

(OPENING COPY:JIM LEHRER)

HELLO...I'M JIM LEHRER.

ON THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 26TH 1960...VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON AND SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY MET IN CHICAGO TO DEBATE THE ISSUES OF THEIR PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

NEVER BEFORE HAD THERE BEEN A PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE.

WHAT ATTRACTED THE CANDIDATES, OF COURSE....WAS TELEVISION.

THAT 1960 DEBATE WAS BROADCAST LIVE...COAST TO COAST....AND IT REACHED BETWEEN 60 AND 70 MILLION VIEWERS..

HERE AT THE CHICAGO MUSEUM OF BROADCAST COMMUNICATIONS...AN EXHIBIT ON THAT FIRST KENNEDY-NIXON DEBATE IS ON PERMANENT DISPLAY. IN FACT THIS OLD RCA TK-2 WAS USED AS SENATOR KENNEDY'S CLOSE UP CAMERA.

40 YEARS LATER POLITICS AND TELEVISION HAVE NOW GROWN INSEPARABLE. AND TODAY...THE NATIONALLY-TELEVISED DEBATE IS THE MAIN EVENT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

TONIGHT...A PROGRAM WE BELIEVE IS HISTORIC IN ITS OWN RIGHT. OVER THE NEXT TWO HOURS WE WILL REVISIT THE DRAMATIC AND SOMETIMES PIVOTAL MOMENTS OF PAST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES. BUT WE'LL DO SO WITH THE HELP OF A VERY SELECT CAST...THE CANDIDATES THEMSELVES.

FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF THIS PROGRAM...I INTERVIEWED THE CANDIDATES WHO'VE PARTICIPATED IN EVERY PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE SINCE KENNEDY-NIXON.

AND I TALKED ONLY WITH THE CANDIDATES.

AS YOU WILL SEE...AND HEAR...THEIR'S IS TRULY A UNIQUE PERSPECTIVE.

(OPENING SOUND BITES)

(Sot: Bush) "Its like a ballgame in a way There's a certain adrenaline factor. The adrenaline flow. Very much like competitive athletics which I love."

(Sot: Carter) "I think I did go in as though it was an athletic competition, or a very highly charged competitive arrangement

(Sot: Ford) "I had that experience many times playing football for the University of Michigan, and that was my attitude before that first debate. I felt comfortable with the positions I would take and I was anxious to get into the ballgame."

WE TALKED WITH MOST OF THE CANDIDATES WITHIN THE PAST YEAR. HOWEVER A FEW OF OUR INTERVIEWS...INCLUDING OUR VISIT WITH PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN OCCURRED SOME TEN YEARS AGO. A COUPLE OF NOTES: VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE AND ROSS PEROT DECLINED TO BE INTERVIEWED FOR THIS PROGRAM. AND BECAUSE OF ILL HEALTH...FORMER SENATOR LLOYD BENTSEN WAS UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE.

(‘60-’64-’68-’72)

PEOPLE SITTING HOME IN FRONT OF THEIR TELEVISION SETS ON THAT SEPTEMBER NIGHT FORTY YEARS AGO COULD NOT HAVE IMAGINED THEY WERE WATCHING THE FACE OF AMERICAN POLITICS CHANGE FOREVER. BUT IT WAS. AND THAT VERY FIRST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE HAD AN IMMEDIATE IMPACT AS WELL. IT GAVE JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO INTRODUCE HIMSELF TO MILLIONS OF AMERICANS ALL AT ONCE. FOR VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON HOWEVER...IT PROBABLY WAS A MAJOR POLITICAL MISCALCULATION THAT COST HIM THE ELECTION. NIXON HAD BEEN SICK AND HIS ADVISORS URGED HIM NOT TO DEBATE KENNEDY. HE WAS LEADING IN THE POLLS AND THEY FEARED SHARING A DEBATE STAGE WITH KENNEDY COULD GIVE THE YOUNG SENATOR EQUAL STANDING IN THE EYES OF VOTERS.

(SOT: KENNEDY) "I should make it very clear that I do not think we are doing enough. That I am not satisfied as an American with the progress that we are making. This is a great country but I think it could be a greater country. And this is a powerful country but I think it could be a more powerful country."

RICHARD NIXON AGREED TO DEBATE JOHN KENNEDY AND...THE REST IS HISTORY. THE HOT LIGHTS...THE AWKWARD INTRODUCTION OF THE REPORTERS...THE LAZY SHAVE POWDER NIXON USED TO TRY AND COVER UP HIS FIVE O'CLOCK SHADOW...AND THE BEADS OF PERSPIRATION THAT BEGAN TO SHOW.

(SOT: NIXON) "Where then do we disagree. I think we disagree on the implication of his remarks tonight and on the statements that he has made on many occasions during his campaign to the effect that the United States has been standing still." NOTHING THAT WAS SAID THAT NIGHT IS INCLUDED AMONG GREAT MOMENTS

IN AMERICAN POLITICAL RHETORIC.
WHAT'S REMEMBERED ARE THE PICTURES OF A RELAXED AND CONFIDENT
LOOKING JOHN F. KENNEDY SCORING POINTS WITH VIEWERS AT THE
EXPENSE OF THE MORE EXPERIENCED AND BETTER KNOWN RICHARD NIXON.

(Sot: Clinton) "I was 14 in 1960 and I watched the debates on television. I wasn't
conscious then... cause I was only 14 and didn't know much about it...but...how...the
difference in the two campaigns and how much better Kennedy had thought about
television as a medium. How he should look. How he should be made up. How it was
important to come across in a certain way."

(Sot: Dole) "I was listening to it on the radio coming into Lincoln, Kansas and I thought
Nixon was doing a great job. Then I saw the TV clips the next morning and he was
sick. He didn't look well. Kennedy was young and articulate, and sort of wiped him
out."

KENNEDY AND NIXON DEBATED THREE MORE TIMES IN 1960 BUT THOSE
APPEARANCES COULDN'T MATCH THE IMPACT OF THAT FIRST ONE.
AND THEN THE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES DISAPPEARED FOR THE NEXT 16
YEARS.

IN THE WEEKS LEADING UP TO THE 1964 ELECTION...PRESIDENT LYNDON
JOHNSON WAS WELL AHEAD IN OPINION POLLS AND SAW NO REASON TO
DEBATE HIS REPUBLICAN OPPONENT...ARIZONA SENATOR BARRY
GOLDWATER.

RICHARD NIXON ALSO REFUSED TO DEBATE WHEN HE AGAIN RAN FOR
PRESIDENT AGAINST VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY IN 1968...
...AND AGAINST SOUTH DAKOTA SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN IN 1972.

NO ONE COULD ACCUSE NIXON OF MISCALCULATING WHEN THE RESULTS OF
THOSE ELECTIONS CAME IN.

(1976)

THE NATIONALLY TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES RETURNED IN 1976. AND
THEY MADE THEIR COMEBACK PRIMARILY BECAUSE WATERGATE HAD TURNED
PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS ON ITS HEAD.
NIXON HAD RESIGNED FROM OFFICE.
VICE PRESIDENT FORD SERVED OUT THE TERM AND WAS MAKING HIS OWN
RUN FOR THE PRESIDENCY.
HIS OPPONENT WAS JIMMY CARTER...THE FORMER GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

CARTER WAS WELL AHEAD IN OPINION POLLS WHEN FORD CHALLENGED HIM TO DEBATE.

(Sot: Ford) "I had to do something to overcome the thirty-some points I was behind."

FORD HAD INHERITED FROM RICHARD NIXON A FLOUNDERING ECONOMY. INFLATION AND INTEREST RATES WERE HIGH. HE ALSO WAS FEELING A BACKLASH FOR GRANTING RICHARD NIXON A PARDON FROM POSSIBLE WATERGATE-RELATED CRIMES. JIMMY CARTER WAS A NEWCOMER TO NATIONAL POLITICS. AND ALTHOUGH HE WELCOMED FORD'S INVITATION TO DEBATE...HE ACCEPTED WITH SOME APPREHENSION.

(Sot: Carter) "It was a very disturbing concept for me to be on a stage with the President of the United States. I've never even met a Democratic president in my life, so there was an aura about the presidency that was quite overwhelming."

PHILADELPHIA'S WALNUT STREET THEATER WAS CHOSEN AS THE SITE FOR THE FIRST DEBATE. UNLIKE THE FOUR KENNEDY-NIXON MEETINGS BROADCAST FROM CLOSED TELEVISION STUDIOS...THIS AND THE ONES THAT FOLLOW WERE HELD BEFORE A LIVE AUDIENCE.

WHEN THE THREE MAJOR TELEVISION NETWORKS SWITCHED LIVE TO THE WALNUT STREET THEATER ON SEPTEMBER 23RD 1976, THE TWO MAJOR CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ALREADY WERE IN PLACE AND READY TO DEBATE.

(Dbt: Newman) "Good evening I am Edwin Newman, moderator of this first debate of the 1976 campaign...."

(Sot: Ford) "This, I thought, would be the most difficult debate for me because in 1975 we had the worst recession in forty-some years. So I knew that Governor Carter was going to attack me on our economic policy."

(Dbt: Carter) "He says he has learned how to match unemployment with inflation. That's right. We've got the highest inflation we've had in 25 years right now--and we've got the highest unemployment we've had under Mr. Ford's administration since the Great Depression."

(Sot: Carter) "Did you go in there with a feeling that I can take this guy? I mean, was it a sense of competition about it that evening for that 90 minutes?"

- Yes, it was. This was really the first time I had had a direct confrontation with President Ford, and as a matter of fact, although we were hot competitors, I had an admiration for him because I knew the difficult circumstances under which he had become president."

(Dbt: Ford) "Now in the case of Mr. Nixon, the reason the pardon was given was that when I took office this country was in a very, very divided condition. There was hatred; there was divisiveness; people has lost faith in their government in many, many respects. Mr. Nixon resigned and I became the president. It seemed to me that if I was to adequately and effectively handle the problems of high inflation, a growing recession, the involvement of the United States still in Vietnam, that I had to give 100% of my time to those two major problems."

(Sot: Carter) "So there wasn't any personal animosity or petiferation there. There was one of respect for a very worthy opponent, but still a highly competitive atmosphere."

BUT THAT FIRST DEBATE IN PHILADELPHIA IS REMEMBERED NOT SO MUCH FOR WHAT WAS SAID...BUT FOR WHAT WASN'T SAID. WITH ONLY MINUTES LEFT IN THE HOUR AND A HALF DEBATE...THE AUDIO FAILED.

(Dbt: Carter) "Well, one of the very serious things that's happened in our government in recent years and has continued up until now is a breakdown in the trust among our people in the . . . (audio failure.)"

IT TOOK THE CANDIDATES A FEW MOMENTS TO REALIZE THEY WEREN'T BEING HEARD BY THE TELEVISION AUDIENCE.
ON ABC...THERE WASN'T MUCH THAT ANCHORMAN HARRY REASONER COULD SAY EITHER.

(Dbt: Reasoner) "At the moment all we can do is watch this interesting development with the president of the united states who also happens to be a candidate for the presidency of the united states and a former governor of Georgia who is the other major candidate for the presidency doing about what we are doing which is waiting for something to happen."

(Nat sot: Audio failure)

(Sot: Carter) Everyone in America who was watching, you know, was very...couldn't figure out...this was unreal. What was it like standing there?

- I watched that tape afterwards and it was embarrassing to me that both President Ford and I stood there almost like robots. We didn't move around, we didn't walk over and shake hands with each other. We just stood there."

(Sot: Ford) "I suspect both of us would have liked to sit down and relax while the technicians were fixing the system, but I also think both of us were hesitant to make any gesture that might look like we weren't physically or mentally able to handle a problem like this."

(Nat sot: audio failure)

THE DELAY CONTINUED FOR 27 MINUTES BEFORE THE TECHNICIANS WERE ABLE TO TRACE THE PROBLEM TO A BLOWN TRANSFORMER AND REPLACE IT.

(Sot: Carter) "So I don't know who was more ill at lease, me or President Ford.

- It looked like a tie to me.

- It was a tie. Neither one of us was at ease, there's no doubt about that. Those events, I think, to some degree let the American public size up the candidates, and I don't think either one of us made any points on that deal."

HOWEVER...EACH CANDIDATE EXPERIENCED HIS OWN INDIVIDUAL MOMENT OF DISTRESS DURING THE COURSE OF THE DEBATES.

JIMMY CARTER'S OCCURRED DURING THE THIRD DEBATE IN WILLIAMSBURG VIRGINIA.

PLAYBOY MAGAZINE HAD JUST PUBLISHED AN INTERVIEW WITH THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE. CARTER KNEW THERE WOULD BE QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME OF THE COMMENTS HE HAD MADE.

(Sot: Carter) "As you know, that Playboy interview could have cost me the election."

