ... you may not be able to have insurance because you can't afford it. So let's fix what's broken about it, but let's not throw it away and give it all back to the insurance companies and the drug companies. That's not going to work.

.TRUMP: Well, I just want -- just one thing. First of all, Hillary, everything's broken about it. Everything. Number two, Bernie Sanders said that Hillary Clinton has very bad judgment. This is a perfect example of it, trying to save Obamacare, which is a disaster.

.TRUMP: By the way...

.TRUMP: We're going to be able to. You're going to have plans...

.TRUMP: Well, I'll tell you what it means. You're going to have plans that are so good, because we're going to have so much competition in the insurance industry. Once we break out -- once we break out the lines and allow the competition to come...

.TRUMP: President Obama -- Anderson, excuse me. President Obama, by keeping those lines, the boundary lines around each state, it was almost gone until just very toward the end of the passage of Obamacare, which, by the way, was a fraud. You know that, because Jonathan Gruber, the architect of Obamacare, was said -- he said it was a great lie, it was a big lie. President Obama said you keep your doctor, you keep your plan. The whole thing was a fraud, and it doesn't work.

But when we get rid of those lines, you will have competition, and we will be able to keep pre-existing, we'll also be able to help people that can't get -- don't have money because we are going to have people protected.

And Republicans feel this way, believe it or not, and strongly this way. We're going to block grant into the states. We're going to block grant into Medicaid into the states...

.TRUMP: ... so that we will be able to take care of people without the necessary funds to take care of themselves.

.TRUMP: Well, you're right about Islamophobia, and that's a shame. But one thing we have to do is we have to make sure that -- because there is a problem. I mean, whether we like it or not, and we could be very politically correct, but whether we like it or not, there is a problem. And we have to be sure that Muslims come in and report when they see something going on. When they see hatred going on, they have to report it.

As an example, in San Bernardino, many people saw the bombs all over the apartment of the two people that killed 14 and wounded many, many people. Horribly wounded. They'll never be the same. Muslims have to report the problems when they see them.

And, you know, there's always a reason for everything. If they don't do that, it's a very difficult situation for our country, because you look at Orlando and you look at San Bernardino and you look at the World Trade Center. Go outside. Look at Paris. Look at that horrible -- these are radical Islamic terrorists.

And she won't even mention the word and nor will President Obama. He won't use the term "radical Islamic terrorism." Now, to solve a problem, you have to be able to state what the problem is or at

least say the name. She won't say the name and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there. It's radical Islamic terror. And before you solve it, you have to say the name.

.
.CLINTON: Well, thank you for asking your question. And I've heard this question from a lot of Muslim-Americans across our country, because, unfortunately, there's been a lot of very divisive, dark things said about Muslims. And even someone like Captain Khan, the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army, has been subject to attack by Donald.

I want to say just a couple of things. First, we've had Muslims in America since George Washington. And we've had many successful Muslims. We just lost a particular well-known one with Muhammad Ali.

My vision of America is an America where everyone has a place, if you're willing to work hard, you do your part, you contribute to the community. That's what America is. That's what we want America to be for our children and our grandchildren.

It's also very short-sighted and even dangerous to be engaging in the kind of demagogic rhetoric that Donald has about Muslims. We need American Muslims to be part of our eyes and ears on our front lines. I've worked with a lot of different Muslim groups around America. I've met with a lot of them, and I've heard how important it is for them to feel that they are wanted and included and part of our country, part of our homeland security, and that's what I want to see.

It's also important I intend to defeat ISIS, to do so in a coalition with majority Muslim nations. Right now, a lot of those nations are hearing what Donald says and wondering, why should we cooperate with the Americans? And this is a gift to ISIS and the terrorists, violent jihadist terrorists.

We are not at war with Islam. And it is a mistake and it plays into the hands of the terrorists to act as though we are. So I want a country where citizens like you and your family are just as welcome as anyone else.

.TRUMP: First of all, Captain Khan is an American hero, and if I were president at that time, he would be alive today, because unlike her, who voted for the war without knowing what she was doing, I would not have had our people in Iraq. Iraq was disaster. So he would have been alive today.

The Muslim ban is something that in some form has morphed into a extreme vetting from certain areas of the world. Hillary Clinton wants to allow hundreds of thousands -- excuse me. Excuse me..

.
.TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the time.

.TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her?

.
.TRUMP: It's called extreme vetting. We are going to areas like Syria where they're coming in by the tens of thousands because of Barack Obama. And Hillary Clinton wants to allow a 550 percent increase over Obama. People are coming into our country like we have no idea who they are, where they are from, what their feelings about our country is, and she wants 550 percent more. This is going to be the great Trojan horse of all time.

We have enough problems in this country. I believe in building safe zones. I believe in having other people pay for them, as an example, the Gulf states, who are not carrying their weight, but they

have nothing but money, and take care of people. But I don't want to have, with all the problems this country has and all of the problems that you see going on, hundreds of thousands of people coming in from Syria when we know nothing about them. We know nothing about their values and we know nothing about their love for our country.

.
.CLINTON: Well, first of all, I will not let anyone into our country that I think poses a risk to us. But there are a lot of refugees, women and children -- think of that picture we all saw of that 4-year-old boy with the blood on his forehead because he'd been bombed by the Russian and Syrian air forces.

There are children suffering in this catastrophic war, largely, I believe, because of Russian aggression. And we need to do our part. We by no means are carrying anywhere near the load that Europe and others are. But we will have vetting that is as tough as it needs to be from our professionals, our intelligence experts and others.

But it is important for us as a policy, you know, not to say, as Donald has said, we're going to ban people based on a religion. How do you do that? We are a country founded on religious freedom and liberty. How do we do what he has advocated without causing great distress within our own country? Are we going to have religious tests when people fly into our country? And how do we expect to be able to implement those?

