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# SPEAKER and GAVEL

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# Speaker and Gavel

Volume 12

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Number 3

## THE RHETORICAL SITUATION OF MAO TSE-TUNG

MAE JEAN GO

The search for a new order within the context of a modern world found the country of China groping through the myths that had shrouded it for twenty-five hundred years into a new conception of a nation-state. Through twenty-five dynasties, China had seen many achievements—and many failures. She had built the Great Wall, extended her territorial status in keeping with her image of the Middle Kingdom, and maintained a state philosophy of Confucianism which sought moral virtue as its highest goal. Contact with the West, however, found China unprepared for the technological advances and industrialization that had developed without the knowledge of the Confucian scholars. Subsequent efforts at modernization, the decline of the Ch'ing dynasty, the 1911 revolution by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Japanese threat in the 1940's, and the psychological weariness of a Nationalist government—these formed the events and the historical context for a new leader, a Mao Tse-tung. To understand the impact of this monumental leader of 800 million people, the systems of communication that could replace a traditional philosophy with revolutionary ideology must be examined.

To approach the writings of Mao in their communicative dimension, one may turn to Lloyd Bitzer's definition of rhetoric as that which

. . . comes into existence for the sake of something beyond itself; it functions ultimately to produce action or change in the world; it performs some task. In short, rhetoric 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>1</sup>

Bitzer finds that discourse coming into being "because of some specific condition or situation which invites utterance."<sup>2</sup> This rhetorical situation, as he terms it, therefore, is "a natural context of persons, events, objects, relations, and an exigence which strongly invites utterance. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Structuring the rhetorical situation are three components: (1) the exigence, or the imperfection marked by urgency; (2) the audience, or those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change; and (3) the constraints, or those persons, events, objects, and relations which are parts of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lloyd F. Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," *Contemporary Rhetoric*, ed. Douglas Ehninger (Glenview: Scott, Foresman, 1972), p. 41.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

Just as communication is basic to all human beings as a means of expressing their philosophies, the directions of their studies, or as exponents of themselves, so Bitzer provides a framework wherein one may examine the aspects of the revolutions within China as movements first of ideas, then of actions. The exigence was the old Confucian order which could not adequately solve the problems acutely emphasized by the Western presence; the rhetorical audience was the entire Chinese population, now numbering 800 million, and the constraints were those efforts by the Ch'ing rulers and such revolutionaries as Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, and especially Mao Tse-tung to institute new order in an era of nation-states. In exploring the rhetorical situation surrounding the teachings of Mao, one must place him within an historical/philosophical context. Because Confucianism played such a large role in shaping the Chinese mind, it is important at this point to explicate its principal motifs.

An interview with a poor Chinese servant woman illustrates the traditional approach by the Chinese people:

The generations stretch back thousands of years to the great ancestor parents. They stretch for thousands of years into the future, generation upon generation. Seen in proportion to this great array, the individual is but a small thing. But on the other hand, no individual can drop out. Each is a link in the great chain. No one can drop out without breaking the chain. A woman stands with one hand grasping the generations that have gone before and with the other, generations to come.<sup>5</sup>

The structure of the family gave to the Chinese sensibility a sense of continuity and stability. The philosophy of Confucianism emphasized morality, stability, and the continuity of the Chinese people. Order again was maintained through five traditional relationships: sovereign to subject, father to son, elder to younger brother, husband to wife, and friend to friend. The Confucian philosophy placed man at the center of the universe, just as the Chinese world order placed the emperor at the apex. The important China scholar, John Fairbank, observes that "... if we take this Confucian view of life in its social and political context, we will see its esteem for age over youth, for the past over the present, for established authority over innovation, has in fact provided one of the great historic answers to the problem of social stability. It has been the most successful of all systems of conservatism."<sup>6</sup> By restraining the development of the individual's capabilities beyond the moral and social dimensions and by ever glancing back to the past for guidance, China was ill-equipped to meet the aggressive elements of the West in the nineteenth century.

Fairbank also notes that "China's external order was so closely related to her internal order that one could not long survive without the other; when the barbarians were not submissive abroad, rebels might more easily arise within."<sup>7</sup> Thus the concept of the Middle Kingdom evolved out of this need to balance external order with internal order. Essentially, China formed an "agrarian-based culture island" under the control of the Son of

<sup>5</sup> Irwin Isenberg, ed., *China: New Force in World Affairs* (New York: Wildon, 1972), pp. 13-14.

<sup>6</sup> John K. Fairbank, *The U.S. and China* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1971), p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ., 1968), p. 3.

Heaven, the emperor, who demanded submission by tributary states. Where Europe relied on the balance of power among nation-states, the Confucian ideal of unity lay within the grasp and manifestation of the emperor. By her advocacy of the superiority of Chinese culture and her gradual expansion southward, China viewed herself as the center of all order where harmony must also lie. In return for protection and prestige, the tributary states gained legitimacy of their rule in their own countries. Yet this superior attitude suggested that China had nothing to learn from the barbarians of the West and, therefore, remained as she had for thousands of years. Paradoxically China needed to know about her potential enemies abroad to maintain stability of rule, yet she had no incentive to learn about other countries. Submissive states must come to her; she would not go to them.

The isolationist view reinforced by the Middle Kingdom also emphasized the nondevelopment of science and therefore the lack of perception of the industrial and technological advances of the West in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Fairbank suggests several reasons for this nondevelopment in scientific endeavors: (1) the preoccupation with man and his relationship to society did not allow for the conquest of man over nature (with which the West was preoccupied); (2) the Chinese philosophers did not work out a fuller system of logic where ideas confronted ideas, but instead believed their principles were self-evident when stated; (3) the physical nature of the Chinese written language made it difficult to transmit scientific terms; and (4) the emphasis on memorizing Chinese classics before actual understanding slowed down the motivation for new knowledge.<sup>8</sup>

Though there were some beginnings of capitalism in China during the eighteenth century, the concept of free enterprise was not dominant. Rather, the higher respect for intellectual as opposed to manual labor was reinforced by scholars, who were the ruling class, and by the lower status of manual laborers. According to Fairbank, "The state monopoly over large-scale economic organization and production was inimical to private enterprise whenever it threatened to assume large-scale proportions by the use of inventions and machinery."<sup>9</sup> P. T. Ho, in *The China Reader*, finds that, "China was capable of small gains but incapable of innovations in either the institutional or technological sense."<sup>10</sup> He further suggests four reasons for the nondevelopment of a genuine capitalistic system: (1) the easiest way to acquire wealth was to buy the privilege of selling a few staples with the greatest demand; (2) the profit of merchants was not reinvested into any new commercial or industrial enterprises; (3) the lack of primogeniture and the working of the clan system were great levelling factors in the economy; and (4) the Confucian cultural and political system rewarded only the learned and the studious, for moral philosophy was of greater value than technological inventions.<sup>11</sup>

Eighty per cent of the population were farmers in the agrarian economy of China. They supported the economy by producing the country's food and by paying the taxes. The absence of primogeniture kept the size of

<sup>8</sup> Fairbank, *The U.S. and China*, pp. 66-71.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> P. T. Ho, *The China Reader: Imperial China* (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 76.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-78.

the individual plot to three acres in Northern China and to one and one-half acres in Southern China. The limited physical capacity of a farm family to till the land made the life of the farmers a perennial struggle against the landlords and against each other for space. Though a genuine census was not made, the official population estimates probably underrated the number of people. Assumptions could be made, however, that a total of 200 million people lived in China in the early eighteenth century and 400 million by 1850. A population size that doubled in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries must have suffered under the inefficient and basically subsistence means of farming.<sup>12</sup> The incentive for gentry corruption and peasant rebellion was present.

Social stratification into the four classes of the scholar-gentry, the farmers, the artisans, and the merchants allowed limited social mobility. Though the method of civil service examinations insured social mobility, only the rich could afford the time and the money for the arduous task of memorizing and preparing for the "eight-legged essay." Because the highest position of the gentry gave many privileges to the successful, the gentry were also removed from the problems of the supporting peasantry. The extreme sense of one's status required the gentry to maintain stability and the goal of continuity by making sure each class remembered its place. This status-consciousness prevented China from closing the gap between the peasants and the gentry. The military was not held in very high regard either, for Fairbank notes in *The U.S. and China* that "Once an imperial regime was set up, civilian government was esteemed over military. . . . The Chinese military thus remained a part of the state's bureaucracy, fed by its revenues and a tempting source of corruption. But unlike the technology-based military of industrial states today, the Chinese military machine was not a major component of the economy."<sup>13</sup> Instead, preservation of the social order lay in the indoctrination of social conduct. Thus "good iron is not used to make a nail nor a good man to make a soldier."<sup>14</sup>

In contrast to the Western separation of rhetoric from the rest of the humanistic studies, in the East, ". . . rhetoric has been considered so important that it could not be separated from the remainder of human knowledge."<sup>15</sup> Rather, the emphasis on unity and harmony found little interest in logic "which necessarily correlates unlike elements, nor has [the East] favored either definition or classification as aids to clear thought. . . . Whereas the West has favored analysis and division of subject matter into identifiable and separate entities, the East has believed that to see truth steadily one must see it whole."<sup>16</sup>

The preceding discussion of the Confucian ethic in traditional China has been an attempt to articulate her cultural milieu in order to provide a framework for subsequent discussion of Mao's thoughts. To a certain extent, these concepts form the constraints of the situation and at the same time attempt to address themselves to the idea of an exigence in the rhetorical situation. "The imperfection marked by urgency" was the search for a new order within the twentieth century, for the age-old ideas of the Confucian

<sup>12</sup> Fairbank, *The U.S. and China*, p. 151.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> Robert T. Oliver, *Communication and Culture in Ancient India and China* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1971), p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

philosophy could no longer meet the growing impetus towards modernization and the need to confront the presence of the West.

The last major dynasty in China, the Ch'ing dynasty, could not fulfill the quest for a new order with its half-hearted Self-strengthening Movement of 1862-74. Indeed, the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 resulted in a short-lived constitutional monarchy instituted by the last Empress Dowager Tzu-hsi whose death in 1908 greatly diminished the effectiveness of the monarchy. Thus, without any centrally located control, the power shifted to the increasingly influential regional officials. The failure of reform efforts led the way toward revolution.