DURING THE PLAYBOY INTERVIEW...CARTER SAID:

"I'VE LOOKED ON A LOT OF WOMEN WITH LUST. I'VE COMMITTED ADULTERY IN MY HEART MANY TIMES. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT GOD RECOGNIZES I WILL DO--AND I HAVE DONE IT--AND GOD FORGIVES ME FOR IT.

(Sot: Carter) "It was a devastating blow to our campaign when this Playboy interview was published. The news reporters and the general public just totally forgot about all the issues."

(Dbt: Carter) "The Playboy thing has been of great ...very great concern to me. I don't know how to deal with it exactly. I agreed to give the interview to Playboy. Other people have done it who are notable -- Governor Jerry Brown, Walter Cronkite, Albert Schweitzer, Mr. Ford's own Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Simon, William Buckley, many other people. But they weren't running for President. And in retrospect, from hindsight, I would not have given that interview if I had to do it over again. If I should ever decide in the future to discuss my deep Christian beliefs and condemnation and sinfulness, Ill use another forum besides Playboy."

(Sot: Carter) "And I thought the best way to handle it was to say well, I'm sorry that the interview came out, but I couldn't deny that the answers in Playboy were my own answers."

FOR PRESIDENT FORD...THE MOMENT HE MOST WOULD LIKE TO FORGET HAD MORE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS. IT CAME DURING THE SECOND DEBATE IN SAN FRANCISCO.

THE FOCUS WAS FOREIGN POLICY. MAX FRANKEL OF THE NEW YORK TIMES ASKED THE QUESTION.

(Dbt: Frankel) "Mr. President, I'd like to explore a little more deeply our relationship with the Russians. Our allies in France and Italy are now flirting with communism. We've recognized the permanent Communist regime in East Germany. We've virtually signed in Helsinki an agreement that the Russians have dominance in Eastern Europe..."

(Dbt: Ford) "I'm glad you raised it, Mr. Frankel. In the case of Helsinki, 35 nations signed an agreement, including the Secretary of State for the Vatican. I can't under any circumstances believe that His Holiness, the Pope would agree by signing that agreement that the 35 nations have turned over to the Warsaw Pact nation the domination of Eastern Europe. It just isn't true. There is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and there never will be under a Ford Administration."

(Dbt: Frankel) "I'm sorry, could I just follow--did I understand you to say, sir, that the Russians are not using Eastern Europe as their own sphere of influence in occupying most of the countries there and making sure with their troops that it's a Communist zone?"

(Dbt: Ford) "I don't believe, Mr. Frankel, that the Yugoslavians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the Rumanians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe the Poles consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. Each of those countries is independent, autonomous; it has its own territorial integrity. And the United States does not concede that those countries are under the domination of the Soviet Union."

(Sot: Ford) "Why did you say that?"

- "There's no question I did not adequately explain what I was thinking. I felt very strongly that regardless of the number of Soviet armored divisions in Poland, the Russians would never dominate the Polish spirit. That's what I should have said. I simply left out the fact that at that time in 1976, the Russians had about 10 to 15 divisions in Poland."

(Sot: Carter) "Did you realize there on the stage that night that President Ford had made a serious mistake?"

- Yes, I did. And I was prepared to jump in, you know, and take advantage of it. But just on the spur of the moment, I realized that it would serve me better to let the news reporters question President Ford's analysis or his judgment."

(Sot: Ford) "Did you have any idea that you had said something wrong?"

- "Not at the time. Not at the time. In retrospect, obviously, the inclusion of a sentence or maybe a phrase would have made all the difference in the world."

(Sot: Carter) "This was a very serious mistake that he made, and I don't know if the

election turned on it.

- I was going to ask you that. Do you think it did?

- I don't know if it did or not, because there are so many factors that can enter a campaign, but certainly it cost him some votes, and as you know, the election was quite close."

(Sot: Ford) "We ended up losing by only a point and a half, or maybe two points. So any one of a number of problems in the campaign could have made the difference."

(1976 VP)

IF THERE WAS ANY QUESTION THAT A DEBATE BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES COULD IMPACT AN ELECTION...SENATORS WALTER MONDALE OF MINNESOTA AND BOB DOLE OF KANSAS PROVIDED SOME ANSWERS IN 1976.

(nat sot: Dole) "I assume the audience will be smaller but I said before I think we can put them asleep quicker than the presidents...presidential candidates did."

ON OCTOBER 15TH, 1976...AT THE ALLEY THEATER IN HOUSTON TEXAS...WALTER MONDALE AND BOB DOLE MET IN THE FIRST DEBATE EVER BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES. DOLE...KNOWN FOR HIS QUICK WIT...DEMONSTRATED IT RIGHT FROM THE START OF THE DEBATE.

(*Dbt: Dole*) "I've known my counterpart for some time and we've been friends and we'll be friends when this debate is over and we'll be friends when the election is over and he'll still be in the Senate."

(*Dbt: Dole*) "Well, I said as I've traveled around the country, mostly in jest, as to why you are running for Vice President. I said, well it's indoor work and there's no heavy lifting."

DOLE JOKED EVEN IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT WATERGATE.

(*Dbt: Dole*) "And I was chairman of the Republican Party during the Watergate years and I'm very proud to have been chairman. I've always said that the night Watergate happened was my night off, so you can't hook me for that."

BUT AS THE DEBATE WORE ON...DOLE SHARPENED THE EDGES OF HIS REMARKS.

(*Dbt: Dole*) "I couldn't quite understand what Governor Carter meant in Playboy magazine. I couldn't understand frankly why he was in Playboy magazine. But he was and we'll give him the bunny vote."

(Sot: Mondale) "I did not have a plan to open up an attack. But I did anticipate that he would. Unbelievably, we had anticipated that he would accuse the Democrats of starting World War II, and he did." (laughter)

THAT REMARK CAME IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION TO DOLE ABOUT HIS SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT FORD'S PARDON OF RICHARD NIXON.

(*Dbt: Mears*) "Senator Dole...two years ago when you ran for the Senate you said the pardon was prematurely granted and that it was a mistake. Do you approve of it now and if the issue was fair game in your 1974 campaign in Kansas, why is it not an appropriate topic now?"

- "It is an appropriate topic, I guess, but it's not a very good issue any more than the war in Vietnam would be or World War II or World War I or the war in Korea, all Democratic wars, all in this century. I figured up the other day. If we added up the killed and wounded in Democrat Wars in this century, it would be about 1.6 million Americans, enough to fill the city of Detroit. If we want to go back and rake that over and over again, we can do that."

(Sot: Mondale) "Unbelievable. I had to try to keep a straight face...I think they blew the election right there.

- "How in the world were you able to anticipate that?"

- "One of my advisers said, 'I'll bet that Senator Dole will accuse the Democrats of causing World War II,' and I said, 'You are crazy.' He said, 'No, I've got a feeling he'll do it.' So I said, 'Well, how shall we handle it?' And he did it."

(*Dbt: Mondale*) "I think Senator Dole has richly earned his reputation as a hatchet man tonight by implying and stating that World War Two and the Korean War were Democratic Wars. Does he really mean to suggest to the American people that there was a partisan difference over involvement in the war to fight Nazi Germany? I don't think any reasonable American would accept that."

(Sot: Dole) "How did that happen? How did you happen to say Democratic Wars? Is this something you went in there..."

- "It was boiler plate. I mean, in those days, you know, that was I had a stack of briefing notes about two feet high. That was in the briefing book, which I received from the Ford people, the national committee, and I guess I should have exercised my own judgment. But in any event, I probably wish I hadn't said it."

- "You do wish you hadn't said it?"

- "Yeah. One of my heroes was FDR and I'm a World War II veteran, so I didn't...it wasn't my view to run around and say well, the Democrats started all the wars in the world."

(Sot: Dole) "Were you expecting the negative reaction, let's put it that way, when you finished?"

- Not really. I mean, my role in that campaign was to go out and try to go to the edge,

you know, to keep pushing the Mondale-Carter group, and I guess some referred to me as a hatchet man, but maybe that was correct. But Ford had sort of the Rose Garden strategy and I was out in the briar patch. I used to tell him, you know, please call me home."

(Sot: Mondale) "The general consensus after that was that he came over as a mean... that's where he got his real reputation for being mean, nasty, and all of that. Was that what you went in to accomplish, to show him up as a mean and nasty man?"

- "No. I don't think he's a mean and nasty man. I just think he performed poorly that night.

(Sot: Mondale) "When it was over. The second that debate was over that night in Houston, did you think you had taken him? Did you think you had won?"

- Yes, I walked off there convinced that we may have won the election that night, not because of me, but I think it was very poor strategy on his part, that it had opened up an issue."

(Sot: Dole) "Do you agree with that?"

- "I went back and reviewed...Elizabeth was concerned about it...so we reviewed that tape and I thought I was pretty relaxed and pretty calm.. I didn't conclude, now maybe I'm being defensive that I've gone too far because I was my assignment was to go pretty far. Maybe I went too far..."

- "So after you reviewed the tape, did you still feel that hey, you didn't go over any line.

- "No, I didn't think so. Now, of course, that's me looking at it. That's fairly subjective. But you try to be...this was after the election, too, of course, and we lost in a very close election, but I didn't think so but I must say it made me more cautious in future debates."

(1980)

(nat sot: Inaugural music)

JIMMY CARTER BELIEVES HE CLEARLY BENEFITTED FROM HIS DEBATES WITH PRESIDENT FORD.

(nat sot: Roslyn) "As Jimmy said earlier, there is no way we would be here tonight with Jimmy President of the United States without your help.

BUT IN 1980...CARTER WAS THE INCUMBENT AND THERE WERE TWO CANDIDATES WHO WANTED TO DEBATE HIM

(nat sot: convention)

THE REPUBLICAN...FORMER CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN...

(nat sot) "Good morning how are you?"

AND JOHN ANDERSON...A MODERATE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN FROM ILLINOIS RUNNING AS AN INDEPENDENT.

(nat sot) "Ladies and gentlemen I'd like to introduce you to the next President of the United States...John B. Anderson" (applause)

ANDERSON'S DOUBLE DIGIT POPULARITY IN THE POLLS WAS FUELED BY HIS AGGRESSIVE APPROACH TO DEAL WITH INFLATION AND THE ONGOING ENERGY CRISIS.

(Sot: Anderson) "I think most of us and I hope all of you want to be able to vote proudly and with confidence for the man of your choice. Give me your help, give me your votes on the 4th of November." (applause)

BUT WHILE PRESIDENT CARTER WAS ANXIOUS TO DEBATE RONALD REAGAN...HE REFUSED TO DEBATE JOHN ANDERSON.

(Sot: Carter) "President Reagan only wanted one debate, and he wanted it as late as possible. And whenever we pursued the subject of a debate, he said well, we can't have a two-person debate since John Anderson is running as an independent. We've got to have him on as an equal candidate. And obviously, Reagan knew that every time the independent candidate got a vote, it was a vote taken away from me."

AND SO ON SEPTEMBER 21st, 1980...ON THE DEBATE STAGE IN BALTIMORE...THERE WERE ONLY TWO CANDIDATES.

(*Dbt: Moyers*) "Former Governor Ronald Reagan, the Republican Party candidate and Congressman John Anderson, who is running as an independent, accepted the League of Women Voters' invitation to be here. President Carter declined."

(Sot: Reagan) "What led up to the decision to debate Anderson by himself?"

- "They wanted a three-way debate, and Carter refused to do that one, and I didn't see any reason why Anderson should be excommunicated. So I said no, I would go forward with it. It became just a two-way debate."

(Sot: Anderson) "At the time, how did you read first of all the motives of Reagan for agreeing to debate you?"

- "Well, I think that he felt that perhaps it made him look as the person to be admired for being forthright and open and willing to take on all comers and in contrast to that, that Carter was being very defensive, felt beleaguered and was unwilling to expose himself to a three person debate."

- "Why did he not want you in the debate?"

- "Well, he, I think feared that it would legitimize my campaign to an even greater extent."

PRESIDENT CARTER REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE BALTIMORE DEBATE BUT IT DID NOT SHIELD HIM FROM CRITICISM.

(Dbt: Anderson) "It seems to me that the people who are watching us tonight, the 221 million Americans, are truly concerned about the poor rate of performance of the American economy over the last four years. Now, Governor Reagan is not responsible for what has happened over the last four years, nor am I. The man who should be here tonight to respond to those charges chose not to attend."

(Dbt: Reagan) "There might be some feeling of unfairness about this because he was not here to respond. But I believe it would have been much more unfair to have had John Anderson denied the right to participate in this debate."

AT THE CENTER OF JOHN ANDERSON'S CAMPAIGN WAS A PROPOSED 50 CENT A GALLON TAX INCREASE ON GASOLINE AS WELL AS SOME SIGNIFICANT LIFESTYLE CHANGES.

(Dbt: Anderson) "We simply cannot have people sitting behind the wheel of a car and these long traffic jams going in and out of our great cities.

We are going to have to resort to van pooling, to car pooling. We're going to have to develop better community transportation systems so that with buses and light rail we can replace the private automobile in those places where it clearly is not energy efficient."