So I thought that what he said was extremely unwise and even dangerous. And indeed, you can look at the propaganda on a lot of the terrorists sites, and what Donald Trump says about Muslims is used to recruit fighters, because they want to create a war between us.

And the final thing I would say, this is the 10th or 12th time that he's denied being for the war in Iraq. We have it on tape. The entire press corps has looked at it. It's been debunked, but it never stops him from saying whatever he wants to say.

.TRUMP: That's not been debunked.

.CLINTON: So, please...

.TRUMP: That has not been debunked.

.CLINTON: ... go to HillaryClinton.com and you can see it.

.TRUMP: I was against -- I was against the war in Iraq. Has not been debunked. And you voted for it. And you shouldn't have. Well, I just want to say...

.
.TRUMP: Excuse me. She just went about 25 seconds over her time.

.
.TRUMP: Could I just respond to this, please?

.
.TRUMP: Hillary Clinton, in terms of having people come into our country, we have many criminal illegal aliens. When we want to send them back to their country, their country says we don't want them. In some cases, they're murderers, drug lords, drug problems. And they don't want them.

And Hillary Clinton, when she was secretary of state, said that's OK, we can't force it into their country. Let me tell you, I'm going to force them right back into their country. They're murderers and some very bad people.

And I will tell you very strongly, when Bernie Sanders said she had bad judgment, she has really bad judgment, because we are letting people into this country that are going to cause problems and

crime like you've never seen. We're also letting drugs pour through our southern border at a record clip. At a record clip. And it shouldn't be allowed to happen.

ICE just endorsed me. They've never endorsed a presidential candidate. The Border Patrol agents, 16,500, just recently endorsed me, and they endorsed me because I understand the border. She doesn't. She wants amnesty for everybody. Come right in. Come right over. It's a horrible thing she's doing. She's got bad judgment, and honestly, so bad that she should never be president of the United States. That I can tell you.

.
.CLINTON: Well, right. As I recall, that was something I said about Abraham Lincoln after having seen the wonderful Steven Spielberg movie called "Lincoln." It was a master class watching President Lincoln get the Congress to approve the 13th Amendment. It was principled, and it was strategic.

And I was making the point that it is hard sometimes to get the Congress to do what you want to do and you have to keep working at it. And, yes, President Lincoln was trying to convince some people, he used some arguments, convincing other people, he used other arguments. That was a great -- I thought a great display of presidential leadership.

But, you know, let's talk about what's really going on here, Martha, because our intelligence community just came out and said in the last few days that the Kremlin, meaning Putin and the Russian government, are directing the attacks, the hacking on American accounts to influence our election. And WikiLeaks is part of that, as are other sites where the Russians hack information, we don't even know if it's accurate information, and then they put it out.

We have never in the history of our country been in a situation where an adversary, a foreign power, is working so hard to influence the outcome of the election. And believe me, they're not doing it to get me elected. They're doing it to try to influence the election for Donald Trump.

Now, maybe because he has praised Putin, maybe because he says he agrees with a lot of what Putin wants to do, maybe because he wants to do business in Moscow, I don't know the reasons. But we deserve answers. And we should demand that Donald release all of his tax returns so that people can see what are the entanglements and the financial relationships that he has...

.
.CLINTON: ... with the Russians and other foreign powers.

.TRUMP: Well, I think I should respond, because -- so ridiculous. Look, now she's blaming -- she got caught in a total lie. Her papers went out to all her friends at the banks, Goldman Sachs and everybody else, and she said things -- WikiLeaks that just came out. And she lied. Now she's blaming the lie on the late, great Abraham Lincoln. That's one that I haven't...

.TRUMP: OK, Honest Abe, Honest Abe never lied. That's the good thing. That's the big difference between Abraham Lincoln and you. That's a big, big difference. We're talking about some difference.

But as far as other elements of what she was saying, I don't know Putin. I think it would be great if we got along with Russia because we could fight ISIS together, as an example. But I don't know Putin.

But I notice, anytime anything wrong happens, they like to say the Russians are -- she doesn't know if it's the Russians doing the hacking. Maybe there is no hacking. But they always blame Russia.

And the reason they blame Russia because they think they're trying to tarnish me with Russia. I know nothing about Russia. I know -- I know about Russia, but I know nothing about the inner workings of Russia. I don't deal there. I have no businesses there. I have no loans from Russia.

I have a very, very great balance sheet, so great that when I did the Old Post Office on Pennsylvania Avenue, the United States government, because of my balance sheet, which they actually know very well, chose me to do the Old Post Office, between the White House and Congress, chose me to do the Old Post Office. One of the primary area things, in fact, perhaps the primary thing was balance sheet.

But I have no loans with Russia. You could go to the United States government, and they would probably tell you that, because they know my sheet very well in order to get that development I had to have.

Now, the taxes are a very simple thing. As soon as I have -- first of all, I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. Many of her friends took bigger deductions. Warren Buffett took a massive deduction. Soros, who's a friend of hers, took a massive deduction. Many of the people that are giving her all this money that she can do many more commercials than me gave her -- took massive deductions.

I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. But -- but as soon as my routine audit is finished, I'll release my returns. I'll be very proud to. They're actually quite great.

. **TRUMP:** Well, one thing I'd do is get rid of carried interest. One of the greatest provisions for people like me, to be honest with you, I give up a lot when I run, because I knock out the tax code. And she could have done this years ago, by the way. She's a United States -- she was a United States senator.

She complains that Donald Trump took advantage of the tax code. Well, why didn't she change it? Why didn't you change it when you were a senator? The reason you didn't is that all your friends take the same advantage that I do. And I do. You have provisions in the tax code that, frankly, we could change. But you wouldn't change it, because all of these people gave you the money so you can take negative ads on Donald Trump.

But -- and I say that about a lot of things. You know, I've heard Hillary complaining about so many different things over the years. "I wish you would have done this." But she's been there for 30 years she's been doing this stuff. She never changed. And she never will change. She never will change.

