Pi Kappa Delta

ΚΑΛΗ ΔΙΚΑΙΑ
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Convention and Tournament

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Thirtieth National Convention
Seattle, Washington
March 18-22, 1977

The FORENSIC of Pi Kappa Delta

The FORENSIC of Pi Kappa Delta

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The President's Message ... Evan Ulrey

A NEW PROPOSAL, A NEW CHALLENGE

Is there a *raison d'etre* for Pi Kappa Delta? If so, what is it? If there is a philosophical forensic umbrella under which all Pi Kappa Deltans can comfortably gather, how can it be described? Perhaps only the foolhardy would attempt an answer to these questions. Yet, we may need to risk "becoming fools that we may be wise," if the largest of the forensic fraternities is to have the impact on the forensic community that it can correctly be expected to have. In an effort to come to grips with some of these problems, the National Council at the Seattle Convention created a "task force" whose responsibility in the coming months will be to reexamine the traditions, to evaluate forensic trends and goals, and to articulate what may emerge in published form under the aegis of Pi Kappa Delta as our *raison d'etre*.

The task force will be directed by the new president and Council. But already the "tasks" have been broken down into three areas for research: 1) philosophy, 2) function, and 3) structure. Those concerned with the area of philosophy will investigate such topics as the goals of Pi Kappa Delta, its historical perspectives, current forensic trends, the size and nature of forensic programs, membership demographics, and contest events. In the area of function, the investigation will concentrate on implementing philosophical concepts and the relationship Pi Kappa Delta should sustain to the academic, forensic, and at-large communities. The area concerned with structure will investigate organization, communication, and finances on the local, provincial, and national levels.

It is the hope and expectation of the national officers that the best talent of Pi Kappa Delta will be utilized to complete this ambitious project. We hope you will think constructively and critically about such aspects of the proposal that interest you most and be prepared to assist in the completion of the study. No doubt any Council member will be receptive to your suggestions relative to the three areas for investigation.
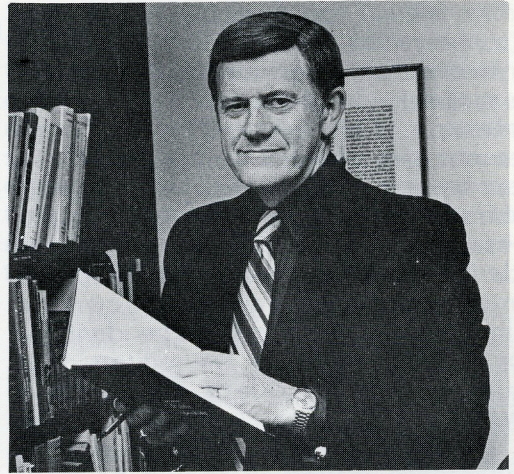
We all are aware of the fact that there is a great variety of thinking in Pi Kappa Delta about almost every aspect of forensics. Through examining our philosophy, our function, and our structure, Pi Kappa Delta should be able to increase its usefulness to its membership and to the forensic community at-large.

It is the hope of the task force that Pi Kappa Delta can utilize this means to help us to know more about who we are, what we stand for educationally and forensically, and to learn better how to plan more intelligently for the future of the fraternity.

As I conclude my term in office as national president, I am convinced that there are vast resources in the fraternity that can be better utilized for the meaningful growth of Pi Kappa Delta. I am continually impressed with the great good will that prevails among us. It has been a happy experience to work with you as your president. I thank you for the opportunity. I pledge my cooperation with the new officers and National Council in their future efforts to promote the best interests of Pi Kappa Delta.

The Army of Invisible Men: Ghostwriting for Congressmen and Congressional Candidates

Robert V. Friedenberg

In one major respect this article violates a cardinal rule of ghostwriting. It brings attention to the ghost. The ghostwriter cannot seek attention. Unlike a child who can be seen, if not heard, the ghostwriter should neither be seen nor heard. However, since the audience for this article is limited to a specialized group with interests presumably akin to ghostwriting, since no specific clients will be identified by name, and since the editors have suggested an "insider's approach," I write.