Modern historians have placed the call for sweeping change and the overthrow of the existing government in three stages: (1) the political revolution in 1911 led by Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty; (2) the intellectual revolution in 1919 reflected the students' borrowing of Western ideals including science and democracy; and (3) the socio-economic-intellectual-political revolution of 1949 replaced Confucianism with Marxism, Leninism, and Communism. Dr. Sun's revolution in 1911 centered on the issue of "provincial autonomy against monarchic centralization of power"<sup>17</sup> which had surfaced in the railway dispute concerning the amount of foreign control versus provincial control. The revolution pointed to the realization that Yuan Shih-k'ai was the only man strong enough to keep the country together. His rule from 1912 to 1916 as President of the Republic was shortened by his betrayal of the Republic in 1913, his subsequent declaration as Emperor, and his inability to examine the impact of the loss of the monarchial system in China.

The period of warlordism by local military leaders from 1916-28 emphasized the fact that while the revolution had a party but no army, the warlords had an army but no ideology. Sun Yat-sen tried repeatedly to achieve his revolutionary objectives through the warlord channels, but his efforts failed. The 1919 movement by the students at Peking University (called the May Fourth movement) denied the confining principles of Confucian filial piety and focused instead on strengthening the state.

The Kuomintang Nationalist Party, the third revolutionary party organized by Sun Yat-sen, eventually led to the overthrow of Yuan's government. From 1928-37 Chiang Kai-shek led the Nationalist government. External pressure from the Japanese and internal rivalry with the Communists weakened Chiang's rule. The neglect of social and economic reform, seen in Chiang's compromise with the corrupt warlords after the Northern Expedition, perpetuated the suffering of the masses. The dilution of social consciousness limited the potential power for reform under the Nationalist government as the plight of the peasant reached the point of desperation. Beneath the veneer of a decade of progress lay the fundamentals of social and economic nature. The Communist Party led by Mao Tse-tung successfully realized such conditions and forged the third stage of revolution (the others having been nationalism and democracy).

Given the historical events leading to the Chinese Communist movement, the exigence of a crumbling Confucian order seemed even more crucial as Nationalist policy was pitted against revolutionary practice. The rhetorical audience being addressed was the entire Chinese population, for each group was interested in gaining as many followers for its particular philosophy

<sup>17</sup> Fairbank, *The U.S. and China*, p. 193.

as possible. And in the end of the civil struggle Mao proved to be successful. The overriding symbolism of the Red Guard army showed the importance of a revolution of the people.

Mao Tse-tung had no monopoly on the idea that the Party needed an army. It is an idea that crops up whenever a political revolution is in progress over a great area; and it also draws on the old Chinese tradition of rebels—small communities of outlaws and ‘honorable’ bandits. Mao’s originality lay in the idea, born perhaps in the little town of Wenchiasih, of bases under military protection in small and completely isolated societies where men would be trained to live quite differently from before.<sup>18</sup>

Under his direction, the Red Guards—holding their spears with “red tassels, shields, and even straw sandals”<sup>19</sup>—became the carriers of the Maoist vision of the New Chinese Man, dedicated to the slogan, “Serve the people,” and reaching beyond the mere boundaries of the Chinese mainland to all Chinese in other countries.

Much of Mao’s success lies in such slogans as, “Grasp Revolution, Promote Production,” sayings incorporated within the Little Red Book which proclaimed the teachings of Mao, carrying forward the innate Chinese respect for teachers in traditional China. These sayings perpetuate the flavor of revolution, keeping dynamic change always in the forefront of the Chinese people. Indeed

Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society and without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.<sup>20</sup>

Within Maoist thought surface the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production, and struggle for scientific experiments.

The coordination of visual, oral, and written rhetorical discourse became fully expressed and ultimately successful in the Cultural Revolution between 1966–69. Essentially, this Revolution was a rejection of the Soviet model of socialism, an experiment with a new philosophy of continuous revolution, a struggle for political power between Liu Shao-ch’i and Mao Tse-tung, and a concentrated educational and ideological campaign designed to raise the political consciousness of both the leaders and the people. According to Mao, the main purpose of the Revolution was “to solve the problem of world outlook and eradicate revisionism,” while the main task was “to struggle against ‘capitalist roaders’ in the Communist Party.”<sup>21</sup> Revisionism was manifested in the implementation of Soviet models, and its chief proponent was Liu Shao-Ch’i. Against revisionism was juxtaposed the development of Mao Tse-tung thought, an ideologically based alternative for the Chinese people.

Basically, Mao Tse-tung thought was “a summation of Chinese revolutionary experience over a period of four decades . . . it was a series of concepts and formulations based on the essential principles of Marxism-

<sup>18</sup> Jean Esmein, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Garden City: Anchor, 1973), p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *Quotations from Chairman Mao* (New York: Bantam, 1967), p. 33.

<sup>21</sup> David Milton, Nancy Milton, and Franz Schurmann (eds.), *People’s China: The China Reader, Vol. IV* (New York: Random House, 1974), pp. 218–219.

Leninism." Three basic concepts are found in this philosophy: (1) all social development is based on class struggle; (2) public interest should take precedence over private interest; and (3) history is made by the masses. Because the first principle indicated the potential return to revisionism and capitalist undertones, Mao declared that continual revolution—at least two or three every century—would stifle such leanings.<sup>22</sup> Thus, he justified the Cultural Revolution.

Utilizing the revolutionary spirit as a catalyst, Mao instructed the youth of China and the Army to carry out the Revolution. The Red Guards attacked the party organization through public humiliation, and expression of loyalty to Chairman Mao as well as through physically beating party officials. From January, 1967 to September, 1968 revolutionary committees composed of cadre, army, and activist elements seized power in various provinces. In April, 1969 the Ninth Party Congress changed the spirit of the party bureaucracy making the government once more a popularly based structure.

Life in the People's Republic of China has changed from the agonizing toil of a poor Chinese farmer of yesterday to the efficient communal way of life today. The 18 million children born each year in China are placed in day-care centers while the mothers work in factories, businesses, or farms with their husbands. Early indoctrination in the Little Red Book begins in the nursery schools with such plays as "The Little Truck Driver Goes to Peking To See Chairman Mao" and songs such as "Happy Tidings of Victory From Indochina." Each day becomes a search for acceptance by one's peers. Besides the political overtones in each person's education, the basic Chinese curriculum includes mathematics, geography, art and literature, politics, the Chinese language, and even foreign languages, of which English is the most prevalent. As an indication of the thrust towards modernization, even the official dialect of Mandarin is undergoing changes. From the monosyllabic and pictorial nature of the Chinese characters which relies heavily upon tones, the strokes are now much simpler and more semblance of an alphabet such as in Japan is now being introduced. This present impetus towards simplification has allowed the raising of literacy standards for most of the people. The goal of education is primarily practical, and all students learn in an atmosphere of apprenticeship. Every high school graduate must serve the people—by working in a factory or a commune or by joining the army for as much as three years.

Communist Party members reenact the significance of the Maoist teachings by forming "Street and Lane Committees" in the cities and "Team Authorities" in the communes. Jean Esmein finds that these "local revolutionary committees are made up of three elements—peasants, young revolutionaries, and cadres won over to the revolution. This was a formula for a triple alliance without the army."<sup>23</sup> These committees, remnants of the 1966 Cultural Revolution, are in charge of holding regular meetings to examine political attitudes and to reinforce the sense of the Chinese identity. Indeed, the need for self-criticism also became caught up in the new fervor toward Maoist philosophy.

With power exercised through intermediaries, the risks of misinterpretation of policies, abuse of power, and deviation from the party line were

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219–221.

<sup>23</sup> Esmein, p. 23.

great. In the interests of the system, criticism from the rank and file had to be allowed an expression. It was also essential that those in executive positions should be allowed to correct what faults they might have committed and be reinstated. Hence the reason for self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism were the means whereby an illiterate populace could be educated, the cadres kept straight without recourse to sanctions, and a small number of political leaders at the top could be in a position to know everything that was going on.<sup>24</sup>

Within the cultural/performing arts extension, Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, has included overt instances of the Long March and past revolutionary incidents in her operas and plays, and the *tatze-pao* or big character posters spread throughout the cities reinforce the revolutionary nature in mass communication form. The bust of Mao appears in the public courtyards of the massive governmental buildings and his picture serves as a visual aid to the Chinese characters that decry the "paper tigers, the American imperialists, and the capitalists" of the world. Thus John Fairbank provides a perceptive viewpoint when he observes, "Chinese man has been so crowded upon the soil among his fellows that he is also a most socially minded human being, ever conscious of the interplay of personalities and social conventions around him. . . . He is seldom in all his life beyond ear-shot of other people."<sup>25</sup>

The achievements of the Chinese people under Mao cannot be denied. Utilizing peer pressure in the communes and in the cities, the relationships of man to man have shifted toward the wider relation of man to state, a necessity in the age of nation-states. There is a widened sense of Chinese identity according to what it means to be Chinese rather than to the traditional family. This present direction promises increased possibilities through the present language reform, the efforts toward industrialization, the early indoctrination of the young, and the repeated incidents of revolution. Mao has left the sense of change and the vision of the future on the Chinese people today.

The rhetorical exigence, the search for a new order in a world that had changed though China had not, at long last appears to be solved by the actions of present-day Chinese towards rebuilding China. The rhetorical audience has become that of 800 million people within the People's Republic of China itself and the constraints have included all of the historical/philosophical events leading up to the present time. The overall significance of Mao's discourse is already manifested in the achievements of the People's Republic within the last twenty-five years and promises to influence and affect the generations to come.

Journalist Edgar Snow once quoted Mao as saying of himself that he was "only a lone monk walking the world with a leaky umbrella." This "monk" has changed the ideological thrust of one-fourth of the world's population with his discourse, and it suggests, even demands, a continued study of the rhetorical situation surrounding the Chinese people today. Indeed, the Chinese people have stood up.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup> Isenberg, p. 28.

