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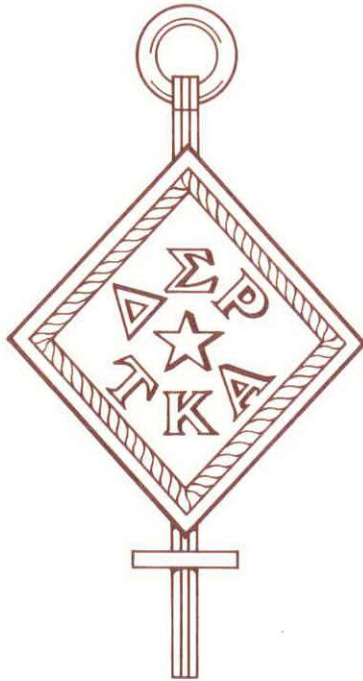
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et al.: Complete Issue 8(2)

# SPEAKER AND GAVEL



VOLUME 8, NUMBER 2

JANUARY, 1971

# SPEAKER and GAVEL

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National Honorary Forensic Society

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**Effective January 15, 1971, correspondence for the National Secretary should be sent to the above address.**

## THE EIGHTH ANNUAL DSR-TKA NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Indiana State University  
Terre Haute

April 7-10, 1971

This is a special invitation for you to attend the Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha Conference at Indiana State University, April 7, 8, 9 and 10, 1971. Ted Walwik has already finalized plans for a rewarding conference. Indiana State University is contributing time, money, and talents to make this a memorable experience.

Inflation will be evident in the cost of the National Conference this year. The registration fee will be \$5.00 for both students and faculty. Local conditions require that everyone purchase a meal ticket; \$15.00 for students and \$14.00 for faculty. Included will be three breakfasts, two lunches, and two banquets for both faculty and students. Also included will be an evening of entertainment for the students and a reception for the faculty.

Please note the deadlines! Preliminary registration should be received by Ted Walwik no later than February 15. *March 15* is the *deadline for final registration*. Confirmation of registration must be made in person or by telephone, in an emergency, by 8:00 *p.m.* on the opening day of the Conference, April 7. Those failing to do this will not be allowed to participate in debate, extemporaneous or persuasive speaking.

Judging always poses problems; hence the rules. No school may register without providing a qualified faculty judge. This means that *a judge cannot represent more than one school*. Schools entering both 2-man and 4-man debate must provide *two* judges. Schools entering both extemporaneous and persuasive speaking must be prepared to judge in both events. Contestants will be penalized according to the published rules when coaches fail to meet their judging assignments.

A reminder again that power-matching is permitted in the preliminary rounds of 2-man debate this year by action of chapter sponsors. A special event is planned for Thursday afternoon to take the place of the highly successful seminar on Southern Politics held at Alabama.

The National Conference is everyone's responsibility. Your being there will make it better. See you at the opening assembly April 7!

George A. Adamson  
Chairman  
National Conference Committee

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## CONTEMPORARY FORENSICS: AN APPRAISAL

PAUL A. BAREFIELD

Contemporary forensic practices often deprive students of enriched speaking experiences, deprive audiences of badly needed practice in critical listening, and deprive a complex society of enlightened participants in realistic decision making. While forensics is usually a worthwhile activity, many high school and college debaters are unnecessarily strait-jacketed by an outmoded and overly rigid tournament debate syndrome.

The American Forensic Association has stated that forensic activity should:

1. create opportunities for intensive investigation of significant contemporary problems;
2. promote the use of logical reasoning and the use of the best available evidence in dealing with these problems;
3. develop the ability to select, arrange, and compose material clearly and effectively;
4. train students in the sincere and persuasive presentation of this material to the appropriate audience.
5. stimulate students to honest and original effort; and
6. be under the responsible direction of a qualified faculty member whose duty it should be to maintain and support the above principles.

In addition, a well-balanced forensics program should:

7. provide stimulating speaking experiences for the average student as well as for the superior student; and
8. teach the student to seek realistic solutions to contemporary problems.

The purpose of this article is to suggest that these principles can best be met by modifying our current approach to debate and individual speaking events.

Much has been written in the last several decades of the rise and/or fall of high school and intercollegiate forensics. The arguments need no rehashing. Most observers would concur that compared to his counterpart of five, ten, or fifteen years ago, today's debater is neither ill-fed nor ill-housed, not to mention ill-researched or ill-coached. Unfortunately, however, there has been no real concomitant rise in forensic quality to parallel improved "creature comforts" during debate travel.<sup>1</sup>

This article suggests several modifications of contemporary forensics. These recommendations fall into five categories: (1) selection of propositions; (2) audiences and judges; (3) speaking events in addition to debate; (4) length of "season"; and (5) awards.

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Paul A. Barefield is Director of Forensics at the University of Oklahoma.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Wayne Brockriede, "College Debate and the Reality Gap," *Speaker and Gavel*, vol. 7 (March, 1970), 71-76.



The utilization of a single national debate proposition for the duration of the forensic "season" is educationally indefensible. Admittedly, this argument would have lacked merit twenty years ago. Today, however, with improved libraries, more numerous pressure group publications, and easier access to governmental and private research endeavors, the debater's research efforts have been streamlined if not simplified. Indeed, it is common in the first few months of forensic activity to hear good debaters with penetrating analyses of issues citing not only reliable but fugitive documentation. The crucial question then becomes: Does the debater's skill in decision making *and* persuasion materially improve in the next two, five, or forty-three attempts to debate this same proposition? How do we answer the youngster with four years of high school debate experience and three years of "high-powered" college debate who starts his senior year (and eighth year of debate) with: "I think I've learned all of the skills (substitute tricks, techniques, theories, knacks) of debating. Now I want to win."

College and high school debaters (beginners excluded) should debate propositions selected in much the same manner that speech topics for extempore contests are drawn. The tournament director should announce a general topic area several months in advance of the tournament. His selection could be drawn from education, labor, taxation, foreign policy, etc. Each pair of debate teams is allowed to draw its proposition about thirty minutes prior to each round of debate. Depending on the size of the tournament and the number of propositions, a team could conceivably debate a different proposition in each round.

Hopefully, the tournament director would have spent considerable effort in collecting and phrasing a large number of propositions drawn from the specified topic area. Ideally, the list should contain a balance among propositions of policy, propositions of value, and "assertive" propositions. If the topic area were "U.S. Foreign Policy," for example, a partial listing of propositions might include:

1. Resolved, that U.S. policy regarding Red China is unrealistic.
2. Resolved, that a "Berlin Wall" is preferable to a "Vietnam."
3. Resolved, that International Communism is not a monolithic power.
4. Resolved, that NATO is obsolete.
5. Resolved, that war is an ineffective means of securing foreign policy objectives.
6. Resolved, that the "Domino Theory" is false.
7. Resolved, that the Alliance for Progress should be abolished.
8. Resolved, that the U.S.S.R. is trustworthy.

In February, 1970, The University of Oklahoma hosted an audience-judged "off-topic" tournament. Two months before the tournament we announced that the problem area was "civil disobedience and/or protest." Among the propositions debated were:

"Martin Luther King is dead; so is nonviolence."

"Mayor Daley and Judge Hoffman have the answer to violence in America."

"Protests create an undesirable polarization in American society."

"Bad law is better than no law."