(Sot: Anderson) "Was it in fact an advantage to be able to debate even just Reagan by himself?"

- "Oh yes. We didn't get the bounce that I had hoped for. But it was an advantage to me because the campaign had lagged, very frankly, once the national conventions were held. This was one great opportunity to recharge the campaign."

THAT FIRST DEBATE ALSO GAVE RONALD REAGAN AN OPPORTUNITY TO FAMILIARIZE THE AUDIENCE WITH HIS CONSERVATIVE PHILOSOPHY OF LESS GOVERNMENT.

(Dbt: Reagan) "I believe that inflation today is caused by government simply spending more than government takes in at the same time that government has imposed upon business and industry from the shopkeeper on the corner to the biggest industrial plant in America countless harassing regulations and punitive taxes that have reduced productivity at the same time they have increased the cost of production."

WITH THE ELECTION STILL MORE THAN A MONTH AWAY...PRESIDENT CARTER'S CAMPAIGN MANAGERS CONTINUED TO PRESS FOR HIS OWN FACE TO FACE

MEETING WITH RONALD REAGAN.

(Sot: Carter) "I wanted a lot of debates. I wanted three or four debates at least."

(Sot: Carter) "Why? Why did you want so many debates?"

- "Because I thought that I was much more a master of the subject matter. I knew that he was a master of the medium, perfectly at ease before the television cameras. I knew that I was not a master of the medium, and I thought that if we'd get past the one hour and go to maybe four, five, six hours on television that substance rather than style would be more prevalent."

BUT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD TO BE SATISFIED TO DEBATE RONALD REAGAN ONLY ONCE. IT HAPPENED ON THE STAGE AT CLEVELAND'S PUBLIC HALL ON OCTOBER 29TH 1980...ONE WEEK BEFORE ELECTION DAY.

(Sot: Reagan) "Did you have a strategy going into the debate that you wanted to accomplish the following, if nothing else, or establish a certain thing?"

- "Well, I believe that I had a program, that I wasn't just going in there and asking for the job and then saying now what do we do. I had some things that I thought very definitely should be done."

(Dbt: Reagan) "Yes, you can lick inflation by increasing productivity and by decreasing the cost of Government to the place that we have balanced budgets and are no longer running - grinding out printing-press money, flooding the market with it because the Government is spending more than it takes in. And my economic plan calls for that."

AS FOR JOHN ANDERSON...HE WASN'T ON THE DEBATE STAGE IN CLEVELAND. HE WASN'T INVITED.

(Sot: Anderson) "Was that a terrible blow to your campaign?"

- "It was absolutely devastating. The only thing that I could think of was that on the television sets as people across the country watched that debate, it was a two man race. If I had been important, if I had really been other than simply tangential to a whole process, I would have been there. They didn't know about all of the back and forth and the efforts that we had made to get into the debate. They couldn't possibly know the disappointment that that was. No it was absolutely crushing."

(Dbt: Reagan) "I'm sorry that we couldn't persuade the bringing in of the third candidate so that he could've been seen also in these debates. But still it's good that at least once all three of us were heard by the people of this country."

(Sot: Carter) "Two memorable happenings in that debate. You said..."

(Dbt: Carter) "I had a discussion with my daughter Amy the other day before I came here to ask me what the most important issue was. She said she thought nuclear

weaponry."

(Sot: Reagan) "When he said that, as you were standing there on the stage, were you aware of the fact that he had made a terrible mistake?"

- "It seemed to me he had, because the whole thing sounded, and I think you could almost feel an attitude from the audience on it, that the President was going to make a major policy based on what a child told him? And I'm sure he didn't have that in mind, but that's the way it came out. And I was prepared to say to the people, I promise them I wouldn't ask my kids what I should do."

(Sot: Carter) "You were ridiculed for it and you were criticized for it. Did you expect that? Were you surprised?"

- "I was surprised. But President Reagan and his political advisers turned it around to I think his advantage by saying that I was getting my advice on nuclear power issues or arms control issues from my teenage daughter. And it was used by the Republicans to ridicule me, and I think they probably gained some political points from it."

(Sot: Carter) "When you look back on that, do you look upon that as a mistake you made?"

- "Yes, I think so. It was an honest statement that made a point that still is remembered. I got a flood of letters afterwards, you know, congratulations, you did the right thing. Your daughter Amy had more judgment about nuclear weaponry than Reagan did and so forth. But I think in the contest there just a few days before the election, he came out ahead on that deal."

IN FACT...IT APPEARED RONALD REAGAN CAME OUT AHEAD SEVERAL TIMES DURING THE DEBATE. HE DELIVERED SOME MEMORABLE LINES THAT VIEWERS REPEATED LONG AFTER THE DEBATE ENDED.

(Sot: Reagan) "One of them is your line, "There you go again." It came up in a discussion about Medicare, and whether you had favored it or not, early on."

- "Oh yes."

(*Dbt: Carter*) "Governor Reagan, as a matter of fact, began his political career campaigning around this nation against Medicare."

(Sot: Reagan) "I wasn't against the Medicare bill that finally came along, but some of the people that were proposing this, it was obvious that they, in reality, wanted socialized medicine."

(*Dbt: Carter*) "Governor Reagan again, typically, is against such a proposal.

- Governor?"

- "There you go again. When I opposed Medicare, there was another piece of legislation meeting the same problem before the Congress. I happened to favor the other piece of legislation and thought that it would be better for the senior citizens and provide better care than the one that was finally passed."

(Sot: Carter) "Well, I'm sure that was a well rehearsed line that President Reagan had prepared carefully, the style of delivery when he would bring it in, and it was an inevitable statement that he would make."

(Sot: Reagan) "Was "there you go again" a line that just came to you spontaneously, or was it something that you had worked on?"

- "No, it just seemed to be the thing to say in what he was saying up there, because it was to me it felt kind of repetitious, something we had heard before."

(Sot: Carter) "That was a memorable line. I think it showed that he was relaxed and had a sense of humor, and it was kind of a denigrating thing to me. And I think that he benefitted from saying that, politically speaking."

(Sot: Reagan) "How important do you think that debate was to your having defeated President Carter?"

- "I think, well, I think there were some things. As a matter of fact, I think a very telling line was at the very end of the debate when I told the people..."

(Dbt: Reagan) "It might be well if you ask yourself are you better off than you were four years ago? Is it easier for you to go and buy things in the stores than it was four years ago? Is there more or less unemployment in the country than there was four years ago? Is America as respected throughout the world as it was? Do you feel that our security is as safe? That we're as strong as we were four years ago? And if you answer all of those questions yes, why then I think your choice is very obvious as to who you'll vote for. If you don't agree, if you don't think that this course that we've been on for the last four years is what you would like to see us follow for the next four, then I could suggest another choice that you have."

(1984)

RONALD REAGAN'S COMFORT BEFORE THE CAMERAS DURING HIS MOVIE CAREER PROVED JUST AS IMPORTANT TO HIS SUCCESS AS PRESIDENT.

(nat sot: Reagan) "My fellow Americans. It's been nearly three years since I first spoke to you from this room. Together we have faced many difficult problems and I've come to feel a special bond of kinship with each one of you."

BY 1984...PRESIDENT REAGAN'S POPULARITY WAS STRONG AMONG BOTH REPUBLICANS AND THE NEW "REAGAN DEMOCRATS."
FOR WALTER MONDALE...THE CHALLENGE PROVED INSURMOUNTABLE.
THE FORMER VICE PRESIDENT BELIEVED HIS ONLY CHANCE OF DEFEATING MR. REAGAN WOULD BE TO DEBATE HIM FIRST.

(nat sot: applause)

AND MONDALE WAS GRATEFUL THAT THE PRESIDENT AGREED TO DEBATE HIM...IN LOUISVILLE KENTUCKY...OCTOBER 7TH, 1984.

(Dbt: Mondale) "I want to thank President Reagan for agreeing to debate. He didn't have to and he did, and we all appreciate it."

(Sot: Mondale) "Was there a strategy going on that you wanted...something you wanted to accomplish, bottom line?"

- "I wanted to show presidential stature. I wanted to show mastery of the issues. I wanted to show that progressive dimension again. I wanted to show that I was more alert than the president, without being negative."

(Dbt: Mondale) "One of the key tests of leadership is whether one sees clearly the nature of the problems confronted by our nation. And perhaps the dominant domestic issue of our times is what do we do about these enormous deficits. I respect the President. I respect the presidency. I think he knows that. But the fact of it is every estimate by this administration about the size of the deficit has been off by billions and billions of dollars."

(Sot: Mondale) "The consensus afterward was that you took him. You won that debate. Did you agree with that when it was over?"

- "Yes. I knew we had won."

- "Why? Why? What went right for you?"

- "There were two or three things in there. One, I had anticipated that he would say, 'there you go again,' and I was ready for that because I opened up the Social Security issue."

(Dbt: Mondale) "Mr. Reagan, after the election is going to have to propose a tax increase."

(Dbt: Reagan) "You know, I wasn't going to say this at all, but I can't help it: There you go again. I don't have a plan to tax or increase taxes. I am not going to increase taxes. I can understand why you are, Mr. Mondale, because as a Senator you voted 16 times to increase taxes."

(Dbt: Mondale) "Mr. President, you said, 'There you again.' All right. Remember the last time you said that? You said it when President Carter said you were going to cut Medicare, and you said, 'oh no, there you go again Mr. President.' And what did you do right after the election? You went out and tried to cut \$20 billion out of Medicare. And so, when you say, 'There you go again,' people remember this."

(Sot: Mondale) "But the main thing, I think, that hurt him was he seemed to be; ill-focused, seemed to lose his way, stumble, roam around in irrelevancies, and it was a

pretty...it was an impressively unimpressive personal performance."

(Dbt: Reagan) "We're spending a third more on all of the programs of human service. We have more people receiving food stamps than were ever receiving them before."

(Sot: Reagan) "The consensus afterward, Mr. President, was that you were tired, didn't do that well, etc. Do you agree with that? Were you tired?"

- No, it wasn't tired. I was overtrained. We then, being there in office and all, everyone available, I want to tell you, I just had more facts and figures poured at me for weeks before than anyone could possibly sort out and use, and I call it overtraining.

When I got there, I realized that I was wracking my brain so much for facts and figures on whatever subject we were talking about."

(Dbt: Reagan) "7.7 million elderly citizens who were living in the lowest 20 percent of earnings, 7.7 million have moved up into another bracket since our administration took over, leaving only 5 million of the elderly in that bracket when there had been more than 13 million."

(Sot: Reagan) "I knew I didn't do well."

(Sot: Mondale) "I think the public wanted to vote for Reagan, which they later demonstrated. That the only thing that was going to give me a chance was a feeling that he was losing the full mastery of the presidency."

(Sot: Reagan) "The second debate, I wasn't overtrained.

- "And you feel you really pulled that one out No question about that one?"

- "Yep."

THE SECOND DEBATE WAS TWO WEEKS LATER IN KANSAS CITY. THE QUESTIONS FOCUSED ON FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE...AREAS WHERE PRESIDENT REAGAN BELIEVED HE HELD THE ADVANTAGE.

(Dbt: Reagan) "And I told Mr. Gromyko we don't like their system. They don't like ours. And we're not gonna change their system and they sure better not try to change ours. But, between us, we can either destroy the world or we can save it. And I suggested that certainly it was to their common interest, along with ours, to avoid a conflict and to attempt to save the world and remove the nuclear weapons. And I think that perhaps we established a little better understanding."

PRESIDENT REAGAN APPEARED MORE IN COMMAND DURING THE SECOND DEBATE.

IF THERE WAS ANY DOUBT...MR. REAGAN PUT AN END TO IT WHEN HE RESPONDED TO A QUESTION ABOUT HIS PERFORMANCE DURING THE FIRST DEBATE.

(Sot: Reagan) "I couldn't believe that question when it came at me from that press board that was there."

(*Dbt: Reagan*) "You already are the oldest president in history and some of your staff say you were tired after your most recent encounter with Mr. Mondale. I recall yet that President Kennedy had to go days on end very little sleep during the Cuba missile crisis. Is there any doubt in your mind that you would be able to function in such circumstances?"

- "Not at all. And, Mr. Trewhitt, I want you to know also I will not make age an issue of this campaign. I am not going to exploit for political purposes my opponent's youth and inexperience." (laughter)

(Sot: Reagan) "Was that one you were laying for?"

- "I never thought about it until I got that was really off the top of my head."

(Sot: Mondale) "Was that when you knew you were in trouble?"

- "He got the audience with that, yeah. I could tell that one hurt."

- "Did that strike you as obviously a pre-programmed line?"

- "Well, I'll tell you, if TV can tell the truth, as you say it can, you'll see that I was smiling. But I think if you come in close, you'll see some tears coming down because I knew he had gotten me there."

(Sot: Mondale) "That was really the end of my campaign that night, I think."

- "Is that right?"

- "That's what I thought."

(Sot: Mondale) "And did you know that, that night, when it was over?"