We're getting rid of carried interest provisions. I'm lowering taxes actually, because I think it's so important for corporations, because we have corporations leaving -- massive corporations and little ones, little ones can't form. We're getting rid of regulations which goes hand in hand with the lowering of the taxes.

But we're bringing the tax rate down from 35 percent to 15 percent. We're cutting taxes for the middle class. And I will tell you, we are cutting them big league for the middle class. And I will tell you, Hillary Clinton is raising your taxes, folks. You can look at me. She's raising your taxes really high. And what that's going to do is a disaster for the country. But she is raising your taxes and I'm lowering your taxes. That in itself is a big difference.

We are going to be thriving again. We have no growth in this country. There's no growth. If China has a GDP of 7 percent, it's like a national catastrophe. We're down at 1 percent. And that's, like, no growth. And we're going lower, in my opinion. And a lot of it has to do with the fact that our taxes are so high, just about the highest in the world. And I'm bringing them down to one of the lower in the world. And I think it's so important -- one of the most important things we can do. But she is raising everybody's taxes massively.

CLINTON: Well, everything you've heard just now from Donald is not true. I'm sorry I have to keep saying this, but he lives in an alternative reality. And it is sort of amusing to hear somebody who hasn't paid federal income taxes in maybe 20 years talking about what he's going to do.

But I'll tell you what he's going to do. His plan will give the wealthy and corporations the biggest tax cuts they've ever had, more than the Bush tax cuts by at least a factor of two. Donald always takes care of Donald and people like Donald, and this would be a massive gift. And, indeed, the way that he talks about his tax cuts would end up raising taxes on middle-class families, millions of middle-class families.

Now, here's what I want to do. I have said nobody who makes less than \$250,000 a year -- and that's the vast majority of Americans as you know -- will have their taxes raised, because I think we've got to go where the money is. And the money is with people who have taken advantage of every single break in the tax code.

And, yes, when I was a senator, I did vote to close corporate loopholes. I voted to close, I think, one of the loopholes he took advantage of when he claimed a billion-dollar loss that enabled him to avoid paying taxes.

I want to have a tax on people who are making a million dollars. It's called the Buffett rule. Yes, Warren Buffett is the one who's gone out and said somebody like him should not be paying a lower tax rate than his secretary. I want to have a surcharge on incomes above \$5 million.

We have to make up for lost times, because I want to invest in you. I want to invest in hard-working families. And I think it's been unfortunate, but it's happened, that since the Great Recession, the gains have all gone to the top. And we need to reverse that.

People like Donald, who paid zero in taxes, zero for our vets, zero for our military, zero for health and education, that is wrong.

CLINTON: And we're going to make sure that nobody, no corporation, and no individual can get away without paying his fair share to support our country.

TRUMP: Of course I do. Of course I do. And so do all of her donors, or most of her donors. I know many of her donors. Her donors took massive tax write-offs.

TRUMP: A lot of my -- excuse me, Anderson -- a lot of my write-off was depreciation and other things that Hillary as a senator allowed. And she'll always allow it, because the people that give her all this money, they want it. That's why.

See, I understand the tax code better than anybody that's ever run for president. Hillary Clinton -- and it's extremely complex -- Hillary Clinton has friends that want all of these provisions, including they want the carried interest provision, which is very important to Wall Street people. But they

really want the carried interest provision, which I believe Hillary's leaving. Very interesting why she's leaving carried interest.

But I will tell you that, number one, I pay tremendous numbers of taxes. I absolutely used it. And so did Warren Buffett and so did George Soros and so did many of the other people that Hillary is getting money from. Now, I won't mention their names, because they're rich, but they're not famous. So we won't make them famous.

.
.TRUMP: No, but I pay tax, and I pay federal tax, too. But I have a write-off, a lot of it's depreciation, which is a wonderful charge. I love depreciation. You know, she's given it to us.

Hey, if she had a problem -- for 30 years she's been doing this, Anderson. I say it all the time. She talks about health care. Why didn't she do something about it? She talks about taxes. Why didn't she do something about it? She doesn't do anything about anything other than talk. With her, it's all talk and no action.

.
.TRUMP: And, again, Bernie Sanders, it's really bad judgment. She has made bad judgment not only on taxes. She's made bad judgments on Libya, on Syria, on Iraq. I mean, her and Obama, whether you like it or not, the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they've left, that's why ISIS formed in the first place. They started from that little area, and now they're in 32 different nations, Hillary. Congratulations. Great job.

.
.CLINTON: Well, here we go again. I've been in favor of getting rid of carried interest for years, starting when I was a senator from New York. But that's not the point here.

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

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

.TRUMP: Oh, really?

.CLINTON: I will be the president and we will get it done. That's exactly right.

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

.
.CLINTON: You know, under our Constitution, presidents have something called veto power. Look, he has now said repeatedly, "30 years this and 30 years that." So let me talk about my 30 years in public service. I'm very glad to do so.

Eight million kids every year have health insurance, because when I was first lady I worked with Democrats and Republicans to create the Children's Health Insurance Program. Hundreds of thousands of kids now have a chance to be adopted because I worked to change our adoption and foster care system. After 9/11, I went to work with Republican mayor, governor and president to rebuild New York and to get health care for our first responders who were suffering because they had run toward danger and gotten sickened by it. Hundreds of thousands of National Guard and Reserve members have health care because of work that I did, and children have safer medicines because I was able to pass a law that required the dosing to be more carefully done.

When I was secretary of state, I went around the world advocating for our country, but also advocating for women's rights, to make sure that women had a decent chance to have a better life

and negotiated a treaty with Russia to lower nuclear weapons. Four hundred pieces of legislation have my name on it as a sponsor or cosponsor when I was a senator for eight years.

I worked very hard and was very proud to be re-elected in New York by an even bigger margin than I had been elected the first time. And as president, I will take that work, that bipartisan work, that finding common ground, because you have to be able to get along with people to get things done in Washington.

