## INTRODUCTION

1. David Halberstam, "President Video," Esquire, June 1976, 130.

2. On 26 September 1985 the Chicago Museum of Broadcast Communications held a "Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Gala," which brought together many of the surviving principals involved in the first Kennedy-Nixon debate. The event took place in Studio One at WBBM, the site of the debate.

3. Rogers was interviewed on the *Lee Phillip Show*, WBBM, Chicago, 22 September 1985.

4. Jules Witcover, "The Bottom Line Is Style," *Washington Post*, 19 September 76, A4.

5. Howard K. Smith, *Events Leading up to My Death* (New York: St. Martin's, 1996), 263; and *Lee Phillip Show*.

6. Rogers was interviewed on the PBS documentary *Nixon*, produced by Elizabeth Deane for the *American Experience* series, 1990.

7. Christopher Matthews, *Kennedy and Nixon: The Rivalry That Shaped Postwar America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 145.

8. Ibid., 149.

9. Sig Mickelson, From Whistle Stop to Sound Bite: Four Decades of Politics and Television (New York: Praeger, 1989), 123.

10. Mary Cremmen, "Listening Party," Boston Globe, 27 September 1960, 1, 9.

11. Earl Mazo et al., *The Great Debates* (Santa Barbara: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1962), 4; and J. Leonard Reinsch, *Getting Elected: From Radio and Roosevelt to Television and Reagan* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1988), 143.

12. Halberstam, "President Video," 132.

13. Theodore White, *The Making of the President 1960* (New York: Atheneum, 1961), 288–89.

14. Eric Barnouw, *The Image Empire: A History of Broadcasting in the United States from 1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 164.

15. Terry Turner, "What 'Debate' Didn't Show," *Chicago Daily News*, 27 September 1960, 35.

16. Mickelson, From Whistle Stop to Sound Bite, 122.

17. White, The Making of the President 1960, 285.

18. Debate transcriptions used throughout this book were prepared by the Commission on Presidential Debates. They are available on the commission's website (www.debates.org).

19. Fawn Brodie, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (New York: Norton, 1981), 427.

20. Kenneth P. O'Donnell and David F. Powers, with Joe McCarthy, *Johnny*, *We Hardly Knew Ye: Memories of John Fitzgerald Kennedy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972), 213.

21. William Braden, "Some Tidbits for Posterity," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 27 September 1960, 18.

22. Hewitt made this remark at the "Twenty-fifth Anniversary Gala."

23. Cremmen, "Listening Party," 9.

24. Emilie Tavel, "Back at Hyannis Port . . .," *Christian Science Monitor*, 27 September 1960, 6.

25. Richard Nixon, Six Crises (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962), 340.

26. "Pat Sees Nixon 1st Time on TV: 'Looked Great,'" *Boston Evening Globe*, 27 September 1960, 9; and Richard T. Stout, "Nixon Aides Admit Makeup Job," *Chicago Daily News*, 30 September 1960, 4.

27. White, *The Making of the President 1960*, 291; and "The Campaign: Candid Camera," *Time*, 10 October 1960, 20.

28. Todd Gitlin, "Bites and Blips: Chunk News, Savvy Talk, and the Bifurcation

of American Politics," in *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere in the New Media Age* (London: Routledge, 1991), 132.

29. George J. Church, "Debating the Debates," Time, 29 October 1984, 31.

30. James B. Lemert et. al., *News Verdicts, the Debates, and Presidential Campaigns* (New York: Praeger, 1991), 85.

#### CHAPTER ONE

1. Halberstam, "President Video," 134.

2. Ibid., 94.

3. Transcript of "Debating the Debates: Defining Moments in Presidential Campaigns," a symposium presented by the Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs, 15 October 1996, 31; and Herbert G. Klein, *Making It Perfectly Clear: An Inside Account of Nixon's Love-Hate Relationship with the Media* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980), 103.

4. Earl Mazo, "The Great Debates," in Mazo et al., The Great Debates, 3.

5. Walter Lippman, "Today and Tomorrow; the TV Debate," *Washington Post*, 29 September 1960, A23; and Mickelson, *From Whistle Stop to Sound Bite*, 134.

6. Goldwater's quote was replayed in an obituary of the Arizona senator that aired on *The News Hour with Jim Lehrer*, PBS, 28 May 1998. See also two autobiographical books by Goldwater: *The Conscience of a Majority* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 37; and *With No Apologies: The Personal and Political Memoirs of United States Senator Barry M. Goldwater* (New York: Morrow, 1979), 156.

7. Newton Minow, J. B. Martin, and Lee Mitchell, *Presidential Television* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 54.

8. Edward Walsh, "Ford Picks Dole for No. 2 Spot, Challenges Carter to a Debate," *Washington Post*, 20 August 1976, 1.

9. Jonathan Moore and Janet Fraser, eds., *Campaign for President: The Managers Look at '76* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1977), 122.

10. Anthony Corrado, "Background Paper," in *Let America Decide* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1995), 117.

11. Walter Fisher, "Soap Box Derby," *University of Southern California Chronicle*, October 1980, 3.

12. Pat Oliphant, *Washington Star*, 11 September 1980, A-17; Robert G. Kaiser, "Carter Winning Gamble on Debates," *Washington Post*, 18 September 1980, A1.

13. Godfrey Sperling Jr., "The 2/3 Debate: Whose Risks Are Greatest?" *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 September 1980, 3.

14. Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President* (New York: Bantam, 1982), 543.

15. Hamilton Jordan, *Crisis: The Last Year of the Carter Presidency* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1982), 353; and Elizabeth Drew, *Portrait of an Election: The 1980 Presidential Campaign* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), 410. Patrick Caddell's "Debate Strategy Memorandum," reprinted in its entirety (410–39) offers an interesting insight into the Carter camp's strategic thinking before the 1980 debate.

16. Michael Deaver, interview by author, 17 June 1998.

17. Richard Wirthlin, interview by author, 2 September 1998.

18. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "The Decision to Debate," *Washington Post*, 20 October 1980, A21.

19. Myles Martel, *Political Campaign Communication: Images, Strategies, and Tactics* (New York: Longman, 1983), 18.

20. NBC News, "Postscript," 28 October 1980.

21. William F. Buckley, "When I Debated Reagan," *New York Times*, 11 September 1984, A23.

22. Deaver, interview.

23. Michael Kelly, "Those Chicken Georges And What They Mean," *New York Times*, 30 September 1992, A21.

24. Ibid. Bush's draft reference was to Bill Clinton's military inexperience; "Arkansas River" apparently had to do with water pollution caused by the chicken-processing industry in Clinton's home state.

25. Dan Routman, interview by author, 31 August 1998.

26. James Brooke, "Perot Assails His Exclusion from Debates," *New York Times*, 19 September 1996, 1, B12.

27. James A. Baker 3d, interview by author, 4 September 1998.

28. Mickey Kantor, interview by author, 20 July 1998.

29. Charles T. Royer, ed., *Campaign for President: The Managers Look at '92* (Hollis, N.H.: Hollis Publishing, 1994), 236.

30. "Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Gala," Chicago Museum of Broadcast Communications, 26 September 1985.

31. Herbert A. Seltz and Richard D. Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates," in Sidney Kraus, ed., *The Great Debates: Background, Perspective, Effects* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), 122.

32. Memorandum, Stephen M. Travis to Stuart E. Eizenstat and Al Stern, 27 August 1976, Domestic Policy Staff: Stern Box 1, Folder "Debates—Carter/Ford," Jimmy Carter Library.

33. James Karayn, "Debate '88: Political Pillow Fight," *Washington Post*, 25 September 1988, C2.

34. Sidney Kraus, *Televised Presidential Debates and Public Policy* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1988), 48.

35. Jody Powell, "When We Organized the Debates," *New York Times*, 11 September 1984, A23.

36. Janet Brown, interview by author, 11 March 1998.

37. Robert Goodwin, interview by author, 15 January 1999.

38. Clay Mulford, interview by author, 28 August 1998.

39. 1992 Memorandum of Understanding, 5, 31.

40. Baker, interview.

41. Lou Cannon, Reagan (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1982), 295.

42. Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover, *Blue Smoke and Mirrors: How Reagan Won and Why Carter Lost the Election of 1980* (New York: Viking, 1981), 276.

43. Terence Smith, "Presidential Debate Format Set; Camps Differ on Time and Place," *New York Times*, 21 October 1980, A1.