## THE PROFESSIONAL STUDENT COMPETITOR: A CHALLENGE TO ACADEMIC FORENSICS

COLE C. CAMPBELL

For the bulk of Americans, professional sporting events have a special glamor and appeal that cannot be matched by amateur or collegiate competition. Although large numbers of sports fans concern themselves with college sports because of school loyalty or out of preference for the style of play, few college teams in any sport can match the speed, proficiency, and thoroughness of their professional counterparts.

There are several reasons for the difference in ability and talent between the two levels of competition. In addition to the financial incentives for professional players in the various sports, the use of experienced players, the bidding for superstar recruits and free agents, and the exclusion of competing demands upon the athletes during the competitive season are major causes of the high degree of professionalism found in professional sports.

The values of competitive academic forensics do not parallel those of competitive sports, except as forensics encourages the simple enjoyment of competition and victory found in tournament competition. Beyond the "thrill of victory and the agony of defeat," however, academic forensics stresses the educational values of speaking and debating, including the refinement of interpersonal communication skills, the acquisition of knowledge through research, and the managerial accomplishments of preparation, organization, and presentation of special materials in an intellectual and academic atmosphere.

To make sure that such benefits are available to all participants in individual speaking events and debating, organizations such as the American Forensic Association have drawn up codes of ethics governing the general conduct of intercollegiate forensics. The purpose of such codes is twofold: to insure that the educational values of forensics are sustained by these public speaking activities and are available to all; and to insure that those institutions and individuals which do not share the orientation to educational purposes do not gain a competitive edge over the others by sacrificing academic and educational conventions. This two-fold function helps to insure a degree of equity for all schools and students who devote a great amount of their time and resources to competitive forensics in addition to normal academic workloads.

This equity is being threatened, however, by the emergence of the professional student competitor. This is the student (and this term is applied loosely, as will be discussed below) who becomes so engrossed in the competitive aspects of forensic activity and in the accumulation of laurels and hardware that he or she flaunts the academic conventions which restrict others and dedicates himself or herself solely to winning. This is an especially critical problem for academic debate because of the large investment of time and energy required by research, preparation, and a long list of tournaments to be attended each season. In response to these pressures of time and energy, the professional competitor acts in one or more of three

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ways. He or she transfers during the undergraduate years to a school with a forensics program which shares his or her orientation. He or she becomes a five-year veteran, managing to stay an undergraduate one more year for that one last chance of taking home the pennant. Or he or she becomes for all intents and purposes a non-student, taking few courses or even dropping out of school for a semester or a quarter or more to devote himself or herself completely to competition.

Although the inequities of permitting such students to participate seem clear at first consideration and have been discussed by others at other times, the trend toward the successful participation of such professional competitors that has evidenced itself over the last few years merits a further evaluation of the idea of fairness of these practices, the extent of such abuses, and the response of the forensic community. This article does not attempt to be a legal document citing cases and rulings, nor is it a preliminary indictment of specific individuals known to the author to have followed these practices. It is an attempt to challenge the forensic community to respond more wholeheartedly to the existence of the professional student competitor. Consideration of these issues follows the categories of professional competitors.

*The Free Agent.* Like the sports world counterpart, the forensic free agent shops for a school that will offer him or her the best deal in terms of scholarship money or status on the team. Although recruiting of high school students for the purpose of forensic participation in college raises some ethical concerns, the expressed judgment of the forensic community regarding students who transfer from one school to another for reasons of debate or individual events participation is clear. The AFA code forbids the participation of such individuals in national championship competition. While there are some debaters who transfer for reasons of family, hardship, or academic interest, there are also those who are generally known to have transferred solely for reasons of advantages in forensic competition. In some cases, even these kinds of transfers may be justifiable ethically. A student may find that the promises of travel and participation which determined his or her selection of a school were empty promises, or a student may not get along at all with coaches or fellow participants and may not wish to continue an association with them. But because the presumption of the academic community rests against selection of a school and transfer for reasons of forensic participation, even these cases ought to be sharply scrutinized by the forensic community. Otherwise, a shrewd coach with lots of scholarship money could woo the cream of each season's crop of participants to one program and place schools with a concern for academic values at a competitive disadvantage.

The response of the AFA and others thus far has been one of inaction, because of the vagueness of the standard of establishing that a transfer is not motivated by forensic interest alone and probably because of the touchy political questions involved in policing ourselves and our colleagues. The AFA should *examine every transfer case involving an active forensic participant* in order to create a climate of awareness of this ethical concern and to avoid having to single out individuals as "suspicious" and thereby make the examination process a messy business that no one is willing to initiate or complete. Each transfer case should perhaps be required to present letters from his or her former school or new school adviser or admissions office indicating the knowledge of these individuals and offices concerning the reasons of transfer. Only by such definitive and affirmative

steps as these can the problem of the free agent be focused upon and resolved in some manner, if only in more positively expressing the stance of the forensic community on the issue of the transfer student. Those students whose motives for transferring are quite honorable would be freed from the suspicion that frequently faces everyone active in forensics who transfers. Those students whose motives are less than honorable may be deterred from such transfers or may be restrained from participating in competition at the disadvantage of other participants.

*The Perpetual Participant.* The perpetual participant is the five- or six-year veteran who keeps coming back year after year and season after season in search of some elusive goal or level of achievement. The advantages that the perpetual participant has over the normal student are several. The veteran of veterans has both worldly and competitive experience over and above the student who has only participated three years in collegiate forensics. He or she also has greater familiarity with the judges. These are not evils *per se* or else we would require the nationally successful and recognized sophomore or junior to retire. But such success and recognition ought to come within the time period of exposure and participation that is the norm for undergraduate education, or else debaters and speakers so dedicated to their extracurricular activities may juggle their schedules or change their majors to permit them to enjoy this advantage while disregarding the true purpose of a college career, education.

The AFA code merely requires a student to be a full-time undergraduate. *Perhaps a rule should be established permitting only four seasons of participation, or eight semesters (twelve quarters) of participation* without regard to the number of seasons or debate topics. The latter standard would permit a participant to take a semester off without penalty, but would also permit eight-year, one-semester-a-year participants. If there are a great number of students who wish to continue active participation in forensics after graduation, the reinstatement of professional tournaments or the creation of graduate student tournaments or divisions may offer an outlet. The abuse of an undergraduate curriculum in order to obtain an edge in competition should not, however, be sanctioned.

*The nonstudent.* Sound arguments against the above two proposals can be readily advanced. A system of checking on transfers may be unfeasible or abusive of a student's rights. The educational benefits of forensics for the five-year student may outweigh the infringement upon others incurred by his or her participation. But there are no sound arguments for the participation of "students" who are not students. There have been cases of participants in forensics who either take an academic load under that required by their colleges for the status of full-time student or who drop out of school in one of the two semesters (or one of three quarters) in order to work on forensics. This is primarily a problem in debate, where the research and travel load is so great. There is some justification for coaches who are also instructors to let their debaters take introductory argumentation and speech classes under them, and thereby give them academic credit for an academic activity which demands great effort. But such "subsidy" of academic work should not be abused for the purpose of freeing up great portions of time from academics to increase debate work. The participation of students who are not full-time undergraduates cannot be tolerated at all. Otherwise, competition loses its collegiate nature and an extracurricular activity becomes a profession. Administrators of national championship tourna-

ments like the National Debate Tournament and the DSR-TKA National Championship should *require certification by the chancellor, president, or equivalent high officer of each participating school which would indicate that each individual participant is and has been a full-time undergraduate student for the full time that he or she has participated in forensics*. This would make the universities and colleges aware of the concern of the forensic community for training students and not world travelers and the uprooted. It would further end any abuses by the nonstudent professional competitor.

This article does not attempt to quantify the number of each abuse cited. Rather, it attempts to alert the community of debate and public address to the potential of abuse and to the trends realizing this potential. Names can be named and specific abuses mentioned. But this is not the appropriate forum for such accusations. The affirmation of ethical concerns and the active policing of ethical standards can assure, however, that such abuses do not blacken the name of forensics nor destroy the principles of equity and education upon which forensics rests.

### Now Available CURRENT CRITICISM

Twenty essays which appeared in the Current Criticism department of *Speaker and Gavel* between 1966 and 1970 have been reprinted as a paperback book by Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha.

These studies provide a lively panorama of the significant themes to which contemporary speakers address themselves. The agonies of the Vietnam decisions and the emergence of the "black power" issue strikingly dominate the concerns of speakers and critics alike, but other issues as well are given rhetorical analysis in this volume.

Copies of *Current Criticism* may be obtained for \$2.50 from Theodore Walwik, National Secretary, DSR-TKA, Slippery Rock State College, Slippery Rock, Penna. 16057. They are also available from the Speech Communication Association, Statler Hilton Hotel, New York, N.Y. 10001.

## HUMAN LIVES AS A DEBATE ISSUE

ED COTHAM

"That Life is worth living is the most necessary of assumptions, and, were it not assumed, the most impossible of conclusions."<sup>1</sup> Scholastic debate on the college level has developed a growing preoccupation with the effect of given policies on the total number of human lives present. The consensus of the forensic community seems to be that the only absolute measure of significance of public policy is the number of lives affected. Affirmative debaters have retreated from claims of saving money or time for the individual. A common expression for the method of decision making on the national tournament circuit has become "weighing the dead bodies on the flow and voting for the larger number." As Santayana indicated, the value of those lives is assumed for the purpose of debate. It is the purpose of this paper to examine critically the theoretical and practical ramifications of opening this assumption for consideration in the context of the collegiate debate.

### *The Measurable Value of Human Life*

There is a certain dilemma facing those who seek to consider objectively the value of human life. Since public policy alternatives must be analyzed on the basis of projections of costs and benefits, the anonymity of the lives to be considered is absolute. This complicating factor requires the formulation of a general value of life theoretically applicable to anyone in the numbers to be considered. Though many researchers have sought to indicate monetarily the magnitude of this value by such means as wage rates, loss of production, workman's compensation, voluntary risk for a price, etc., it is obvious that such a value varies tremendously and cannot fully measure the intangible elements involved. Empirical research is of little value in solving this forensic problem.