- "Yes, I walked off and I was almost certain the campaign was over, and it was."

- "Did you say that to anybody?"

- "My wife."

(Sot: Mondale) "If you had found that you were willing to go after him on that issue in the second debate on whether or not he was losing it or not, whether or not he had the capacity, the mental capacity to function as president. Would that have hurt you in the long run more than it would have hurt him?"

- "Yes. First of all, I would never have done it. I just am not that kind of politician. Secondly, I think people say here's a mean man and this is a personal below the belt thing, and I'm not going to vote for a person like that, and I think that would have... I think I would have been spanked. What I did do, which I thought was perfectly proper, was I tried to make a big issue out of a president who was out of touch, uninformed, not involved, because I thought there was abundant evidence of that."

(1984VP)

IRONICALLY...THE ONE CANDIDATE WHO HAS PARTICIPATED IN MORE
NATIONALLY TELEVISED DEBATES THAN ANY OTHER ALSO IS THE CANDIDATE
WHO MOST LOATHED HAVING TO DEBATE...GEORGE BUSH.

(nat Sot: Bush) "Are you anxious about the next debate or are you anxious about Mr.
Bush's performance tonight?

(Reagan shakes head "no.")

- "If he's not, I am. (laughter.)

(Sot: Bush) "You've participated in one vice presidential debate and 5 presidential
debates. Generally, what kind of an experience was it for you?

- "Ugly, I don't like 'em.

- "Why not?

- "Well, partially I wasn't too good at 'em. Secondly, there's some of its contrived. Show
business. You prompt to get the answers ahead of time. Now this guy, you got Bernie
Shaw on the panel and here's what he's probably gonna ask you. You got Leslie Stahl
over here and she's known to go for this and that, I want to be sure I remember what
Leslie's going to ask and get this answer no that answers not quite concise and that's
always. There's a certain artificiality to it, lack of spontaneity to it. And I don't know I just
felt uncomfortable about it."

AS RONALD REAGAN'S RUNNING MATE IN 1980...GEORGE BUSH DID NOT
DEBATE THE INCUMBENT VICE PRESIDENT WALTER MONDALE.
BUT IN 1984...BUSH THE INCUMBENT DID DEBATE HIS OPPONENT...NEW YORK
CONGRESSWOMAN GERALDINE FERRARO.

(Sot: Ferraro) "I said the thing...the only thing that would scare me in a campaign or
running the country is that debate that you'd have to do during the campaign."

WALTER MONDALE KNEW HIS CHOICE OF FERRARO AS HIS RUNNING MATE
WAS A POLITICAL RISK.
IN CONGRESS...FERRARO WAS STRONGLY CRITICAL OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S
ECONOMIC POLICIES.
BUT SHE HAD SERVED ONLY THREE TERMS IN THE HOUSE.
ON THE NATIONAL STAGE...FERRARO WAS A POLITICAL UNKNOWN.
BUT SHE GAINED NOTORIETY SIMPLY BY BEING THE FIRST WOMAN FROM
EITHER MAJOR POLITICAL PARTY EVER TO RUN ON A PRESIDENTIAL TICKET.

(nat Sot: applause)

ON OCTOBER 11TH, 1984...GERALDINE FERRARO MET VICE PRESIDENT
GEORGE BUSH ON THE STAGE OF PHILADELPHIA'S CIVIC THEATER FOR THEIR
ONE AND ONLY DEBATE.

(Sot: Ferraro) "The responsibility that I had at that point, Jim, was I think rather unique.
It was more than the fact that I was the Vice Presidential candidate on a ticket that was

challenging the incumbent President and the Vice President, but here I was as the first woman and you know I was standing in for millions of women in this the country."

(Dbt: Ferraro) "Despite the historic aspects of your candidacy, how do you account for the fact that a majority of women - at least according to the polls - favor the Reagan-Bush ticket over the Mondale-Ferraro ticket?"

- "I don't. Let me say that I'm not a believer in polls and let me say further that what we are talking about are problems that are facing the entire nation. They're not just problems facing women."

(Sot: Ferraro) "If I messed up, I was messing up for them. And I, it was, the responsibility I mean was very, very sharp!"

IN A WAY, THE SAME "HISTORIC ASPECT" OF FERRARO'S CANDIDACY WEIGHED ON GEORGE BUSH AS WELL.

(Sot: Bush) "The tensest was against Ferraro.

- "Why, why was this so tense?"

- "Well, I think the press was automatically divided. I think a lot of the females in the press corp said this was one of us. You could here 'em clapping. Room behind, I couldn't but all the spinmeisters..."

- "Press people were, press people were applauding?"

- "Absolutely, the spinmisters were behind the scene listening as the journalists were clapping and it was, it was, it was a tough one."

(Sot: Ferraro) "Did you have an objective...a bottom line of what you wanted to accomplish?"

- "Oh yeah. And it was, it was not beating George Bush, believe it or not. The bottom line as far as I was concerned was presenting to the public who Gerry Ferraro was. The polls indicated that I was feisty, that was tough, that I had a sense of humor, but they weren't quite sure if they liked me and they didn't know whether or not that I was substantive."

GEORGE BUSH SPENT MUCH OF THE EVENING DEFENDING THE REAGAN ECONOMIC PLAN. AND MORE THAN ONCE DURING THE DEBATE...WORDS ESCAPED HIM.

(Dbt: Bush) "Almost every place you can point, contrary to Mr. Mondale's - I gotta be careful - but contrary of how he goes around just saying everything bad. If he sees...If somebody sees a silver lining, he finds a - big black cloud out there. Whine on harvest moon! I mean, there's a lot going on, a lotta opportunity."

(Sot: Bush) "I was the guy who just said English was my second language so maybe I'm a little..." (laughter).

WHILE BUSH STRUGGLED WITH THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE...FERRARO WORRIED ABOUT THE EXTENT OF HER KNOWLEDGE OF WORLD AFFAIRS.

(Sot: Ferraro) "I didn't serve on a committee that dealt with foreign policy. And though I spent a good deal of time working the issues as votes came to the floor, it really wasn't where I was most comfortable. So I was nervous about it."

(Dbt: Ferraro) "Let me first say that terrorism is a global problem..."

EARLY IN THE DEBATE VICE PRESIDENT BUSH HAD CRITICIZED FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER FOR HIS HANDLING OF THE IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS. FERRARO IN TURN QUESTIONED PRESIDENT REAGAN'S RESPONSE TO THE MORE RECENT EMBASSY AND MARINE BARRACKS BOMBINGS IN LEBANON.

(Dbt: Ferraro) "Are we going to take proper precautions before we put Americans in situations where they're in danger, or are we just going to walk away, throwing our arms up in the air now - quite a reversal from the first time, from the first time when he said he was going to do something? Or is this President going to take some action?"

BUSH'S RESPONSE LED TO THE MOST MEMORABLE EXCHANGE OF THE DEBATE.

(Dbt: Bush) "Let me help you with the difference, Mrs. Ferraro, between Iran and the Embassy in Lebanon. Iran - we were held by a foreign government. In Lebanon you had a wanton, terrorist action where the government opposed it."

(Dbt: Moderator) "Congresswoman Ferraro."

(Dbt: Ferraro) "Let me just say, first of all, that I almost resent, Vice President Bush, your patronizing attitude that you have to teach me about foreign policy."

(Sot: Bush) "Patronize..."

- "Patronize, don't pat-

- "don't patronize, don't patronize me. I mean there was this..."

- "That was her, that was the big line of that debate."

- "I think she was ready. She'd probably been rehearsed for that and I can't even remember what it was and I said let me help you with that or something. And oh that brought the crowd to its feet."

(Sot: Ferraro) "I didn't want to do that. I didn't want to scold. I didn't want to tell him that he wasn't dealing with me as an equal. I didn't want to have to do that. I wanted just to focus on me and I didn't want to give any sort of negative impression to anybody who was watching."

- "Was that line a rehearsed line?"

- "Absolutely not. No. I was forced into it. I was forced into it because he wanted to, he

was trying to teach me about foreign policy and that was a put down."

(V/o sot: Ferraro 100110) "George Bush was very nervous immediately following the debate. When we went up on the stage my husband, my children came up to join him and his wife and his children who all came up on stage. And he looked a little bit rattled."

(Sot: Bush 10220) "Those big time things...tension city, Jim."

(Sot: Bush 11340) "But here you sit as one of the most successful politicians in modern US history and yet one of the major vehicles that people use to get elected you despise. And it doesn't..

- "I don't know if it helped me or hurt me to get elected. I'd like someone to show me that it helped me to get elected than I might change my mind but I don't think so. I don't think so."

(1988)

(nat sot: Reagan) "I figure with the convention coming up at which you will be the standard bearer and so forth...you could probably use that gavel. And if not there from experience I can tell you there'll be a lot of meetings with congressional leadership at which you can use that." (laughter)

AS RONALD REAGAN'S RUNNING MATE GEORGE BUSH RODE TO TWO EASY VICTORIES .
BUT IN 1988...BUSH WAS HEADING THE TICKET AND BY NO MEANS WAS HE RUNNING AWAY WITH THE ELECTION.
MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNOR MICHAEL DUKAKIS LED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE POLLS FOR MUCH OF THE SUMMER BUT GEORGE BUSH MANAGED TO CLOSE THE GAP.

(nat sot: Donaldson) "Governor, Bush says he's delighted that you now admitted you're a liberal and that the debate ought to be between you and you!"

SO TIGHT WAS THE RACE THAT MANY THOUGHT THE ULTIMATE WINNER WOULD BE DECIDED BY A FACE TO FACE DEBATE. THE CANDIDATES AGREED ON TWO OF THEM.

(Sot: Dukakis) "Do you feel that the outcome of the election was affected at all by those two debates?"

- "I think, probably, Jim. I thought I did a pretty good job on the first debate, not a very good job on the second debate. And I think, had I done a better job, particularly in that second debate, it might have made some difference."

THAT SECOND DEBATE IS REMEMBERED FOR THE FIRST QUESTION AND ANSWER OF THE EVENING. THE SITE WAS LOS ANGELES, OCTOBER 13TH, 1988. CNN'S BERNARD SHAW WAS THE MODERATOR.

(Dbt: Shaw) "The first question goes to Governor Dukakis; you have two minutes to respond. Governor, if Kitty Dukakis were raped and murdered, would you favor an irrevocable death penalty for the killer?"

- "No, I don't, Bernard, and I think you know that I've opposed the death penalty during all of my life. I don't see any evidence that it's a deterrent and I think there are better and more effective ways to deal with violent crime. We've done so in my own state and it's one of the reasons why we have had the biggest drop in crime of any industrial state in America, why we have the lowest murder rate of any industrial state in America."

(Sot: Dukakis) "First of all, do you think that was a fair question?"

- "Oh sure. Sure. I mean anybody like me, who is opposed to the death penalty is certainly, should be subject to that kind of a question. I think it is a perfectly legitimate question.

- "You were criticized for your answer. Explain what you, what was going through your mind at that moment. What you were doing?"

- "Well, if you have been against the death penalty as I have, and this has been an issue in virtually every campaign I've ever run in, you are asked that question, or a variation of it about a thousand times. And I had been. Unfortunately, I answered it as if I'd been asked it a thousand times.

- "You answered it as an issue question.

- "Yeah, basically."

(Sot: Bush) "Mike Dukakis seemed flustered by it and instead of saying I'd kill him if I could get my hands on him. There was some kind of politically correct answer. And I think that hurt him."

(Sot: Dukakis) "On that question, when you answered it and when you were standing there on the stage, did you have a feeling afterward, "oh my goodness, I blew it."

- "No. Nope.

- "When the debate was over, did your folks tell you, "Hey, governor, you've got a problem with that answer?"

- "I don't think they said it that emphatically, but I don't think they were happy with my answer.

- "Sitting here now, do you wish you had done it differently?"

- "Yeah, I guess so. On the other hand, I've listened and watched myself respond to that, but I have to tell you and maybe I'm just still missing it or something. I didn't think it was that bad. You know. But maybe it was. And again, I think you have to be aware of the fact when you are debating, and you have say a couple of debates, that a huge number of people are watching you and although you've been answering these kinds of questions all during the campaign, or for that matter all during your political career, for

many people, it is the first time they have had a chance to look at you. And so, I think you have to be sensitive to that. And obviously, I wasn't."

BUT THE TONE OF MICHAEL DUKAKIS' RESPONSE TO THAT FIRST QUESTION DID NOT COME AS A COMPLETE SURPRISE.

THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN CRITICS CHARGED DUKAKIS LACKED EMOTION. AND DUKAKIS WAS ASKED DIRECTLY ABOUT IT DURING HIS FIRST DEBATE WITH GEORGE BUSH IN WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA ON SEPTEMBER 25TH.

THE QUESTION TRIGGERED A SERIES OF PUNCHES AND COUNTER-PUNCHES THAT MADE THIS DEBATE ONE OF THE MOST ENTERTAINING OF ANY CAMPAIGN.