44. David Hoffman, "At Least One Debate by Reagan, Mondale Agreed to by Aides," *Washington Post*, 1 September 1984, A4.

45. Elizabeth Drew, *Election Journal: Political Events of 1987–1988* (New York: Morrow, 1989), 283.

46. Richard L. Berke, "If Big Guys Ever Agree, Perot Is Welcome, Too," *New York Times*, 2 October 1992, A18.

47. Robert Goodwin, Memorandum of Conversation, written after the negotiating meeting on 1 October 1992 and provided to the author by Goodwin.

48. David Von Drehle, "Punditocracy Faces Dizzying Spin Cycle," *Washington Post*, 3 October 1992, A1.

49. Roger Simon, Show Time (New York: Times Books, 1998), 278.

50. Joan Quigley, What Does Joan Say? My Seven Years as White House Astrologer to Nancy and Ronald Reagan (Secaucus, N.J.: Birch Lane, 1990), 92.

51. Deaver, interview.

52. Klein, Making It Perfectly Clear, 103.

53. Richard M. Nixon, Six Crises (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962), 324.

54. Richard C. Leone, interview by author, 6 April 1998.

55. Robert W. Sarnoff, "An NBC View," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Background, Perspective, Effects*, 61.

56. Nancy Reagan, *My Turn: The Memoirs of Nancy Reagan* (New York: Random House, 1989), 266.

57. Elizabeth Drew, *Campaign Journal: The Political Events of 1983–1983* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 691–92.

58. Douglass Cater, "Notes from Backstage," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Background, Perspective, Effects*, 129.

59. B. Drummond Ayres, "Bush Rejects Panel's Plan for 3 Debates," *New York Times*, 4 September 1992, A13.

60. Kantor, interview; and Royer, Campaign for President, 254.

61. Edward M. Fouhy, "The Debates: A Winning Miniseries," *Washington Journalism Review*, December 1992; Baker, interview.

62. Fouhy, "The Debates," 28.

63. Richard L. Berke, "Debating the Debates: John Q. Defeats Reporters," *New York Times*, 21 October 1992, A19.

64. David M. Alpern, "The Debates," *Newsweek*, 27 September 1976, 28. 65. Baker, interview.

66. J. Leonard Reinsch, *Getting Elected: From Radio and Roosevelt to Television and Reagan* (New York: Hippocrene, 1988), 137.

67. Sidney Kraus, ed., *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford, 1976* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 98.

68. Transcript of "Debating the Debates: Defining Moments in Presidential Campaigns," 76.

69. Memorandum from Robert Goodwin, 1 September 1988, provided to the author by Goodwin.

70. Robert Ajemian, "Jostling for the Edge," Time, 27 September 1976, 11.

71. Memorandum, Greg Schneiders to Jerry Rafshoon, August 1980, Press Powell, Box 8, Folder "Debate Invitations, 8/25/80–9/24/80," Jimmy Carter Library.

72. Bill Keller, "League Irate as Campaigns Select 3 Panelists," *New York Times*, 7 October 1984, 33.

73. Victoria Harian Strella, interview by author, 2 April 1998; and Dorothy Ridings, interview by author, 2 April 1998.

74. Eleanor Randolph, "Journalists Deplore 'Blackballing' of Prospective Debate Panelists," *Washington Post*, 8 October 1984, A16.

75. Ridings, interview.

76. Baker, interview.

77. 1988 Memorandum of Understanding, 7.

78. Paul Taylor, "Democrats Pledge Aggressive Debate," *Washington Post*, 6 October 1984, A3.

## CHAPTER TWO

1. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Eloquence in an Electronic Age: The Challenge of Creating an Informed Electorate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 51.

2. Transcript of "Debates '92: A Symposium," presented by the Commission on Presidential Debates, 9 May 1990, 38.

3. Lou Cannon, Reagan (New York: Putnam, 1982), 297.

4. Myles Martel, "Debate Preparations in the Reagan Camp: An Insider's View," *Speaker and Gavel* 18 (winter 1981): 44.

5. Ronald Reagan, An American Life (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 221.

6. Ibid., 329.

7. Richard Wirthlin, interview by author, 2 September 1988.

8. David S. Broder, "Encounter Leaves Reagan on Course," *Washington Post*, 22 October 1984, A1.

9. Roger Simon, Roadshow (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1990), 271.

10. Richard Stengel, "Ninety Long Minutes in Omaha," *Time*, 17 October 1988, 21.

11. This Week with David Brinkley, ABC, 6 October 1996.

12. Jonathan Moore, ed., *Campaign for President: The Managers Look at '84* (Dover, Mass.: Auburn House, 1986), 217–18.

13. Newsweek Election Issue, November/December 1992, 88.

14. Ibid., 89.

15. Transcript of "Debates '92: A Symposium," 35.

16. Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover, *Mad as Hell: Revolt at the Ballot Box* 1992 (New York: Warner, 1993), 478.

17. Robert V. Friedenberg, "Patterns and Trends in National Political Debates: 1960–1992," in Robert V. Friedenberg, ed., *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates*, 1960–1992, 2d ed. (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994), 243.

18. Wirthlin, interview.

19. Austin Ranney, The American Elections of 1984 (New York: AEI, 1985), 197.

20. Elizabeth Drew, *Portrait of an Election: The 1980 Presidential Campaign* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), 411–12.

21. Jules Witcover, *Marathon: The Pursuit of the Presidency*, 1972–1976 (New York: Viking, 1977), 572.

22. Ron Nessen, It Sure Looks Different from the Inside (Chicago: Playboy, 1978), 261–62.

23. Drew, Portrait of an Election, 426.

24. Wirthlin, interview.

25. Germond and Witcover, Mad as Hell, 465.

26. David S. Broder and Edward Walsh, "Sharp Exchange Marks Democratic Debate," *Washington Post*, 16 March 1992, A1, A11; and Gwen Ifill, "Clinton's 4-Point Plan to Win the First Debate," *New York Times*, 9 October 1992, A21.

27. Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover, *Wake Us When It's Over: Presidential Politics of 1984* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 519.

28. Dayle Hardy-Short, "An Insider's View of the Constraints Affecting Geraldine Ferraro's Preparation for the 1984 Vice Presidential Debate," *Speaker and Gavel* 24 (1986): 18.

29. Judith S. Trent, "The 1984 Bush-Ferraro Vice Presidential Debate," in Friedenberg, *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates*, 128.

30. Germond and Witcover, Wake Us When It's Over, 520.

31. Michael J. Robinson, "The Potential of Presidential Debates," *Washington Post*, 11 September 1976, A15.

32. Diana Carlin, interview by author, 1 September 1998.

33. James A. Baker 3d, interview by author, 4 September 1998.

34. Jack Hilton, "10 Guidelines for Scoring the Debate," *Washington Post*, 26 October 1980, C2.

35. Christine M. Black and Thomas Oliphant, *All by Myself: The Unmaking of a Presidential Campaign* (Chester, Conn.: Globe Pequot, 1989), 269.

36. Kathleen Hall Jamieson and David S. Birdsell, *Presidential Debates: The Challenge of Creating an Informed Electorate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 218.

37. Memorandum, Ted Sorensen to Stu Eizenstat, 27 August 1976, Domestic Policy Staff: Stern Box 1, Folder "Debates—Carter/Ford," Jimmy Carter Library.

38. Myles Martel, "Debate Preparations in the Reagan Camp: An Insider's View," *Speaker and Gavel* 18 (winter 1981): 42.

39. Germond and Witcover, Wake Us When It's Over, 497.

40. Elizabeth Drew, *Campaign Journal: The Political Events of 1983–1984* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 688–89.

41. Peter Goldman and Tony Fuller, *The Quest for the Presidency 1984* (New York: Bantam Books, 1985), 332.

42. Richard C. Leone, interview by author, 12 May 1998.

43. Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover, Whose Broad Stripes and Bright Stars? The Trivial Pursuit of the Presidency, 1988 (New York: Warner, 1989), 10.

44. David R. Runkel, ed., *Campaign for President: The Managers Look at '88* (Dover, Mass.: Auburn House, 1989), 68.

45. Royer, Campaign for President, 251.

Charles McCarry, "The Unasked Question," U.S. News and World Report,
October 1996, 7.

47. Carlin, interview.

48. Katharine Q. Seelye, "Searing Images from Debates Past Are Continuing to Haunt Dole," *New York Times*, 17 October 1996, B11.