.
.CLINTON: I've proven that I can, and for 30 years, I've produced results for people.

.
TRUMP: She said a lot of things that were false. I mean, I think we should be allowed to maybe...

.
TRUMP: Excuse me. Because she has been a disaster as a senator. A disaster.

CLINTON: Well, the situation in Syria is catastrophic. And every day that goes by, we see the results of the regime by Assad in partnership with the Iranians on the ground, the Russians in the air, bombarding places, in particular Aleppo, where there are hundreds of thousands of people, probably about 250,000 still left. And there is a determined effort by the Russian air force to destroy Aleppo in order to eliminate the last of the Syrian rebels who are really holding out against the Assad regime.

Russia hasn't paid any attention to ISIS. They're interested in keeping Assad in power. So I, when I was secretary of state, advocated and I advocate today a no-fly zone and safe zones. We need some leverage with the Russians, because they are not going to come to the negotiating table for a diplomatic resolution, unless there is some leverage over them. And we have to work more closely with our partners and allies on the ground.

But I want to emphasize that what is at stake here is the ambitions and the aggressiveness of Russia. Russia has decided that it's all in, in Syria. And they've also decided who they want to see become president of the United States, too, and it's not me. I've stood up to Russia. I've taken on Putin and others, and I would do that as president.

I think wherever we can cooperate with Russia, that's fine. And I did as secretary of state. That's how we got a treaty reducing nuclear weapons. It's how we got the sanctions on Iran that put a lid on the Iranian nuclear program without firing a single shot. So I would go to the negotiating table with more leverage than we have now. But I do support the effort to investigate for crimes, war crimes committed by the Syrians and the Russians and try to hold them accountable.

.TRUMP: First of all, she was there as secretary of state with the so-called line in the sand, which...

.CLINTON: No, I wasn't. I was gone. I hate to interrupt you, but at some point...

.TRUMP: OK. But you were in contact -- excuse me. You were...

.CLINTON: At some point, we need to do some fact-checking here.

.TRUMP: You were in total contact with the White House, and perhaps, sadly, Obama probably still listened to you. I don't think he would be listening to you very much anymore.

Obama draws the line in the sand. It was laughed at all over the world what happened.

Now, with that being said, she talks tough against Russia. But our nuclear program has fallen way behind, and they've gone wild with their nuclear program. Not good. Our government shouldn't

have allowed that to happen. Russia is new in terms of nuclear. We are old. We're tired. We're exhausted in terms of nuclear. A very bad thing.

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

Look at what she did in Libya with Gadhafi. Gadhafi's out. It's a mess. And, by the way, ISIS has a good chunk of their oil. I'm sure you probably have heard that. It was a disaster. Because the fact is, almost everything she's done in foreign policy has been a mistake and it's been a disaster.

But if you look at Russia, just take a look at Russia, and look at what they did this week, where I agree, she wasn't there, but possibly she's consulted. We sign a peace treaty. Everyone's all excited. Well, what Russia did with Assad and, by the way, with Iran, who you made very powerful with the dumbest deal perhaps I've ever seen in the history of deal-making, the Iran deal, with the \$150 billion, with the \$1.7 billion in cash, which is enough to fill up this room.

But look at that deal. Iran now and Russia are now against us. So she wants to fight. She wants to fight for rebels. There's only one problem. You don't even know who the rebels are. So what's the purpose?

.
.TRUMP: And one thing I have to say.

.
.TRUMP: I don't like Assad at all, but Assad is killing ISIS. Russia is killing ISIS. And Iran is killing ISIS. And those three have now lined up because of our weak foreign policy.

TRUMP: OK. He and I haven't spoken, and I disagree. I disagree.

.
.TRUMP: I think you have to knock out ISIS. Right now, Syria is fighting ISIS. We have people that want to fight both at the same time. But Syria is no longer Syria. Syria is Russia and it's Iran, who she made strong and Kerry and Obama made into a very powerful nation and a very rich nation, very, very quickly, very, very quickly.

I believe we have to get ISIS. We have to worry about ISIS before we can get too much more involved. She had a chance to do something with Syria. They had a chance. And that was the line. And she didn't.

.
.TRUMP: I think Aleppo is a disaster, humanitarian-wise.

.
.TRUMP: I think that it basically has fallen. OK? It basically has fallen. Let me tell you something. You take a look at Mosul. The biggest problem I have with the stupidity of our foreign policy, we have Mosul. They think a lot of the ISIS leaders are in Mosul. So we have announcements coming out of Washington and coming out of Iraq, we will be attacking Mosul in three weeks or four weeks.

Well, all of these bad leaders from ISIS are leaving Mosul. Why can't they do it quietly? Why can't they do the attack, make it a sneak attack, and after the attack is made, inform the American public that we've knocked out the leaders, we've had a tremendous success? People leave. Why do they

have to say we're going to be attacking Mosul within the next four to six weeks, which is what they're saying? How stupid is our country?

.
TRUMP: I can't think of any. I can't think of any. And I'm pretty good at it.

TRUMP: And we have General Flynn. And we have -- look, I have 200 generals and admirals who endorsed me. I have 21 Congressional Medal of Honor recipients who endorsed me. We talk about it all the time. They understand, why can't they do something secretly, where they go in and they knock out the leadership? How -- why would these people stay there? I've been reading now...

.
TRUMP: ... for weeks -- I've been reading now for weeks about Mosul, that it's the harbor of where -- you know, between Raqqa and Mosul, this is where they think the ISIS leaders are. Why would they be saying -- they're not staying there anymore. They're gone. Because everybody's talking about how Iraq, which is us with our leadership, goes in to fight Mosul.

Now, with these 200 admirals and generals, they can't believe it. All I say is this. General George Patton, General Douglas MacArthur are spinning in their grave at the stupidity of what we're doing in the Middle East.