It is the case that we constantly place some sort of value on human life, however unmeasurable. In every war people die for the sake of liberty. The tremendous toll in human life and suffering of automobile accidents in this country is sustained primarily as a result of the societal value of the comforts and services transportation affords. It is further demonstrable that the value of the human life increases with greater proximity to the individual. A decision maker may very well regard his own life as worth far more than abstract figures and probabilities on the page. The individual contributing to the heart fund may donate appropriately greater amounts if he views himself as a likely target of the fatal illness. It would appear, therefore, that objective valuation of human lives by an individual or small group is an unacceptable basis from which to formulate public policy. *Society must be allowed to make this subjective valuation.* The perfectly operating democratic process would allow this type of valuation to take place. Several consequences for academic debate of this hypothesis follow:

1) It is valuable to extend the previously offered illustration of the automobile. Advocates of a public policy consisting of elimination of all automobiles because of their causal relationship in highway accidents might

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<sup>1</sup> George Santayana, *The Life of Reason* (1905).

offer several things in response to the social value argument. They might contend that society really places a much higher value on human lives lost on the highway than is currently supposed. They might also attempt to argue that the present governmental structure imperfectly reflects the values of society with regard to accident deaths, perhaps due to the distorting impact of the automobile manufacturers lobby, for example. A more likely form of refutation, however, is a direct clash with the value challenge presented. The advocate might argue that society is wrong with regard to the value it places on these lives. The complexity of this particular value judgment has already been indicated and any outcome from this particular approach is highly speculative. The sheer difficulty of evaluating arguments with respect to this position may mandate its rejection as a viable response to the human life-value questions.

2) A second example concerns the alleged harmful effects of air pollution on human life and health. The response to a stringent policy of pollution control through shutting down the offending plants might be that society values the products made by the plants more than they do the losses of life inflicted by the pollution that occurs as a result. In support of this proposition would be offered the present system of non-control as a reflection of that value judgement. In addition to the two options suggested above, the advocate might choose a third approach. He might suggest that the present structure exists, not because of any actual value judgements made by society, but because society is in effect ignorant of the connection between private product choice and harmful pollution. Such response might be very successful if augmented by public opinion polls or surveys.

#### *Quantity of Human Life as an Improper Statistic*

Apart from the theoretical questions of societal value raised previously, the quantity of human life associated with a particular public policy's effects entails various practical problems and difficulties. This growing emphasis on large impersonal numbers places a misguided and undesirable emphasis on mortality statistics with little practical utility. This difficulty is best illustrated by several problems in application:

1) There exists a point where quality of life becomes more important than quantity. If for example the United States chose to divert all labor and other resources from the service and nonessential fields of employment to those considered essential to survival (agriculture, health care, housing, etc.) the quantity of human life would certainly be spared some decrease. The sacrifice to be made in this example is in quality of life. We might regard these so-called "nonessential" fields as more important than a few more bodies. Without emphasis on the quality of life there is no art, music, or literature. The sacrifice to be made is unacceptable. Of what real value is a life spent merely to perpetuate itself? Samuel Butler commented that "All of the animals excepting man know that the principal business of life is to enjoy it."<sup>2</sup> Intercollegiate debate should not stress quantity of life to the exclusion of important aspects of its content.

2) There is a serious dichotomy confronting those who emphasize quantity of life in public policy decisions. It would be quite easy to have 50,000 lives a year more in the United States. It would not require a public commitment such as those recommended to cure cancer or eliminate pollu-

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Butler, *Notebooks* (1912).

tion. It could be accomplished by legislation requiring the mandatory use of fertility drugs by child-bearing couples. That this measure would be unacceptable is certain, and yet ostensibly it accomplishes the same goal. Besides the coercion element present, it is not at all clear in the abstract that we need 50,000 more lives in this country. Already there are the cries of those who speak of a "population crisis" and claims that the externalities imposed by additional members of society are on balance unacceptable. There is almost certainly no dearth of population in this country or in the world.

3) There exists finally the practical problem of decision making based upon these figures. Let us assume the hypothetical case that pollution can be controlled, saving 30,000 lives, but at the practical cost of eliminating certain social programs which save 15,000 lives. In a purely mathematical examination it would seem prudent to adopt the hypothetical program, but add the complicating assumptions that the victims of pollution are predominantly the elderly and those with respiratory ailments, while the social programs aid in the prevention of infant mortality. If we then evaluated these policies based upon the average number of *years* of life each would save it would be far better to reject the program, but how can we compare the value of a presently mature adult to an entire life's potential value? The answer is that such cost/benefit estimates are impossible to evaluate from any rational point of view.

#### *Conclusion*

This analysis suggests that great care be exercised in the use of life and death statistics with regard to public policy formulation. This is particularly applicable in the case of intercollegiate debate where a critic-judge is required to evaluate an alternative on a cost/benefit basis. Human life has no absolute value to be measured in the sanctity of objectivity. It is no better than an index of the quality of life in this regard. This is not to say that questions involving human life should not be introduced as a proper subject for debate. These questions shall, of course, continue to be among the most important and controversial public policy results at issue in society. This analysis simply decries a trend in collegiate debate toward dealing *exclusively* with these questions without regard to the difficult moral and practical considerations embodied in them.

## THE ACT OF WATERGATE

BERNARD L. BROCK

We were all participants in the drama as Watergate escalated from a caper, to an incident, to a scandal, to a conspiracy, and finally to political warfare. For over two years Watergate's pollution built, and at each stage of escalation guilt was assigned more directly to President Richard Nixon himself until the situation demanded impeachment as an act of purification. However, Nixon's resignation and eventual pardon made the victimage incomplete, precluding redemption. Watergate's pollution will continue to take its tragic toll of innocent victims until over a period of time it dissipates.

This paper will not attempt to describe the entire drama but will focus on Watergate as ACT. The paper will argue that ACT is central to Watergate, and as the other elements of Burke's pentad, scene, agent, agency, and purpose were related, as ratios, to the Watergate ACT the drama unfolded. It is important to note that the escalation of Watergate was a personal psychological process, so for some people the ACT escalated to political warfare immediately, while for others the ACT never escalated because they felt it was justified. To avoid either of these extreme positions this paper will chart the Watergate drama based upon the national psychological state as reflected in popular newspapers and magazines.

The drama began publicly when on June 17, 1972, five men were discovered with wire tapping equipment inside the Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington's Watergate complex. Democratic Party Chairman Larry O'Brien immediately accused the Republicans of "blatant political espionage."<sup>1</sup> Former Attorney General John Mitchell, Nixon's campaign manager, responded that "this was sheer demagogery."<sup>2</sup> President Nixon's spokesman, Press Secretary Ron Ziegler, played down the ACT with the statement that it was a "third-rate burglary attempt."<sup>3</sup>

The national media picked up the light tone of Ziegler's rhetoric as *Time* playfully reported on "The Bugs at the Watergate,"<sup>4</sup> and *Newsweek* entitled its article "Capers: Operation Watergate."<sup>5</sup> O'Brien had labeled Watergate "political espionage," while Ziegler considered the ACT a "third-rate burglary." Both articles identified with Ziegler's language as they described Watergate in a scene-act ratio in which the ACT was a "caper." *Time* highlighted its accidental discovery in its opening, "It was just a strip of masking tape, but it is fast stretching into the most provocative caper of 1972. . . ."<sup>6</sup> *Newsweek* treated it more as an event out of Mission Impossible, "They wore surgical gloves and carried walkie-talkies, a pair of cameras and electronic bugging devices."<sup>7</sup> Further, both magazines focused their discussion primarily on the scene resulting in a scenic label for the ACT—Water-

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<sup>1</sup> "The Bugs at the Watergate," *Time*, July 3, 1972, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>5</sup> "Capers: Operation Watergate," *Newsweek*, July 3, 1972, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Bugs at Watergate, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Capers, p. 18.

gate. This label influenced public thought later, when Watergate had escalated beyond this rather limited boundary because television newscasts always opened their coverage with a picture of the Watergate complex. This scenic label acted against enlarging the boundaries of the term.

Consistent with its label as caper, Watergate remained in the background while public attention was directed toward the national political conventions. But after the conventions, Watergate escalated to an "incident." The five Watergate intruders had been linked to two workers from the Committee for the Re-election of the President (CRP), Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy, who were also members of a White House surveillance team named "the plumbers." Further investigation revealed that CRP had given one of the Watergate five \$114,000.<sup>8</sup>

The media reflected the escalation resulting from the introduction of two significant agents by shifting their treatment to an agent-act ratio. The ACT had become an "incident" as *Time* talked about "Watergate, Cont."<sup>9</sup> "The Watergate Issue,"<sup>10</sup> and "The Watergate Roils On."<sup>11</sup> *Newsweek* in the article "The Spies Who Came in For the Heat" indicated that "the tangled affair has turned into the political hydra of the Presidential campaign."<sup>12</sup> They then developed Watergate as a profile of "Who's Who in the Watergate Affair" which included Charles Colson, Egil Krogh, G. Gordon Liddy, Kenneth Dahlberg, Manuel Daguerra, Bernard Barker, James McCord, Jr., Frank Sturgis, Eugene Martinex, and Virgilio Gonzales.<sup>13</sup> The addition of significant agents into the drama created pressure upon Watergate as originally scenically defined.

For months the seven indicted Watergate defendants stood silent amid rumors that they were only underlings in a much larger operation. Finally, in March 1973, James McCord revealed "that other persons besides those convicted had been involved. Perjury had been committed. . . and . . . political pressure had been applied to make the defendants plead guilty."<sup>14</sup> McCord blew the lid off Watergate, leading to a series of acts that constituted the next stage in the process of escalation—John Dean's testimony, the televised Senate Watergate Hearings, and the disclosure of the White House taping system. The public soon discovered that Watergate enveloped both Republican and governmental agencies—CRP, White House, FBI, CIA, and IRS. People began to wonder if any agency was untouched by Watergate.