49. Joe Klein, "Learning to Run," The New Yorker, 8 December 1997, 53.

50. Michael Deaver, interview by author, 17 June 1998.

51. Leone, interview; and Runkel, Campaign for President, 221.

52. Nessen, It Sure Looks Different from the Inside, 262–63.

53. Stephen R. Brydon, "The Two Faces of Jimmy Carter: The Transformation of a Presidential Debater, 1976 and 1980," *Central States Speech Journal* 16 (fall 1985): 150–51.

54. Drew, Portrait of an Election, 435.

55. Cannon, *Reagan*, 295.

56. Leone, interview.

57. Roger Ailes, You Are the Message: Secrets of the Master Communicators (Homewood, Ill.: Dow Jones–Irwin, 1988), 22.

58. Craig Allen Smith and Kathy B. Smith, "The 1984 Reagan-Mondale Presidential Debates," in Friedenberg, *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates*, 110.

59. Carlin, interview.

60. Stanley A. Renshon, *High Hopes: The Clinton Presidency and the Politics of Ambition* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 106–7.

61. Jonathan Alter, "The Expectations Game," *Newsweek*, 26 September 1988, 17.

62. Samuel Popkin, "Incumbency and Debates in 1996," provided to the author by Popkin.

63. Kevin Sauter, "The 1976 Mondale-Dole Vice Presidential Debate," in Friedenberg, *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates*, 59.

64. James Hoge, interview by author, 27 March 1998.

65. "Debate Lines," OA/ID 08130, Curt Smith File, White House Office of Speechwriting, Bush Presidential Records, George Bush Presidential Library.

66. Robert Goodwin, interview by author, 15 January 1999.

67. Dan F. Hahn, "The 1992 Carter-Bush-Perot Presidential Debates," in Friedenberg, *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates*, 194.

68. Mari Boor Tonn, "Flirting with Perot: Voter Ambivalence about the Third Candidate," in Diana B. Carlin and Mitchell S. McKinney, *The 1992 Presidential Debates in Focus* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994), 119.

69. James J. Pinkerton, "Instead of Whatever, Dole Needs a Slogan," *Newsday*, 18 October 1996, A55.

70. ABC Postdebate Coverage, 9 October 1996; and *Today Show*, NBC, 10 October 1996.

71. Christopher Matthews, *Kennedy and Nixon: The Rivalry That Shaped Postwar America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 147.

72. David M. Alpern, "The Debates," Newsweek, 27 September 1976, 25, 27.

73. Fay S. Joyce and Joseph Albright, "Carter, Ford Cram for First TV Exam," *Atlanta Constitution*, 19 September 1976, 1.

74. Gerald Ford, *A Time to Heal: The Autobiography of Gerald Ford* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 415.

75. Joyce and Albright, "Carter, Ford Cram for First TV Exam," 12A.

76. Samuel Popkin, interview by author, 7 October 1998.

77. Hamilton Jordan, *Crisis: The Last Year of the Carter Presidency* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1982), 356; and Popkin, interview.

78. David Stockman, *The Triumph of Politics: The Inside Story of the Reagan Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 50.

79. Deaver, interview.

80. Reagan, An American Life, 328.

81. N. Reagan, My Turn, 266.

82. ABC World News Tonight, 11 October 1984.

83. Lou Cannon, *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), 547.

84. Ailes, You Are the Message, 22–23.

85. Unedited videotape of the Reagan pep rally can be viewed in the archives of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California.

86. Deaver, interview.

87. Geraldine Ferraro, Ferraro: My Story (New York: Bantam, 1985), 247.

88. Ibid., 250.

89. Ibid, 252–53.

90. Ibid., 248.

91. Dan Quayle, Standing Firm (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), 61-62.

92. Maureen Dowd, "Quayle Gives Up Chance to Study for Bentsen Debate to Discuss It," *New York Times*, 1 October 1988, 8.

93. Quayle, Standing Firm, 63.

94. Transcript of "Debating the Debates: Defining Moments in Presidential Campaigns," a symposium presented by the Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs, 15 October 1996, 17.

95. Roger Simon, Show Time (New York: Times Books, 1998), 269.

96. Tom Donilon, interview by author, 14 July 1998.

97. Simon, Show Time, 252.

98. Clay Mulford, interview by author, 28 August 1998.

99. NBC Nightly News, 5 October 1996.

100. Transcript of "Debating the Debates: Defining Moments in Presidential Campaigns," 51–52.

CHAPTER THREE

1. "Century-Apart Rivals Similar," Chicago Tribune, 25 September 1960, 9.

2. John Harris, "Jack, Dick Tense as They Clear Decks for Historic TV Encounter Tomorrow," *Boston Globe*, 25 September 1960, 1.

3. Austin C. Wehrwein, "Nominees Agreed on Debate's Value," *New York Times*, 25 September 1960, 52.

4. New York Times, 26 September 1960, 66.

5. Marie Torre, " 'Great Debate' of 1960 Won't Be One After All," *New York Herald Tribune*, 16 September 1960, 8.

6. Tonight Show, NBC, 25 August 1960.

7. "Castro Considers Closing Down U.S. Base by 'International Law,' " *Washington Post*, 27 September 1960, A1. 8. Thomas Patterson, Out of Order (New York: Knopf, 1993), 82.

9. CBS Radio and MBS Radio, 26 September 1960.

10. Roscoe Drummond, "Studio Brinksmanship," *Boston Globe*, 24 September 1960, 6.

11. Robert J. Donovan, "Nixon, Kennedy to Meet in 2nd Debate Tonight," *Washington Post*, 7 October 1960.

12. Joseph Lelyveld, "Kennedy-Nixon Debates a Key to What '76 Clashes May Hold," *New York Times*, 30 August 1976, 11.

13. Jules Witcover, "The Bottom Line Is Style," *Washington Post*, 19 September 1976, A1.

14. NBC Nightly News, 22 September 1976.

15. Elizabeth Drew, "A Reporter in Washington, D.C.," *The New Yorker*, 10 January 1977, 54.

16. Jack Kelly, interview by author, 26 March 1998.

17. NBC Nightly News, 6 October 1976.

18. ABC World News Tonight, 6 October 1976.

19. David S. Broder, "The Final, Crucial Debate," *Washington Post*, 22 October 1976, 1; *ABC World News Tonight*, 22 October 1976; and *NBC Nightly News*, 22 October 1976.

20. *This Week*, ABC, 21 October 1984; and Howard Rosenberg, "Which Skills Will Win Debate?" *Los Angeles Times*, 5 October 1984, VI-1.

21. Steven Strasser, "And Now, Debate II," Newsweek, 22 October 1984, 31.

22. James T. Wooten, "Carter's Aides Expecting Debate to Put People 'Closer to Jimmy," *New York Times*, 23 September 1976, 37.

23. Lou Cannon, "Carter Sees Debate 'Tie' as Victory," *Washington Post*, 4 September 1976, 1.

24. ABC World News Tonight, 5 October 1976.

25. CBS Evening News, 20 September 1980.

26. Lou Cannon and Edward Walsh, "The Debate: A Single Roll of the Dice with White House at Stake," *Washington Post*, 19 October 1980, A5.

27. ABC World News Tonight, 17 October 1980.

28. Germond and Witcover, Whose Broad Stripes and Bright Stars?, 430.

29. Gerald M. Boyd, "Bush Discounts Rise in Jobless Rate," *New York Times*, 4 September 1988, 30.

30. Andrew J. Finke and Todd J. Gillman, "Leading the News: Television Strategies in the 1988 Presidential Campaign," John F. Kennedy School of Government, April 1989, 59.

31. Good Morning America, ABC, 5 October 1988.

32. Inside Politics, CNN, 13 October 1992.

33. Robin Toner, "2 Campaigns Begin Direct Discussion on Debate Format," *New York Times*, 1 October 1992, A1, A18.

34. *Today*, NBC, 30 September 1996; *Inside Politics*, CNN, 26 September 1996; and Adam Nagourney, "Dole Stages a Dress Rehearsal for the Debates," *New York Times*, 2 October 1996, A16.

35. William Goldschlag, "Pardon Bill if He's Ready for Bob Salvo," *New York Daily News*, 5 October 1996, 2; *Live with Regis and Kathie Lee*, 1 October 1996; and Gene Gibbons, "Clinton Begins Debate Prep "Slightly Apprehensive," Reuters North American Wire, 3 October 1996.