"In the final analysis the rights of the individual are more important than the stability of the society."

Abolition of the single proposition format is an important step in bringing forensics closer to the "real" world. Admittedly, one of the laudable features of the single-proposition system would be lost, i.e., expertise. Under the present system, most debaters delve more deeply into the proposition than most laymen.<sup>2</sup>

Often, skilled debaters have completed a reasonably thorough analysis by November or December of the forensic season. What frequently happens at this point is painfully obvious. The debater abandons his search for *stasis* and focuses his attention on the construction of a winning case. However, the problem does not occur here. Rather the difficulty arises when the debaters construct admittedly valid "cases" that focus on the periphery of the issues rather than meeting them; on the construction of deliberately ambiguous first affirmative speeches to force the first negative to waste time; on the planning of a "spread" with three valid plan objections, eighteen dubious ones, and ten or forty specious and vacuous objections.

Finally, the utilization of a "problem-area" for selection of propositions seems closer to the real decision-making apparatus of our society. Policy-makers from city commissions to congressional committees most often move from problems to propositions.

Novice debaters can probably benefit by debating the same proposition for the duration of the forensic season. The complex process of research, analysis, case planning, etc., can best be learned when the beginner concentrates on a single proposition.<sup>3</sup>

The existing machinery for selecting high school and college propositions should be continued. The only major change is that experienced debaters should not debate these national propositions.

The utilization of debate coaches as judges should be abandoned. First, the notion of one specialist (debater) talking to another specialist (debate coach) seems more like dialectic than rhetoric; second, this practice does not inhibit the use of debate jargon and forensic technicalities; third, debaters need the experience of realistic audience feedback; fourth, numerous civic organizations, clubs, and classroom groups vitally need experiences in critical listening. Obviously, such a change in procedure would present some administrative difficulties. Those of us who have attempted audience-judged tournaments can appreciate the efforts required by "Debate Days in Detroit."

Such difficulties, however, are not insurmountable. Why not, for example, schedule tournaments on weekdays? Such an arrangement would mean that a student should participate in only two or three tournaments per semester unless his classes could be scheduled to leave Thursday afternoon and Friday free. Even a captive Speech I class provides a speaker

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<sup>2</sup> This change, however, although perhaps limiting *depth* on a single proposition would certainly increase breadth of knowledge in a significant problem area. I think the latter is more in keeping with the humanistic goals of a forensic program.

<sup>3</sup> During the 1969-70 forensic year, The University of Oklahoma did not participate in a single debate on the national proposition. Even our beginning debaters preferred to choose from the numerous off-topic resolutions. Furthermore, when given a list of possible debate topics, no organization was interested in hearing about income tax sharing.



with better persuasive exercise than a debate coach, a debate colleague, two opposing debaters, and perhaps a disinterested timekeeper.

A third major area of concern is the relationship between debate and other speaking activities. Too often, debaters in an extracurricular program have no opportunity to learn the relationship of discussion and debate, argumentation and advocacy, compromise and conflict resolution. One possible way to solve this difficulty is to make the entire tournament problem-centered.

In addition to selecting propositions from the problem area, all other individual events should also focus on the problem area. Extemporaneous speaking, listening, persuasive and informative speaking, and rhetorical criticism could all be centered on the general problem.<sup>4</sup>

Forensics should mean *more* than debate. Moreover, forensics should be broader than debate tournaments. The well-balanced forensic program should coordinate the extracurricular program with classes in argumentation and debate; should encourage the use of student speakers in local, civic, or professional programs; should promote the International Debate Program by inviting the touring foreign team; should stimulate students to participate in individual speaking contests; and should emphasize the creation of a student forum.<sup>5</sup>

A forensic program should be a departmental responsibility; one that demands the energies and expertise of the department, not merely the debate coach. Virtually every member of our department has expressed a willingness to travel with the debaters.<sup>6</sup>

I'll admit a certain ambivalence about trophies and certificates, for I firmly believe in recognizing excellence in any activity. We should attempt, however, to minimize "school" achievement and stress individual achievement. The money spent for trophies could be better utilized to finance the expenses of winning debaters for interviews or conferences with leading figures in the problem area.<sup>7</sup> What debater would not swap his collection of hardware for a confrontation with George Ball, Stuart Symington, Mc-George Bundy, or Earl Warren? Certificates can still provide the winner with a permanent reminder of his achievement.

The fifth and final area of concern regards the sheer duration of the forensic "season." While "directors of forensics" seem to get younger, their tenures in that capacity become shorter. One reason for this condition is

*(Continued on page 52)*

<sup>4</sup> Those who favor the inclusion of discussion could easily utilize problem-solving groups, buzz groups, or slip techniques in the actual selection and wording of the debate propositions and extemporaneous topics. If discussion is included, the event should neither be competitive nor should it be judged.

<sup>5</sup> Louisiana State University's student Forum, supervised by Owen Peterson, has had remarkable success. Since its creation in 1963, over 12,000 students have attended these monthly forums.

<sup>6</sup> I must admit, however, that I had more volunteers for the Montreal and Princeton trips than for Ardmore or Sapulpa, Oklahoma, trips.

<sup>7</sup> A round trip standby or youth fare flight from Oklahoma City to Washington, D.C., costs little more than many large debate trophies. The team from Wesleyan University which won the O.U. Tournament was in Washington, D.C., April 24-26, to interview national leaders in the area of "civil disobedience and protest."

## THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION: THE RHETORIC OF CONFUSION AND ILLUSION

FRANK A. VENTURO

Contemporary critics have focused extensively upon the pronouncements of the Nixon Administration. But, of the many newspaper columnists, television and radio commentators, and letters-to-the-editor writers who have applied their critical scrutiny to the White House messages, few have been able to explain adequately how the confusing rhetoric of the Administration still manages to help maintain the public popularity of the President.

That the Nixon Administration's discourses are unclear is merely a matter of record. Even the casual observer of the Administration's speeches, interviews, and off-the-cuff remarks, cannot help but be puzzled by some apparent contradictions. Many of the messages of the Administration officials proceed in diametrically opposing directions. For example, Mr. Nixon, as a candidate accepting his party's nomination for the Presidential race, declared that "some of our courts in their decisions have gone too far in weakening the peace forces as against the criminal forces in this country."<sup>1</sup> This apparent attack on the courts was further supported by Nixon after taking office; he conducted a losing campaign to place a "strict constructionist" on the Supreme Court and allowed his party to sponsor impeachment proceedings against Justice William Douglas. In spite of this position taken by the President, Attorney General Mitchell, Nixon's right-hand advisor, suggested that the courts are doing a good job, and he condemned "irresponsible and malicious criticism of the Supreme Court."<sup>2</sup> There are other examples of contradictory positions: The President spoke of "lowering voices" and was followed by the Vice-President's unleashing of some of the most bitter invective ever heard from an official in his position. The President talked about a plan for "ending" the war in Indochina and then announced what many international observers believe to be an expansion of that war with the Cambodian "incursion" and the "protective reaction" bombings of North Vietnam and Laos. After two years of the Nixon Administration, the American public has become accustomed to a cacophony of sound emanating from the White House.

