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"FACE-TO-FACE, NIXON-KENNEDY"—VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON AND SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, THIRD JOINT TELEVISION-RADIO BROADCAST, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1960. ORIGINATING ABC, HOLLYWOOD, CALIF., AND NEW YORK, N.Y., ALL NETWORKS CARRIED

Moderator: Bill Shadel, ABC.

Panelists: Roscoe Drummond, *New York Herald Tribune*; Douglas S. Cater, *Reporter* magazine; Charles von Fremd, CBS; Frank McGee, NBC.

Mr. SHADEL. Good evening, I'm Bill Shadel of ABC News.

It's my privilege this evening to preside at this, the third in the series of meetings on radio and television, of the two major presidential candidates. Now, like the last meeting, the subjects to be discussed will be suggested by questions from a panel of correspondents. Unlike the first two programs, however, the two candidates will not be sharing the same platform.

In New York, the Democratic presidential nominee, Senator John F. Kennedy. Separated by 3,000 miles in a Los Angeles studio, the Republican presidential nominee, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, now joined for tonight's discussion by a network of electronic facilities which permits each candidate to see and hear the other.

Good evening, Senator Kennedy.

Mr. KENNEDY. Good evening, Mr. Shadel.

Mr. SHADEL. And good evening to you, Vice President Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Good evening, Mr. Shadel.

Mr. SHADEL. And now to meet the panel of correspondents: Frank McGee, NBC News; Charles von Fremd, CBS News; Douglas Cater, *Reporter* magazine; Roscoe Drummond, *New York Herald Tribune*.

Now as you've probably noted, the four reporters include a newspaperman and a magazine reporter. These two, selected by lot by the press secretaries of the candidates from among the reporters traveling with the candidates. The broadcasting representatives were chosen by their companies.

The rules for this evening have been agreed upon by the representatives of both candidates and the radio and television networks and I should like to read them:

There will be no opening statements by the candidates, nor any closing summation.

The entire hour will be devoted to answering questions from the reporters. Each candidate to be questioned in turn with opportunity for comment by the other. Each answer will be limited to 2½ minutes; each comment to 1½ minutes.

The reporters are free to ask any question they choose on any subject.

Neither candidate knows what questions will be asked. Time alone will determine who will be asked the final question.

Now, the first question is from Mr. McGee, and is for Senator Kennedy.

Mr. McGEE. Senator Kennedy, yesterday you used the words "trigger happy" in referring to Vice President Richard Nixon's stand on defending the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Last week on a

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"FACE-TO-FACE, NIXON-KENNEDY"—VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON AND SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY—FOURTH JOINT TELEVISION-RADIO BROADCAST, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1960, ORIGINATING ABC, NEW YORK, N.Y., ALL NETWORKS CARRIED

Moderator: Quincy Howe, ABC.

Panelists: John Edwards, ABC; Walter Cronkite, CBS; Frank Singiser, MBS; John Chancellor, NBC.

Mr. Howe. I'm Quincy Howe of CB—ABC News saying good evening from New York where the two major candidates for President of the United States are about to engage in their fourth radio-television discussion of the present campaign.

Tonight these men will confine that discussion to foreign policy. Good evening, Vice President Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Good evening, Mr. Howe.

Mr. Howe. And good evening, Senator Kennedy.

Mr. KENNEDY. Good evening, Mr. Howe.

Mr. Howe. Now let me read the rules and conditions under which the candidates themselves have agreed to proceed. As they did in their first meeting, both men will make opening statements of about 8 minutes each, and closing statements of equal time, running 3 to 5 minutes each. During the half hour between the opening and closing statements the candidates will answer and comment upon questions from the panel of four correspondents chosen by the nationwide networks that carry the program.

Each candidate will be questioned in turn, with opportunity for comment by the other. Each answer will be limited to 2½ minutes. Each comment to 1½ minutes.

The correspondents are free to ask any questions they choose in the field of foreign affairs. Neither candidate knows what questions will be asked.

Time alone will determine the final question.

Reversing the order in their first meeting, Senator Kennedy will make the second opening statement and the first closing statement.

For the first opening statement, here is Vice President Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Howe, Senator Kennedy, my fellow Americans. Since this campaign began I have had a very rare privilege. I have traveled to 48 of the 50 States, and in my travels I have learned what the people of the United States are thinking about.