36. Margot Hornblower, "Major Debate Impact Held Unlikely," *Washington Post*, 15 October 1976, A7; and *NBC Nightly News*, 15 October 1976.

37. ABC World News Tonight, 11 October 1984.

38. "Bush's Wife Assails Ferraro, but Apologizes," *New York Times*, 9 October 1984, A29; and Juan Williams and Dale Russakoff, "Bush Sticks to Duties as Debate Approaches," *Washington Post*, 10 October 1984, A4.

39. Ferraro, My Story, 249.

40. David Shribman and Laurie McGinley, "Bush, Ferraro to Air Differences," *Wall Street Journal*, 11 October 1984, 64; and "Ferraro Called 'Too Bitchy,'" *Washington Post*, 12 October 1984, A20.

41. ABC World News Tonight, 22 September 1976.

42. Nessen, It Sure Looks Different from the Inside, 263.

43. Richard L. Berke, interview by author, 5 September 1988.

44. Robert G. Kaiser, "Carter Winning Gamble on Debates," *Washington Post*, 18 September 1980, A1.

45. Terence Smith, "Presidential Debate Format Set; Camps Differ on Time and Place," *New York Times*, 21 October 1980, A1.

46. ABC World News Tonight, 20 October 1980.

47. Inside Politics, CNN, 18 September 1996.

48. Interview by author, 5 August 1998. The interviewee, a Clinton negotiator, wishes to remain anonymous.

49. Judy Woodruff, interview by author, 8 March 1998.

50. This Week with David Brinkley, ABC, 11 October 1992.

51. Patterson, Out of Order, 81.

52. Godfrey Sperling Jr., "The Debate—What Carter, Reagan Want to Get from It," *Christian Science Monitor*, 20 October 1980, 12; Cannon and Walsh, "The Debate," A5; CBS Debate Coverage, 28 October 1980.

53. Jeff Greenfield, *The Real Campaign: How the Media Missed the Story of the* 1980 *Campaign* (New York: Summit, 1982), 232.

54. Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President* (New York: Bantam, 1982), 561.

55. Caddell's 1980 memorandum is quoted in Elizabeth Drew, *Portrait of an Election: The 1980 Presidential Campaign* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), 436–37.

56. Germond and Witcover, Wake Us When It's Over, 497.

57. NBC Nightly News, 5 October 1984.

58. E. J. Dionne Jr., "Poll Shows U.S. Voter Optimism Is Helping Bush in the Campaign," *New York Times*, 13 October 1988, 1; and Bernard Weinraub, "No Warming Trend, Dukakis Aides Insist," *New York Times*, 13 October 1988, B10.

59. ABC World News Tonight, 11 October 1984.

60. Jonathan Alter and Eleanor Clift, "The Veep Showdown," *Newsweek*, 10 October 1984, 40.

61. Gerald M. Boyd, "Quayle Getting His Big Chance to Clear Doubts," *New York Times*, 5 October 1988, A30.

62. Inside Politics, CNN, 13 October 1992; Kevin Sack, "Quayle Speaks Just Fine (With a Script, That Is)," *New York Times*, 7 October 1992, A17; and Tad Devine, "Quayle Can't Lose Tonight," *Washington Post*, 13 October 1992, A21.

63. David Von Drehle, "Punditocracy Faces Dizzying Spin Cycle," *Washington Post*, 3 October 1992, A1.

64. CNN Predebate Special, 11 October 1992.

65. This Week with David Brinkley, ABC, 11 October 1992.

66. Ibid.

67. Inside Politics, CNN, 19 October 1992.

68. Ibid., 13 October 1992; and Good Morning America, ABC, 13 October 1992.

69. CBS Evening News, 23 September 1976.

70. Royer, Campaign for President, 252.

71. E. J. Dionne Jr., "Clinton Gets Testy in TV Exchange with Donahue," *Washington Post*, 7 October 1992, A1; and Cathleen Decker, "Clinton Returns to Donahue Show—for a Replay of Feisty Exchanges," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 October 1992, A12.

72. Charles Babington and Paul Duggan, "Gore-Kemp Debate Could Preview Race for White House in 2000," *Washington Post*, 9 October 1996, A16; *ABC World News Tonight*, 9 October 1996; and *Inside Politics*, CNN, 9 October 1996.

73. Meet the Press, NBC, 29 September 1996.

74. CBS Evening News, 16 October 1996.

75. Howard Fineman, "At Close Range," Newsweek, 7 October 1996, 38-39.

76. Michael Kramer, "What Dole Must Say," Time, 7 October 1996, 50-51.

77. ABC World News Tonight, 22 October 1976.

78. Myles Martel, *Political Campaign Debates: Images, Strategies, and Tactics* (New York: Longman, 1983), 13.

79. ABC World News Tonight and NBC Nightly News, 28 October 1980.

80. CBS Evening News, 28 October 1980.

81. CBS Debate Coverage, 7 October 1984, 21 October 1984.

82. ABC World News Tonight, 5 October 1988.

83. McNeil-Lehrer News Hour, PBS, 5 October 1988.

84. ABC World News Tonight, 5 October 1988.

85. Face the Nation, CBS, 16 October 1988.

86. CBS Evening News and ABC World News Tonight, 13 October 1988.

87. ABC World News Tonight, 16 October 1996.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

1. Walter Mondale, interview by Kevin Sauter, 31 March 1989.

2. News Hour with Jim Lehrer, PBS, 4 October 1996.

3. Eric Barnouw, The Image Empire: A History of Broadcasting in the United States from 1953 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 160.

4. Harvey Wheeler, "The Great Debates," in Mazo et al., The Great Debates, 18.

5. "Memorandum on Television Debate with Vice President Nixon September 26th," Clark M. Clifford to Senator John F. Kennedy, 27 September 1960, Personal Papers of Robert F. Kennedy, Pre-Administration Political Files 1952–1960, Kennedy-Nixon Debate Folder, Box 36, John F. Kennedy Library.

6. Seymour M. Hersh, *The Dark Side of Camelot* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1997), 89.

7. Eric Barnouw, *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 277.

8. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Eloquence in an Electronic Age: The Transformation of Political Speechmaking* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 50.

9. Wheeler, "The Great Debates," in Mazo et al., The Great Debates, 11.

10. Eugene Patterson, "Kennedy Owes a Debt to TV," *Atlanta Constitution*, 8 October 1960, 4.

11. Wallace Westfeldt, interview by author, 3 March 1998.

12. Gerald Gardner, *All the President's Wits: The Power of Presidential Humor* (New York: Beech Tree, 1986), 157.

13. Elizabeth Drew, "A Reporter in Washington, D.C.," *The New Yorker*, 10 January 1977, 56; Memorandum, Mike Duval to President Gerald Ford, 18 October 1976, White House Special Files Unit: Presidential Files, Folder "Third Debate: Memos from Duval," Box 3, Gerald R. Ford Library; and Lloyd Bitzer and Theodore Reuter, *Carter vs. Ford: The Counterfeit Debates of 1976* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 132.

14. James Gannon, "Our Man Survives the Great Debate, Is Glad It's All Over," *Wall Street Journal*, 27 September 1976, 1; and Jules Witcover, *Marathon: The Pursuit of the Presidency*, 1972–1976 (New York: Viking, 1977), 578.

15. Nessen, It Sure Looks Different from the Inside, 267.

16. Memorandum, Bill Carruthers to Mike Duval, 20 September 1976,

Michael Raoul-Duval Papers, Folder "Input—Bill Carruthers," Box 29, Gerald R. Ford Library.

17. Memorandum, Dorrance Smith to Mike Duval, 3 September 1976, Michael Raoul-Duval Papers, Folder "Carter Primary Forums," Box 25, Gerald R. Ford Library.

18. CBS Evening News, 24 September 1976.

19. Richard Steele, "Round Two to Carter," Newsweek, 18 October 1976, 21.

20. William Greider, "Last Debate: Substance over Bumbles," *Washington Post*, 23 October 1976, 1.

21. "Words, and Music, in the Debate," *New York Times*, 30 October 1980, A26; and Elizabeth Drew, *Portrait of an Election: The 1980 Presidential Campaign* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), 323.

22. David S. Broder, "Carter on Points, but No KO," *Washington Post*, 29 October 1980, A1, A10; and Tom Brokaw, interview by author, 14 April 1998.