The media now presented Watergate as a scandal in an agency-act ratio. In "Watergate: The Dam Bursts," *Newsweek* declared, "It was the most damaging scandal to befall the Presidency since Teapot Dome—and when it finally cracked open last week, the tremblors shook the government to its foundation."<sup>15</sup> The stress on agency was reinforced later when *Newsweek* added that "the CIA, the FBI, the Justice and State departments, even the Marine Corps were tarred by scandal."<sup>16</sup> The Watergate dam had

<sup>8</sup> "Watergate, Cont.," *Time*, August 3, 1972, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Time*, August 28, 1972, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> *Time*, September 11, 1972, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> *Newsweek*, September 18, 1972, p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> *Watergate: Chronology of a Crisis*, Congressional Quarterly (Washington, D.C., 1974), p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Newsweek*, April 30, 1973, p. 16.

<sup>16</sup> "And the Mess Goes On," *Newsweek*, May 21, 1973, p. 16.

truly broken, flooding the public's thinking to the point that they actually anticipated the next stage in escalation.

The escalation of Watergate to a conspiracy occurred in fits and starts. On October 20, 1973, the day Richard Nixon fired special prosecutor Archibald Cox over the President's refusal to release the White House tapes, mail flooded the Capitol demanding Nixon's impeachment. Recognizing the difficulty of his position, Nixon backed down by releasing the tapes and appointing a new special prosecutor, Leon Jaworski. The matter was not yet closed. Two tapes were missing and still another had an 18 minute gap. Each event increased the Watergate pressure until on March 2, 1974, seven former White House aides including Ehrlichman and Haldeman were indicted on 24 counts of conspiracy and obstruction of justice.

The rhetoric now treated the Watergate conspiracy in a purpose-act ratio. *Newsweek* highlighted "The Story of the Big Cover-Up." Then it detailed the mystical cover-up as an important purpose of the Nixon administration.

It began within hours after police discovered the original Watergate burglars crouched in the darkness of Democratic National Committee Headquarters—an arrogant cover-up plot elaborately conceived and pursued by some of the highest officials in the nation. And it was still going on . . . the grand jury's 50-page true bill was the starkest description yet of the most massive government conspiracy in the U.S. history.<sup>17</sup>

Another article emphasized how the ever increasing Watergate indictments pointed directly to the White House,

With the indictments of seven Nixon hands last week, a total of 35 men have been convicted or charged in the Watergate scandals. Of that number, seven were top corporate executives who have paid fines for making illegal contributions to the Committee for the Re-election of the President; the others, two of whom have been indicted twice, all had connections of some sort with the White House.<sup>18</sup>

The varied activities that were included under the Watergate umbrella seemed to grow out of the purpose of the White House in a purpose-act ratio pointing to the most far reaching governmental conspiracy.

Watergate still had one more step to escalate. Stewart Alsop in May, 1973, in his article "War, Not Politics" had identified, more than a year before the escalation occurred, Watergate's final stage. He said,

They seem to have been motivated by more complex emotions—by a certain self-righteousness, by fear, by a special kind of political-ideological hatred. . . . They were not practicing politics. They were making war, a special kind of war. The kind of war they were making has been made between nations for a long time now, and it is still being made. But this special kind of war has not before been made within a nation, certainly not within this nation.<sup>19</sup>

Watergate was not "politics as usual" but was domestic political warfare—the political ACT had become an end in itself. And in August, 1974, the nation discovered that President Nixon himself was the primary agent in the act. He finally released a tape from June 23, 1972, six days after the break-in

<sup>17</sup> *Newsweek*, March 11, 1974, p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> "The Scandals: A Growing Casualty Count," *Newsweek*, March 11, 1974, p. 22.

<sup>19</sup> *Newsweek*, May 14, 1973, p. 132.

where he discussed Hunt and said, "they should call the FBI in and (unintelligible) don't go any further into the cases period."<sup>20</sup> With this development the escalation was over because the act was both the beginning and the end—an act-act ratio existed. The newspapers simply reported the developments. In a matter of days Congress declared impeachment inevitable, Nixon resigned, and Gerald Ford became the new President.

Burke's pentad is an excellent tool for gaining insights into Richard Nixon's problem of Watergate and the public rhetoric which surrounded it. The ACT was always central—people wondered about the real nature of *what* was done and the *motive* for doing it. The rhetoric moved through all the related ratios, scene-act, agent-act, agency-act, and purpose-act until it arrived at act-act. These successive rhetorical stages served to give a rounded statement of the Watergate drama. The question that Watergate has raised in this researcher's mind is "To what extent do other rhetorical issues go through a similar series of ratios before sufficient understanding is gained to resolve them?"

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<sup>20</sup> "White House Text of Nixon's Talks with Haldeman," *Detroit Free Press*, August 6, 1974, p. 4A.

## CONSTITUTION

### DELTA SIGMA RHO-TAU KAPPA ALPHA Adopted December 27, 1974

#### ARTICLE I—NAME

The name of this society is Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha, derived from "Oratory, the key to power" and "Honor for merit."

#### ARTICLE II—PURPOSES, POWERS

*Section 1. Purposes.* This society is organized and operated exclusively for educational purposes, with no part of net earnings inuring to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual; no part of its activities is to carry on propaganda, or otherwise attempt to influence legislation; and the Society is not to participate in, or intervene in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office. The specific purposes are: (1) to promote interest in and to award suitable recognition for excellence in forensics and original speaking, and (2) to foster an appreciation of freedom of speech as a vital element of democracy.

*Section 2. Powers.* The Society may grant charters to colleges and universities meeting accreditation requirements of the Association of College Honor Societies for the establishment of campus chapters.

#### ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

A person may become a member by election while a resident undergraduate or after graduation through nomination and election as a member-at-large. Persons who were honorary members of Tau Kappa Alpha in 1963 remain as bona fide members of the Society.

*Section 2. Selection.* One may qualify for membership by fulfilling the following conditions:

- a. Participation as a student at a high level of excellence in at least two years of cocurricular audience speaking or contest speaking, including individual events supervised by the Faculty Sponsor of a campus chapter or by a qualified member of the speech staff. If the speaking activity was commenced in the senior year, one year of such participation shall suffice.
- b. Candidates will have completed at least three semesters or five quarters of college prior to initiation and will be ranked academically in the upper one-third of their class.
- c. Election of any member requires the recommendation of the Faculty Sponsor and a majority vote of the members of the campus chapter present and voting.
- d. No person will become a member until an official application form has been completed and sent to the National Secretary with all fees and until the Secretary has authorized initiation by the chapter.
- e. Persons who meet requirements for election to membership but are no longer resident undergraduates may be elected as members-at-large by recommendation of any active chapter and with approval of the National Council upon recommendation of the National Secretary.

*Section 3. Membership in other societies.* Membership in any other bona

fide society will not jeopardize a person's eligibility for membership in this Society.

*Section 4. Extension of chapter rights.* Campus chapters will extend all the rights and privileges of their own membership to resident persons elected and initiated by other campus chapters including members-at-large.

#### ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS

The officers of this Society will be: President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Editor, Trustee, and Historian.

#### ARTICLE V—NATIONAL COUNCIL

The National Council will consist of the officers of the Society, the President of the Student Council, the Regional Governors, the Chairpersons of Standing Committees, the immediate past President, and two Councilpersons-at-Large. The National Council will have the responsibility of conducting the business of the Society by correspondence and by meetings called by the President.

#### ARTICLE VI—BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The Board of Trustees will consist of the President, the Treasurer, and the Trustee, who will serve as Chairperson. The principal duties of the Board will relate to the administration of funds as outlined in the By-laws.

#### ARTICLE VII—MEETINGS

*Section 1. General membership.* An annual meeting of the membership will be held during the National Conference. This meeting will have advisory powers only.

*Section 2. National Council.* The National Council will meet annually in conjunction with the National Conference and will hold such additional meetings as the President deems necessary.

#### ARTICLE VIII—COMMITTEES

*Section 1. Standing committees.* There will be five standing committees: Standards, Research and Publication, National Conference, Alumni and Service Awards, and Speaker of the Year Award.

*Section 2. Special committees.* Special committees may be created at the discretion of the President or at the direction of the National Council.

#### ARTICLE IX—REGIONAL STRUCTURE

*Section 1. Organization.* All regions will be created by the National Council. Each region may establish its own procedures and programs consistent with the principles of the Society.

*Section 2. Officers.* Each Region will be under the directorship of a Governor elected by chapters composing the Region. Each Region will also elect a Lieutenant Governor. Both officers will be elected for two-year terms, with each chapter having but one vote. Should the office of Governor become vacant, the Lieutenant Governor will become Governor immediately, and a new Lieutenant Governor will be elected by the member chapters of the Region to serve the remainder of the term involved.

**Section 3. Duties.** Regional Governors will serve as chairpersons of regional organizations. They will encourage collective activity of the respective chapters, make annual written reports to the National President and to the National Council, and perform such other duties as are prescribed by the President or by the National Council. The Lieutenant Governor will assist the Governor as directed.

#### ARTICLE X—QUORUM

**Section 1. National Council.** Eight members will constitute a quorum.

**Section 2. Board of Trustees.** Two members will constitute a quorum.

#### ARTICLE XI—AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this Constitution may be initiated by the National Council or by petition of ten or more chapters. Amendments initiated by petition must be approved by a majority vote at a meeting of the National Council. Amendments initiated from within the Council must be approved by a two-third vote at a meeting of the National Council. Approved amendments will be submitted by the Secretary to all active chapters within thirty days after the Council meeting. Where there is less than a unanimous endorsement by the National Council, the amendment will be accompanied by a brief summary of arguments pro and con. Chapters must vote within forty-five days. The amendment will become effective immediately upon ratification by two-thirds of the chapters voting. The Secretary will publish the results in the next issue of *Speaker and Gavel*.

#### ARTICLE XII—PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

The latest edition of Robert's *Rules of Order* will be the authority for all parliamentary situations not covered by rules stated elsewhere in this document.