(Dbt: Dukakis) "Governor, one theme that keeps coming up about the way you govern is passionless, technocratic.

- "Passionless?"

- "Passionless, technocratic, the smartest clerk in the world.

- "Peter, I care deeply about people, all people, working people, working families, people all over this country who in some cases are living from paycheck to paycheck, in other cases are having a hard time opening up the door of college opportunity to their children, in other cases, don't have basic health insurance which for most of us we accept as a matter of course and assume we're going to have in order to pay the bills that we incur when we get sick. I'm somebody who believes deeply in genuine opportunity for every single citizen in this country and that's the kind of passion I brought to my state."

(Sot: Dukakis) "Look, I am a guy who is, anybody who knows me, knows feels very passionate about things. I think I have a reasonably good sense of humor, although I am not sure that came through in the campaign. But then, that's part of the problem with campaigns."

(Dbt: Bush) "Mr. Vice President?"

- Well, I don't question his passion. But in my view it's misguided passion. He - we have a big difference on issues. You see, last year in the primary he expressed his passion. He said, "I am a strong liberal Democrat" - August '87. Then he said "I am a card-carrying member of the ACLU." That was what he said."

(Dbt: Jennings) "You've used the phrase card carrying so many times since Governor Dukakis first acknowledged that he was a card-carrying member of the ACLU that some people have come to believe that you've used it to brand him in some way, to identify him as people were identified in the 1950's as less than patriotic. What is so wrong with the Governor being a member of an organization which has come to the defense of, among other people Colonel Oliver North?"

(Dbt: Bush) "Nothing's wrong with it. He has every right to exercise his passion, as what he said, a strong progressive liberal. I don't agree with that. I come from a very different

point of view."

(Sot: Dukakis) "Well, look. I'm not a conservative. I'm a liberal Democrat. I like to think I'm a fiscally responsible liberal Democrat but I am a liberal Democrat. I am a member of the American Civil Liberties Union. Maybe I should have turned to him and said, "Well, I'd rather be a member of the ACLU than the National Rifle Association." I didn't say that.

HERE'S WHAT MICHAEL DUKAKIS DID SAY.

(*Dbt: Dukakis*) "Well, I hope this is the first and last time I have to say this. Of course the Vice President is questioning my patriotism. I don't think there is any question about that. And I resent it. I resent it. My parents came to this country as immigrants. They taught me that this was the greatest country in the world. I'm in public service because I love this country. I believe in it. And nobody's going to question my patriotism as the Vice President has now repeatedly.

(Sot: Dukakis) "If you are going to run for the presidency then the other guy is going to come at you with this stuff. You better be ready for it. It's got to be part of your overall campaign and if these issues arise during a debate, you've got to be ready for them. You just can't sit there mute."

(Sot: Bush 10430) "Its show business, Jim, its not really debating or getting into detail on issues or what your experience has been. Too much prompting, too much artificiality, and not really debates. They're rehearsed appearances."

SOME OF THE RESPONSES OBVIOUSLY WERE REHEARSED.

(*Dbt: Dukakis*) "He wants to give the wealthiest taxpayers in this country a five-year, \$40-billion tax break and he also wants to spend a lot of money on additional programs. If he keeps this up he's going to be the Joe Isuzu of American politics." (laughter)

(*Dbt: Bush*) "Is this the time to unleash our one-liner? That answer was about as clear as Boston Harbor." (laughter)

(*Dbt: Bush*) "Do not erode out of the system the thousand points of light; the people that are out there trying to help these kids."

(*Dbt: Dukakis*) "A thousand points of light, I don't know what that means." (laughter)

(*Dbt: Bush*) "We are going to make some changes and some tough choices before we go to deployment on the Midgetman missile or on the Minuteman, whatever it is. We're going to have to - the MX - MX - we're going to have to do that. It's Christmas. It's Christmas. Wouldn't it be nice to be perfect. Wouldn't it be nice to be the iceman so you never make a mistake." (laughter)

(Dbt: Bush) "I'd hoped this had been a little friendlier an evening. I'd wanted to hitchhike a ride home in his tank with him, but I think now we're..." (laughter)

(Sot: Dukakis) "Well, I was going to try to keep it positive. I mean, in retrospect, that's just stupid."

HOWEVER THERE WAS ONE ISSUE OF SERIOUS CONCERN FOR GEORGE BUSH THAT EMERGED DURING THE CAMPAIGN.
IT WAS AN ISSUE BUSH KNEW WOULD COME UP DURING THE DEBATES.

(Dbt: Mashek) "Mr. Vice President, the Democrats and even some Republicans are still expressing reservations about the qualifications and credentials of Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana, your chosen running mate, to be a heartbeat away from the Presidency. What do you see in him that others do not?"

- "I see a young man that was elected to the Senate twice, to the House of Representatives twice. I see a man who is young, and I am putting my confidence in a whole generation of people that are in their 30's and in their 40's. So judge the man on his record, not on a lot of rumors and innuendo and trying to fool around with his name. My opponent says J. Danforth Quayle. Do you know who J. Danforth was? He was a man that gave his life in World War II. So ridiculing a person's name is a little beneath this process, and he'll do very well when we get into the debate." (applause)
- "Governor?"

(Dbt: Dukakis) "Well, when it comes to ridicule, George, you win a gold medal. I think we can agree on that.

- "Just the facts.

- "I think the American people have a right to judge us on this question - on how we picked our running mate, a person who is a heartbeat away from the Presidency. I picked Lloyd Bentsen, a distinguished, strong, mature, a leader in the Senate, somebody whose qualifications nobody has questioned. Mr. Bush picked Dan Quayle. I doubt very much that Dan Quayle was the best qualified person for that job. And as a matter of fact, I think for most people, the notion of President Quayle is a very, very troubling notion tonight."

(1988VP)

(nat sot: Bush) "My choice for the Vice Presidency is Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana." (Applause)

THE MEDIA...POLITICAL OPPONENTS...EVEN SOME LOYAL REPUBLICANS
TURNED THE HEAT ON GEORGE BUSH FROM THE MOMENT HE CHOSE DAN
QUAYLE AS HIS RUNNING MATE.

BUT IT DIDN'T COMPARE TO THE INTENSE POLITICAL AND PERSONAL EXAMINATION QUAYLE HAD TO WITHSTAND. QUESTIONS ABOUT HIS GRADES IN COLLEGE AND QUESTIONS ABOUT USING FAMILY INFLUENCE TO GET IN THE NATIONAL GUARD AND AVOID POSSIBLE COMBAT IN VIETNAM.

(nat sot: Quayle) "I got into the National Guard fairly. I did not ask anybody to break the rules and as far as I know nobody did break the rules. I got in fairly."

AND THERE WERE QUESTIONS IN GENERAL ABOUT WHAT QUAYLE HAD ACCOMPLISHED IN CONGRESS TO DESERVE THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

(Sot: Quayle) "Look... look...look. I answered many question last night on all three television networks...CNN...public television. I'm going to continue to answer question that you raise about me...about issues...about anything throughout this campaign."

TENS OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WERE WAITING TO HEAR QUAYLE'S ANSWERS WHEN HE TOOK THE STAGE AT OMAHA'S CIVIC THEATER TO DEBATE LLOYD BENTSEN, OCTOBER 5th, 1988.

(Sot: Quayle) "How did you prepare for that?"

- "I prepared for that debate probably the way you should not prepare for a debate and that is to really to get all the policy questions down to the nth degree. Have your four points, get it memorized, it's like taking an exam. And you cram it all in there, knowing that somewhere along the line you're going to be able to use it."

(Dbt: Quayle) "In national security and arms control, you have to understand the relationship between a ballistic missile, a warhead, what throw weight, what megatonnage is. You better understand about telemetry and encryption and you better understand that you have to negotiate from a position of strength."

(Sot: Quayle) "Of course you have to know the policy. You've got to have that. But you have to be in my judgment, you've got to be somewhat relaxed."

(Dbt: Quayle) "Now you will have a choice to make on Election Day, you will have a choice of whether America is going to choose the road of Michael Dukakis or the road of George Bush, as we march toward the 21st century. "

(Sot: Quayle) "Going back looking at the debate on television I could see that I was over-prepared, over-coached, if you will, not relaxed, and not as in control as much as I thought I should have been."

THERE WAS LITTLE PRESSURE ON LLOYD BENTSEN. HE WAS AN EXPERIENCED...RESPECTED SENATOR. CHAIRMAN OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND A SUCCESSFUL BUSINESSMAN. BENTSEN WAS NEITHER A

TARGET OF TOUGH QUESTIONS FROM THE PRESS PANEL NOR FROM QUAYLE.
(Sot: Quayle) "Absolutely. Leave Bentsen alone. He was a gentleman, he was a figure in the Senate. I knew him well. I just went after Dukakis and talked about Dukakis, and I tried to get the L word, if you recall, in the 1988 campaign."

(Dbt: Quayle) "Governor Dukakis is one of the most liberal governors in the United States of America.

(Dbt: Quayle) "Because every time there's a problem, the liberal Governor from Massachusetts raises taxes.

(Dbt: Quayle) "The most liberal national Democrat to seek the office of Presidency since George McGovern."

(Sot: Quayle) "I must have used that I don't know how many times...a lot."

(Sot: Quayle) "There was a feeling that you had to establish yourself as being ready to be president of the United States?"

(Dbt: Bentsen) "This debate tonight is not about the qualifications for the Vice Presidency. The debate is whether or not Dan Quayle and Lloyd Bentsen are qualified to be President of the United States. The debate is about the presidency itself. And a presidential decision that has to be made by you. The stakes could not be higher."

(Sot: Quayle) "Did you feel that oh, my goodness, if I make a mistake...if I make a serious mistake, it could hurt George Bush's chances of election?"

- "Oh, of course, absolutely, and that's why you're very careful, and choose your words carefully, and make sure that you don't make any major mistakes, gaffes. That's what the press is looking for."

(Dbt: Hume) "Let us assume, if we can, for the sake of this question that you become Vice President and the President is incapacitated for one reason or another and you have to take the reins of power. When that moment came, what would be the first steps that you'd take, and why?"

- "First I'd - first I'd say a prayer for myself and for the country that I'm about to lead. And then I would assemble his people and talk."

(Dbt: Hume) "What would you do next?"

- "I don't believe that it's proper for me to get into the specifics of a hypothetical situation like that."

(Dbt: Brokaw) "Senator Quayle, I don't mean to beat this drum until it has no more sound left in it, but the follow-up on Brit Hume's question, surely you must have some plan in mind about what you would do if it fell to you to become President of the United States, as it has to so many Vice Presidents just in the last 25 years or so?"

- "Let me try to answer the question one more time. I think this is the fourth time that I have had this question. And I think that -

- "Third time.
- "Three times that I have had this question and I'll try to answer it again for you as clearly as I can. It is not just age, it's accomplishments, it's experience. I have far more experience than many others that sought the office of Vice President this country. I have as much experience in the Congress as Jack Kennedy did when he sought the Presidency. I will be prepared to deal with the people in the Bush Administration if that unfortunate event would ever occur.
- "Senator Bentsen.
- "Senator, I served with Jack Kennedy. I knew Jack Kennedy. Jack Kennedy was a friend of mine. Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy. (applause)
- "That was really uncalled for, Senator.
- "You're the one that was making the comparison, Senator. And I'm one who knew him well. And frankly I think you're so far apart in the objectives you choose for your country that I did not think the comparison was well taken."

(Sot: Quayle) "Did you think that was a cheap shot? What was your thought when you were standing there and he said that?"

- "We actually had anticipated him using a line like that because during the campaign, if you recall, a lot of people, reporters, probably you, Jim, as well, said well, what kind of experience do you really have, and I would always make the factual reference to the experience that I had in the Congress and the Senate to the experience that Jack Kennedy had before he was elected president a factual statement. That was it. Not any comparison, but it was a factual statement. And the staff said you know, sometime you might get in a little trouble with that. I said look, it's just a statement of fact. They said okay, we know that. What I wasn't anticipating was the crowd getting involved as much, and they got very involved, as you can listen on the tape. That I did not expect. (butt) but I was somewhat prepared for his line. It was a good line."

(Sot: Quayle) "Did you feel it hurt you in the long run?"

- "Oh, in the long run, yes, because you guys keep running it over and over again. I'm sure you're going to run it again on this program, and it's not a good moment."

(Sot: Quayle) "Did you know it was a bad moment at the time?"

- "No, I didn't. When I went back and talked to the folks, I said we got our points across, the game plan went well. I don't know how they're going to play that one line. And neither did they. No one knew. And you don't know. It just gets into a sort of a feeding frenzy, if I may use those words, and all of a sudden two or three days later, that becomes the line."

(1992)

(nat sot: Clinton campaigning)

HISTORICALLY...THE MAJOR CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED

STATES TRAVELED SIMILAR PATHS.
THEY BUILT POLITICAL RESUMES AND THEIR CAMPAIGNS FOR THE WHITE
HOUSE WERE MONTHS IF NOT YEARS IN THE MAKING.
IN 1992...THAT CERTAINLY WAS THE ROUTE ARKANSAS GOVERNOR BILL
CLINTON HAD TRAVELED.