23. Germond and Witcover, Blue Smoke and Mirrors, 284.

24. Broder, interview by author, 12 May 1998.

25. Carter, Keeping Faith, 564-65.

26. William A. Henry III, *Visions of America: How We Saw the 1984 Election* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1985), 242.

27. Hugh Sidey, "The Big Fight Syndrome," *Time*, 29 October 1984, 32; and John Corry, "A Look at Debate Between Reagan and Mondale," *New York Times*, 9 October 1984, C18.

28. ABC World News Tonight, 8 October 1984.

29. Germond and Witcover, Wake Us When It's Over, 535.

30. Transcript of "Debating the Debates: Defining Moments in Presidential Campaigns," a symposium presented by the Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs, 15 October 1996, 41.

31. Bernard Weinraub, "Mondale Farewell," *New York Times*, 8 November 1984, A24.

32. Richard Ben Cramer, *What It Takes: The Way to the White House* (New York: Random House, 1992), 759.

33. William Greider, "Mondale and Dole Better TV Debaters," *Washington Post*, 16 October 1976, A6.

34. Tom Shales, "Round 1: No Big Winner to Speak Of," *Washington Post*, 7 October 1996, C1; and ABC Postdebate Coverage, 6 October 1996.

35. *Today*, NBC, 17 October 1996.

36. Michael Deaver, interview by author, 17 June 1998.

37. Broder, interview.

38. F. Richard Ciccone and Jon Margolis, "Taxes, Energy Focus of Debate," *Chicago Tribune*, 22 September 1980, 1, 5.

39. Gil Troy, See How They Ran: The Changing Role of the Presidential Candidate (New York: Free Press, 1991), 244.

40. Broder, "Carter on Points, but No KO," A1, A10; and John Stacks, "Anatomy of a Landslide," *Time*, 17 November 1980, 31.

41. Germond and Witcover, *Wake Us When It's Over*, 510; and Mary McGrory, "A Ghost of His 1980 Self," *Washington Post*, 9 October 1984, A2.

42. Henry, Visions of America, 26.

43. Hedrick Smith, "Reagan, Anderson Disagree in Debate on Most Key Issues," *New York Times*, 22 September 1980, 1.

44. CBS Evening News, 20 September 1980.

45. Drew, Portrait of an Election, 412.

46. Royer, Campaign for President, 258.

47. Ellen Goodman, "A Debate between Candidates, Not Genders," *Boston Globe*, 13 October 1984, 15.

48. David Hoffman, "Bush Applying Lessons of '84 Ferraro Bout," *Washington Post*, 24 September 1988, A10.

49. George Will, "A National Embarrassment," *Washington Post*, 27 September 1988, A21.

50. "Lectern to Lectern," Newsweek Election Issue, 21 November 1988, 140.

51. Michael Kelly, "Clinton Basks in Glow of Easy Lead in Race," *New York Times*, 13 October 1992, A16.

52. Newsweek Election Issue, November/December 1992, 91.

53. Monica Crowley, *Nixon Off the Record* (New York: Random House, 1996), 125.

54. Brit Hume, interview by author, 21 May 1998.

55. CNN Crossfire, 9 October 1996.

56. Elizabeth Drew, *Campaign Journal: The Political Events of 1983–1984* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 697.

57. CNN Crossfire, 9 October 1996.

58. Robert Healy, "Ferraro Seemed a Natural on TV," *Boston Globe*, 12 October 1984, 1.

59. Peter Goldman and Tony Fuller, *The Quest for the Presidency 1984* (New York: Bantam, 1985), 330–31; and William R. Doerner, "Co-Stars on Center Stage," *Time*, 22 October 1984, 30–31.

60. Ferraro, *My Story*, 265–66.

61. "Lectern to Lectern," *Newsweek*, 21 November 1988, 124; and Christine M. Black and Thomas Oliphant, *All by Myself: The Unmaking of a Presidential Campaign* (Chester, Conn.: Globe Pequot, 1989), 269.

62. David Nyhan, "How Dukakis Is Self-Destructing," *Boston Globe*, 16 October 1988, A31.

63. Kitty Dukakis, Now You Know (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 220.

64. Runkel, Campaign for President, 253–54.

65. Michael Dukakis, interview by author, 11 June 1998.

66. David S. Broder, "JFK's Ghost and the 'Quayle Factor,'" *Washington Post*, 6 October 1988, A1, A32.

67. Warren Weaver, "Bentsen Faces Dual Job in TV Debate Tonight," *New York Times*, 5 October 1988, A30; Jonathan Alter and Eleanor Clift, "The Veep Showdown," *Newsweek*, 10 October 1984, 40; and *Today*, NBC, 5 October 1988.

68. NBC Postdebate Coverage, 5 October 1988.

69. Germond and Witcover, Whose Broad Stripes and Bright Stars?, 43.

70. Elizabeth Drew, *Election Journal: Political Events of 1987–1988* (New York: Morrow, 1989), 302.

71. Dan Quayle, *Standing Firm* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), 65; Tom Shales, "Bentsen and Quayle: A Single Point of Light," *Washington Post*, 6 October 1988, C1; Dukakis, interview.

72. Broder, "JFK's Ghost and the 'Quayle Factor,' " A1, A32; Drew, *Election Journal*, 298.

73. George Will, "Never Give a Child a Sword," *Washington Post*, 6 October 1988, A23.

74. Quayle, Standing Firm, 65.

75. This Week with David Brinkley, ABC, 6 October 1996.

76. Tad Devine, "Quayle Can't Lose Tonight," *Washington Post*, 13 October 1992, A21.

77. R. W. Apple Jr., "Quayle on the Attack," *New York Times*, 14 October 1992, 1.

78. William Safire, "Humans Confront Android," *New York Times*, 15 October 1992, A15.

79. Tom Shales, "The Veep Follies: A Heartbeat Away," *Washington Post*, 14 October 1992, C1.

80. Crowley, Nixon Off the Record, 121.

81. Germond and Witcover, Mad As Hell, 13-14.

82. Richard L. Berke, "Candidates Cram for First Debate," *New York Times*, 11 October 1992, 1.

83. Today, NBC, 7 October 1996.

84. Thomas Oliphant, "Another Wipeout," Boston Globe, 17 October 96, A17.

85. Jeffrey Rosen, "Washington Diarist," *The New Republic*, 11 November 1996, 62.

86. Joe Klein, "Learning to Run," The New Yorker, 8 December 1997, 53-54.

87. Elizabeth Kolbert, "Standing Toe to Toe and Slugging It Out on the Air," *New York Times*, 15 October 1992, A11.

88. Tom Shales, "The Veep Follies," C1; ABC Postdebate Coverage, 13 October 1992; and William Safire, "Humans Confront Android," *New York Times*, 15 October 1992, A15.

89. ABC Postdebate Coverage, 13 October 1992; "Reaction: Viewers Comment," *Boston Globe*, 10 October 1996, A34; Broder, interview; and Robert Goodwin, interview by author, 15 January 1999.

90. Hume, interview.

91. Crowley, Nixon Off the Record, 120.

92. ABC Postdebate Coverage, 11 October 1992; and Michael Kelly, "Clinton Basks in Glow of Easy Lead in Race," *New York Times*, 13 October 1992, A16.

93. Brokaw, interview; and Tom Shales, "The Debate Goes On ... and On and On," *Washington Post*, 16 October 1992, D1.

94. John Mashek, interview by author, 31 March 1998; and Clay Mulford, interview by author, 28 August 1998.

95. Brokaw, interview.

96. *Newsweek* Election Issue, November/December 1992, 90; Shales, "The Veep Follies," C1, C2; and Germond and Witcover, *Mad as Hell*, 477.

97. Kolbert, "Standing Toe to Toe," A11.

98. James Bond Stockdale 2d, "Why Was He There?" *New York Times*, 17 October 1992, A21.

99. Inside Politics, CNN, 14 October 1992.

100. Mary McGrory, " 'No Surprises' School of Debate," *Washington Post*, 20 October 1992, A2.

101. Broder, interview.

102. Dan Goodgame, "From Savior to Scapegoat," *Time*, 21 October 1996, 37; and *Nightline*, ABC, 13 October 1996.

103. This Week with David Brinkley, ABC, 13 October 1996.

104. Martin F. Nolan, "Civility Reigns," *Boston Globe*, 10 October 1996, A27; Christopher Buckley, "No Bark, No Bites," *New York Times*, 11 October 1996, A39; and ABC Postdebate Coverage, 9 October 1996.