#### BY-LAWS

##### ARTICLE I—OFFICERS

**Section 1. Election and term of office.** The President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer will be elected for two-year terms by a majority vote of the chapters voting. Each chapter will have but one vote. The Editor, the Trustee, and the Historian will be appointed by the President with the approval of the National Council and shall serve three-year terms. These terms of office will be staggered so that a new Editor will be selected in 1975 and every three years thereafter, a new Historian in 1976 and every three years thereafter, and a new Trustee in 1977 and every three years thereafter.

**Section 2. Duties.**

- a. **The President.** The President will preside over meetings of the National Council; appoint standing committee members with the consent of the National Council; and sign charters, certificates of membership, and other official documents issued by the Society. He will plan Council programs and report annually to that body. The President will also preside over meetings of the general membership.
- b. **The Vice-President.** The Vice-President will succeed to the Presidency should that office become vacant and serve the unexpired term. He (she) will serve as Chairperson of the Standards Committee and perform such other duties as assigned by the President or by the National Council.

- c. *The Secretary.* The Secretary will be in charge of the National Office, keep all official records of the Society, and maintain correspondence with Chapter Sponsors. He (she) will authorize all initiations to membership, receive orders for keys or insignia, issue and sign certificates of membership, and collect all fees and make proper accounting to the Treasurer.
- d. *The Treasurer.* The Treasurer will have custody of all monies of the Society. He (she) will receive and disburse all funds at the direction of the National Council and the Board of Trustees. The officer will render an annual financial report and present a proposed budget for the approval of the National Council. All accounts will be audited yearly. The officer will be bonded at the Society's expense in an amount no less than five thousand dollars.
- e. *The Trustee.* The Trustee will be the senior financial advisor and shall serve as Chairperson of the Board of Trustees.
- f. *The Editor.* The Editor will be responsible for the publication of the *Speaker and Gavel*, official organ of the Society.
- g. *The Historian.* The Historian will maintain all historical records of the Society and shall be in charge of the Archives.

*Section 3. The Student Council.* The National Student Council consists of all student members of the Society. The National Student Council will meet annually at the National Conference. Every chapter may send delegates to the National Student Council meeting, and each chapter will have one vote in all matters.

## ARTICLE II—COMMITTEES

*Section 1. Standards.* This committee will consist of two members appointed for a two-year term and the National Vice-President who will serve as Chairperson. This committee will formulate and recommend to the National Council standards for granting and maintaining chapters. The committee will also act upon requests for chapters and shall periodically determine satisfactory maintenance of chapter standards. In cases of suggested action, the Committee will report in writing to the National Council.

*Section 2. Research and Publication.* This committee will consist of three members appointed by the President for a term of two years. This committee will make recommendations related to research and/or publications to be undertaken in the name of the Society and supervise enterprises as directed by the National Council.

*Section 3. National Conference.* The National Conference Committee will consist of four members appointed by the President for a two-year term. The Committee will be responsible for recommending the time and place of the National Conference to the National Council, will plan and supervise activities of the Conference, and appoint annually a National Tournament Director. The National Tournament Director and the national student President will serve as an ex-officio member without vote on the National Conference Committee for one year.

*Section 4. Alumni and Service Awards.* This committee will consist of five members appointed for a two-year term. The committee will select persons for the Distinguished Alumni and Service Awards. The Committee will secure nominations from the chapters of distinguished alumni who exemplify in professional life the ideals of the Society, investigate merits of nominees,

select those for recognition, prepare an appropriate citation for each recipient, and carry out such other responsibilities as may be involved in implementing provisions for the distinguished alumni awards. Similarly, the committee will secure nominations from the chapters of persons who have provided dedicated service to the Society and to the field of forensics, investigate merits of nominees, select those for recognition, prepare an appropriate citation for each recipient, and carry out such other responsibilities as may be involved in implementing provisions for the service awards.

*Section 5. Speaker of the Year Awards.* This committee will consist of at least fifteen and not more than twenty members, geographically distributed, who will serve for a term of two years. The committee will be charged with the selection of the Speaker of the Year in accordance with the rules approved by the National Council.

### ARTICLE III—ELECTIONS

*Section 1. Nominations.* The President will, a year in advance of the elections, appoint a nominations committee, consisting of three members of the National Council and two chapter sponsors who are not members of the Council. After soliciting nominations from the chapters, the Nominations Committee will prepare a list of two nominees for each office and report its selections to the National Council for approval or additions. The nominees for Councilpersons-at-Large will not have served on the previous National Council in any capacity.

*Section 2. Election Procedures.* The President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer will be elected for two-year terms by a majority vote of the chapters voting. If there are more than two candidates for an office, a preferential ballot will be utilized. Each chapter will have but one vote. All elected officers will assume office July 1 following the election. Balloting will be conducted by mail, with the ballots sent from the Secretary at least thirty days prior to the National Conference. To be counted, ballots must reach the Secretary no later than the first full day of the National Conference. The new officers will be announced at the Conference Banquet and in the *Speaker and Gavel*.

### ARTICLE IV—REGIONAL OPERATIONS

*Section 1. Elections.* Elections will be via mail ballot following written nominations from the respective chapters. The Regional Governor will place the names of the two top nominees on a ballot to be mailed to each chapter in the region. In the event of a tie among three or more nominees, all candidates involved will appear on the ballot. In the event of a tie when two names are on the ballot a second ballot will be circulated.

*Section 2. Creating new region.* In the event the National Council creates a new region, the National Council will appoint a Regional Governor Pro-Tem to conduct an election in accordance with provisions in Section 1 of this article.

### ARTICLE V—CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

*Section 1. Granting of charters.* The Society may grant charters to colleges and universities which meet accreditation requirements of the Association of College Honor Societies.

*Section 2. Chapter Organization.* Campus chapters will be composed of duly elected and initiated students and faculty who meet requirements prescribed by the Society. Campus chapters will be listed in the roster of chapters only by the name of the institution wherein they are situated.

- a. Each chapter must have a Faculty Sponsor experienced in forensics or original speaking. The chapter officers will consist of a President, a Secretary, and such others as desired by the chapter.
- b. Each chapter will have power to adopt its own name, constitution, and by-laws, consistent with the principles of the Society. Two copies of the chapter constitution and by-laws must be filed with the National Secretary, and no provision therein will become effective prior to such filing and acceptance by the National Secretary.

*Section 3. Establishment of a chapter.* Upon receipt of an inquiry from a non-affiliated institution, the National Vice-President as Chairperson of the Standards Committee will acknowledge the inquiry in writing, with the understanding that this does not commit the Society to ultimate acceptance of the request. The Secretary will then forward a copy of the National Constitution, a copy of the History of the Society, and necessary informational forms. These forms will deal with basic facts about the petitioning institution, such as: student enrollment, names and qualifications of the speech faculty, name of the proposed Faculty Sponsor, a list of potential chapter members with their qualifications, list of speech courses, details pertaining to extracurricular speech activities, recent forensic budgets, a history of forensic activities, nature of present accreditation, and copies of the school catalog (or bulletins) describing the status of the institution. The completed forms should be accompanied by a written endorsement by the President of the institution. The petition will then be sent by the Chairperson of the Standards Committee to the Regional Governor, who will return it with appropriate comments. If the Standards Committee approves the petition it will be sent to the National Council where a majority vote shall be necessary for final approval. Upon payment of a charter fee determined by the National Council and submission of proper membership applications and fees, the Secretary will issue the charter, and the chapter installation may proceed. The chapter will be installed by the National President, or by a member of the National Council, or by a person authorized by the National President.

*Section 4. Status of an active chapter.* The following conditions are necessary for a chapter to remain on the active list:

- a. The local institution must maintain an active speech program consisting of at least two one-term courses in public speaking, discussion, debate, or some related field, and an extracurricular program in forensics or speakers' bureau under the supervision of a member of the forensics staff or of the Faculty Sponsor.
- b. The local chapter must be recognized and approved by the chairperson of the sponsoring department and by the institution's administration.
- c. The institution must continue to meet accreditation requirements of the Association of College Honor Societies.
- d. Except during period of national emergency, the chapter must elect and initiate at least two persons every three years.

e. The National Council may by two-thirds vote establish additional standards for retaining active status.

*Section 5. Inactive status.* In case the qualifications for an active chapter are not adhered to, upon recommendation of the Standards Committee and a majority vote of the National Council, the chapter shall be declared inactive and shall be removed from the active chapter rolls until:

- a. The administration of the institution indicates a desire to reactivate the chapter.
- b. The institution furnishes evidence that it sponsors a curricular and an extracurricular speech program which meets standards set by the Society for an active chapter.
- c. A responsible and qualified member of the faculty is named to sponsor the campus chapter.
- d. A reactivation fee is paid.

*Section 6. Withdrawal of a charter.* A chapter may have its charter withdrawn upon the request of the President of the institution to which it was granted or by a two-thirds vote of the National Council. The National Council will consider a vote for withdrawal of a charter when a chapter has been in an inactive status for more than five years or when a chapter pursues policies in conflict with the purposes of the Society.

#### ARTICLE VI—FINANCES

*Section 1. Revenues.* Revenues will consist of charter fees, initiation fees, income from invested capital, royalties, gifts, and assessments. Assessments may be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the National Council. All revenues will be received by the Treasurer and deposited as approved by the Board of Trustees.

*Section 2. Disbursements.* All disbursements will be handled by the Treasurer who will submit a detailed report of all finances to the National Council at least once each year.

*Section 3. Accumulated funds.* Monies accumulated in the Trust Fund, and any that may be added, will be maintained intact.

*Section 4. Funds for dissolution.* In event of dissolution of the Society, the last elected National Council will appoint a committee of five members to administer remaining funds, which will be distributed under the direction of the committee to colleges and universities in the United States for the purpose of providing undergraduate and graduate scholarships in speech.

#### ARTICLE VII—AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended at any regular meeting of the National Council by a two-thirds vote of those present, providing written notice of intent to amend was received by all Council members at least thirty days prior to the meeting.