My purpose here is not to prescribe a foolproof formula for the analysis of this rhetorical enigma. And the question here is not whether the Nixon Administration is more or less guilty of rhetorical deception than any of the other White House predecessors. Ambiguity and contradictions are a part of any Executive's discourses. The real concern in this discussion is to explain some of the appeal of the Nixon Administration rhetoric and some of the possible implications of Nixon's rhetorical strategies.

Although the views here focus mainly on Richard Nixon, the importance of his advisors and Cabinet in making Executive positions viable to the

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Mr. Venturo is an instructor at the University of Colorado.

<sup>1</sup> *Vital Speeches*, XXXIV (September 1, 1968), 676.

<sup>2</sup> *Denver Post*, May 1, 1970, p. 6.

American public cannot be overlooked. For even though Richard Nixon orchestrates and directs the major Administration discourses, he is backed by a chorale of close aides and Cabinet Members. Among this group Vice-President Agnew has become a significant soloist performing often and with such sharpness as to stifle opponents. Even though a Gardner, a Hickel or an occasional Finch may provide some dissonant chords, the composite rhetorical symphony of the Administration seems to be in harmony with a majority of the electorate. Public opinion polls attest to a pleased audience (Gallup reported that an average of 61 per cent of adult voters favored Mr. Nixon during his first year in office and even after the announcement of the Cambodian incursion, 57 per cent of the American public gave Mr. Nixon a vote of confidence).<sup>3</sup> Attributing this popularity solely to clever rhetorical strategies would be superfluous speculation. Nevertheless, the sober statements of the President, the bitter harangues of the Vice-President, and the well-timed statements of Cabinet members and other advisors apparently have greatly enhanced the ability of the Administration to control public opinion against some of the most powerful critics in the nation.

The effects of the Nixon Administration rhetoric cannot be clearly assessed without some consideration of the general social context that permits this rhetorical melange to operate successfully. Lloyd Bitzer reminds us that "situation is rhetorical insofar as it needs and invites discourse capable of participating with situation and thereby altering its reality; discourse is rhetorical insofar as it functions (or seeks to function) as a fitting response to a situation which needs and invites it."<sup>4</sup> The condition of social unrest in this nation provides an important situation requiring a response from the Nixon Administration. A burgeoning population, urban growth, widening gaps between the haves and the have-nots, and many other strains on the traditional norms of social order create a climate where controversial issues are not easily solved. The pressures of everyday life, the slowness of government to respond to sensitive issues, and the desire for simplistic answers to complex problems compound the frustrations of many citizens. These are the citizens to whom Mr. Nixon must speak. He knows that he, as the President, is expected to exercise control (or create the image of control) over this tense and intricate situation. Thus, the Nixon Administration needs to employ a rhetorical strategy that, in Professor Bitzer's words, "is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action."<sup>5</sup>

The Nixon strategists have created reality-changing discourses by the careful construction of scapegoat chimeras toward which a large number of American people can channel their dissonant feelings. We are warned against the "very liberal Communists," the "effete corps of impudent snobs," the "ideological eunuchs," "anarchists," and "bums." These are the real monsters that are causing social problems, says the Nixon coterie. College presidents are responsible for student unrest, the mass media is somehow perpetrating riots. Congress is perpetuating inflation, and the long-haired

<sup>3</sup> *New York Times*, January 18, 1970, p. 51; and *New York Times*, May 10, 1970, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> "The Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, I (January, 1968), 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

hippies are about to murder all of us as we sleep. These assertions have been made directly or indirectly by those who occupy the Executive offices. The development of this scapegoat reality requires auditors to willingly suspend any disbelief they might hold concerning the Administration's inability to solve very serious social crises.

These delusive rhetorical tactics have directed the public mind to develop a "let's wait and see" attitude. The rhetoric of the Nixon Administration is aimed at keeping a large majority of people positioned in a state of suspended animation. That is why silence (as in the "silent majority") is extolled as a virtue by the Nixonites. Those who withhold comment and quietly conduct their everyday affairs are truly patriotic. As Spiro Agnew has stated: "One reason the silent majority is so silent is this: They're too busy working to make a lot of noise."<sup>6</sup> If enough people agree to withhold their judgment on controversial Executive decisions, then those who do vocalize their dissent appear to stand apart from the quiet suffering masses. Once the critics have been identified as extremists, their criticism becomes impotent.

The development of this noncommittal attitude seems to be working. Recent public opinion polls show that although the general feeling toward particular issues is ambivalent (Harris demonstrated that a majority of Americans were for quickly withdrawing from Indochina but at the same time a majority condoned a resumption of bombings of North Vietnam),<sup>7</sup> the President's popularity has continued to run high. Any anxiety that might exist among the electorate over their frustrations about the war, inflation, campus unrest, etc., is being channeled by the Nixon rhetoric toward the dissident elements of society. Attesting to this are some recent interviews published by *U. S. News & World Report* and by Washington *Post* correspondent David S. Broder. Staff members of *U. S. News* conducted a nationwide survey and found the overall mood of the silent majority to be summed up in these statements: "People are fed up. They have their own worries. They are tired of being pulled and hauled and shouted at." "People ought to quit squawking and get behind the President of the United States." "I go along with Nixon. The cards were dealt before he got to the table and he has to do the best he can."<sup>8</sup> David Broder's interviews were limited to the Memphis, Tennessee, all white, blue-collar suburb of Frayser. He found that "the blacks . . . the long-haired kids . . . the press and TV . . . the Communists . . . the politicians—all of them come in for abuse." Here too the President escaped unscathed. Broder states: "Time and again I was told: 'He hasn't been there long enough to straighten things out.' Or: 'He's trying, but they vote everything down, the Cabinet and Congress do.' Or: 'He's got some back from Vietnam, anyway. He's probably done as much as he could, with all the pressure.'"<sup>9</sup> There is no sure-fire way of assessing the grass-roots feelings of the American public. The temper of reports like those cited above and the occurrence of violent demonstrations by construction workers in New York and St. Louis suggest a strong public reaction toward those who openly

<sup>6</sup> *U. S. News & World Report*, LXIX (June 8, 1970), 39.

<sup>7</sup> *Denver Post*, May 21, 1970, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> "The Silent Majority Speaks Out," *U. S. News & World Report*, LXIX (June 8, 1970), 34.

<sup>9</sup> *Denver Post*, July 6, 1970, p. 18.



disagree with the Administration. The White House's resorting to scapegoat rhetoric in discussions of controversial issues cannot be discounted as a significant factor in spurring this reaction.

In order to create successfully a situation where the electorate will withhold judgment about policy decisions, the Nixon Administration has employed the rhetoric of illusion. This rhetoric utilizes the illusion of action, the illusion of proof, and the illusion of deliberation.