#### CHAPTER FIVE

1. David S. Broder, *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look at How the News Is Made* (New York: Simon & Schuster), 267–68; and "Real Presidential Debates," *Washington Post*, 5 September 1984, A19.

2. Tom Brokaw, interview by author, 14 April 1998.

3. Jon Margolis, interview by author, 4 March 1998.

4. Peter Jennings, interview by author, 5 May 1998.

5. Jim Lehrer, interview by author, 11 May 1998.

6. Norma Quarles, interview by author, 23 February 1998.

7. Jack White, interview by author, 24 February 1998.

8. Jeff Greenfield, "There's No Debate: The Format Works," *New York Times*, 13 October 1988, A27.

9. Ibid.

10. Mary McGrory, "Politics Without Punditry," *Washington Post*, 20 September 1992, C1.

11. "TV Debate Backstage: Did the Cameras Lie?" *Newsweek*, 10 October 1960, 25.

12. James P. Gannon, "Our Man Survives the Great Debate, Is Glad It's All Over," *Wall Street Journal*, 27 September 1976, 1; Annie Groer, interview by author, 3 March 1998; and Andrea Mitchell, interview by author, 25 March 1998.

13. John Mashek, interview by author, 31 March 1998.

14. Elizabeth Drew, interview by author, 3 March 1998.

15. Jennings, interview; and Mitchell, interview.

16. Henry Trewhitt, interview by author, 16 March 1998.

17. Nixon, Six Crises, 339.

18. CNN Evening News, 6 October 1988; and Brit Hume, interview by author,

21 May 1998.

19. Brokaw, interview.

20. Jennings, interview.

21. Max Frankel, interview by author, 25 February 1998.

22. Harris Ellis, interview by author, 25 February 1998.

23. Sander Vanocur, interview by author, 2 March 1998.

24. Hal Bruno, interview by author, 10 March 1998.

25. Walter Mears, "A View from the Inside," *Columbia Journalism Review*, January/February 1977, 24.

26. Jack Nelson, interview by author, 23 February 1998.

27. Brokaw, interview.

28. Hume, interview.

29. Brokaw, interview.

30. Walter Mears, interview by author, 23 February 1998.

31. Robert Boyd, interview by author, 23 February 1998.

32. Jane Bryant Quinn, "A Reporter's Complaint," *Newsweek*, 3 October 1980, 42.

33. Mitchell, interview.

34. Simon, Roadshow, 280-98.

35. Robin Toner, "Dukakis Returns to Stump as Aides Paint Rosy Picture," *New York Times*, 15 October 1988, 9; Walter Shapiro, "Bush Scores a Warm Win," *Time*, 24 October 1988, 18; and Bruno, interview.

36. Judy Woodruff, interview by author, 8 March 1998.

37. James Hoge, interview by author, 27 March 1998.

38. Dorothy Ridings, interview by author, 2 April 1998.

39. James A. Baker 3d, interview by author, 4 September 1998; and Richard C. Leone, interview by author, 6 April 1998.

40. Tom Shales, "The Debates, Round 1," Washington Post, 8 October 1984, D1, D4.

41. Eleanor Randolph, "Three Journalists, Also on the Line," *Washington Post*, 24 September 1988, C1.

42. Jennings, interview.

43. Lehrer, interview.

44. Ibid.

45. Simon, Roadshow, 283.

46. Walter Goodman, "A Cool Head at the Eye of the Calm," *New York Times*, 3 November 1996, H37.

47. Lehrer, interview. Other quotes in this section also come from the author's interview with Lehrer.

48. Bruno, interview. Other quotes in this section also come from the author's interview with Bruno.

49. Carole Simpson, interview by author, 25 October 1994. Other quotes in this section also come from the author's interview with Simpson.

50. Royer, Campaign for President, 255.

51. Ibid., 254.

52. Spin, documentary film by Brian Springer, 1995.

53. "Oprah Loses out to Lehrer," Broadcasting and Cable, 7 October 1996, 28.

54. Paul Kirk Jr., interview by author, 4 May 1998.

55. David S. Broder, interview by author, 12 May 1998.

56. Janet Brown, interview by author, 11 March 1998.

57. ABC News and NBC News Postdebate Coverage, 15 October 1992; and "Citizens' Arrest," *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 October 1996, 20.

58. Crowley, Nixon Off the Record, 122.

59. Robert Goodwin, interview by author, 15 January 1999.

60. Simpson, interview.

61. Elizabeth Kolbert, "Bypassing the Press Helps Candidates; Does It Also Service the Public Interest?" *New York Times*, 8 November 1992, E2.

62. Simpson, interview.

63. Lehrer, interview.

64. Frank Fahrenkopf Jr., interview by author, 12 May 1998.

CHAPTER SIX

1. ABC News Debate Coverage, 23 September 1976.

2. Transcript of "Debating the Debates: Defining Moments in Presidential Campaigns," 50.

3. Transcript of "Debates '92: A Symposium," 13.

4. Joseph Lelyveld, "Focus in the Hall and on the TV Set Differed," *New York Times*, 25 September 1976, 8.

5. NBC Nightly News, 24 September 1976.

6. Seltz and Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford*, 1976, 136.

7. Jack Kelly, interview by author, 26 March 1998.

8. Edward M. Fouhy, interview by author, 27 February 1998.

9. Annie Groer, interview by author, 3 March 1998.

10. Edward M. Fouhy, "The Debates: A Winning Miniseries," *Washington Journalism Review* (December 1992): 29.

11. Richard L. Berke, "A Few Tense Moments in the Control Room," *New York Times*, 15 October 1992, A11.

12. Janet Brown, interview by author, 11 March 1998. Other quotes in this chapter also come from the author's interview with Brown.

13. Fouhy, interview.

14. Transcript of "Debates '92: A Symposium," 34-35.

15. 1992 Memorandum of Understanding, 32–33.

16. Frank Fahrenkopf Jr., interview by author, 12 May 1998.

17. Mark Sauer, "USD Audience on Its Best Sunday Behavior," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, 17 October 1996, A21.

18. James T. Wooten, "Feeling of Victory Is Sensed by Each Side," *New York Times*, 7 October 1976, 38.

19. Seltz and Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford*, 1976, 139.

20. Brady Williamson, interview by author, 14 November 1998.

21. Ibid.

22. Seltz and Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford*, 1976, 131.

23. Tom Donilon, interview by author, 14 July 1998.

24. Victoria Harian Strella, interview by author, 2 April 1998.

25. Rich Hood and Celeste Hadrick, "Pre-Debate Debate: Candidates' Aides Battle over Lights," *Kansas City Star*, 21 October 1984, 1, 21A.

26. Michael Deaver, interview by author, 17 June 1998.

27. Dudley Clendinen, "Debate Battle Moves to News Shows," *New York Times*, 23 October 1984, A24.

28. Beverly Lindsey, interview by author, 8 December 1998.

29. Maureen Dowd, "Mean and Meaner," *New York Times*, 20 October 1996, IV-5.

30. Robert Goodwin, interview by author, 15 January 1999.

31. Williamson, interview.

32. Goodwin, interview.

33. Williamson, interview.

34. Ibid.

35. Donilon, interview.

36. Harian Strella, interview.

37. Merriman Smith, "Most Hectic Debate Was Off Camera," *New York World-Telegram*, 8 October 1960, 2.

38. Seltz and Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Background, Perspective, Effects*, 103.

39. J. Leonard Reinsch, *Getting Elected: From Radio and Roosevelt to Television and Reagan* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1988), 145.

40. W. H. Lawrence, "Nixon Is 'Shocked' by Kennedy Notes," *New York Times*, 14 October 1960, 22.

41. 1996 Memorandum of Understanding, 7.

42. Seltz and Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford*, 1976, 131.

43. John LiBretto, interview by author, 17 March 1994.

44. Robert Asman, interview by author, 11 March 1998.

45. Goodwin, interview.

46. Seltz and Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford*, 1976, 144.

47. Lawrence Laurent, "ABC Facilities Tonight Just as 'Equal' as Can Be," *Washington Post*, 13 October 1960, B6.

48. John P. Shanley, "Studios on Both Coasts Set Up to Handle Third in TV Debates," *New York Times*, 14 October 1960, 22.

49. David M. Alpern, "The Debates," Newsweek, 27 September 1976, 31.

50. Memorandum, William Carruthers to Michael Duval, 30 August 1976, Michael Raoul-Duval Papers, Folder "Input—Bill Carruthers," Box 29, Gerald R. Ford Library.