CLINTON: I would not use American ground forces in Syria. I think that would be a very serious mistake. I don't think American troops should be holding territory, which is what they would have to do as an occupying force. I don't think that is a smart strategy.

I do think the use of special forces, which we're using, the use of enablers and trainers in Iraq, which has had some positive effects, are very much in our interests, and so I do support what is happening, but let me just...

.
CLINTON: Well, Martha, I hope that by the time I -- if I'm fortunate...

TRUMP: Everything.

CLINTON: I hope by the time I am president that we will have pushed ISIS out of Iraq. I do think that there is a good chance that we can take Mosul. And, you know, Donald says he knows more about ISIS than the generals. No, he doesn't.

There are a lot of very important planning going on, and some of it is to signal to the Sunnis in the area, as well as Kurdish Peshmerga fighters, that we all need to be in this. And that takes a lot of planning and preparation.

I would go after Baghdadi. I would specifically target Baghdadi, because I think our targeting of Al Qaida leaders -- and I was involved in a lot of those operations, highly classified ones -- made a difference. So I think that could help.

I would also consider arming the Kurds. The Kurds have been our best partners in Syria, as well as Iraq. And I know there's a lot of concern about that in some circles, but I think they should have the equipment they need so that Kurdish and Arab fighters on the ground are the principal way that we take Raqqa after pushing ISIS out of Iraq.

.
TRUMP: You know what's funny? She went over a minute over, and you don't stop her. When I go one second over, it's like a big deal.

.
TRUMP: It's really -- it's really very interesting.

.

TRUMP: Absolutely. I mean, she calls our people deplorable, a large group, and irredeemable. I will be a president for all of our people. And I'll be a president that will turn our inner cities around and will give strength to people and will give economics to people and will bring jobs back.

Because NAFTA, signed by her husband, is perhaps the greatest disaster trade deal in the history of the world. Not in this country. It stripped us of manufacturing jobs. We lost our jobs. We lost our money. We lost our plants. It is a disaster. And now she wants to sign TPP, even though she says now she's for it. She called it the gold standard. And by the way, at the last debate, she lied, because it turned out that she did say the gold standard and she said she didn't say it. They actually said that she lied. OK? And she lied. But she's lied about a lot of things.

I would be a president for all of the people, African- Americans, the inner cities. Devastating what's happening to our inner cities. She's been talking about it for years. As usual, she talks about it, nothing happens. She doesn't get it done.

Same with the Latino Americans, the Hispanic Americans. The same exact thing. They talk, they don't get it done. You go into the inner cities and -- you see it's 45 percent poverty. African-Americans now 45 percent poverty in the inner cities. The education is a disaster. Jobs are essentially nonexistent.

I mean, it's -- you know, and I've been saying at big speeches where I have 20,000 and 30,000 people, what do you have to lose? It can't get any worse. And she's been talking about the inner cities for 25 years. Nothing's going to ever happen.

Let me tell you, if she's president of the United States, nothing's going to happen. It's just going to be talk. And all of her friends, the taxes we were talking about, and I would just get it by osmosis. She's not doing any me favors. But by doing all the others' favors, she's doing me favors.

TRUMP: But I will tell you, she's all talk. It doesn't get done. All you have to do is take a look at her Senate run. Take a look at upstate New York.

TRUMP: It turned out to be a disaster.

CLINTON: Well, 67 percent of the people voted to re-elect me when I ran for my second term, and I was very proud and very humbled by that.

Mr. Carter, I have tried my entire life to do what I can to support children and families. You know, right out of law school, I went to work for the Children's Defense Fund. And Donald talks a lot about, you know, the 30 years I've been in public service. I'm proud of that. You know, I started off as a young lawyer working against discrimination against African-American children in schools and in the criminal justice system.

I worked to make sure that kids with disabilities could get a public education, something that I care very much about. I have worked with Latinos -- one of my first jobs in politics was down in south Texas registering Latino citizens to be able to vote. So I have a deep devotion, to use your absolutely correct word, to making sure that an every American feels like he or she has a place in our country.

And I think when you look at the letters that I get, a lot of people are worried that maybe they wouldn't have a place in Donald Trump's America. They write me, and one woman wrote me about her son, Felix. She adopted him from Ethiopia when he was a toddler. He's 10 years old now. This is the only one country he's ever known. And he listens to Donald on TV and he said to his mother one day, will he send me back to Ethiopia if he gets elected?

You know, children listen to what is being said. To go back to the very, very first question. And there's a lot of fear -- in fact, teachers and parents are calling it the Trump effect. Bullying is up. A lot of people are feeling, you know, uneasy. A lot of kids are expressing their concerns.

So, first and foremost, I will do everything I can to reach out to everybody.

.
CLINTON: Democrats, Republicans, independents, people across our country. If you don't vote for me, I still want to be your president.

.
CLINTON: I want to be the best president I can be for every American.

CLINTON: Well, within hours I said that I was sorry about the way I talked about that, because my argument is not with his supporters. It's with him and with the hateful and divisive campaign that he has run, and the inciting of violence at his rallies, and the very brutal kinds of comments about not just women, but all Americans, all kinds of Americans.

And what he has said about African-Americans and Latinos, about Muslims, about POWs, about immigrants, about people with disabilities, he's never apologized for. And so I do think that a lot of the tone and tenor that he has said -- I'm proud of the campaign that Bernie Sanders and I ran. We ran a campaign based on issues, not insults. And he is supporting me 100 percent.

.
CLINTON: Because we talked about what we wanted to do. We might have had some differences, and we had a lot of debates...

.
TRUMP: ... but we believed that we could make the country better. And I was proud of that.

.
TRUMP: We have a divided nation. We have a very divided nation. You look at Charlotte. You look at Baltimore. You look at the violence that's taking place in the inner cities, Chicago, you take a look at Washington, D.C.