The illusion of action is really an appeal to the majesty of the office of the Presidency. This technique asks the audience to believe that a President always makes decisions in the best interest of the nation because he is in the omniscient position of knowing all the facts. This myth has been strongly attacked by former President Johnson's press secretary, George Reedy:

Presidents are wont to explain those of their decisions which are incomprehensible to their contemporaries on the grounds that they have access to information not available in its entirety to other men. . . . That a president has more comprehensive data available to him is true (or at least can be true if a president pays sufficient attention to his sources of information) but is actually irrelevant. On sweeping policy decisions, which are, after all, relatively few, a president makes up his mind on the basis of the same *kind* of information that is available to the average citizen.<sup>10</sup>

The illusion of action was demonstrated by the President in his unprecedented nationwide television appearance to explain his veto of a health-education bill. The President wanted us to believe that he was taking positive action to curb inflation. "I believe this action is in the long range interests of better education and health care. But most important I believe that this action I have just taken is in the vital interest of all Americans in stopping the rise in the cost of living," Nixon stated as he vetoed the bill.<sup>11</sup> No privileged information is needed to recognize that in a budget near \$200 billion, any other expenditure equal to \$1.2 billion is just as inflationary as the extra \$1.2 billion Congress wanted to spend on education and health. In a Federal budget that allocates about \$400 per person for defense and about \$13 per person for all health, singling out the measly \$13 as inflationary was only the illusion of acting in "the long range interests" of the American public.

Diverting audience attention toward extraneous arguments is the technique of the illusion of proof. This particular Nixon strategy has developed over a long period of time and is a favorite topic of rhetorical critics. Since his famous "Checkers" speech in 1952, Richard Nixon has perfected the quixotic habit of defeating "straw man" arguments. Professor Barnet Baskevill was one of the first to tag the 1952 speech as an "illusion of proof."<sup>12</sup> In this speech Nixon chose not to deal with the issue of his conflict of interest stemming from a secret campaign fund. Rather, he impugned the character of his critics and cried that he was simply a poor man trying to fight the crooks and Communists who had taken over the country. Lynn Hinds and Carolyn Smith point out in *Nation* that "the

<sup>10</sup> *The Twilight of the Presidency* (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1970), p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> *New York Times*, January 27, 1970, p. 24.

<sup>12</sup> "The Illusion of Proof," *Western Speech*, XXV (Fall, 1961), 237.

new Nixon is but an ingenious version of the old Nixon."<sup>13</sup> Robert Newman, Professor of Communication at the University of Pittsburgh, confirms this statement when he demonstrates that in Nixon's November 3rd speech the whole argument for "Vietnamization" was based on the horrible consequences of immediate withdrawal ignoring any reference to the reasons supporting Nixon's gradual withdrawal plan. In referring to this tactic Newman concludes: "Nixon was drawing a red herring across the trail of his opponents, attacking a straw man whose demolition he could portray as destruction of the dissenters generally."<sup>14</sup> The illusion of proof technique is useful in suppressing valid arguments that may oppose Administration policy as well as reinforcing the public attitude of "let's wait and see."

The policy decisions made by a democratic government are presumed to be reached only after thorough deliberation. The illusion of deliberation is a way for the President to claim that he has subjected his decisions to rigorous debate, and after a complete testing of both sides of each issue in question, he has arrived at the best possible commitment. This is the most subtle rhetorical illusion and potentially the most harmful. It is most subtle because it is only detectable *post facto*; it becomes most harmful since careful deliberation on a policy decision after the fact is meaningless. Nixon's recent discourse on Cambodia provides an example of this illusion at work. On April 30, Mr. Nixon stated:

After full consultation with the National Security Council, Ambassador Bunker, General Abrams and my other advisers, I have concluded that the actions of the enemy in the last ten days clearly endanger the lives of Americans who are in Vietnam now and would constitute an unacceptable risk to those who will be there after our withdrawal of 150,000.<sup>15</sup>

Further, in the Presidential news conference that followed this speech a week later, Nixon responded to a question about Cabinet opposition to his decision: "Every one of my advisors, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, Dr. Kissinger, Director Helms, raised questions about the decision . . . and then after hearing all of their advice, I made the decision."<sup>16</sup> Later the American public learned that deliberation on this issue really may not have been as thorough as was touted by the President. Much of the dissenting opinion within the Administration over the move into Cambodia was ignored. When Dr. James Allen, former head of the Office of Education, publicly condemned the Cambodian incursion, the White House took prompt steps to secure his removal. Immediately following the Kent State killings, Walter Hickel, Secretary of the Interior, in his now famous letter to the President suggested that closer conferring with Cabinet members might prove useful to the decision-making process of the White House:

Permit me to suggest that you consider meeting, on an individual and conversational basis, with members of your cabinet. Perhaps through such conversations, we can gain greater insight into the problems confronting us all, and most important, into the solutions of these problems.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> "Rhetoric of Opposites," *Nation*, CCV (February 16, 1970), 173.

<sup>14</sup> "Under the Veneer: Nixon's Vietnam Speech of Nov. 3, 1969," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, LVI (April, 1970).

<sup>15</sup> *Denver Post*, May 1, 1970, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> *Denver Post*, May 10, 1970, p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> *Denver Post*, May 7, 1970, p. 14.

This kind of statement from a Cabinet member, along with the resignation of other dissenters like John Gardner and Leon Panetta, supply evidence to the claim that the office of the Presidency tends to become isolated from dissenting opinion and allows the President to increase the possibility of ill-advised decisions.

The contradictory messages considered at the outset of this article manifest the illusion of deliberation in yet another way. If one compares the messages side by side he may find them to be inconsistent. Since the messages appear often months apart, John Q. Public does not have time to make parallel comparisons of their content. What he will remember is that some of the statements contained differing points of view. To the average citizen this simply means that all sides of an issue are considered in the making of Administration policy. Therefore, the American public subscribes to the myth that the President is the wisest voice in the country, since he is privy to all points of view and considers them all equally and thoughtfully before making any policy decisions.

Three disturbing observations about the Nixon Administration's rhetorical strategy come to mind. First, the technique of discrediting all critics is self-defeating. Taking away the credibility of the nation's scholars, educators, journalists, and any opposing statesmen may gravely jeopardize the system of democratic debate. Second, giving only lip service to the solution of serious problems causes the solution of those problems to be delayed and their seriousness to intensify. Third, many national issues require open and extensive debate before any resolution of the issue can secure widespread support (e.g., involvement in the enlargement of a war). When pre-emption of that debate occurs, frustration, disruption of social order, and inept decisions also occur.

The nation looks to the White House for leadership. That leadership is usually evidenced in Administration discourses. If the rhetoric of confusion and illusion continues to replace the rhetoric of forthright deliberation, the ensuing loss of confidence in the leadership of the Presidency may cause damaging social disruptions. The Administration might then be tempted to pursue the rhetoric of repression.



## COMMON GROUND: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IDENTIFICATION

RUTH M. GONCHAR

### INTRODUCTION

The concept of common ground, or identification, has provided the basis for an exceptional amount of experimental research within the past few years. The isolation and examination of such variables as speaker credibility and prestige has given greater insight into the complicated relationship existing between speaker and listener.

Unfortunately, little has been done by the rhetorical critic to utilize the information from these laboratory experiments in "field" situations. The purpose of this paper is to present the findings of a recent colloquium on common ground<sup>1</sup> and apply them to a rhetorical situation in the hopes of broadening the nature and utility of the concept.

### LEVELS OF IDENTIFICATION

Identification between speaker and listener can occur on three general levels: (1) dispositionally (that is, the attitudes and opinions of the speaker and listener); (2) sociologically (that is, the relevant membership group characteristics of the speaker and listener); and (3) stylistically (that is, the language, tone, and communication style of the speaker and listener). Furthermore, identification on these three levels can take place on the basis of observed *similarities* as well as observed *dissimilarities*. Dispositionally, an audience may be dissimilar to a speaker, but because of membership group similarities, identification may occur. Just so, a speaker who is an expert in his field may be dissimilar to his lay audience, but may effect persuasion regardless of, and often by reason of, his expertise.