51. Alpern, "The Debates," 31.

52. Seltz and Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford*, 1976, 151.

53. 1988 Memorandum of Understanding, 10.

54. LiBretto, interview.

55. Asman, interview.

56. Williamson, interview.

57. John J. O'Connor, "TV: Instant Poll Steals Post-Debate Scene," *New York Times*, 30 October 1984, C26.

58. Jim Lehrer, interview by author, 11 May 1998.

59. Berke, "A Few Tense Moments in the Control Room," A11.

60. Asman, interview.

61. LiBretto, interview.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Douglas Edwards with the News, CBS, 27 September 1960.

2. Richard L. Strout, "Not One Slip on Banana Peel!" *Christian Science Monitor*, 27 September 1960, 1; Peter Lisagor, "How Candidates Did in the Big Debate," *Chicago Daily News*, 27 September 1960, 1; Percy Shain, "Candidates Today Must Know Facts, TV Is Too Discerning for Bluffing," *Boston Globe*, 27 September 1960, 9.

3. Richard T. Stout, "Nixon Aides Admit Makeup Job," *Chicago Daily News*, 30 September 1960, 4; "Nixon Says Lost Weight Shows in Face," *Boston Globe*, evening edition, 27 September 1960, 9.

4. Richard T. Stout, "Was Nixon Sabotaged by TV Makeup Artist?" *Chicago Daily News*, 29 September 1960, 1.

5. "TV Debate Backstage: Did the Cameras Lie?" Newsweek, 10 October 1960, 25.

6. "Nixon Laments Make-Up in Chat With TV Actor," *New York Times*, 13 October 1960, 27.

7. Russell Baker, The Good Times (New York: Morrow, 1989), 326.

8. "How the Battle Shapes Up Now," U.S. News and World Report, 17 October 1960, 42.

9. Ralph McGill, "TV vs. Radio in the Great Debate," *Washington Evening Star*, 1 October 1960, A-5.

10. "Los Angeles Watches and Listens to the Great Debate," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 September 1960, 3.

11. NBC Debate Coverage, 23 September 1976.

12. Mudd and Cronkite both took part in CBS's postdebate coverage, 23 September 1976.

13. David S. Broder, interview by author, 12 May 1998.

14. David S. Broder, *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look at How the News Is Made* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 293.

15. Diana Carlin, interview by author, 1 September 1998.

16. Bob Schieffer, interview by author, 18 November 1998.

17. James B. Lemert et al., *News Verdicts, the Debates, and Presidential Campaigns* (New York: Praeger, 1991), 43, 59.

18. *Nightline*, ABC News, 28 October 1980; and Eric Alterman, *Sound and Fury: The Washington Punditocracy and the Collapse of American Politics* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 101.

19. Herbert G. Klein, *Making It Perfectly Clear: An Inside Account of Nixon's Love-Hate Relationship with the Media* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980), 106.

20. W. H. Lawrence, "Neither Nominee Claims a Triumph," *New York Times*, 27 September 1960, 30.

21. Ibid.

22. NBC News Postdebate Coverage, 6 October 1996.

23. Howard Kurtz, "The New Spin on Spin: Instant Interviews, Polls; Respondents Tended to Side with Their Favorites," *Washington Post*, 8 October 1996, A7.

24. Nessen, It Sure Looks Different from the Inside, 266.

25. Larry Speakes, *Speaking Out: Inside the Reagan White House* (New York: Scribner's, 1980), 55.

26. CBS Postdebate Coverage, 15 October 1976.

27. Hal Bruno, interview by author, 10 March 1998.

28. Michael Deaver, interview by author, 17 June 1998.

29. NBC Postdebate Coverage, 11 October 1984.

30. Lemert et al., *News Verdicts, the Debates, and Presidential Campaigns,* 69.

31. NBC News Postdebate Coverage, 5 October 1988.

32. Michael Oreskes, "Both Parties Offer a Spin to the Event," *New York Times*, 26 September 1988, A1, A20.

33. Interviews by author: Brokaw, 14 April 1998; Berke, 5 September 1998; Hannon, 7 May 1998; and Schieffer, 18 November 1998.

34. Simon, Show Time, 267-68.

35. Bruno, interview.

36. Thomas Rosenstiel, "Spin Doctors Now Just Draw Laughs," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 October 1992, A23.

37. Bill Nichols, interview by author, 19 May 1998.

38. Berke, interview.

39. Ken Auletta, "Annals of Communication: Inside Story," *The New Yorker*, 18 November 1996, 58.

40. Broder, interview.

41. Thomas Rosenstiel, "Uplinked and Beamed Out: The Latest Spin in Politics," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 October 1992, A20.

42. Simon, Show Time, 277.

43. ABC World News Tonight, 26 September 1988.

44. NBC News Postdebate Coverage, 7 October 1984; E. J. Dionne Jr., "The Debates: Revival for Democrats," *New York Times*, 7 October 1988, B4.

45. The War Room, documentary film by Pennebaker and Hegedus, 1993.

46. Royer, Campaign for President, 239.

47. "Debate Audience Yields Wide Range of Reaction," *New York Times*, 27 September 1960, 1, 29.

48. "TV Debate Switched Few Votes, Nation-Wide Survey Shows," *New York Times*, 28 September 1960, 26.

49. Tom Donilon, interview by author, 14 July 1998.

50. F. Christopher Arterton, *Media Politics: The News Strategies of Presidential Campaigns* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1984), 54.

51. Nightline, ABC News, 28 October 1980.

52. Robert G. Kaiser, "Looking for Old Ghosts," *Washington Post*, 30 October 1980, A1, A4.

53. John J. O'Connor, "TV: Instant Poll Steals Post-Debate Scene," *New York Times*, 30 October 1980, C26.

54. Nightline, ABC News, 28 October 1980.

55. Bruno, interview.

56. Howard Rosenberg, "Perot Pitches, Bush Swings . . . Oops, That's CBS," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 October 1992, A23; Kurtz, "The New Spin on Spin," A7.

57. NBC Nightly News, 24 September 1976.

58. "The Blooper Heard Round the World," Time, 18 October 1976, 13.

59. CBS News and NBC News Postdebate Coverage, 6 October 1976.

60. Bernard Gwertzman, "Ford Denies Moscow Dominates East Europe; Carter Rebuts Him," *New York Times*, 7 October 1976, 1; Curtis Wilkie, "Aides Celebrate Carter 'Home Run,'" *Boston Globe*, 7 October 1976, 20; and David S. Broder and Lou Cannon, "A Tense, Highly Charged Atmosphere in San Francisco," *Washington Post*, 7 October 1976, A10.

61. NBC Nightly News, 7 October 1976.

62. Charles Mohr, "Ford, Trying to Bind Up Wound, Backs Freedom for East Europe," *New York Times*, 8 October 1976, A18; and *NBC Nightly News*, 7 October 1976.

63. Charles Mohr, "Ford Makes 2 Attempts to Clarify Statement," *New York Times*, 9 October 1976, 1, 7.

64. Curtis Wilkie, "Ford Admits Error on E. Europe," *Boston Globe*, 13 October 1976, 1.

65. Nessen, It Sure Looks Different from the Inside, 272; and Gerald Ford, A Time to Heal: The Autobiography of Gerald R. Ford (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 424.

66. Nessen, It Sure Looks Different from the Inside, 276.

67. Thomas E. Patterson, *Out of Order* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 156; Nessen, *It Sure Looks Different from the Inside*, 276.

68. Jonathan Moore and Janet Fraser, eds., *Campaign for President: The Managers Look At '76* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1977), 142.

69. Frederick T. Steeper, "Public Response to Gerald Ford's Statements on Eastern Europe in the Second Debate," in George F. Bishop, Robert G. Meadow, and Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, eds., *The Presidential Debates: Media, Electoral, and Policy Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1978), 101; Doris Graber, *Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide* (New York: Longman, 1984), 264; and David Chagall, *The New Kingmakers: An Inside Look at the Powerful Men* 

*behind America's Political Campaigns* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1991), 108.

70. CBS News and NBC News Postdebate Coverage, 7 October 1984.

71. Howell Raines, "Reagan and Mondale Debate; Clash on Deficit and Religion," *New York Times*, 8 October 1984, 1; and Tom Shales, "The Debates, Round 1," *Washington Post*, 8 October 1984, D1.