There is one issue that stands out above all the rest; one in which every American is concerned, regardless of what group he may be a member and regardless of where he may live. And that issue, very simply stated, is this: How can we keep the peace; keep it without surrender? How can we extend freedom; extend it without war?

Now, in determining how we deal with this issue, we must find the answer to a very important but simple question. Who threatens the peace? Who threatens freedom in the world?

There is only one threat to peace and one threat to freedom: that that is presented by the international Communist movement; and therefore, if we are to have peace, if we are to keep our own freedom and extend it to others without war, we must know how to deal with the Communists and their leaders.

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Fall '62

CAMPAIGN DEBATES: SOME FACTS AND ISSUES

BY STANLEY KELLEY, JR.

How will the candidates for the Presidency confront each other before the public in 1964? This question was raised by the television debates between Kennedy and Nixon in 1960; here it is examined in a broader context and with an eye for facts and factors likely to be ignored in more popular discussions.

Stanley Kelley, Jr., is Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton University; author of books on campaigns and political public relations; and Visiting Professor during 1961-1962 at the Brookings Institution.

THE Nixon-Kennedy joint television appearances aroused an extraordinary amount of interest among voters, they were widely believed to have had a crucial part in deciding the outcome of the 1960 election, and they were made possible by legislation only temporary in its effect. These facts virtually guaranteed that the role of such debates¹ in 1964 would become a lively subject of speculation and controversy—and it has.

The first steps toward determining that role have already been taken. President Kennedy has said unequivocally that he would be willing to debate his Republican opponent in 1964. The networks are eager to arrange a second series of joint appearances between major party candidates for President, if they can do so without incurring an obligation to give minor party candidates equal time. Two bills that would permanently suspend the application of section 315 of the Federal Communications Act to presidential and vice presidential campaigns² (thus meeting the broadcasters' terms) have been introduced into the Congress. More recently the President, basing his proposal on a recommendation of his Commission on Campaign Costs, has asked the Congress for another temporary suspension of section 315 in 1964.

Those who decide whether there will be debates in 1964 may very well be deciding a great deal more: they may be deciding if debates are to become a permanent institution of presidential campaigns. If another round of debates attracts the kind of interest and attention that those of 1960 did, and if President Kennedy smashes the notion

¹ The word "debate" will be treated here as synonymous with the more cumbersome term, "joint appearance," although (understandably) many do not think that the 1960 joint appearances are properly described as debates.

² S. 204, 87th Cong., 1st sess., and S. 2035, 87th Cong., 1st sess. The latter would exempt not only presidential and vice presidential races from the provisions of section 315 but also campaigns for U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative, and Governor.

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Fall '62

THE TELEVISION DEBATES: A REVOLUTION THAT DESERVES A FUTURE

BY RICHARD S. SALANT

Against the background of evidence of the effectiveness of the presidential debates in 1960, a case is here made for the continuance of such debating in future presidential campaigns, as well as in other political contests.

Richard S. Salant is President of CBS News. This article is based on a paper presented at the 1961 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association held in St. Louis, Missouri, September 6 to 9, 1961.

IN *The Making of the President 1960*, Theodore H. White described the first broadcast debate between candidates for the office of the President of the United States as "a revolution" in American presidential politics "born of the ceaseless American genius in technology; its sole agent and organizer had been the common American television set." The revolution, he said, lay in the simple fact that television permitted "the simultaneous gathering of all the tribes of America to ponder their choice between two chieftains in the largest political convocation in the history of man."¹

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss some aspects of this revolution—its origin, its implications, its significance, and its future, if any. As of now, the four face-to-face joint appearances of Vice President Nixon and Senator Kennedy must remain as a singular revolution, with no subsequent history and no subsequent evolution. For at midnight of Election Day 1960, the Federal law which made that revolution possible expired by its own terms. Section 315 of the Communications Act—the equal-time provisions of the law—automatically revived. And so today, as the law stands, whenever there are more than two candidates for any office—certainly when there are fifteen, as there were for the office of the Presidency of the United States in 1960, and thirteen, as there were for the office of Governor of New Jersey in 1961—this revolution in the use of broadcasting in campaign politics is ended, so impractical and unwieldy as to be foreclosed in the future.

Is this good or bad, wise or unwise? Would the democratic processes be better served if the same American geniuses who invented television

¹ Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960*, New York, Atheneum, 1962, p. 279.



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