In order to test the utility of the above classification, the author has selected a speaking situation in which the audience exhibited both similarity and dissimilarity identification with the speaker, William F. Buckley, Jr.

In 1965, Buckley announced his candidacy for Mayor of New York City on the Conservative party ticket. Opposing him were John V. Lindsay, the Republican-Liberal party candidate, and Abraham D. Beame, the Democratic party candidate. Buckley, in announcing his candidacy, admitted that he had no hopes of winning the election. Asked what he would do if he were elected, Buckley responded, "I'd demand a recount!" He had entered the race in order to defeat John Lindsay in his bid for the office.<sup>2</sup> Buckley's campaign was designed to divert traditional Republican voters away from Lindsay and toward himself.

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<sup>1</sup> Colloquium on Common Ground, 1968 Pennsylvania Speech Association Convention, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> Ill-feeling had existed between Buckley and Lindsay for some time prior to the campaign. Buckley believed that Lindsay had abandoned the Republican party, first, by refusing to support Barry Goldwater in his bid for the Presidency the year before, and, second, by running for Mayor, not as a Republican, but as a fusion candidate.

But Buckley was not successful in wooing Republicans away from Lindsay.<sup>3</sup> Buckley's support came largely from traditional Democrats who voted for him because of his stands on three major campaign issues (dispositional identification), because of his ethnic background (sociological identification), and because of his campaign rhetoric (stylistic identification).

Buckley's stand on three campaign issues, a civilian police review board, school desegregation, and welfare,<sup>4</sup> convinced many traditional Democrats to vote for him. The establishment of a civilian review board to oversee Police Department actions was opposed by Buckley on the grounds that such a board would restrict police efficiency. New York City police, also opposed to the board, identified their own beliefs with Buckley's. Civil servants in general, and police specifically, voters who tended to support Democrats in previous City elections, voted in strength for Buckley. Almost twenty-five per cent of Buckley's vote came from civil service employees.<sup>5</sup>

Buckley's position on school desegregation provided him with Democratic support he might not have received otherwise. He opposed school bussing and favored instead the concept of neighborhood schools and community control. Afraid of a breakdown in their all-white schools, voters living in the all-white, Catholic Districts of Queens and Staten Island found support of their position in Buckley. He received his strongest vote in these Assembly Districts, Districts which, in past campaigns, had elected Democrats.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly enough, a voter profile analysis of these Districts revealed the presence of many civil service employees and their families.<sup>7</sup>

The same audience of traditional Democrats identified with Buckley's position on welfare. He generally opposed welfare payments to residents who emigrated to the City to "live off the dole," and, as a solution, proposed sending chronic welfare recipients to welfare camps he intended to construct outside the City limits. White residents in those same Queens and Staten Island Assembly Districts, resentful of the five hundred million dollars "of their taxes" allocated annually by the City to welfare,<sup>8</sup> agreed with Buckley's stand and voted for him.

Buckley's identifiable ethnic and social background also gained him votes. In analyzing membership group characteristics of the Buckley voter, similarities are easily recognizable. Buckley made no secret of his white, Irish-Catholic background. "His all-Irish Conservative ticket is conscious repudiation of the ethnically-balanced slate. He has vowed to eat no blintzes, kiss no babies, and deliver no campaign greetings in foreign

<sup>3</sup> According to three polls taken during the campaign, Buckley succeeded in diverting more votes away from Abraham Beame, the Democrat, than he did from John Lindsay, the Republican. See Louis Harris Poll #1559, New York *Herald-Tribune* Poll, and New York *Daily News* Poll.

<sup>4</sup> Issues deemed most important by a majority of the voters polled. See Louis Harris Poll #1559: *Voter Profile Analysis: New York City* (New York, October, 1965), p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Louis Harris Poll #1559, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> The polls indicated, however, that as early as 1962 conservative trends had been recognized in these Queens and Staten Island Districts. New York *Herald-Tribune* poll, *The New York City Election*, June-October, 1965, Appendix.

<sup>7</sup> New York *Herald Tribune* Poll, Appendix.

<sup>8</sup> James Lynn, "The Day They Forgot Party Loyalty," New York *Herald Tribune*, November 4, 1965, p. 15.

tongues, since he thinks all such behavior helps debase City politics."<sup>9</sup> Religious and racial affiliations weighed heavily in the election results. Sixty per cent of the Buckley voters were Catholic, in a city in which Catholics comprise only twenty-five per cent of the voting population.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Buckley's vote was all-white. Other characteristics of the Buckley voter such as education, income, and political party affiliation, while not as statistically significant as religious and racial affiliation, indicate a homogeneity lacking in the voters who supported Lindsay and Beame. The results not only demonstrate the influence of membership group similarities, but also show the composite nature of the Buckley voter.

It is only in examining stylistic characteristics that one finds significant dissimilarities between Buckley and his supporters. Nevertheless, while many dissimilarities existed, they still produced a positive identification with Buckley.

Buckley has become famous for his sesquipedalian dissertations and rarely neglects to use a multi-syllabled word when a more diminutive one would do. "After a speech in Iowa to an all-Conservative audience not long ago, the audience held its breath for several seconds before deciding to clap, then filed out muttering darkly about 'the big words' that studded the Buckley speech."<sup>11</sup> He says of himself, "I am a very poor communicator."<sup>12</sup> Buckley's speech is Oxfordian. He "talks Yale English" which is singularly unique in New York City's melange of accents. Furthermore, New York City voters were unaccustomed to his style of debating:

My associates kept urging me in my opening and closing statements, that, instead of tangling with Beame and Lindsay, I should speak over their heads (as they were constantly doing over mine and each other's), directly to the voters, giving them reasons why they should vote the Conservative ticket. I tried to do that, as often as it occurred to me; but often it didn't occur to me, my ungovernable instinct being to fasten on a weakness in my opponent's reasoning and dive in; or on a weakness in my own, and apply sutures—on the (Platonic?) assumption that voters will be influenced by the residual condition of the argument. A good debater is not always an effective vote-getter; you can find a hole in your opponent's argument through which you can drive a coach and four ringing jingle bells all the way, and thrill at the crystallization of a truth wrung out from a bloody dialogue—which, however, may warm only you and your muse, while the smiling parologist has in the meantime made votes by the tens of thousands.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, Buckley's style of debating did not fit New York City voters' conceptions of a serious mayoral candidate. He was more the gadfly, poking fun at his opponents rather than offering concrete solutions to New York City's pressing problems.

But with all of these stylistic dissimilarities, many of the voters of New York City identified with him. They enjoyed watching him precisely *because* of his uniqueness. He was, in jargon, high camp. "Love him or hate

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<sup>9</sup> John Leo, "Very Dark Horse in New York," *New York Times Magazine*, September 5, 1965, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Louis Harris Poll #1559, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> Leo, pp. 34–36.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> William F. Buckley, Jr., *The Unmaking of a Mayor: unrevised proofs* (New York, 1966), pp. 235–236.

him, TV fans found it difficult to turn off a master political showman. His rolling eyes, deft handling of the English language and razor-sharp debating techniques were exciting to watch. Even tall, handsome, personable Lindsay found himself being upstaged time and time again.<sup>14</sup> Identification occurred on an interesting level. The voters identified with Buckley's style by projection—"Boy, I wish I could sound like that; give 'em hell for all of us, Bill baby!"