Nevertheless, prior to treating more substantive matters, it should be made clear that the outstanding speaker, debater, or coach who seeks fame and fortune as a ghostwriter has a serious misconception of the job. Though some clients do not demand standards of silence, and some ghostwriters do become well-known, they are the rare generals in an army of invisible men. Ghosts who seek attention most often receive it from clerks at the unemployment office. If there is any prerequisite to ghostwriting for political figures, I suggest that it is a willingness to sublimate one's self to the figure for whom one works.

Individuals who write for Congressional candidates and for Congressmen are drawn from many walks of life and from virtually every academic discipline. Nearly all of them have a sound general education, pay particular attention to current events, and are widely read, often in literature as well as politics. Debate training provides exceptional preparation for Congressional ghostwriting.

In addition to the aforementioned qualities, which ideally are shared by well-educated members of many occupations, the individual who serves as a ghostwriter for either a Congressional candidate or an incumbent Congressman must develop at least three other types of knowledge.

Knowledge Of The Candidate And His Values

First, the ghostwriter must know the candidate.[1] This statement is obvious, but it cannot be overemphasized. Anyone can read a list of the candidate's positions on issues and memorize them. That, however, is not knowing the candidate. The ghostwriter should know the candidate so well that he literally thinks like the candidate. Two examples will illustrate the point.

I first ghosted for an incumbent Congressman who represented a district in which the largest cities had populations of 80,000 and 55,000. However, because he was anticipating a statewide race, and his was a major urban state, I was asked to prepare speeches and background papers on proposals that involved urban problems. After several brief meetings, we spent an entire afternoon discussing these issues. I left that meeting with a clear understanding of his position on several of the current administration's major proposals. I left with a clear understanding of some of the reasons he maintained his positions. I left with a clear understanding of what proposals he felt ill-prepared to vote upon or speak upon. However, all of this information proved to be of secondary importance.

The most important fact I had learned in our conversation that afternoon was that this Congressman was skeptical of untested programs. He invariably favored programs which had been successfully tested, even on a limited scope or in prototype. His value system, I discovered, was such that he continually favored programs that had been tested over even the most highly creative, original, appealing, and well-researched program that had not been tested. Knowledge that this Congressman preferred the concrete to the abstract, the tangible to the theoretical, enabled me to begin to think

In 1976 Robert Friedenberg worked as a campaign communications specialist for the Republican National Committee. He is an associate professor at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, where he directs the Speech Communication Division.

like him, not simply on urban issues, but on a wide variety of other issues as well. I had learned something of his values, of the kinds of answers he demanded before endorsing a program. In the long run that was far more valuable knowledge to me as his ghostwriter than knowledge of his stand on particular issues.

Similarly, this past summer the Republican National Committee thrust me into a campaign on thirty-six hours' notice, without prior knowledge of the candidate. Within a week the candidate, for whom I had by then written one major speech, coached for one debate with his opponent, drafted a second major speech, and prepared several shorter statements and press releases, commented, "You seem to think like me."

The key had been relatively simple. On my first reading of all his prior statements, I noticed that on a highly controversial local environmental issue — the building of a dam and the creation of an artificial lake and recreation area — one of the two principal justifications this candidate offered for his position was financial. While normal rationales such as the protection of the environment, protection of endangered species, creation of recreational areas, and flood control were present, I was struck by the fact that one of his fundamental rationales totally ignored these issues and focussed instead on the finances of the project. I then began to note that whenever he took a position, one of his principal justifications was inevitably economic. Clearly, this candidate was highly sensitive to abuses of taxpayer dollars. Cost efficiency was apparently the primary criterion he utilized in decision-making. Recognition of this fact enabled me not only to anticipate his position but also to defend his position *as he would defend it himself.*

Knowledge of the candidate's value system is absolutely essential for a ghostwriter The ghost *must not present what he believes is the best justification of a policy. He must present the candidate's justification for a policy.* He owes that to the candidate, and equally important, he owes that to the public. If the ghost produces a speech which takes the candidate's position on an issue but does so for reasons different from those of the candidate, the speech is likely to be a failure. First, the candidate is likely to stray from the speech or ignore it altogether. Second, because he is not familiar with the basic lines of argument and evidence, the candidate is prone to have trouble in delivery. Third, he is likely to experience discomfort and nervousness in a public situation, where he is liable, as a consequence of that discomfort, to make some type of error. Fourth, he is prone to repudiate parts of the speech in the question and answer session which may follow.