We have an increase in murder within our cities, the biggest in 45 years. We have a divided nation, because people like her -- and believe me, she has tremendous hate in her heart. And when she said deplorables, she meant it. And when she said irredeemable, they're irredeemable, you didn't mention that, but when she said they're irredeemable, to me that might have been even worse.

.
TRUMP: She's got tremendous -- she's got tremendous hatred. And this country cannot take another four years of Barack Obama, and that's what you're getting with her.

.
TRUMP: No, there wasn't check out a sex tape. It was just take a look at the person that she built up to be this wonderful Girl Scout who was no Girl Scout.

TRUMP: By the way, just so you understand, when she said 3 o'clock in the morning, take a look at Benghazi. She said who is going to answer the call at 3 o'clock in the morning? Guess what? She didn't answer it, because when Ambassador Stevens...

.

TRUMP: ... 600 -- wait a minute, Anderson, 600 times. Well, she said she was awake at 3 o'clock in the morning, and she also sent a tweet out at 3 o'clock in the morning, but I won't even mention that.

But she said she'll be awake. Who's going -- the famous thing, we're going to answer our call at 3 o'clock in the morning. Guess what happened? Ambassador Stevens -- Ambassador Stevens sent 600 requests for help. And the only one she talked to was Sidney Blumenthal, who's her friend and not a good guy, by the way. So, you know, she shouldn't be talking about that.

Now, tweeting happens to be a modern day form of communication. I mean, you can like it or not like it. I have, between Facebook and Twitter, I have almost 25 million people. It's a very effective way of communication. So you can put it down, but it is a very effective form of communication. I'm not un-proud of it, to be honest with you.

CLINTON: No.

TRUMP: I'm shocked to hear that.

CLINTON: Well, it's not only my opinion. It's the opinion of many others, national security experts, Republicans, former Republican members of Congress. But it's in part because those of us who have had the great privilege of seeing this job up close and know how difficult it is, and it's not just because I watched my husband take a \$300 billion deficit and turn it into a \$200 billion surplus, and 23 million new jobs were created, and incomes went up for everybody. Everybody. African-American incomes went up 33 percent.

And it's not just because I worked with George W. Bush after 9/11, and I was very proud that when I told him what the city needed, what we needed to recover, he said you've got it, and he never wavered. He stuck with me.

And I have worked and I admire President Obama. He inherited the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. That was a terrible time for our country.

CLINTON: Nine million people lost their jobs.

CLINTON: Five million homes were lost.

CLINTON: And \$13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out. We are back on the right track. He would send us back into recession with his tax plans that benefit the wealthiest of Americans.

TRUMP: We have the slowest growth since 1929.

TRUMP: It is -- our country has the slowest growth and jobs are a disaster.

CLINTON: Thank you. Well, you're right. This is one of the most important issues in this election. I want to appoint Supreme Court justices who understand the way the world really works, who have real-life experience, who have not just been in a big law firm and maybe clerked for a judge and then gotten on the bench, but, you know, maybe they tried some more cases, they actually understand what people are up against.

Because I think the current court has gone in the wrong direction. And so I would want to see the Supreme Court reverse Citizens United and get dark, unaccountable money out of our politics. Donald doesn't agree with that.

I would like the Supreme Court to understand that voting rights are still a big problem in many parts of our country, that we don't always do everything we can to make it possible for people of color and older people and young people to be able to exercise their franchise. I want a Supreme Court that will stick with *Roe v. Wade* and a woman's right to choose, and I want a Supreme Court that will stick with marriage equality.

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

I want a Supreme Court that doesn't always side with corporate interests. I want a Supreme Court that understands because you're wealthy and you can give more money to something doesn't mean you have any more rights or should have any more rights than anybody else.

So I have very clear views about what I want to see to kind of change the balance on the Supreme Court. And I regret deeply that the Senate has not done its job and they have not permitted a vote on the person that President Obama, a highly qualified person, they've not given him a vote to be able to be have the full complement of nine Supreme Court justices. I think that was a dereliction of duty.

I hope that they will see their way to doing it, but if I am so fortunate enough as to be president, I will immediately move to make sure that we fill that, we have nine justices that get to work on behalf of our people.

TRUMP: Justice Scalia, great judge, died recently. And we have a vacancy. I am looking to appoint judges very much in the mold of Justice Scalia. I'm looking for judges -- and I've actually picked 20 of them so that people would see, highly respected, highly thought of, and actually very beautifully reviewed by just about everybody.

But people that will respect the Constitution of the United States. And I think that this is so important. Also, the Second Amendment, which is totally under siege by people like Hillary Clinton. They'll respect the Second Amendment and what it stands for, what it represents. So important to me.

Now, Hillary mentioned something about contributions just so you understand. So I will have in my race more than \$100 million put in -- of my money, meaning I'm not taking all of this big money from all of these different corporations like she's doing. What I ask is this.

So I'm putting in more than -- by the time it's finished, I'll have more than \$100 million invested. Pretty much self-funding money. We're raising money for the Republican Party, and we're doing tremendously on the small donations, \$61 average or so.

I ask Hillary, why doesn't -- she made \$250 million by being in office. She used the power of her office to make a lot of money. Why isn't she funding, not for \$100 million, but why don't you put \$10 million or \$20 million or \$25 million or \$30 million into your own campaign?

It's \$30 million less for special interests that will tell you exactly what to do and it would really, I think, be a nice sign to the American public. Why aren't you putting some money in? You have a lot

of it. You've made a lot of it because of the fact that you've been in office. Made a lot of it while you were secretary of state, actually. So why aren't you putting money into your own campaign? I'm just curious.

.
CLINTON: Well...

.
CLINTON: The question was about the Supreme Court. And I just want to quickly say, I respect the Second Amendment. But I believe there should be comprehensive background checks, and we should close the gun show loophole, and close the online loophole.

.
CLINTON: We have to save as many lives as we possibly can.