While stylistic identification had a positive effect in eliciting support for Buckley, both dispositional and stylistic identification had to occur before voters would support him. Though somewhat inconclusive, evidence for this position exists. The Harris poll taken during the campaign asked this question of New York City voters: "Regardless of whom you might be voting for, who do you think was the most effective debater among Lindsay, Beame, and Buckley?" Before presenting the results of the question, a comment about the question itself is in order. The term "most effective" was, at best, ambiguous. Moreover, the phrase "regardless of whom you might be voting for" probably was not totally successful in divorcing the voter from the candidate he was supporting. Even with these qualifications in mind, the results provide an interesting insight into the characteristics that influence a voter to support a candidate. More than one-third of the voters polled selected Buckley as the most effective debater, though he only received thirteen per cent of the total City vote.<sup>15</sup> While the voters may have enjoyed him, they had to identify with him dispositionally as well as stylistically before they would vote for him.

#### NEGATIVE IDENTIFICATION

In examining the results of the election, the author stumbled upon a pattern of voting behavior not covered in the three categories previously mentioned. For lack of a better name, the pattern can be called "negative identification." As an explanation, audiences observe a characteristic in a speaker which they recognize in themselves. However, as they dislike the characteristic in themselves, they also dislike the characteristic in the speaker. In other words, they identify with the speaker, but they identify with him negatively.

As an example of negative identification, let us examine the Democratic mayoral candidate, Abraham D. Beame, and his relationship with the Jewish voters of New York City. Mr. Beame, a Jewish Democrat from Brooklyn, presented an image of a "Party hack." His heavy Brooklyn accent, his "non-intellectual approach" to problem-solving, his concern for New York City's money problems above all else (recognize, however, that he served as Controller of New York City for eight years), his height (5'1"), all added to the nondescript, negative image he created. He was a man who, according to one report, could walk into his campaign headquarters without being recognized.<sup>16</sup> Many Jewish voters recognized in Beame the old stereotype of the "City Jew." They did not want the first Jewish Mayor of New York City to look and sound like Abraham D. Beame.

(Continued on page 52)

<sup>14</sup> Edward O'Neill, "City Hall," *New York Daily News*, October 11, 1965, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Louis Harris Poll #1559, p. 193.

<sup>16</sup> "Trying, Trying. . .," *Newsweek*, November 1, 1965, p. 36.

## THE DSR-TKA TICKER

### NATIONAL SECRETARY MOVES

The National Secretary of Delta Sigma Rho—Tau Kappa Alpha has changed institutional affiliations and, effective January 15, 1971, may be reached at the following address: Dr. Theodore J. Walwik, National Secretary, DSR-TKA, Department of Speech and Theatre, Slippery Rock State College, Slippery Rock, Penna. 16057.

Communications relating to initiation, including requests for authority to initiate and orders for keys, as indicated in the information for sponsors and members on the inside front cover of this issue of *Speaker and Gavel*, should be sent to him at the above address.

### CHAPTER NOTES

It is a challenge to all chapters to become aware of the varieties of programs and projects undertaken within the forensics jurisdictions of our colleges and universities. We are happy to transmit descriptions of a number of these, pretty much as they were told to us, and to add personal notes which have come to our attention concerning students, faculty, and alumni of DSR-TKA. We open with the note about Hawaii from Dean Ellis, largely because of the enticing possibility it presents for shooting one's debate budget some year.

*University of Hawaii.* The DSR-TKA chapter in Hawaii was active (as individuals, not as a tax-exempt organization) in State politics. Richard Garcia, 21, became the youngest person ever to be elected to the State House of Representatives when he unseated a three-term incumbent in the primary. He was unopposed in the general election. His wife and former debate partner, Kerriane Kau Garcia, was his campaign manager. Another former debate partner of Mr. Garcia, Diane Hansen, who two years ago was the youngest member of the Hawaii State Constitutional Convention, also won in the primary election against an incumbent. Two other debaters, Cindy Yokono and Richard Case, both worked as campaign managers for an unsuccessful candidate for governor.

Richard Garcia and Kerriane had represented the University of Hawaii on a 23,000 mile debate tour of the South Pacific and Orient in 1969. Richard Case and Cindy Yokono toured the Orient on a similar tour last spring. We are now busy selecting students to go on this year's tour, which will visit Hong Kong and India, and maybe on around the world. Some Japanese whom we debated last spring visited us in Hawaii on their way to the mainland. We are hoping that a Chinese team from Taiwan will visit Hawaii for a one-week debating tour of our Island this spring.

Any mainland teams who are interested in debating in Hawaii should write to D. S. Ellis, Department of Management, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 98622. We usually arrange exchanges with two or three schools a year. All debates are presented to community college or high school audiences. The topics used vary, but almost never include the national topic.

*Emory University.* Emory chapter annually presents the "Georgia Speaker of the Year" award for intelligent, effective, and responsible speech. The 1970 recipient was the Honorable Elliot Levitas, State Demo-



cratic Representative from DeKalb County. Rep. Levitas was responsible for needed legislation, especially housing acts. The 1969 recipient was Ralph Emerson McGill (posthumous); 1968, W. H. Burson, State Welfare Director; and 1967, Charles Longstreet Weltner, former U.S. Congressman.

*Washington and Jefferson.* On the intersession system, Washington and Jefferson will sponsor a college-credit debate tour in January, as well as an elimination debate tournament for novice debaters during that month.

*Hanover College.* Each year Hanover College devotes a specific week to a contemporary problem of concern besetting mankind. During the week of "Perspectives," as it is called, numerous speakers from the fields of business, industry, and academia deliver lectures and conduct discussions. This year the theme was entitled "Man-Nature: the delicate balance," with the focal point being the problem of pollution.

To kick off the week of Perspectives, students from DePauw University and Hanover clashed in a debate on the resolution that, "Since overpopulation is pollution—the federal government should control the size of the family." The schools switched debate partners to allow for greater objectivity. An added element of audience participation added much insight and excitement to the debate. The audience favored the affirmative team when polled at the conclusion of the event.

*University of Florida.* The DSR-TKA Lecturer for 1970 was Professor Stanley Reber, of the Department of Economics. His topic was "Argumentative Positions in the Controversy on Wage and Price Controls."

*King's College.* At its 5th annual debate clinic, which attracted more than 200 people and 30 high schools, the King's College chapter granted honorary memberships to five prominent citizens who have helped debate. They were: Rev. Thomas Sheehy, Dean of Students; Joseph T. Collis, Managing Editor of the Wilkes-Barre *Record* and past president of the International Printers Guild; Michael McHugh, Francis Burns, and Chester Muroski, all attorneys and King's alumni.

*University of Massachusetts.* Massachusetts has begun a program for culturally disadvantaged students who want to participate in forensic activities. Also, sponsor Ronald J. Matlon is working with chapter officers Gerald Hayes, Philip Doyle, David McCaffrey and Paul Lamarche in the formation of a University of Massachusetts Debate Alumni Association. Massachusetts has 30 debaters and four faculty members this season, with plans to attend approximately 40 tournaments, tour high schools in the Commonwealth putting on demonstration debates, engage in off-topic debating before area service clubs and organizations, and administer one college tournament and two high school speech meets.