(nat sot: Perot campaigning)

BUT SUDDENLY...THERE WAS ROSS PEROT. THE TEXAS BILLIONAIRE
BUSINESSMAN JUMPED INTO THE RACE FOR PRESIDENT IN THE SPRING OF
1992 CARRYING WITH HIM A LONG LIST OF DOMESTIC GRIPES; THE
DEFICIT...THE ECONOMY...JOBS...TRADE... EDUCATION REFORM.
PEROT'S CHALLENGE SIMPLY ADDED TO THE CONCERNS OF THE INCUMBENT
PRESIDENT...GEORGE BUSH.

(Sot: Thomas) "Mr. President, why have you dropped so dramatically in the leadership
polls from the high 80's to the 40's?"

- "Well, I think the answer to why the drop, I think, has been the economy in the
doldrums."

(Nat sot: Desert Storm)

FOR GEORGE BUSH...HIS SHINING MOMENT HAD BEEN DESERT STORM.
HE FORGED AN INTERNATIONAL COALITION AGAINST SADAAM HUESSIN.
AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF...HE BROUGHT SWIFT AND CERTAIN DEFEAT ON THE
IRAQI ARMY. THE TROOPS CAME HOME HEROES AND GEORGE BUSH'S
APPROVAL RATING NEARED 90-PERCENT. AND THEN THE ECONOMY WENT
FLAT.

(Dbt: Bush) "The whole world has had economic problems; we're doing better than a lot
of the countries in the world. And we're going to lead the way out of this economic
recession across this world and economic slowdown here at home."

PRESIDENT BUSH SAID HE WAS ENERGIZED BY THE CROWDS THAT TURNED
OUT TO SEE HIM DURING HIS REELECTION CAMPAIGN. BUT THERE STILL WAS
THAT PART OF THE CAMPAIGN HE DID NOT ENJOY...THE TELEVISED DEBATES.
NEVERTHELESS...PRESIDENT BUSH AGREED TO THREE OF THEM.

(Sot: Bush) "You didn't want to debate then either."

- "No I don't think, I think maybe '92 was because 3rd party. Giving Perot that you know
kind of standing that comes from being out there. I wasn't particularly enthusiastic about
that at all."

(Sot: Clinton) "My feeling was that Perot had brought an important element into the '92
campaign and he showed that there was a sense that neither party was fully
representing the American people and I thought that given the fact he was about 15% in

the polls I just thought that you know there was literally no justification for keeping him out."

PEROT SEEMED IMPATIENT IN THE DEBATE SETTING...AS IF HE WANTED TO GET ON WITH THE JOB BEFORE IT WAS EVEN OFFERED TO HIM. HE DELIVERED RAPID FIRE RESPONSES.

(Sot: Perot) "Look at all three of us. Decide who you think will do the job, pick that person in November because believe me, as I've said before, the party's over and it's time for the cleanup crew."

PEROT ON MAKING SACRIFICES:

(Sot: Perot) "I think it's a good time to face it in November. If they do, then they will have heard the harsh reality of what we have to do. I'm not playing Lawrence Welk music tonight."

PEROT ON DRUG DEALERS:

(Sot: Perot) "There are guys that couldn't get a job, third shift in a Dairy Queen, driving BMW's and Mercedes selling drugs."

AND PEROT ON HIS LACK OF EXPERIENCE;

(*Dbt: Perot*) "I don't have any experience in running up a \$4 trillion debt. I don't have any experience in gridlock government, where nobody takes responsibility for anything and everybody blames everybody else."

(Sot: Bush) "I figured he would be going after me not Clinton. Maybe he was, maybe he wasn't I don't know."

BILL CLINTON CERTAINLY WAS GOING AFTER GEORGE BUSH.

(*Dbt: Clinton*) "Tonight I have to say to the President; Mr. Bush, for 12 years you've had it your way; you've had your chance and it didn't work. It's time to change."

PART OF PRESIDENT BUSH'S DEBATE STRATEGY WAS TO QUESTION BILL CLINTON'S CHARACTER. HE CITED IN PARTICULAR CLINTON'S ANTI-WAR PROTESTS IN EUROPE DURING VIETNAM.

(*Dbt: Bush*) "I think it's wrong to demonstrate against your own country or organize demonstrations against your own country in foreign soil. I just think it's wrong. I -- maybe they say, well, it's a youthful indiscretion. I was 19 or 20 flying off an aircraft carrier, and that shaped me to be Commander in Chief of the armed forces. And I'm sorry, but demonstrating -- it's not a question of patriotism. It's a question of

character and judgment. Some say, well, you're a little old-fashioned. Maybe I am, but I just don't think that's right."

(Dbt: Clinton) "When Joe McCarthy went around this country attacking people's patriotism, he was wrong. He was wrong. And a Senator from Connecticut stood up to him named Prescott Bush. Your father was right to stand up to Joe McCarthy. You were wrong to attack my patriotism. I was opposed to the war but I love my country and we need a President who will bring this country together, not divide it. We've got enough division. I want to lead a unified country." (applause)

(Sot: Clinton) "How do you feel generally about how you did in those 1992 debates? Do you feel you won all three of them?"

- Well I thought I did quite well. I think I was a little nervous in the beginning but I thought I did real well in the first time and I was a little supposed that the polls showed that most people thought Perot had done better than I did."

THAT ST. LOUIS DEBATE AND THE THIRD DEBATE AT MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY USED TRADITIONAL FORMATS WITH A PANEL OF REPORTERS ASKED THE QUESTIONS. BUT THE SECOND DEBATE IN RICHMOND VIRGINIA ON OCTOBER 17TH HAD A LOOK MUCH DIFFERENT THAN ANY DEBATE BEFORE.

(Dbt: Moderator) "Tonight's program is unlike any other Presidential debate in history -- we're making history now and it's pretty exciting.

IT WAS THE FIRST TIME A "TOWN HALL" FORMAT WAS USED IN A PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE. AN AUDIENCE OF UNCOMMITTED VOTERS WAS SELECTED TO ASK QUESTIONS ON ANY TOPIC THEY CHOSE. THE FORMAT WAS THE IDEA OF GOVERNOR BILL CLINTON.

(SOT: Clinton) "Boy, I really wanted that, because I'd done a lot of town meetings and I..

- "That's your favorite format isn't it?"

- "Absolutely, because I think presidents should be accountable to citizens and I think it's very interesting the questions they ask and the way they ask them. Those folks who are out there trying to put lives together, and you know, pay bills, and send their kids to college and deal with all the things that people deal with. And that's their perspective.

(butt) it's the flesh and blood of America, so I love those things, and I loved that one. I think I did very well there."

QUESTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE TOUCHED MOSTLY ON DOMESTIC CONCERNS. PRESIDENT BUSH TRIED TO INJECT THE CHARACTER ISSUE.

(Dbt: Bush) "I think the first negative campaign run in this election was by Governor Clinton. And I'm not going to sit there and be a punching bag. I'm going to stand up and say, 'Hey, listen, here's my side of it.'" But character is an important part of the equation.'

THE PRESIDENT WAS PROMPTLY SCOLDED FOR HIS REMARKS.

(*Dbt: Bush*) "Can we focus on the issues and not the personalities and the mud? I think there is, there is a need, if we can take a poll here, with the folks from Gallup perhaps, I think there is a real need here to focus at this point on the needs.

- "How do you respond? How do you gentlemen respond to ----

- "I agree with him. I worked 12 years very hard as a governor on the real problems of real people. I'm just as sick as you are by having to wake up and figure out how to defend myself every day. I never thought I'd ever be involved in anything like this."

(*Dbt: Bush*) "President Bush. How would you like to respond to this?"

- "Let's do it. Let's talk about programs for children.

- "Could we cross our hearts; it sounds silly here, but could we make a commitment? You know, we're not under oath at this point, but could you make a commitment to the citizens of the United States to meet our needs, and we have many."

(*Sot: Bush*) "What I didn't know is that beforehand they had rehearsed and identified some of the questioners and there was some guy that was you know so clearly was going to be antagonistic to me and the way the questions was asked and I was told later, that how about you back there in the 4th row, and they singled him out to be the contentious questioner of George Bush. I mean that's, that's show busi-. Now should I have been able to react better and do a better job I guess probably."

AND FOR PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH...THE EVENING ONLY GOT WORSE.

(*Sot: Bush*) "The Richmond debate, Mr. President, you know you caught a lot of heat for looking at your watch. What was that all about, remember that?"

- "Well I wasn't too conscientious of it at all

- "I know...well do... remember that?"

- "It was he's bored. Yah, oh God, do I remember I took a huge hit."

THE TELEVISION CAMERAS CAUGHT PRESIDENT BUSH LOOKING AT HIS WRISTWATCH MIDWAY THROUGH THE DEBATE....AND AGAIN 30 MINUTES LATER.

(*Sot: Clinton*) "Well, I remember I saw it at the time.

- "You did see it at the time?"

- "Mm hm, I saw him looking at his watch. And I thought, I felt, when I saw it, that he was, you know, uncomfortable in that setting and wanted it to be over with."

(*Sot: Bush*) "You look at your watch and they say that he shouldn't had any business running for President he's bored he's out of this thing, he's not with it and we need change. It took a little incident like that to show that I was you know out of it. They made a huge thing out of that."

(*Sot: Clinton*) "But I think the reason so much was made of it is that the impression was

forming that here was a very good man who was very devoted to our country but just didn't really believe that all these domestic issues should be dominating the way they were. If someone had caught me or Ross Perot looking at our watch, unless it had been a bad moment in the debate, it probably wouldn't have resonated. But I think--- the reason the watch thing hurt so badly was it tended to reinforce the problem he had in the election."

(Sot: Bush) "Now was I glad when the damn thing was over. Yah. And maybe that's why I was looking at it, only 10 more minutes of this crap, I mean.

- (laughter)

- "Go ahead and use it. I'm a free spirit now.

- "No that's in there, that's on the tape don't worry.

- "That's in. Run it make that the heading as far as I'm concerned.

- "Of all of these debates...

- "If I said that then I would've done better. But your on guard....

- "Oh sure...

- "You don't want to make a mistake. You don't want to say anything that's gonna offend."

(1992VP)

(nat sot: Quayle) "I doesn't help matters when prime time TV has Murphy Brown mocking the importance of fathers by bearing a child alone and calling it just another life style choice."

THROUGHOUT HIS FOUR YEARS AS VICE PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE REMAINED THE FOCUS OF CLOSE MEDIA ATTENTION.

(Nat Sot: Quayle) "I'm sure that the media elite and Hollywood didn't like the speech that I gave by the American people support what I'm talking about and I'm talking about values and I'm talking about family I'm talking about integrity."

BUT QUAYLE WAS DETERMINED NOT TO BE THE ISSUE OF THE 1992 CAMPAIGN. IN PREPARING FOR HIS ONE AND ONLY NATIONALLY TELEVISED DEBATE, QUAYLE WANTED THE ISSUE TO BE BILL CLINTON.

(Sot: Quayle) "I decided to have two or three issues that I wanted to bring up with Bill Clinton. But again in a vice presidential debate, you really do ignore the person on the stage. In this particular case I had known Al Gore better than I knew Lloyd Bentsen."

AL GORE HAD BEEN ELECTED TO CONGRESS IN 1976...THE SAME YEAR AS QUAYLE. THEY SERVED TOGETHER ON THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE.

(Sot: Quayle) "I knew him. I debated him. I knew him pretty well."

BUT THERE WAS A THIRD CANDIDATE IN THAT '92 DEBATE THAT NEITHER QUAYLE NOR GORE...NOR THE VIEWING AUDIENCE KNEW MUCH ABOUT. HE WAS ADMIRAL JAMES STOCKDALE...ROSS PEROT'S RUNNING MATE ON THE REFORM TICKET. THE THREE MEN TOOK THE STAGE AT GEORGIA TECH UNIVERSITY ON OCTOBER 13TH 1992. SEVERAL NEWS ORGANIZATION LATER WOULD DESCRIBE THE EVENT AS A BRAWL.

(Sot: Stockdale) "In general terms, how would you characterize that experience for you?"

.. "It was terribly frustrating because I...remember I started with..."

(Dbt: Stockdale) "Who am I? Why am I here? (laughter)"

(Sot: Stockdale) "...and I never got back to that because there was never an opportunity for me to explain my life to people. It was so different from Quayle and Gore."