We have returned to the fundamental principle. The ghostwriter must not be seen or heard. His responsibility to both the candidate and to the public is to faithfully reproduce the ideas of the candidate with skill, verve, and polish. When the ghostwriter thinks these ideas are unreasonable or foolish, he tries to amend them with the candidate. These are the tasks for which the ghostwriter gets paid. But to misrepresent the candidate's thinking, his value system, his decision-making process, is as serious an error as to misrepresent the conclusion of that process. To do so raises serious ethical questions. The public has the right to know how its leaders think, as well as what they think. There is no excuse, including ignorance, for such errors. The ghostwriter must know the candidate.

Knowledge of the candidate also extends to knowledge of his speaking characteristics and his language. Does he have a sense of humor? Can he deliver a joke well? Does he get angered by the charges of his opponent? Can he respond to them with honest and evident indignation, or will his indignation appear tepid and meek? Does he feel comfortable with a particular jargon or group of metaphors? Does he have trouble pronouncing certain words?

At least one way to answer these questions is to spend time listening to the candidate. I would suggest spending an entire day listening to him around the office, in the car, giving an extemporaneous speech, as well as a formal one. Additionally, the candidate's schedule should be adjusted to allow him ample time to correct the first few full speeches a new ghostwriter presents him. Observa-

tion of his normal language habits and where he differs sharply enough from the ghostwriter to want to make corrections will normally provide an able ghostwriter with a good sense of the candidate's language.

Knowledge Of The Audience

The ghostwriter must know the audience that his candidate addresses. This statement is more complicated than it may at first appear. The ghostwriter must know which audiences in the district are essential for victory. To use the political term, he must know which audiences have been targeted. Moreover, he must know what message or impression the candidate wishes to leave with each of these target audiences. Again, an example may serve to illustrate.

In a 1976 Congressional race charges of anti-Semitism were made about the winner of the Democratic primary because of questionable literature which had circulated in the last days of the primary campaign about his Jewish opponent. His Jewish primary opponent refused to endorse him, and many of this man's supporters indicated their preference for the Republican candidate. As a consequence, the Republican campaign targeted Jewish voters.

Typically, a Congressional campaign will write off about 30 percent of the electorate as unlikely to ever vote for their candidate, regardless of how extensive an effort is made to win their votes. The campaign will then focus on the remaining 70 percent and try to maximize the usage of its resources among these voters. In this instance the Republican decision to target Jewish voters meant that the candidate would spend considerable time speaking to Jewish groups and canvassing in Jewish neighborhoods and would spend considerable money and effort advertising in the Jewish community.

Within this Congressional district, the Jewish community had consistently voted very heavily for previous Democratic candidates and might normally be written off as a voter group that would be unlikely to vote Republican, regardless of the effort made to win their votes. However, the unique circumstances surrounding the Democratic primary caused the Republican strategists to feel that the typically Democratic Jewish vote was vulnerable if sufficient resources of campaign time, effort, and money were directed into winning it.

Consequently, when a Jewish service group extended an invitation to both candidates to make a joint appearance in front of an audience of 400 (with the press present), the Republican candidate accepted promptly and publicized his acceptance. His ghostwriter gave his full attention to this speech at the expense of ignoring other work. In other years Republican candidates might not have accepted this invitation, simply because Jewish voters would not have been likely to vote for them, and hence other invitations to more receptive groups would have taken precedence.[2] Knowledge of the many audiences in a district dictates which speaking engagements are accepted and given priority.

The Republican staff had determined very early in the campaign that they should convey two impressions to the Jewish community: first, that their candidate was sympathetic to issues of high concern among Jewish voters, and second, that their candidate believed that Jewish voters shared with all other voters the same basic concerns about this nation's problems. Knowledge that these were the impressions that the candidate wanted to leave with this audience dictated the ghostwriter's development of the speech.