*Carlow College.* Carlow College was Mt. Mercy until July, 1969. Thomas A. Hopkins is Dean of the Faculty and William L. Barnett is now chapter sponsor. In October Carlow had a campus debate with the touring Oxford debaters and rejuvenated their novice tournament after a lapse of several years.

*Wichita State University.* In addition to the many trophies awarded at its annual "Shocker" tournament, the Wichita chapter this year presented trophies to the best contestants in each event representing a DSR-TKA school.

*University of Miami.* The debate staff conducted a debate workshop during the summer, a parliamentary procedure seminar for high schools in September, and a practice tournament in November.

Debate Coach Jim Gilbride was part of the Law School's International Moot Court champion team. Chapter sponsor J. Robert Olian received a law degree in August.

*University of North Carolina.* The Mangum Medal in Oratory was awarded to Thomas F. Foster, DSR-TKA member and graduate of last June.

*Lehigh University.* The DSR-TKA chapter and the Lehigh University Debate Society held a debate clinament on the national topic on October 17th.

*Purdue University.* In November, Purdue conducted its 22nd N. B. Beck Memorial Debate Tournament, as well as an Oxford debate on the resolution, "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

H. L. Ewbank reports being "dusted off" and reinstated as Director of Forensics and DSR-TKA chapter sponsor. He was formerly sponsor from 1953-61.

*Creighton University.* The Creighton chapter hopes to expand its service activities this school year by providing more speakers on a greater variety of subjects for organizations in the metropolitan Omaha-Council Bluffs area.

Joe Bataillon, president of the Jaytalkers, was initiated in September. Father Robert Bargaen, S.J., will be doing research for his Ph.D. dissertation in England and India.

*Brooklyn College.* Brooklyn expects to sponsor the Eastern Forensic Assn. tournament in March at the same time as their 24th Annual Tournament.

*Dickinson College.* The Dickinson chapter is marking its 55th anniversary, according to Dr. Herbert Wing, Jr., and has had a successful season with much interest shown.

*University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.* Mrs. Ruth McGaffey, Director of Forensics, completed her work for the Ph.D. at Northwestern in August.

*Florida State University.* Jimmie Rogers, coaching at Florida State, was working with University of Arkansas debaters the last few years. Assisting is Margaret Walker, a former Texas Tech debater. Pat Higgins, who debated at FSU, now coaches at Gulf Coast Junior College.

*Rutgers University.* Thomas Harris, formerly at George Washington University, has become head coach at Rutgers University. H. James Godwin remains director of debate.

## SPEAKER OF THE YEAR NOMINATIONS

The Speaker of the Year Board of Award is currently engaged in its annual search for a speaker who best exemplifies the ideals of effective and responsible speech. Nominations are welcome from individual mem-



bers of DSR-TKA and especially from campus chapters. Supporting data would be appreciated.

Candidates may come from any walk of life: government, labor, industry, the communications media, the judiciary, the ministry, etc. Realistically, however, a speaker must have had national exposure or have spoken to an issue of national importance to be chosen as our national Speaker of the Year. Recommendations may be forwarded to the chairman: Dr. Gregg Phifer, Department of Communication, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306.

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### CONTEMPORARY FORENSICS *(Continued from page 38)*

the undue prolongation of forensic activity. Any suggestions in this area are of course arbitrary. Nevertheless, I would argue that a forensic "season" extend from November 1 to March 31.

Forensic activity can be an invaluable aspect of a person's education. I would not quarrel that contemporary forensics are not worthwhile. Given the much publicized depersonalization of our educational system, most debaters receive individual supervision from faculty. Furthermore, the non-rhetorical benefits of debating should not be overlooked. In addition to debating the United States' role in the Middle East, the merits of Vice-President Agnew, a lower voting age, legalization of marijuana, and conflicts of law and justice, some debaters experienced significant "firsts"—air travel, train sleepers, foreign language menus, contact with Negroes and Orientals, and student unions that sold beer. Lutherans visited Baptist churches, our Renaissance man actually admitted several errors of judgment, and our steak and potatoes stalwart sampled dolma, coffee with chickory, ludefisk, and crayfish bisque. I think that these firsts are a significant part of our debate program. Our students think debating is fun. And, for the first time in a long while, I don't dread debate trips.

To employ a phrase from current debate practice, I think significant advantages would accrue by (1) changing the single proposition format; (2) utilizing audiences instead of debate coaches; (3) coordinating debate with other speaking activities; (4) discontinuing trophies; and (5) limiting the forensic season.

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### COMMON GROUND *(Continued from page 48)*

Earlier it was stated that Buckley's main purpose in running for Mayor was to defeat Lindsay by siphoning off traditional Republican votes from Lindsay to himself. The traditionally Liberal-oriented Jewish voters decided that it was more important to thwart the goal of "that Conservative" than it was to vote for Beame, a man in whom they recognized an unflattering, negative stereotype of themselves. So the Jewish voters threw their support to Lindsay.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Jews accounted for approximately twenty-five per cent of Lindsay's total vote. Louis Harris Poll #1559, p. 73.

## RULES FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE EVENTS

### I. TWO-MAN DEBATE

1. The national intercollegiate debate proposition shall be used.
2. Each chapter may enter two students who shall be prepared to debate on both sides of the proposition.
3. There shall be six preliminary rounds of debate for all teams entered in this event. The sixteen teams with the best records shall be chosen to enter the octafinal rounds. This shall be followed by quarterfinal rounds, semifinal rounds, and a final round to determine a champion.
4. Debates shall be standard type (i.e., ten-minute constructive speeches and five-minute rebuttal speeches). There shall be no intermission between constructive and rebuttal speeches.
5. Each chapter participating in this event must provide a qualified critic judge. As a condition of entering a team in this event, the judge undertakes to be available for judging assignments through the quarterfinal rounds; judges whose teams enter the octafinal round undertake to be available for judging assignments through the final round.
6. Any team more than fifteen minutes late for any round shall forfeit that round of debate. Their scheduled opponent shall be credited with a win for that round and shall be credited with the average rank and points they have earned in their other rounds.
7. If a judge is more than fifteen minutes late in meeting a judging assignment, his team shall forfeit that round. Their opponent shall be credited with a win, rank, and points as provided in Rule I, 6.
8. Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha certificates shall be awarded to the eight highest ranking debaters on the basis of their achievement in the six preliminary rounds of debate. Trophies shall be awarded to the winner of the event, to the second place team, and to the two other semifinalist teams. The winner shall also be awarded possession, for one year, of the rotating trophy.
9. The American Forensic Association Form C Debate Ballot shall be used for all debates.
10. Judges may give a critique after each debate, but they may not announce a decision.

### II. FOUR-MAN DEBATE

1. The national intercollegiate debate proposition shall be used.
2. Each chapter may enter one affirmative team and one negative team (a total of four students) in this event.
3. There shall be eight rounds of debate for all teams entered in this event.
4. Debates shall be standard type (i.e., ten-minute constructive speeches and five-minute rebuttal speeches). There shall be no intermission between constructive and rebuttal speeches.
5. Each chapter participating in this event must provide a qualified critic judge who, as a condition of entering his teams, undertakes to be available for judging assignments throughout all eight rounds.