JAMES STOCKDALE WAS A CAREER NAVY MAN...A FIGHTER PILOT WHO WENT THROUGH FLIGHT TRAINING SCHOOL WITH JOHN GLENN. HE WAS SHOT DOWN OVER NORTH VIETNAM IN 1965...TAKEN PRISONER AND FOR SEVEN AND A HALF YEARS WITHSTOOD SEVERE TORTURE AND STARVATION. AS THE SENIOR OFFICER...STOCKDALE CREATED A PRISON CIVILIZATION THAT ALLOWED THE CAPTURED AMERICANS TO COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER...BOOSTING THEIR MORALE AND THE WILL TO SURVIVE. STOCKDALE RECEIVED THE CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR FOR HIS ACTIONS...ROSE TO THE RANK OF VICE ADMIRAL AND SERVED AS PRESIDENT OF THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE.

(Sot: Stockdale) "The four years in solitary confinement in Vietnam, 7" years in prisons, drop the first bomb that started the - the first American bombing raid in the North Vietnam. I don't say it just to brag, but, I mean, my sensitivities are completely different."

(Dbt: Stockdale) "-- the best thing I had going for me was I had no contact with Washington for all those years."

AT THE START OF THE DEBATE...AL GORE PRAISED STOCKDALE IN A WAY THAT LEFT QUAYLE OUT.

(Dbt: Gore) "Admiral Stockdale, may I say it's a special honor to share this stage with you. Those of us who served in Vietnam looked at you as a national hero even before you were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor."

GORE HAD A SPECIAL GREETING PREPARED FOR QUAYLE.

(Dbt: Gore) "And Mr. Vice President. Dan, if I may -- . I'll make you a deal this evening. If you don't try to compare George Bush to Harry Truman, I won't compare you to Jack Kennedy."

QUAYLE TOOK THE REMARK GOOD NATUREDLY. BUT THE CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE DEGENERATED QUICKLY.

(Dbt: Quayle) "There are two things that I'm going to stress during this debate: One, Bill Clinton's economic plan and his agenda will make matters much, much worse. He will raise your taxes, he will increase spending, he will make government bigger. Jobs will be lost. Second, Bill Clinton does not have the strength nor the character to be President of the United States."

(SOT: Quayle 10915) "There was a lot of excitement in the Republican circles right after that debate, because we had scored a lot of points on that trust and taxes, and Gore just refused to defend Clinton."

GORE RESPONDED WITH ATTACKS ON BUSH AND QUAYLE.

(Dbt: Gore) "When the recession came they were like a deer caught in the headlights -- paralyzed into inaction, blinded to the suffering and pain of bankruptcies and people who were unemployed."

AS THE TWO EXCHANGED BLOWS...ADMIRAL STOCKDALE FOR THE MOST PART REMAINED MERELY A SPECTATOR.

(Dbt: Quayle) "Bill Clinton has trouble telling the truth and truth and integrity are prerequisites to being president of the United States.

- *Gore:* I want to respond to that, I want to respond to that. George Bush, in case you've forgotten, Dan, said "Read my lips. No new taxes." And you know what?

- *Quayle:* I didn't think I was going to hear that tonight."

- *Gore:* Hold on."

(Dbt: Quayle) "Pass our Family Leave Act, because it goes to small businesses where the major problem is. Your proposal excluded small business. That's the problem. Now, let me talk about health care and --

- *Gore:* Did you require it? Did you require it?

- *Quayle:* My turn --

- *Gore:* Did you require it?

- *Quayle:* My turn.

- *Gore:* It's a free discussion.

- *Quayle:* Take a breath, Al. Inhale."

- *Gore:* It's a free discussion.

(Dbt: Stockdale) "Could we give Admiral Stockdale a chance to jump in here if he wants to, if he dares to?"

- "I would like to get in. I feel like I'm an observer at a ping-pong game."

(Sot: Stockdale) "... and that's what it boiled down to, is that right, for you?"

- "Yeah. The whole thing reminded me of a May pole dance. I was standing there trying to figure out how I could get my oar in and never really did. And they're just exercising right where they live everyday. They'll take an issue like Medicare, and they'll go from this way to that, and there's four different ways you can look at it, and they dance counter-clockwise a while. I said, what am I doing here? How can I break in and tell them this is - that's not the whole story on being the national leader."

(Dbt: Quayle) "Why is Bill Clinton qualified to be president of the United States? You've talked about the worst economy --"

- Bruno: Now, wait a minute. The question was about --

- Quayle: -- in 50 years.

- Gore: I'll be happy to answer those. May I answer

- Quayle: Why is he qualified to be president of the United States?

- Gore: I'll be happy to --

- Quayle: I want to go back and make a point -

- Gore: Well, you've asked me the question. If you won't answer my question, I will answer yours.

- Quayle: I have not asked you a question. I'm making a statement. I hope America is listening very closely to this debate tonight.

- Stockdale: And I think America is seeing right now the reason this nation is in gridlock." (cheers)

STOCKDALE'S RESPONSES GENERALLY DREW POSITIVE REACTIONS THROUGHOUT THE EVENING. BUT THE ADMIRAL COULDN'T PROVIDE THE KIND OF DETAIL ON ISSUES THAT CAME ALMOST SECOND NATURE TO THE OTHER TWO CANDIDATES.

(Sot: Stockdale) "I felt so helpless to this business of not having any papers. That seems like a throwback to a school boy.

- "Taking an exam of some kind?"

- "Yeah, and you know, I don't have, I can learn about it but, I mean, that isn't the thing I get up in the morning and start sweating about."

(Sot: Stockdale) "But there were a lot of - a lot of criticism of you, of course, as you know, was that you were not prepared on the issues like that?"

(Dbt: Stockdale) "Admiral Stockdale, would you like to start the discussion period?"

"Well, I'm out of ammunition on this --"

- Gore: "Well, let me talk then."

(Sot: Stockdale) "Is that a fair criticism?"

- "That's a fair criticism, but I didn't get much help from anybody about it."

IN FACT...STOCKDALE SAYS HE DIDN'T EVEN KNOW HE WAS SCHEDULED TO DEBATE UNTIL JUST DAYS BEFORE.

(Sot: Stockdale) "We didn't know. Sybil and I were on the -

- "Sybil's your wife.

- "Sybil's my wife..."Sybil said, "Are you going to have to be in that - if they have a V.P. debate" - and it hadn't been really decided yet - "you're not going to have to be in that, are you?" I said, "No, everybody knows I'm not a politician." And about a week before the debate I called Ross. I seldom called him, but in this case I said, "You know, I'm in luck. Nobody has ever mentioned that debate, and it's too late to invite me, and I think that's as it ought to be because I'm not a politician."

He said, "Oh, Jim, I forgot to tell you. Your invitation came here about three weeks ago and we accepted for you, and I forgot to tell you." So that was the preparation."

- "So you never sat down with briefing books, or didn't discuss this with Ross Perot in any way whatsoever?"

- "I never had a single conversation about politics with Ross Perot in my life; still haven't."

BUT DURING HIS ONE AND ONLY NIGHT IN THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SPOTLIGHT...ADMIRAL STOCKDALE DID MORE THAN JUST THROW OUT ONE-LINERS.

(Dbt: Stockdale) "The lifeblood of our economy is investment. And right now when we pay \$ 350 -- we borrow \$ 350 billion a year -- it saps the money markets, and the private investors are not getting their share.

(Dbt: Stockdale) "Let's talk about the abortion debate. Admiral Stockdale."

- I believe that a woman owns her body and what she does with it is her own business, period.

- Bruno: "That's it?"

- Stockdale: "I don't -- I, too, abhor abortions, but I don't think they should be made illegal, and I don't -- and I don't think it's a political issue."

(Sot: Stockdale) "Well, I believe that, and I hadn't given it much thought, but I've got four daughters-in-law that would be pretty mad at me if I'd said much else."

AND STOCKDALE FELT HE WAS PARTICULARLY SUITED TO ADDRESS QUESTIONS OF CHARACTER.

(Dbt: Stockdale) "Sure, you have to know where you're going with your government, but character is the big variable in the success. Character of the leaders is the big variable in the success -- long-term success -- of an administration."

(Sot: Stockdale) "The determining factor in electoral success should be a proven character. And you've got to design these debates so that everybody can somehow portray his character.

(Sot: Quayle) "The '92 debate. What did the presence of Admiral Stockdale do for you?
- "In a way he helped me somewhat because he agreed with some of the things I was saying. "But it's not good having a three-way debate. It's a two-way debate. You really want to have that head to head. Three way debate, it gets cluttered.

- "He wasn't a distraction from your point of view?

- "I wouldn't use the word distraction, but it was more difficult to continue to focus on Clinton and Gore with Admiral Stockdale there, because I didn't want to talk about Perot. We were really just trying to forget about Ross Perot, and so therefore I would just as soon him not have been on the stage."

(Sot: Stockdale) "Do you think in the final analysis you would have been, in fact, a good vice president of the United States?

- "I think so. I think so. I've done nothing but manage - I mean, I'm - yeah, I think I would have been surprisingly good, because I call them like I see them, and I think I'm fair-minded and I have a good understanding of international law, and all the other accouterments that are necessary for military decision-making at a high level...and Ike didn't do too badly, did he?"

(1996)

BOB DOLE WENT BACK TO THE SENATE AFTER HIS 1976 ELECTION DAY DEFEAT AND HE STAYED THERE FOR TWENTY MORE YEARS, ELEVEN AS THE REPUBLICAN LEADER.

(Nat Sot: Dole) "OH...IT'S GOING TO BE A GOOD DAY. THE SUN'S OUT...I THINK. GOING TO OPEN UP THE SENATE FOR THE LAST TIME."

(Nat Sot: applause)

IN JUNE OF 1996...DOLE LEFT THE SENATE FOR GOOD. HE BELIEVED ONE MORE POLITICAL GOAL WAS WITHIN HIS REACH...THE PRESIDENCY.

(Sot: Dole) "The new season before me makes this moment far less the closing of one chapter than the opening of another."

(Nat Sot: "Bob Dole!!! applause)

AT AGE 73...DOLE CAMPAIGNED VIGOROUSLY THROUGH THE SUMMER AND FALL. BUT IN EARLY OCTOBER HE RETREATED TO FLORIDA. THERE HE PREPARED FOR HIS TWO TELEVISED DEBATES AGAINST THE INCUMBENT PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON. DOLE REVIEWED BRIEFING BOOKS AND REHEARSED WITH HOLLYWOOD ACTOR TURNED SENATOR FRED THOMPSON.

HE ALSO THOUGHT BACK TO THAT DEBATE IN 1976.

(Sot: Dole) "Well, I think I learned a lesson from that to be very careful what you say, and really understand you really have to work on your briefing material and what you want to say, and have it pretty well organized."

(NAT SOT)

PRESIDENT CLINTON REHEARSED AS WELL. FORMER SENATE MAJORITY LEADER GEORGE MITCHELL PLAYED BOB DOLE. MITCHELL PEPPERED THE PRESIDENT WITH QUESTIONS ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES...HIS FAILED HEALTH CARE INITIATIVE...THE REPUBLICAN TAKEOVER OF CONGRESS...THE ONGOING WHITEWATER INVESTIGATION AMONG OTHERS AND THE FIRST HINTS OF POSSIBLE CAMPAIGN FUNDRAISING ABUSES.

(SOT: Clinton) "We went up to Chataqua New York to prepare I remember and it was...Mitchell was ruthless. Ya know I walked in there he'd been preparing for weeks and really done his homework and I just kinda read the books in a cursory way and he literally beat my brains out."

WHEN THE CANDIDATES MET FOR THE FIRST OF THE TWO DEBATES IN HARTFORD ON OCTOBER 6TH 1996, PRESIDENT CLINTON SPOKE FIRST AND TRIED TO SET THE TONE FOR THE EVENING.

(*Dbt: Clinton*) "I want to begin by saying again how much I respect Senator Dole and his record of public service, and how hard I will try to make this campaign and this debate one of ideas, not insults."

(Sot: Clinton) "I was hoping to take a little of the edge off. But I also...wanted to show the American people that I liked and respected Bob Dole. And I also did it because I wanted to make clear there still were real differences between us and we could fight those differences out but I was not going to let it interfere with the respect I was showing him as a person."

(Sot: Clinton) "The expectation was that he really was going to after you on personal issues. The character issues. And he didn't. Were you prepared for him to have done so?"

- "Oh yes."

(Sot: Dole) "My view was that and again, you know, there was how far should we go, you know, there was even then should we get into the character thing, and I decided not to do that, even though I was being pushed by some. I said well, you get into that, I think everybody loses. That was my view."

(Sot: Dole) "I was going to ask you about that because you were asked. I asked you"

(Dbt: Dole) "Senator Dole, we've talked most now about differences between the two of you that relate to policy, the issues, and that sort of thing. Are there also significant differences in the more personal area that are relevant to this election?"

Are there personal differences?

- "That are relevant to this --

- "Well, my blood pressure's lower, and my weight, my cholesterol, but I will not make health an issue in this campaign. I think he's a bit taller than I am, but I think there are personal differences. I mean, I'm not -- I don't like to get into personal matters. As far as I'm concerned, this is a campaign about issues. It's about my vision for America and about his liberal vision for America and not about personal things."

(Sot: Clinton) "Yeah I was surprised at the first debate that he didn't hit me a little harder."