TRUMP: Absolutely. I think it's such a great question, because energy is under siege by the Obama administration. Under absolutely siege. The EPA, Environmental Protection Agency, is killing these energy companies. And foreign companies are now coming in buying our -- buying so many of our different plants and then re-jiggering the plant so that they can take care of their oil.

We are killing -- absolutely killing our energy business in this country. Now, I'm all for alternative forms of energy, including wind, including solar, et cetera. But we need much more than wind and solar.

And you look at our miners. Hillary Clinton wants to put all the miners out of business. There is a thing called clean coal. Coal will last for 1,000 years in this country. Now we have natural gas and so many other things because of technology. We have unbelievable -- we have found over the last seven years, we have found tremendous wealth right under our feet. So good. Especially when you have \$20 trillion in debt.

I will bring our energy companies back. They'll be able to compete. They'll make money. They'll pay off our national debt. They'll pay off our tremendous budget deficits, which are tremendous. But we are putting our energy companies out of business. We have to bring back our workers.

You take a look at what's happening to steel and the cost of steel and China dumping vast amounts of steel all over the United States, which essentially is killing our steelworkers and our steel companies. We have to guard our energy companies. We have to make it possible.

The EPA is so restrictive that they are putting our energy companies out of business. And all you have to do is go to a great place like West Virginia or places like Ohio, which is phenomenal, or places like Pennsylvania and you see what they're doing to the people, miners and others in the energy business. It's a disgrace.

.
TRUMP: It's an absolute disgrace.

.
CLINTON: And actually -- well, that was very interesting. First of all, China is illegally dumping steel in the United States and Donald Trump is buying it to build his buildings, putting steelworkers and American steel plants out of business. That's something that I fought against as a senator and that I would have a trade prosecutor to make sure that we don't get taken advantage of by China on steel or anything else.

You know, because it sounds like you're in the business or you're aware of people in the business -- you know that we are now for the first time ever energy-independent. We are not dependent upon the Middle East. But the Middle East still controls a lot of the prices. So the price of oil has been

way down. And that has had a damaging effect on a lot of the oil companies, right? We are, however, producing a lot of natural gas, which serves as a bridge to more renewable fuels. And I think that's an important transition.

We've got to remain energy-independent. It gives us much more power and freedom than to be worried about what goes on in the Middle East. We have enough worries over there without having to worry about that.

So I have a comprehensive energy policy, but it really does include fighting climate change, because I think that is a serious problem. And I support moving toward more clean, renewable energy as quickly as we can, because I think we can be the 21st century clean energy superpower and create millions of new jobs and businesses.

But I also want to be sure that we don't leave people behind. That's why I'm the only candidate from the very beginning of this campaign who had a plan to help us revitalize coal country, because those coal miners and their fathers and their grandfathers, they dug that coal out. A lot of them lost their lives. They were injured, but they turned the lights on and they powered their factories. I don't want to walk away from them. So we've got to do something for them.

.
CLINTON: But the price of coal is down worldwide. So we have to look at this comprehensively.

.
CLINTON: And that's exactly what I have proposed. I hope you will go to HillaryClinton.com and look at my entire policy.

CLINTON: Well, I certainly will, because I think that's a very fair and important question. Look, I respect his children. His children are incredibly able and devoted, and I think that says a lot about Donald. I don't agree with nearly anything else he says or does, but I do respect that. And I think that is something that as a mother and a grandmother is very important to me.

So I believe that this election has become in part so -- so conflict-oriented, so intense because there's a lot at stake. This is not an ordinary time, and this is not an ordinary election. We are going to be choosing a president who will set policy for not just four or eight years, but because of some of the important decisions we have to make here at home and around the world, from the Supreme Court to energy and so much else, and so there is a lot at stake. It's one of the most consequential elections that we've had.

And that's why I've tried to put forth specific policies and plans, trying to get it off of the personal and put it on to what it is I want to do as president. And that's why I hope people will check on that for themselves so that they can see that, yes, I've spent 30 years, actually maybe a little more, working to help kids and families. And I want to take all that experience to the White House and do that every single day.

.
TRUMP: Well, I consider her statement about my children to be a very nice compliment. I don't know if it was meant to be a compliment, but it is a great -- I'm very proud of my children. And they've done a wonderful job, and they've been wonderful, wonderful kids. So I consider that a compliment.

Third presidential debate**TRANSCRIPT**

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.

TRUMP: Chris, I think it's..

.TRUMP: 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.

.TRUMP: We are a country of laws. We either have — and by the way...

.TRUMP: Well — well, but she said one thing.

.CLINTON: I voted for border security, and there are...

.TRUMP: And the wall.

.CLINTON: There are some limited places where that was appropriate. There also is necessarily going to be new technology and how best to deploy that.

But it is clear, when you look at what Donald has been proposing, he started his campaign bashing immigrants, calling Mexican immigrants rapists and criminals and drug dealers, that he has a very different 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.

.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.

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

.CLINTON: We will not have open borders. That is...

CLINTON: That is a rank mischaracterization.

.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...

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

.TRUMP: Thank you.

.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 in this election, that he rejects Russian espionage against Americans, which he actually encouraged in the past? Those are the questions we need answered. We've never had anything like this happen in any of our elections before.

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

.TRUMP: So just to finish on the borders...

.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...

.TRUMP: ... from everything I see, has no respect for this person.

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

.TRUMP: No puppet. No puppet.

.CLINTON: And it's pretty clear...

.TRUMP: You're the puppet!

.CLINTON: It's pretty clear you won't admit...

.TRUMP: No, you're the puppet.

.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.

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

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

.CLINTON: I am not quoting myself.

.TRUMP: She has no idea.

.CLINTON: I am quoting 17...

.TRUMP: Hillary, you have no idea.

.CLINTON: ... 17 intelligence — do you doubt 17 military and civilian...

.TRUMP: And our country has no idea.

.CLINTON: ... agencies.

.TRUMP: Yeah, I doubt it. I doubt it.

.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...

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

.TRUMP: Excuse me. Putin has outsmarted her in Syria.