## NATIONAL COUNCIL MINUTES, DECEMBER 1974

DSR-TKA National Council  
Chicago, Illinois, December 27, 1974

Present for all or part of the meeting: Cripe, Walwik, Schnoor, Go, Weiss, Kovalcheck, Moorhouse, Ziegelmueller, Cook, Clark, Callaway, Morello, McConkey, Ewbank, Andersen, McBath, Zarefsky.

*Report of the President, N. M. Cripe.*

DSR-TKA people played an important role in the Sedalia Conference. One specific result was improved communication between SCA and DSR-TKA, PKD, AFA, etc.

The Judge Rich Forensics Library housed at Butler University continues to be developed.

The President represented the society at the installation of the chapter at Slippery Rock State College in October.

*Report of the Secretary, Theodore Walwik.*

The vote recorded on the revised constitution was forty-six for, one against. Therefore, the revised constitution is approved and in force.

The Secretary represented the society at the installation of the chapter at East Tennessee State University in May.

Motion: Ewbank-Moorhouse. Approve the minutes of March, 1974, National Council meeting. *Approved.*

*Report of the Treasurer, Robert B. Huber.*

Report appended.

Motion: Huber-McConkey. Adopt the Treasurer's report. *Approved.*

*Report of the Editor, Robert Weiss.*

The cover format has been changed. Issues are now designated Fall, Winter, Spring, and Summer. Printing costs are up precipitously.

*Report of the Historian, H. T. Ross (in absentia).*

An appendix updating the history is being prepared.

*Report of the Student President, Mae Jean Go.*

Student Speaker of the Year nominations will be accepted until March 1, 1975.

*Reports from Regional Governors.*

- I. John Lynch
- II. James Hall
- III. John Morello
- VII. Mel Moorhouse
- VIII. Larry Schnoor
- IX. Wayne Callaway

*Report of ACHS Representative, Henry Ewbank.*

Motion: Ewbank-McConkey. Expenses of the ACHS representative to be underwritten up to \$250 for attendance at the Williamsburg conference. *Approved.*

*Report of the Debate Proposition Committee Representative, David Zarefsky.*

Zarefsky is serving as chairman of the committee.

Motion: Zarefsky-Ziegelmueller. Instruct the representative to change committee procedures to enable the committee to include a statement of substantive parameters of the propositions submitted for vote. *Approved.*

*The Constitutional Revision Committee, Gifford Blyton, Chairman, is dismissed with appreciation.*

*Report of the Distinguished Alumni Committee, Cully Clark.*

A mailing soliciting nominations will go out January 3, 1975.

*Report of the Chairman of the National Conference Committee, Ken Andersen.*

The survey concerning the national conference has been completed.

Motion: Ziegelmueller-Hall. The National Conference Committee should plan for three Individual Event rounds (plus a final round) and include at least one interp event. *Approved.*

Meeting adjourned.

**DSR-TKA National Council****Second Session, December 28, 1974**

Present for all or part of the meeting: Cripe, Walwik, Sanders, Kovalcheck, Blyton, Hall, Go, Morello, Cook, Clark, Weiss, McConkey, Moorhouse, Conklin, Huber, Ziegelmueller, Ewbank.

*Report of the Chairman of the Nominating Committee, Gerald Sanders.*

The committee proposes:

President.....	Ken Andersen, University of Illinois George Ziegelmueller, Wayne State University
Vice-President.....	Norma Cook, University of Tennessee David Zarefsky, Northwestern University
Secretary.....	Raymond Beard, SUNY-Cortland Bertram Gross, University of Georgia
Treasurer.....	Jack Howe, California State at Long Beach Thomas Kane, University of Pittsburgh
Councilpersons at Large ...	J. Robert Cox, University of North Carolina Ronald J. Matlon, University of Massachusetts Bettie Hudgens, Spring Hill College William Reynolds, George Washington University

Motion: Sanders-McConkey. Accept the slate. *Approved.*

No nominations were received from the floor.

*Report of the Chairman of the Standards Committee, R. F. Conklin.*

Several schools have expressed interest in charters.

*New Business*

Motion: Huber-Moorhouse. Grant the request of Balfour to supply the remaining gold keys before switching to Bal Clad. *Approved.*

Meeting adjourned.

## Chapters and Sponsors

Note: DSR-TKA chapters are listed below in the regions to which they belong. Please notify the regional governors of any errors in the list. Chapter sponsors and forensics directors are named for each school. Unless otherwise indicated, the individual named serves both functions.

### REGION I

**Governor: Richard Roth, Rhode Island**

Chapter and Address	Chapter Sponsor and Forensics Director
Bates, Lewiston, ME	Robert Branham
Bridgeport, Bridgeport, CT	Jerry L. Allen (Sp.)
Brown, Providence, RI	Barbara Tannenbaum (Sp.)
Connecticut, Storrs, CT	Joseph Seacrist (Sp.)
Dartmouth, Hanover, NH	Herbert L. James
Emerson, Boston, MA	John C. Zacharis
Hartford, Hartford, CT	Joyce Milliken (Sp.); Roger Sherman (Dir.)
Massachusetts, Amherst, MA	Ronald J. Matlon
New Hampshire, Durham, NH	W. L. Sims
Rhode Island, Kingston, RI	Richard W. Roth
St. Anselm's, Manchester, NH	John A. Lynch
Vermont, Burlington, VT	Robert Huber
Wesleyan, Middletown, CT	James Fuller
Yale, New Haven, CT	Rollin O. Osterweis

### REGION II

**Governor: James J. Hall, St. John's University, Jamaica, NY**

Brooklyn, Brooklyn, NY	Charles E. Parkhurst
Bucknell, Lewisburg, PA	Frank W. Merritt (Sp.)
Carlow, Pittsburgh, PA	Thomas Hopkins (Sp.); Richard L. Schoen (Dir.)
Colgate, Hamilton, NY	H. G. Behler (Sp.)
Cornell, Ithaca, NY	Arthur W. Rovine (Sp.)
C. W. Post College of Long Island U., Greenvale, NY	Arthur N. Kruger (Sp.)
Dickinson, Carlisle, PA	David Brubaker (Sp.)
Elizabethtown, Elizabethtown, PA	Jobie E. Riley
Hamilton, Clinton, NY	Warren E. Wright (Sp.)
Kings, Wilkes Barre, PA	Robert E. Connelly
Lehigh, Bethlehem, PA	John A. Schnaible (Sp.)
New York U., New York, NY	David Leahy, (Sp.)
Pace, New York, NY	Frank Colburn
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA	Stephen Miller
Pennsylvania State, University Park, PA	Jeanne Lutz
Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA	Thomas Kane
Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, NY	Joseph Fitzpatrick (Sp.)
Rutgers, New Brunswick, NJ	H. James Godwin
St. John's, Jamaica, NY	James Hall
St. Lawrence, Canton, NY	Joan Donovan
Scranton, Scranton, PA	Edward F. Warner
Slippery Rock State, Slippery Rock, PA	Theodore Walwick (Sp.); Charles Willard (Dir.)
SUNY at Albany, Albany, NY	Richard W. Wilkie (Sp.)
SUNY, Harpur College, Binghamton, NY	Eugene Vasilew (Sp.)
SUNY College, Cortland, NY	Raymond S. Beard

Chapter and Address	Chapter Sponsor and Forensics Director
Susquehanna, Selinsgrove, PA .....	Larry D. Augustine
Syracuse, Syracuse, NY .....	Alice Cummings (Sp.); Fred Agnir (Dir.)
Temple, Philadelphia, PA .....	Ralph Towne
Ursinus, Collegeville, PA .....	
Washington and Jefferson, Washington, PA .....	James G. Greenwood
Westminster, New Wilmington, PA .....	Walter E. Scheid
Yeshiva, New York, NY .....	David Fleisher

**Region III****Governor: John Morello, Madison College**

American, Washington, DC .....	Jerome B. Polisky (Sp.); N. Scott Sacks (Dir.)
Bridgewater, Bridgewater, VA .....	Dale Mekeel
Emory and Henry, Emory, VA .....	
Delaware, Newark, DE .....	Judith Runkle
Fairmont State, Fairmont, WV .....	Mike Overking
George Washington, Washington, DC .....	William Reynolds (Dir.)
Hampden-Sydney, Hampden-Sydney, VA .....	John L. Brinkley
Hampton Institute, Hampton, VA .....	
Howard, Washington, DC .....	Noel Myrick (Sp.)
Loyola, Baltimore, MD .....	L. Morgan Lavin (Sp.)
Madison, Harrisonburg, VA .....	Donald McConkey (Sp.); John Morello (Dir.)
Maryland, College Park, MD .....	Nora Nagatini
Morgan State, Baltimore, MD .....	
Randolph-Macon, Ashland, VA .....	Ritchie Watson
Richmond, Richmond, VA .....	Max Graebner (Sp.); Kenneth Newton (Dir.)
Roanoke, Roanoke, VA .....	William R. Coulter
U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD .....	Phillip Warken
Virginia, Charlottesville, VA .....	Craig Smith
Virginia Polytechnic, Blacksburg, VA .....	
Washington and Lee, Lexington, VA .....	Halford R. Ryan
West Virginia, Morgantown, WV .....	James McCroskey (Sp.); Mike Schultz (Dir.)
William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA .....	Patrick Micken

**REGION IV****Governor: Joseph B. Wetherby, Duke University**

Alabama, University, AL .....	Annabel D. Hagood
Auburn, Auburn, AL .....	Bert Bradley (Sp.); John Stone (Dir.)
Berea, Berea, KY .....	Margaret D. McCoy (Sp.)
Birmingham-Southern, Birmingham, AL .....	Robert A. Dayton (Sp.)
Clemson, Clemson, SC .....	Harold L. Goodall, Jr.
Davidson, Davidson, NC .....	Jean Cornell
Duke, Durham, NC .....	Joseph B. Wetherby
East Tennessee, Johnson City, TN .....	Richard Dean
Eastern Kentucky, Richmond, KY .....	Max B. Huss
Emory, Atlanta, GA .....	Melissa Maxey
Florida, Gainesville, FL .....	Donald E. Williams (Sp.)
Florida State, Tallahassee, FL .....	Greg Phifer (Sp.); Marilyn Young (Dir.)
Georgia, Athens, GA .....	Berthram W. Gross
Kentucky, Lexington, KY .....	J. W. Patterson
Lincoln Memorial, Harrogate, TN .....	Earl H. Smith (Sp.)
Memphis State, Memphis, TN .....	Erma Clanton (Sp.)
Mercer, Macon, GA .....	John B. Tracy
Miami, Coral Gables, FL .....	Fraser White (Sp.); Bunny Gillen (Dir.)