6. Any team more than fifteen minutes late for any round shall forfeit that round of debate. Their scheduled opponent shall be credited with a win for that round and shall be credited with the average rank and points they have earned in their other rounds.
7. If a judge is more than fifteen minutes late in meeting a judging assignment, his affirmative team shall forfeit that round. Their opponents shall be credited with a win, rank, and points as provided in Rule II, 6.
8. DSR-TKA certificates shall be awarded to the four highest ranking affirmative debaters and to the four highest ranking negative debaters on the basis of their achievements in the eight rounds of debate. Trophies shall be awarded to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th ranking four-man units. The 1st place unit shall also be awarded possession, for one year, of the rotating trophy.
9. The American Forensic Association Form C Debate Ballot shall be used for all debates.
10. Judges may give a critique after each debate, but they may not announce a decision.

### III. PERSUASIVE SPEAKING

1. Each chapter may enter one or two student speakers. Men and women shall compete in the same division. Students entering persuasive speaking cannot enter extemporaneous speaking.
2. Each contestant shall participate in two rounds of speaking. The final round shall consist of eight speakers chosen from Rounds I and II on the following basis: (a) high total number of superior ratings, (b) low total rank (if ratings are tied), (c) high total percentage points (if ranks are tied). In all rounds the order of speaking shall be determined by random drawing.
3. Each speaker shall deliver a speech on a subject of his choosing. The speech must be original and of the speaker's own composition. The speech must be persuasive in nature, designed to inspire, convince, or actuate.
4. The speech must not be more than ten minutes in length.
5. The speech may be delivered with or without notes.
6. Each chapter participating in this event must provide a qualified critic judge who, as a condition of entering his students, undertakes to be available for judging assignments for all three rounds. NOTE: Judges may be assigned to *either* persuasive speaking or extemporaneous speaking or both at the discretion of the chairmen of these events. NOTE: If a chapter enters speakers in *both* persuasive speaking *and* extemporaneous speaking, it must provide judges for *both* events.
7. At least three judges shall be used in each section.
8. Any speaker more than fifteen minutes late in meeting his speaking assignment shall forfeit that round and shall be assigned zero rating, rank, and points.
9. If a judge is more than fifteen minutes late in meeting a judging assignment, his contestant shall forfeit that round and shall be assigned zero rating, rank, and points. If a judge has two contestants, this forfeit shall apply only to the contestant whose last name comes first alphabetically.
10. In each round each judge will rank the first four speakers 1, 2, 3,

and 4. All the remaining speakers shall be assigned a rank of 5. The judge shall rate each speaker as superior, excellent, good, or fair. These ratings shall be given a numerical value on the following scale: superior 90 or higher; excellent 85 to 89; good 80 to 84; and fair 75 to 79.

11. The four highest ranking speakers in the final round shall receive Certificates for Superior Achievement and trophies. The other four speakers shall receive Certificates of Excellence. These two classifications shall be determined by the method provided in Rule III, 2. No announcement of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. place shall be made.
12. Members of the National Council are requested *not* to enter students in persuasive speaking unless they will have another faculty member available to serve as judge. This contest is scheduled at the same time as the meeting of the National Council.

#### IV. EXTEMPORANEOUS SPEAKING

1. Each chapter may enter one or two student speakers. Men and women shall compete in the same division. Students entering extemporaneous speaking cannot enter persuasive speaking.
2. Each contestant shall participate in two rounds of speaking. The final round shall consist of eight speakers chosen from Rounds I and II on the following basis: (a) high total number of superior ratings, (b) low total rank (if ratings are tied), and (c) high total percentage points (if ranks are tied). In all rounds the order of speaking shall be determined by random assignment made by the Chairman.
3. Speakers shall draw their topics in the order listed on the schedule prepared by the Chairman thirty minutes before their speaking time. Each speaker shall receive three topics from which he shall select one. The topic shall be handed to the chairman-timekeeper who shall announce it to the judges before the speaker begins.
4. The speech must not be more than seven minutes in length.
5. The speech may be delivered with or without notes.
6. The topics shall be chosen from major current events of the six months immediately preceding the Conference. They shall be significant subjects meriting serious consideration. Facetious subjects shall not be used.
7. Each chapter participating in this event must provide a qualified critic judge who, as a condition of entering his students, undertakes to be available for judging assignments for all three rounds. NOTE: Judges may be assigned to *either* extemporaneous speaking or persuasive speaking or both at the discretion of the chairmen of these events. NOTE: If a chapter enters speakers in *both* persuasive speaking *and* extemporaneous speaking, it must provide judges for *both* events.
8. At least three judges shall be used in each section.
9. Any speaker more than fifteen minutes late in meeting his speaking assignment shall forfeit that round and shall be assigned zero rating, rank, and points. NOTE: If a speaker is late in drawing his topic he may still proceed to his speaking assignment; but he must speak on schedule or forfeit.



10. If a judge is more than fifteen minutes late in meeting a judging assignment, his contestant shall forfeit that round and shall be assigned zero rating, rank, and points. If a judge has two contestants, this forfeit shall apply only to the contestant whose last name comes first alphabetically.
11. In each round the judge shall rank the first four speakers 1, 2, 3, and 4. All the remaining speakers shall be assigned a rank of 5. The judge shall rate each speaker as superior, excellent, good, or fair. These ratings shall be given a numerical value on the following scale: superior 90 or higher; excellent 85 to 89; good 80 to 84; and fair 75 to 79.
12. The four highest ranking speakers in the final round shall receive Certificates for Superior Achievements and trophies. The other four speakers shall receive Certificates of Excellence. These two classifications shall be determined by the method provided in Rule IV, 2. No announcement of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. shall be made.
13. Members of the National Council are requested *not* to enter students in extemporaneous speaking unless they will have another faculty member available to serve as judge. This contest is scheduled at the same time as the meeting of the National Council.

#### V. STUDENT CONGRESS

1. Each participating college shall be entitled to a maximum of four participating delegates to the Student Congress. A delegate to the Student Congress will not participate in debate events at the Conference, but he may enter one of the individual events contests.
2. The problem area for consideration at the Student Congress will be announced by the Director in December and will be communicated to the chapters with the formal Conference announcement in January.
3. The official business sessions of the Student Congress will include the following: (a) caucuses, (b) the opening legislative assembly, (c) main committee meetings, (d) joint conference committee meetings, and (e) legislative assemblies.
4. Advance registration shall be completed not later than 15 days before the opening of the Conference. The advance registration shall include the names of the student delegates, their party affiliation ("liberal" or "conservative"), their subtopic preference, and names of nominees for major legislative positions.
5. Advance bills may be prepared by delegates before the Congress convenes to be submitted to the appropriate committees at the time they convene as tentative proposals for the committee to consider.
6. Awards to participants will be made in accordance with procedures established by the National Conference Committee.
7. A complete set of the Rules of the DSR-TKA Student Congress may be found in Vol. VI, No. 3 (March, 1969), of *Speaker and Gavel*. Reprints may be obtained from Dr. Kenneth E. Anderson, Speech Dept., U. of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801, or Dr. Theodore Walwik, Dept. Speech and Theatre, Slippery Rock State College, Slippery Rock, Pa. 16057.

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