.TRUMP: He's outsmarted her every step of the way.

.TRUMP: Yes, that's fine.

.TRUMP: By Russia or anybody else.

.TRUMP: Of course I condemn. Of course I — I don't know Putin. I have no idea.

.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.

.TRUMP: And she always will be.

.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...

.TRUMP: Wrong.

.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.

.TRUMP: I have 200 generals...

.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.

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

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

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

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

.TRUMP: And defend yourselves.

.CLINTON: ... of language — well...

.TRUMP: And defend yourselves. I didn't say nuclear. And defend yourself.

.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.

.TRUMP: Yes.

.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 program since World War II, jobs in infrastructure and advanced manufacturing. I think we can compete with high-wage countries, and I believe we should. New jobs 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.

.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...

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

.TRUMP: ... right now, our country is dying at 1 percent GDP.

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

.TRUMP: You can't.

.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 casted 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.

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

.TRUMP: Correct.

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?

.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.

.TRUMP: Over a 10-year period.

.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.

.TRUMP: And that will be as bad as NAFTA.

.CLINTON: Well, first, let me say, number one, when I saw the final agreement for TPP, I said I was against it. It didn't meet my test. I've had the same test. Does it create jobs, raise incomes, and further our national security? I'm against it now. I'll be against it after the election. I'll be against it when I'm president.

There's only one of us on this stage who'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.

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

.TRUMP: Well, let me just say — let me just say.

.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.

.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?

.CLINTON: No, I voted.

.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.

.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.

.TRUMP: Give me a break.

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

.TRUMP: Well, I think I did a much better job. I built a massive company, a great company, some of the greatest assets anywhere in the world, worth many, many billions of dollars. I started with a \$1 million loan. I agree with that. It's a \$1 million loan. But I built a phenomenal company.

And if we could run our country the way I've run my company, we would have a country that 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.

.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.

.CLINTON: Well...

.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.

.TRUMP: I did not say that. I did not say that.

.CLINTON: In fact, he went on to say...

.TRUMP: I did not say that.

.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.

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

.

.TRUMP:

Nobody has more respect...

.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.

.CLINTON: Well, every time Donald is pushed on something which is obviously uncomfortable, like what these women are saying, he immediately goes to denying responsibility. And it's not just about women. He never apologizes or says he's sorry for anything.

So we know what he has said and what he's done to women. But he also went after a disabled reporter, mocked and mimicked him on national television.

.TRUMP: Wrong.

.CLINTON: He went after Mr. and Mrs. Khan, the parents of a young man who died serving our country, a Gold Star family, because of their religion. He went after John McCain, a prisoner of war, said he prefers “people 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.

.TRUMP: So sad when she talks about violence at my rallies, and she caused the violence. It’s on tape.

.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...

.TRUMP: ... but those other charges, as she knows, are false.

.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...

.CLINTON: ... we have made environments in schools healthier for kids, including healthier lunches...

.CLINTON: Well, it is an open discussion. And you...

.CLINTON: Well, but there is no — but there is no evidence — but there is...

.TRUMP: I think that it’s been very well...

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

.TRUMP: It’s been very well studied.

.CLINTON: ... and the high rankings...

.TRUMP: ... and it’s a criminal enterprise, and so many people know it.

.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.

.CLINTON: Well, very quickly, we at the Clinton Foundation spend 90 percent — 90 percent of all the money that is donated on behalf of programs 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...

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

.TRUMP: They don't want you to help them anymore.

.

.TRUMP: 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.

.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.

.TRUMP: There was. There was. And, by the way...

.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.

.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.

.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 dollars...

.TRUMP: Let me just explain.

.TRUMP: Most of her donors have done the same thing as I do.

.TRUMP: You know what she should have done?

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

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

.CLINTON: Well, you know...

.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...

.CLINTON: Made with Chinese steel.

.TRUMP: But I will tell you, I sat there...

.

.TRUMP:

... 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.

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

.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.

.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...

.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.

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

.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 program three years in a row and he started tweeting that the Emmys were rigged against him.

.TRUMP: Should have gotten it.

.

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

.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...

.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.

.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.

.TRUMP: I think we've never had a situation so bad in this country.

.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.

.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.

.TRUMP: The point is, the big winner is going to be Iran.

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

.TRUMP: Wrong.

.CLINTON: ... a very clear fact that...

.TRUMP: Wrong.

.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.

.TRUMP: Wrong.

.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 conspiracy.

.TRUMP: Chris, we don't gain anything.

.CLINTON: He has all the conspiracy theories...

.

.TRUMP: Iran is taking over Iraq.

.

.TRUMP: Iran is taking over Iraq. We don't gain anything.

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

.TRUMP: If they did it by surprise...

.

.CLINTON: He says...

.

.TRUMP: We could have gained if they did it by surprise.

.CLINTON: ... unfit, and he proves it every time he talks.

.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.

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

.TRUMP: Which is a big mistake.

.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.

.TRUMP: It's a catastrophe. I mean...

.TRUMP: ... it's a mess.

.TRUMP: Have you seen it? Have you seen it?

.TRUMP: Have you seen what's happening to Aleppo?

.TRUMP: OK, so it hasn't fallen. Take a look at it.

.TRUMP: That's right. And they are being slaughtered...

.TRUMP: ... because of bad decisions.

.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...

.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.

.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.

.TRUMP: But I just have to...

.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.

.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.

.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.

.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...

.TRUMP: Yeah, yeah, we've heard — we've heard this before, Hillary.

.CLINTON: I started off with — my dad was a small-business man.

.TRUMP: We've heard this before.

.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.

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

.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.

.TRUMP: And frankly, now we're going to do it right.

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

.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.

.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...

.TRUMP: Such a nasty woman.

.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 repeals it, our Medicare problem gets worse. What we need to do is go after...

.TRUMP: Your husband disagrees with you.

.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.

.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.

.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.