Chapter and Address	Chapter Sponsor and Forensics Director
Murray State, Murray, KY .....	Ray Carter
North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC .....	J. Robert Cox
North Carolina-Greensboro, Greensboro, NC .....	L. Dean Fadely
Rollins, Winter Park, FL .....	Dean F. Graunke
Samford, Birmingham, AL .....	Fred McLean
South Alabama, Mobile, AL .....	
South Carolina, Columbia, SC .....	
Spring Hill, Mobile, AL .....	Bettie Hudgens
Tampa, Tampa, FL .....	Hugh Fellows
Tennessee, Knoxville, TN .....	Norma C. Cook
Valdosta State, Valdosta, GA .....	Woodrow W. Leake, Jr.
Vanderbilt, Nashville, TN .....	Kassian Kovalcheck
Wake Forest, Winston-Salem, NC .....	A. Tennyson Williams
Western Kentucky, Bowling Green, KY .....	William L. Davis

**REGION V**

**Governor: Robert Friedenberg, Miami University**

Albion, Albion, MI .....	Al Moore
Alma, Alma, MI .....	Kenneth Plaxton (Sp.); Barry McCauliff (Dir.)
Ball State, Muncie, IN .....	James Benson
Butler, Indianapolis, IN .....	Nicholas M. Cripe
Capital, Columbus, OH .....	Harold Lawson
Case-Western Reserve, Cleveland, OH .....	
Chicago, Chicago, IL .....	Charles D. O'Connell (Sp.); Joseph A. Morris (Dir.)
Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH .....	Francis M. Kunkler
Denison, Granville, OH .....	William A. Dresser
DePauw, Greencastle, IN .....	Robert O. Weiss
Hanover, Hanover, IN .....	Stanley Wheater (Sp.); Lloyd Rohler (Dir.)
Hiram, Hiram, OH .....	Linda Pierce (Sp.)
Illinois, Urbana, IL .....	Kenneth Andersen (Sp.); Kurt Ritter (Dir.)
Indiana, Bloomington, IN .....	Eugene Chenoweth (Sp.); Roy Gentry (Dir.)
Indiana State, Terre Haute, IN .....	John Bernard
John Carroll, Cleveland, OH .....	Austin J. Freeley
Knox, Galesburg, IL .....	Robert Seibert (Sp.)
Loyola, Chicago, IL .....	Elaine Bruggemeier
Manchester, North Manchester, IN .....	Ronald Aungst
Miami, Oxford, OH .....	Robert Friedenberg (Sp.); Gary Owen Turner (Dir.)
Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI .....	C. William Colburn
Michigan State, East Lansing, MI .....	Donald Cushman
Muskingum, New Concord, OH .....	Judson D. Ellertson
Northwestern, Evanston, IL .....	David Zarefsky
Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN .....	John Borkowski (Dir.)
Oberlin, Oberlin, OH .....	Daniel Goulding (Sp.); Joni R. Freedman (Dir.)
Ohio, Athens, OH .....	Raymond Beaty (Sp.); Ted Foster (Dir.)
Ohio State, Columbus, OH .....	Jerry Roemisch
Ohio Wesleyan, Delaware, OH .....	Edward Robinson
Purdue, Lafayette, IN .....	Henry L. Ewbank
Toledo, Toledo, OH .....	James Godbey (Dir.)
Wabash, Crawfordsville, IN .....	Joseph O'Rourke (Sp.); James Flynn (Dir.)
Wayne State, Detroit, MI .....	George Ziegelmueller (Sp.); James Klumpp (Dir.)
Western Michigan, Kalamazoo, MI .....	Deldee Herman (Sp.); Chester Hunt (Dir.)
Wittenberg, Springfield, OH .....	Ernest Dayka
Wooster, Wooster, OH .....	Gerald H. Sanders
Xavier, Cincinnati, OH .....	William A. Jones

**Region VI**

**Governor: Vernon McGuire, Texas Tech University**

Chapter and Address	Chapter Sponsor and Forensics Director
Louisiana State, Baton Rouge, LA .....	Harold Mixon
Oklahoma, Norman, OK .....	Paul Barefield
Southern Methodist, Dallas, TX .....	Richard Sinzinger
Texas, Austin, TX .....	
Texas Tech, Lubbock, TX .....	Vernon R. McGuire
Tulane, New Orleans, LA .....	Pamela Jackson

**REGION VII**

**Governor: Mel Moorhouse, Wichita State University**

Cornell College, Cornell, IA .....	Walter F. Stromer
Creighton, Omaha, NB .....	Fr. Marion Sitzmann
Grinnell, Grinnell, IA .....	William Vanderpool
Iowa State, Ames, IA .....	James Weaver
Iowa, Iowa City, IA .....	Robert Kemp
Kansas, Lawrence, KS .....	Donn W. Parson
Kansas State, Manhattan, KS .....	Vernon Barnes
Missouri, Columbia, MO .....	James Gibson (Sp.); Karen Chapman (Dir.)
Nebraska, Lincoln, NB .....	Jackson Harrell
Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, IA .....	Forrest Conklin
Southwest Missouri, Springfield, MO .....	Donal Stanton
Washington, St. Louis, MO .....	Herbert E. Metz (Sp.)
Wichita State, Wichita, KS .....	Melvin Moorhouse (Sp.); Don Swender (Dir.)

**REGION VIII**

**Governor: Larry Schnoor, Mankato State College**

Mankato, Mankato, MN .....	Larry Schnoor
Marquette, Milwaukee, WI .....	Michael Wittig
Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN .....	Steve Mudd
North Dakota, Grand Forks, ND .....	
St. Cloud State, St. Cloud, MN .....	Don Sikkink (Sp.)
South Dakota, Vermillion, SD .....	W. H. Bennett
Wisconsin, Madison, WI .....	Winston Brembeck (Sp.)
Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI .....	Ruth McGaffey

**REGION IX**

**Governor: Wayne Callaway, University of Wyoming**

Brigham Young, Provo, UT .....	Jed Richardson
Colorado, Boulder, CO .....	Robley Rhine
Colorado College, Colorado Springs, CO .....	James A. Johnson
Denver, Denver, CO .....	Paul Hunsinger (Sp.)
New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM .....	Sandra L. Corless
New Mexico Highlands, Las Vegas, NM .....	Walter F. Brunet
Utah, Salt Lake City, UT .....	Jack Rhodes
Utah State, Logan, UT .....	Rex E. Robinson (Sp.); Bonnie Spillman (Dir.)
Weber State, Ogden, UT .....	John Hebestreet
Wyoming, Laramie, WY .....	B. Wayne Callaway

**REGION X**

**Governor: John DeBross, University of Southern California**

Chapter and Address	Chapter Sponsor and Forensics Director
California State, Long Beach, CA	Jack Howe
California State, San Francisco, CA	Harry McGuckin (Sp.); John Gay (Dir.)
Hawaii, Honolulu, HA	Donald Klopf (Sp.); Dean Ellis (Dir.)
Idaho, Moscow, ID	Albert Whitehead (Sp.)
Nevada, Reno, NV	Gordon Zimmerman
Occidental, Los Angeles, CA	Gage Chapel
Oregon, Eugene, OR	Gary Cross
Oregon State, Eugene, OR	Thurston Doler (Sp.)
Pacific, Forest Grove, OR	Albert Hingston (Sp.); Lynn Enghdall (Dir.)
University of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA	James Dempsey
University of California, Santa Barbara, CA	James Marteney
Southern California, Los Angeles, CA	John DeBross and James McBath (Sp.); John DeBross (Dir.)
Stanford, Palo Alto, CA	Gary Roberts
Washington, Seattle, WA	Donald Douglas
Washington State, Pullman, WA	Janice Miller
Whittier, Whittier, CA	Gerald Paul
Willamette, Willamette, OR	Howard Runkel

**SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION**

The Delta Sigma Rho–Tau Kappa Alpha National Council has established a standard subscription rate of \$5.00 per year for *Speaker and Gavel*.

Present policy provides that new members, upon election, are provided with two years of *Speaker and Gavel* free of charge. Life members, furthermore, who have paid a Life Patron alumni membership fee of \$100, likewise regularly receive *Speaker and Gavel*. Also receiving each issue are the current chapter sponsors and the libraries of institutions holding a charter in the organization.

Other individuals and libraries are welcome to subscribe to *Speaker and Gavel*. Subscription orders should be sent to Allen Press, P. O. Box 368, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

**TO SPONSORS AND MEMBERS**

Please send all communications relating to initiation, certificates of membership, key orders, and names of members to the National Secretary. All requests for authority to initiate and for emblems should be sent to the National Secretary and should be accompanied by check or money order. Inasmuch as all checks and money orders are forwarded by the Secretary to the National Treasurer, please make them to: "The Treasurer of Delta Sigma Rho–Tau Kappa Alpha."

The membership fee is \$10.00. The official key of 10K (size shown in cut on this page) is \$10.50, or the official keypin of 10K is \$11.75. A lapel button is available for \$7.00. **Prices include**

**Federal Tax.** Individual key orders add 50c.

The names of new members, those elected between September of one year and September of the following year, appear in the November issue of *SPEAKER* and *GAVEL*. According to present regulations of the society, new members receive *SPEAKER* and *GAVEL* for two years following their initiation if they return the record form supplied them at the time their application is approved by the Executive Secretary and certified to the sponsor. Following this time all members who wish to receive *SPEAKER* and *GAVEL* may subscribe at the standard rate of \$5.00 per year.



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