(Sot: Dole) "I concluded that once you cross that line, I mean, you know, then I think the campaign goes downhill."

PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS MORE THAN HAPPY TO KEEP THE DEBATE FOCUSED ON THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF HIS FIRST TERM.

(Dbt: Clinton) "Four years ago, I ran for president at a time of high unemployment and rising frustration. Now, there's a record: 10 " million more jobs, rising incomes, falling crime rates and welfare rolls, a strong America at peace."

(Sot: Clinton) "An incumbent can get in trouble if you talk too much about the past. Because the people feel they hired you to do a good job. And what's really relevant is that evidence that you're moving in the right direction that you are changing in the right way that you are pointing toward the future."

(Dbt: Clinton) "We are better off than we were four years ago. Let's keep it going."

(Dbt: Dole) "Senator Dole, the president said in his opening statement, 'We are better off today than we were four years ago.' Do you agree?"

- "Well, he's better off than he was four years ago.

- "I agree with that. That's right.

- "And I may be better off four years from now, but -

- "We have to tell the truth. We've got people watching tonight and listening tonight, trying to find the truth. And the truth is, there's a lot wrong with America. We need a strong economic package. We need a tax cut. We need the \$500 child credit."

(Sot: Dole) "When you went into those two debates, the Hartford and then San Diego, you were behind in the polls. Did you feel that hey, this is an opportunity to turn this thing around? Did you think they were that important?"

- "You feel that way, but then you've got to determine how am I going to turn it around."

That's the hard part. You know, if lightning strikes and he may hit a home run somewhere, but it doesn't happen in debates...and we couldn't figure out any way, at least I couldn't, how are you going to open it up without getting nasty, mean, personal, whatever. And I didn't want to do that."

BUT THE DAY BEFORE THE SECOND DEBATE...BOB DOLE AT LEAST WAS THREATENING TO GET MEAN AND NASTY.

(Sot: Dole) "He's not responsible for anything according to him. Nothing that ever happens that is wrong is he responsible for and neither is anybody else's administration. It's always those Republicans or the media or somebody else out there, never Bill Clinton."

HOWEVER WITH TENS OF MILLIONS OF TELEVISION VIEWERS TUNING INTO THAT SECOND DEBATE....BOB DOLE COULDN'T CHALLENGE THE PRESIDENT DIRECTLY.

(Dbt: Dole) "There's no doubt about it that many American people have lost their faith in government. They see scandals almost on a daily basis, they see ethical problems in the White House today, they see 900 FBI files of private persons being gathered up by somebody in the White House; nobody knows who hired this man. So there's a great deal of cynicism out there."

THERE WERE NO QUESTIONS THAT EVENING ABOUT SCANDALS OR INVESTIGATIONS. THE "TOWN HALL" FORMAT WITH CITIZENS ASKING THE QUESTIONS MADE IT A FRIENDLIER ATMOSPHERE. OF THE TWO CANDIDATES, PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS MORE AT EASE.

(Sot: Clinton) "It's a little harder in those debates to go after your opponent unless people serve you up the right question. Otherwise the picture is of a debater being disrespectful to the citizens."

(Dbt: Dole) " My question is concerning you, Mr. Dole. All the controversy regarding your age, how to you feel you can respond to the young voices of America today and tomorrow?"

(Sot: Dole) "One thing that I worried about personally was, you know, the age difference, whether age might have been a factor because I was 73 at the time. President Reagan had been in the seventies, and people were thinking about his illness and all those things. And, of course, Clinton is 50 -- twenty-some years younger, so another generation. And so I felt it was important to be alert and not run around the stage, but to walk up to the people as we tried to do."

(Dbt: Dole) "Well, I think age is very -- you know, wisdom comes from age, experience and intelligence. And if you have some of each, and have some age, some experience

and some intelligence, that adds up to wisdom."

(*Dbt: Clinton*) "I can only tell you that I don't think Senator Dole is too old to be president. It's the age of his ideas that I question."

(*Sot: Clinton*) "Was that a prepackaged line that you brought to the debate?"

- "I think so.

- "Did you have a lot of them?"

- "I don't remember for sure but I think so. We did and you don't use them all. If you can leave a memorable line or two in the public consciences like when President Reagan said there you go again. That kind of thing. So you try, at least I did, I tried to take two or three or four of those lines in my head into all these debates and then if I got the chance to use them and if it didn't seem appropriate I didn't."

(*Sot: Dole*) "In retrospect, do you think it would have mattered any in terms of the outcome, if you had gone after him hot and heavy on the character issue?"

- "I don't think it would have made much of a difference. It would have reinforced this image that some people have that, you know, Bob Dole is mean and nasty, and now he's picking on President Clinton personally, and I'm not don't think I'm mean and nasty, and I didn't want to reinforce that view that some people may have had."

(1996VP)

(nat sot: applause)

THE TWO MAJOR VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN 1996 WERE MEN WHO PREVIOUSLY HAD MADE THEIR OWN PRESIDENTIAL BIDS. AL GORE LOST THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION IN 1988 AND PROMPTLY RETURNED TO THE SENATE...LATER TO BE COAXED AWAY BY BILL CLINTON. JACK KEMP GAVE UP A SEAT IN CONGRESS TO RUN FOR THE 1988 REPUBLICAN NOMINATION...

(Nat Sot) "So help me God (applause)

HE WOUND UP AS SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION. BEFORE POLITICS...KEMP ALSO HAD PLAYED 13 YEARS WITH THE SAN DIEGO CHARGES AND THE BUFFALO BILLS IN THE OLD AMERICAN FOOTBALL LEAGUE. BUT IN 1996 KEMP'S FOOTBALL CAREER REMAINED A BIG PART OF HIS RESUME.

(*Sot: Kemp*) "The media is reporting that Bob Dole is going to have a problem perhaps choosing a quarterback for his running mate. Let me just tell you here today...unambiguously. Bob...your the quarterback and I'm your blocker back and

we're going all the way."

HOWEVER BOB DOLE WAS MISTAKEN IF HE THOUGHT THIS FORMER FOOTBALL PLAYER WAS THE RIGHT PERSON TO HELP ROUGH UP BILL CLINTON.

(Sot: Kemp) "I had told Senator Dole that I wasn't an attack dog when he first picked me for his running mate. I demurred a little bit in that I wasn't, I didn't think, a good attack dog."

AND KEMP WAS GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO ATTACK CLINTON. IT HAPPENED AT THE MAHAFFEY THEATER IN ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA OCTOBER NINTH...1996....TWO DAYS AFTER THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE.

(Dbt: Gore) "I'd like to start by offering you a deal, Jack. If you won't use any football stories, I won't tell any of my warm and humorous stories about chlorofluorocarbon abatement. (Laughter.)

- "It's a deal. I can't even pronounce it. (Laughter.)

(Sot: Kemp) "You caught some heat after that debate, because I asked the first question of you - do you remember the question?

- "Yeah, I sure did."

(Dbt: Kemp) "Some supporters of Senator Dole have expressed disappointment over his unwillingness in Hartford Sunday night to draw personal and ethical differences between him and President Clinton. How do you feel about it?

- "Wow! In 90 seconds? I can't clear my throat in 90 seconds."

(Sot: Kemp) "You asked the question that Bob and I had been criticized for not taking on President Clinton and Al Gore on a more personal basis, but then you also said on the ethical questions why didn't you take them on. And all I heard was personal."

(Dbt: Kemp) "Jim, Bob Dole and myself do not see Al Gore and Bill Clinton as our enemy, we see them as our opponents. It is beneath Bob Dole to go after anyone personally. These issues will be aired, but they'll be aired with dignity and respect, and ultimately leave it to the American people to make up their minds about who should be the leader of this country into the 21st century."

(Sot: Kemp) "I clearly missed the opportunity to take on the fact that President Clinton had said he was going to have the most ethical administration in the history of America, and he was vulnerable there. I got heavily, heavily criticized for that, and it was probably weakness on my part."

AND KEMP SAYS VICE PRESIDENT GORE DIDN'T HELP MATTERS WITH HIS RESPONSE.

(Dbt: Gore) "I would like to thank Jack Kemp for the answer that he just gave. I think we have an opportunity tonight to have a positive debate about this country's future."

(Sot: Kemp) "He played a dirty trick on me, called me a nice guy and that just totally unnerved me and ruined my political career. (laughter)"

IN FACT SEVERAL TIMES DURING THE DEBATE GORE TRIED TO DRAW A CHARACTER DISTINCTION BETWEEN KEMP AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HE REPRESENTED.

(Dbt: Gore) "I think Mr. Lehrer, throughout much of his career Jack Kemp has been a powerful and needed voice against the kind of coarseness and incivility that you referred to in the question."

(Dbt: Kemp) "Well, I thank you Al. I mean that very sincerely"

THAT DIGNIFIED TONE LASTED THROUGHOUT THE EVENING.

(Dbt: Kemp) "My friend, Al Gore, says it's better than the Reagan years. It isn't."

(Dbt: Kemp) "I know my friend Al will suggest that's trickle-down economics..."

(Dbt: Kemp) "While Bill Clinton and my friend, Al Gore, defend the status quo..."

(Sot: Kemp) "Did you go into that debate down there in St. Petersburg determined to win that debate? Did you see it in competitive terms?"

- "I didn't see it in the sense that it was Kemp versus Gore, as much as I saw it as Bob Dole versus President Clinton. Our view of the world against their view of the world. And so I really wanted to do a good job for Bob, because I respected him. I thought he would make a great leader for our country in the post Cold War world, and I wanted to win for him more than myself, if you can understand that."

AND JACK KEMP DID TRADE SHOTS WITH AL GORE...MOSTLY OVER ECONOMIC POLICY.

(Dbt: Gore) "The plan from Senator Dole and Mr. Kemp is a risky \$550-billion tax scheme that actually raises taxes on nine million of the hardest-pressed working families. It would blow a hole in the deficit, cause much deeper cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment; and knock our economy off track, raising interest rates, mortgage rates and car payments."

(Dbt: Kemp) "Al, get real. Franklin Roosevelt said in 1932 that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself. The only thing, Jim, they have to offer is fear: fear of the environment, fear of the climate, fear of Medicare, fear of Newt, fear of Republicans, fear of Bob, and probably fear of cutting tax rates."

THE ECONOMIC DEBATE LED TO ONE THE DEBATE'S FEW MOMENTS OF LAUGHTER.

(Dbt: Kemp) "Dana Crist of Lancaster said the day the tax bill is passed in the Congress, she will open a new factory with 40 or 50 or 60 employees in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He'll call that trickle down. I call it Niagara Falls.

(Dbt: Gore) "The problem with this version of "Niagara Falls" is that Senator Dole and Mr. Kemp would put the American economy in a barrel and send it over the falls.
(Laughter.)

(Sot: Kemp) "Did you feel that the election was riding on your performance?
- "No. No, no, no. With all due respect, I don't think vice presidents make that much difference, (a), and (b) looking at it from Bob's standpoint, pretty tough to beat peace and prosperity. It really is."

('00)

(Sot: Clinton) "As an institution, how important are these debates to the process?
- "I think they are quite important. They force you to come to terms with what you really believe because if you get into a big fight in a debate, unless you are the world's greatest actor, it's hard to sit there and defend a position in a convincing way that you don't really believe. So even if these debates don't change many votes, having to do them and knowing that if you blow them you will change a lot of votes forces people who wish to be President to do things that they should do and I am convinced that the debates that I went through especially those three in 1992 actually helped me to be a better president."

(Sot: Bush) "Do you think they should be a required part of the process?
- "Nope.
- "No?
- "No, I think you ought to do what's best to get you elected. And if that's best that you have no debates, too bad for you all debate-lovers because I really think a candidate should be entitled to that. If there was a guy that stuttered and couldn't say, couldn't finish a sentence and yet is a brilliant contribution to as a public servant or an academic or whatever. Why should that one thing be mandatory why should a person be burdened with that that decision to have to debate?"

(CLOSING COPY: JIM LEHRER)

IT WAS TELEVISION THAT MADE THAT FIRST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE POSSIBLE

40 YEARS AGO.

BUT IT HAPPENED ONLY BECAUSE JOHN KENNEDY AND RICHARD NIXON EACH BELIEVED HE WOULD BENEFIT FROM A FACE TO FACE MEETING WITH HIS OPPONENT.

THE SAME WAS TRUE FOR GERALD FORD AND JIMMY CARTER IN 1976. AND CANDIDATES IN SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS HAD THEIR REASONS TO DEBATE AS WELL.

BUT...THERE IS NO REQUIREMENT THAT A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OR VICE PRESIDENT DEBATE. IT'S STILL DONE BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT. THE REALITY, HOWEVER, IS THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT...AND POLITICALLY RISKY...FOR A CANDIDATE NOW TO REFUSE TO GO THROUGH A NATIONALLY TELEVISED DEBATE. I'M JIM LEHRER. THANK YOU FOR JOINING US.