The speech itself treated seven issues. The first four were developed to illustrate the candidate's sympathy to issues of high concern among Jewish voters. The candidate presented his position on the Arab boycott of American firms that did business with Israel, the role of the United States in the Middle East, the persecution of Soviet Jews, and international air piracy. Forty percent of the speech was devoted to three additional issues. By implication, this section was to illustrate that the candidate believed that Jewish voters shared the same basic concerns as other voters and therefore should not be treated as a totally unique and distinctive group with only sectarian interests. Consultation with Jewish community leaders,

an analysis of public opinion polling within the district, and a survey of GOP studies relating national issues to voter blocs resulted in the ghostwriter's selection of medical care for the elderly, inflation, and national defense as the subject matter for the last portion of the speech.

In sum, this example illustrates how knowledge of the audience dictates the acceptance of speaking opportunities and the determination of which speeches warrant major effort. Similarly, knowledge of the impression the candidate wishes to leave with each audience dictates the specific message that the ghost will prepare.

Knowledge Of The Subject

During a Congressional race a candidate must speak on a wide variety of issues. Nevertheless, the ghostwriter must have a sound knowledge of the subjects upon which he writes. He must always remember, as Samuel Johnson noted, that "knowledge is of two kinds: we know a subject ourselves, or we know where we can find information upon it."

The candidate's staff should prepare files of materials on potential speech topics. Resources for those files may come from a variety of sources. Some sources such as newspapers, magazines, editorials from local media stations, and literature distributed by his opponent are obvious.

However, there are also sources which are uniquely available to Congressional candidates and their staffs. The first such source is the lobby group. There are lobby groups seeking action on every issue from federally sponsored investigations of afterlife to federal aid for zither players. Such groups may be extremely useful. If information comes from responsible lobby groups, it is probably thoroughly and accurately documented. Often such groups will go so far as to include sample speeches and press releases. The ghost may well want to borrow from these materials, tailoring them to his candidate and audience. They must be used with caution and a clear recognition of the purpose for which they were prepared. Nevertheless, if they reflect the candidate's views, responsible lobby groups can be a valuable source of information.

Additionally, the national committee of each party has a research division. State party organizations may also have research divisions. The party research division will provide Congressional candidates with a wealth of materials. For example, the Republican National Committee Research Division will provide its candidates with the complete voting records, biographies, legislation sponsored, and other pertinent information about incumbent Democratic opponents. Moreover, the Republican candidate can contact the division with a specific question about pending legislation or perhaps his opponent's position, and the research staff will attempt to locate an answer and promptly respond. This service is particularly useful for obtaining specific information to document a speech.

The parties distribute substantial amounts of information which they believe will aid the speaking of Congressional candidates. For example, all Republican Congressional candidates received the *National Republican Congressional Committee Speech Kit, 1976*. This kit treated seventy-two issues, ranging from "Abortion, Africa, and Aging," to "Welfare, Western Europe, and Women." It provided a Congressional candidate and his ghostwriter an overview of the history of the issue, including relevant facts and statistics. It also gave a brief synopsis of any pending legislation on the issue and an overview of the basic Republican position on the issue, if such existed. Essentially, it might serve to provide a ghostwriter with support materials for a speech. However, as seventy-two issues were treated in 217 pages, clearly it was designed to supply cursory familiarity with an issue, not intensive knowledge. Nevertheless, it proved helpful to many ghostwriters and candidates by enabling them to fall back quickly on a developed party position, if they had no other response.

Similar, but more useful, was a series of fourteen "talking papers" about Jimmy Carter which the Republican National Committee distributed to all Congressional candidates shortly after the day of the California, New Jersey, and Ohio primaries when Carter effectively clinched the Democratic nomination. These papers were designed to provide

Republican candidates with a basis for responding to questions about Jimmy Carter and also for raising questions about him. Carter, it should be remembered, was still a somewhat unknown quantity with a limited public record which had not received extensive exposure. These papers were written in a style suitable for oral delivery; however, a responsible ghostwriter would have altered them to accommodate his own candidate and audiences. A responsible ghostwriter would have recognized that they were designed for national distribution and that probably many of the fourteen papers which treated Carter's views on issues were of little or no importance in a specific Congressional district. As with materials from lobby groups, materials from the National Committees are often useful but must be tailored to the specific exigencies of a given campaign. They are a fine source of material for the ghostwriter but only if he uses them wisely and not indiscriminately.