72. Rich Jaroslovsky and James M. Perry, "New Question in Race: Is Oldest U.S. President Now Showing His Age?" *Wall Street Journal*, 9 October 1984, 1.

73. David S. Broder, "Reagan's Late-Inning Letdown," *Washington Post*, 9 October 1984, A19.

74. Mark Hertsgaard, *On Bended Knee: The Press and the Reagan Presidency* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1988), 246–47.

75. ABC World News Tonight, 9 October 1984.

76. Thomas Rosenstiel, "Debate Aftermath: Media Alter View of Candidates," *Los Angeles Times*, 14 October 1984, 1.

77. ABC World News Tonight, 9 October 1984.

78. NBC Nightly News, 10 October 1984.

79. Ibid.

80. Steven R. Weisman, "Reagan Criticizes Comments on Age," *New York Times*, 11 October 1984, 1; George Skelton, "Reagan Called 'Alert' in May 18 Medical Report," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 October 1984, 1; and *CBS Evening News*, 10 October 1984.

81. Austin Ranney, ed., *The American Elections of 1984* (New York: American Enterprise Institute, 1985), 198–99.

82. CBS Evening News and ABC News Nightline, 5 October 1988; and NBC Today, ABC World News Tonight, CBS Evening News, and NBC Nightly News, 6 October 1988.

83. CBS Evening News, 6 October 1988; ABC World News Tonight, 6 October 1988.

84. Maureen Dowd, "Bush Angrily Insisting He Fully Backs Quayle," *New York Times*, 9 October 1988, 32.

85. *ABC World News Tonight*, 11 October 1988; and *CBS Evening News*, 12 October 1988.

86. B. Drummond Ayres, "Quayle, Free of Handlers, Is Going with His Instincts," *New York Times*, 14 October 1988, B11.

87. CNN, 1 November 1988.

88. Simon, Roadshow, 296-97.

89. ABC News Postdebate Coverage, 28 October 1980; "Celebrities Name the Winner according to Own Party Labels," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 29 October 1980, 8-A.

90. ABC World News Tonight, 29 October 1980.

91. Dale Russakoff, "Bush Boasts of Kicking 'A Little Ass' at Debate," *Washington Post*, 13 October 1984, A8; Fay S. Joyce, "Bush Is Delighted after His Debate," *New York Times*, 13 October 1984, 9; and *NBC Nightly News*, 12 October 1984.

92. George J. Church, "Getting a Second Look," Time, 22 October 1984, 26.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

1. For a discussion of the 1960 ratings, see Mazo et al., *The Great Debates*, 4. It should be noted that viewership figures for presidential debates, then as now, are notoriously difficult to pinpoint with any precision. As Mazo et al. writes, significant disparities existed between ratings figures cited by the broadcast networks in 1960 and those taken by political pollsters. See also Frank Stanton, "A CBS View," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Background, Perspective, Effects*, 65–72.

2. "2 Million L.A. Homes View Carter-Reagan Debate," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 October 1980, VI-8. Although network estimates set viewership for the 1980 Carter-Reagan debate at a figure between 105 million and 120 million, the author's figure of "more than 100 million" allows for some inflation. The averages of 60 to 80 million viewers per presidential debate, and 30 to 50 million per vice presidential debates, are general estimates, based on the author's reading of various postdebate ratings data from 1976 to 1996.

3. Steve Coe, "NBC Super Bowl Sets Record," *Broadcasting and Cable*, 5 February 1996, 32; and Bill Carter, "An Oscar Night to Remember," *New York Times*, 25 March 1998, B8.

4. Ratings figures for these special episodes come from *Broadcasting*, 7 March 1983, 35; 1 December 1980, 104.

5. Bill Carter, "Ratings Grazed Super Bowl," New York Times, 16 May 1998, A22.

6. William Safire, "Humans Confront Android," *New York Times*, 15 October 1992, A15.

7. Walter Mondale, interview by Kevin Sauter, 31 March 1989.

8. Frank Stanton, "A CBS View," in Kraus, *The Great Debates: Background*, *Perspective*, *Effects*, 69.

9. Walter Goodman, "The Presidential Debate That Wasn't," *New York Times*, 22 September 1992, C18.

10. Norman Cousins, "TV and the Presidency," *Saturday Review*, 13 November 1976, 4.

11. Charles P. Pierce, "The Ghost of Alzheimer's," *Boston Globe*, 31 January 1999, C1.

12. Walter Lippmann, "Today and Tomorrow: The TV Debate," *Washington Post*, 29 September 1960, A23.

13. ABC News Postdebate Coverage, 15 October 1992.

14. CBS Evening News, 16 October 1992.

15. Richard Severo, "Lawrence E. Spivak, 93, Is Dead; The Originator of 'Meet the Press,'" *New York Times*, 10 March 1994, D21.

16. Henry Allen, "Primate Debate—As the Candidates Face Off, Onlookers Have an Instinctive Reaction," *Washington Post*, 5 October 1996, C1.

17. Goodman, "The Presidential Debate That Wasn't," C18.

18. Elizabeth R. Lamoureux, Heather S. Entrekin, and Mitchell S. McKinney, "Debating the Debates," in Carlin and McKinney, *The 1992 Presidential Debates in Focus*, 58.

19. Robert G. Meadow, "Televised Campaign Debates as Whistle-Stop Speeches," in William C. Adams, *Television Coverage of the 1980 Presidential Campaign* (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1983), 91.

20. News Hour, PBS, 4 October 1996.

21. Doris Graber, *Mass Media and American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: CQ, 1997), 257.

22. Kathleen Hall Jamieson and David S. Birdsell, *Presidential Debates: The Challenge of Creating an Informed Electorate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 127.

23. Transcript of "Hearing before the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration, House of Representatives, 103d Congress, First Session" (Washington, D.C.: 1993), 70–71.

24. This Week with David Brinkley, ABC News, 6 October 1996.

25. Carlin, interview.

26. Lamoureux, Entrekin, and McKinney, "Debating the Debates," in Diana B. Carlin and Mitchell S. McKinney, eds., *The 1992 Presidential Debates in Focus*, 57.

27. Goodwin Berquist, "The 1976 Carter-Ford Presidential Debates," in Friedenberg, *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates* 1960–1992, 37–38.

28. Henry Steele Commager, "Washington Would Have Lost a TV Debate," *New York Times Magazine*, 30 October 1960, VI-13.

29. Daniel Boorstin, The Image (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 43-44.

30. Wheeler, "The Great Debates," in Mazo et al., The Great Debates, 15.

31. Lawrie Mifflin, "An Old Hand's View of TV News: Not Good," *New York Times*, 23 March 1998, AR41.

32. Richard M. Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grossett and Dunlap, 1978), 221.

33. Sidney Kraus, *Televised Presidential Debates and Public Policy* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1988), 77.

34. Elizabeth Drew, "High Noon," The New Yorker, 19 October 1992, 59.

35. Drew, interview.

36. Stephen Mills, "Rebuilding the Presidential Debates," *Speaker and Gavel* 24 (1986): 48.

37. Germond and Witcover, Wake Us When It's Over, 527.

38. Ronald Brownstein, "Pressure Is on Bush for First Debate," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 October 1992, A1.

39. Transcript of "Debating the Debates: Defining Moments in Presidential Campaigns," a symposium presented by the Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs, 15 October 1996, 60.

40. David J. Lanoue and Peter R. Schrott, *The Joint Press Conference: The History, Impact, and Prospects of American Presidential Debates* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1991), 48.

41. Carlin, interview.

42. Lanoue and Schrott, The Joint Press Conference, 49.

CONCLUSION

1. Marilyn Jackson-Beeck and Robert G. Meadow, "The Triple Agenda of Presidential Debates," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 5 (1979): 174.

2. Transcript of the proceedings of "Debate '92: A Symposium" (Washington, D.C.: Commission on Presidential Debates, 1990), 19.

3. Mickey Kantor, interview by author, 20 July 1998.

4. Paul G. Kirk Jr., interview by author, 4 May 1998.

5. Anthony Corrado, "Background Paper," in *Let America Decide* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1995), 135.

6. Kathleen Hall Jamieson and David S. Birdsell, *Presidential Debates: The Challenge of Creating an Informed Electorate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 216.

7. Ric Manning, "In Presidential Campaigns, It's the Year of the Internet—for Voters and Candidates," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 15 October 1996, 1A.