Finally, because he is a candidate for Congress, the candidate and his staff have unique access to people. People want to talk to them, to advise them, to influence them. The Congressional ghostwriter should never ignore the people and resources of his local community. In a 1976 Congressional race the Engineers Society, an umbrella group, invited each Congressional candidate to speak on topics related directly to the engineering professions. The Republican candidate was admittedly unfamiliar with many of these issues. His ghostwriter also lacked the background to handle them well. Consequently, they assembled a representative cross section of the engineering community who were eager to talk to the candidate. This balanced cross section argued and discussed with occasional interruptions from the candidate and his ghostwriter. Subsequently, as the candidate's speech was developed, these men were often consulted. As a consequence of the input provided by these members of the local community, as well as subsequent reading and thought, the ghostwriter was able to develop a speech that directly addressed the major concerns of the Engineers Society. Moreover, because the address related several national issues to the work of local engineering firms, the speech received unusual attention from the press.

Conclusions

All speakers are advised to gain knowledge of the audience and knowledge of the subject. The ghostwriter, unlike the speaker, must add to that knowledge by becoming intimately familiar with the thought processes of his employer. Moreover, on occasion, he may have to sublimate his own personal knowledge and preferences to those of his employer. Though he can discuss and attempt to persuade his candidate, in the final analysis it is the candidate who is speaking. The candidate will suffer criticism or reap the praise for the words that are written for him. Those words will gain initial attention, and perhaps enduring importance, because they were voiced by a public figure, not because they were written by the ghostwriter.

Such are the facts of life for Congressional ghostwriters. Those facts may create frustration, annoyance, and anger, as a ghostwriter witnesses someone ruining his work or receiving credit for it. Yet any ghostwriter knows the rules of the game before he enlists in the army of invisible men. If he does not like them, he should not enlist. If he is willing to live by them, he may find that although the service is tremendously demanding, it is also tremendously rewarding.

Notes

1Throughout this article the term "candidate" will be used to include both the incumbent Congressman and the challenger. It should be noted that the remarks made in this article relate to writing for Congressional candidates and are based on the author's firsthand experience and his contact with ghostwriters for incumbent Congressmen and challengers. While the remarks may be descriptive and accurate for other types of ghostwriters, the author claims no such infallibility.
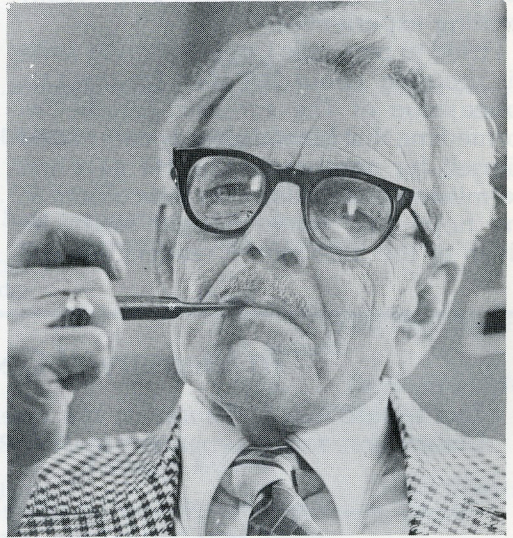
2Campaigns should seek to maximize their efforts where they expect to run strong and minimize them where they have little chance. There is no point in wasting time, effort, and money attempting to win hostile voters. The expense per vote cannot justify it. Those resources are better spent securing a large voter turnout among sympathetic voters and attempting to win independent voters. The candidate who ignores his natural constituency is liable to find that on election day his constituency did not bother to vote.

The Secretary's Page... Theodore O. H. Karl

With deadlines being what they are, the time to really reflect upon the convention just passed is not a luxury allowed this office. My immediate reaction is one of tremendous pride. As you may guess, my duties kept me in Seattle until late Wednesday afternoon settling convention accounts. Without exception, thanks were expressed to us for bringing the convention to Seattle, followed by the comment that this was the finest group of college people the Olympic had served. These remarks came from the hotel manager, the cashier, bellmen, and waitresses in the restaurant, and yes, even the housekeeping corps. Never since I have been connected with Pi Kappa Delta has a claim been made to the national organization for damage, or have I heard any derogatory comments. There are many organizations, both collegiate and older, who wish they could make the same claim on behalf of their membership. I believe the fraternity deserves to hear this kind of tribute and to accept the thanks of us who are in a position to hear it.

In my opinion, the convention is to be complimented on the very serious and mature way the discussion of issues was carried on and the way in which decisions were made. It demanded to know the rationale behind each of the motions and then made a decision after full discussion. The decisions affecting this office give me the confident feeling that the convention wanted Pi Kappa Delta to forge ahead, giving leadership to the forensic community and providing services which will allow the organization to continue to grow, innovate, examine itself, and move on to greater service to students and alumni alike.

The passage of the increased fee for membership will certainly help to keep the organization in a healthy financial condition. The chapter dues could easily account for nearly fifty percent of the cost of The Forensic and allow an expansion of our magazine to become the real medium of communication for all of the chapters and individual members.

Those who were elected to lead the fraternity as president, vice-president, and National Council members will serve you well. I congratulate you, as well as them, and pledge to work with them to the best of my ability. This statement does not include the secretary-treasurer, as he was not elected but approved by the convention. He does admit to being pleased, however!

For the four days following the convention, we were pleased to have Larry Norton, Pi Kappa Delta historian, in the office gathering material from the records to complete work required by his office. He proposed a project which I think has great potential, not only for the office of the historian but for the provinces and local chapters as well. The suggestion deals with a program of cassette recordings of interviews with historically important people of Pi Kappa Delta. These interviews could be carried out by undergraduate members, faculty, or governors. Others, too, might participate so that the wisdom and experience of thoughtful and interested Pi Kappa Deltans could be heard, and their ideas recorded for consideration. It is possible that by this method an event could be introduced into the convention program. In this day

of great interest in interpersonal communication, the idea of presenting some pragmatic convention exercises, such as interview, would be innovative, and at the same time it might produce some really exciting experiences.

I tried to persuade Larry Norton to write his thoughts about this idea for the October issue of The Forensic, but he informed me that he had already committed himself for another article. He gave me permission to mention it in this column in the hope that some thought might be given to the idea by the readers. He will propose it in a later issue of The Forensic. It might not be possible for this proposal to come before the province meetings of 1978, but certainly it could be considered by the National Council in 1979 and implemented shortly after that time.

I wish to thank one and all for the kind remarks made to both Betsy and me during and after the convention. Permit me the closing remark that as we review the 1977 Seattle Convention, we feel that all the effort required before, during, and after such as event is so worthwhile.

In Memory of George R. R. Pflaum

This tribute was presented at the opening meeting of the Thirtieth Biennial Convention and Tournament by Past President Francis Short.

> And though you be done to death, what then?
> If you battled the best you could;
> If you played your part in the world of men,
> Why, the critic will call it good.
> Death comes with a crawl, or comes with a pounce,
> And whether he slow or spry,
> It isn't the fact that you're dead that counts,
> But only, how did you die?

George R. R. Pflaum, a fellow Kansan, left this earth in January of this year. He died as he had lived — a leader. Forty-five years ago George Pflaum stood before the convention of PKD assembled in Tulsa, Oklahoma, as its fifth president. Dr. Pflaum is responsible for the awarding of the past president's ring. He designed it and possessed the first one ever awarded. His famous goatee became the symbol of the now-honored Order of the Beards of which every past president is a member. He founded the Kansas Debate Association and served as its president for two years. He founded the Emporia (Kansas) chapter of the AAUP. For over forty years he was a member of the speech faculty at Emporia (Kansas) State College, serving part of his time as chairman of the department.

His early college education started at the College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington. He received his A.B. from North Central College in Napierville, Illinois; his M.A. from Cornell University; and his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. He started his teaching career in 1919.

All who knew George R. R. Pflaum loved and respected him. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow may have had just such a person in mind when he wrote:

> Lives of great men remind us
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And departing, leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time.

We see the footprints of Dr. George Pflaum, and we miss him!