

1990b). The race was between incumbent North Carolina Republican Senator Jesse Helms and his Democratic challenger Harvey Gantt (p. 1A). Similar to many of the other 1990 campaigns, both North Carolina senate candidates attempted to campaign on a quasipolicy level. Each candidate defined his value system as superior to the other candidate's, while at the same time stressing the policy implications stemming from those values.

The race received national attention. The ideological clash between the candidates, the idea of an African American challenger running a close race against a relatively entrenched conservative incumbent, and the stature of Jesse Helms as spokesman for the right attracted that attention. Nearly every week during the final weeks of the campaign, some report appeared on the national networks. Additionally, leaders and the press paid close attention to the race (e.g., "African," 1990, Geise, 1990). National columnists also offered endorsements (e.g., Kilpatrick, 1990; McCarthy, 1990; and Yoder, 1990). Over two-thirds of the contributions (Christensen & Smith, 1990) made to each campaign came from out of state (p. 14A).

The argumentative structure of the campaign proved similar to the structure used in debates on CEDA-type resolutions, in each case offering the voters a clear ideological choice over a range of issues. Gantt favored federal support for education, Helms did not. Gantt advocated that the United States had overemphasized defense expenditures, Helms advocated the opposite. Gantt favored increased government regulations of handguns, Helms did not. Gantt favored affirmative action, Helms rejected the notion as promoting "quotas." Gantt argues that the federal government had underemphasized protecting the environment, Helms opposed regulations on industry and development. Gantt noted the federal government's lack of concern for the elderly, Helms opposed federal involvement as wasteful and inefficient. Overall, Gantt accepted the label of "liberal" and promoted progressive values, Helms aligned himself with the values of the moral past.

As a pivotal election, the values promoted in this particular campaign illustrate the current evolution of values-with-policy-implications (hence, quasipolicies) within the sphere of persuasion in campaigns.

To test the appropriateness of utilizing quasipolicy debate theory to assess the argumentative structure of election campaigns, this essay provides a theoretical framework and outlines a critical methodology for the present study; analyzes how the key arguments developed throughout the campaign; and finally, discusses the implications the findings hold for quasipolicy debate.

## METHOD AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Most coaches, participants, and scholars of debate agree that whoever controls the agenda of a debate, wins the debate. As Cox and Jensen (1988) have noted, a failure to focus the discussion on one of three significant issues can cause a team to lose a debate round: (a) a team could lose its *value*, thereby forcing it to shift ground on the substantive issues by having to debate on the basis of the opponent's value; (b) a team could lose its *criteria*, thereby being at the mercy of the other team in terms

of how the values should be measured concretely; or (c) a team could lose its *determinants* for those criteria--in essence the contentions (if affirmative) of the off-case arguments (if negative).

While Cox & Jensen designed their framework for the analysis of *value* resolutions, values, criteria, and determinants may also provided the theoretical framework from which all other theoretical considerations in **quasipolicy** debate emanate (Table 1). Such micro-issues include, among other things: (a) the advantages and disadvantages of counterwarrants (e.g., Berube, 1984; Leeman & Hamlett, 1989; Simon, 1984); (b) the advantages and disadvantages of plans and counterplans (Walker, 1989); (c) what constitutes presumption and burden of proof (e.g., Bahm, 1988; Brownlee & Crossman, 1989; Cole, 1987; Cox & Jensen, 1989; Truman, 1987); (d) hasty generalization and atypicality (Berube, 1984); (e) what constitutes a whole resolution argument; (f) the advantages of generic argumentation (e.g., Hollihan, 1983; Preston, 1987, 1989, 1990); and (g) the advantages and disadvantages of alternative paradigms such as tabula rasa, critic of argument, and hypothesis testing (Hallmark, 1984). Using the theoretical framework and borrowing from these seven areas of theoretical controversy, the present study begins to answer the research question, "How does the theoretical framework of quasipolicy debate operate in political campaigns?"

**TABLE 1**

Structure of Quasipolicy Debate Theory in Political Campaigns

<b>Quasipolicy Stock Issue</b>	<b>Theoretical Disputes Related to Stock Issue</b>
Values	Burden of Proof/Presumption Generic (theoretical) arguments Judging paradigms
Criteria	Burden of Proof/Presumption Weighing of counterwarrants Appropriateness of counterplans Whole resolution Generic (theoretical) arguments Judging paradigms
Determinants	Burden of Proof/Presumption Weighing of counterwarrants Appropriateness of counter plans Hasty generalization/Atypicality Whole resolution Generic (substantive) arguments

In order to answer this question, the Gantt-Helms campaign was chosen from the 1990 off-year elections. The proposition-like issues emerging from the Gantt-Helms race were presented through a series of speeches, advertisements, and pamphlets distributed by the candidates. After examining the campaign discourse, debate-type resolutions were formulated based on the language advanced by each candid-



ate. Although, the incumbent Helms steadfastly refused to appear in a televised "debate" with his opponent, the battle was waged not only in the detailed flyers but in less-detailed ads which began to take on the nature of several quasipolicy debates occurring simultaneously.

## DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURE OF KEY ARGUMENTS

Given that Helms had held the U.S. Senate seat for eighteen years and that Gantt faced the burdens of running as an African American political candidate in the United States, Helms enjoyed both static and psychological presumption in the debate over who should be elected. Worded as a quasipolicy debate resolution, the topic encompassing the campaign might be, "Resolved: That electing Harvey Gantt Senator would be desirable," thus placing the burden on Gantt to demonstrate why voters should select the unknown over the known.

The fact that Helms had taken center stage as a major leading Senate conservative had polarized North Carolina voters during each of his reelection campaigns. "Jesse Helms," said political analyst M. Black (Gaillard, 1990a), "represents the state in such a way that he has a built-in opposition as high as 45 per cent. But Helms also has a solid core of support--according to some polls, about 45 per cent--and thus the battle boils down to the ten per cent in the middle" (p. 4C). Since the middle ten per cent proved to be virtually all white, the presumption for Helms became much stronger.

As it was, October polls (Morrill, 1990) had given the Gantt camp an eight point advantage in the race (p. 1A). Nonetheless, Helms won the campaign by five percentage points (Christensen, 1990) by appealing to a majority of middle voters during the final week of the campaign (p. 1A). An application of quasipolicy debate theory to five debate resolutions that emerged from the campaign provides some insight into how the Helms campaign appealed successfully to this panel of "judges:"

**1. Resolved: That increased federal support for better education would be desirable.** While a Gantt pamphlet (Harvey Gantt, 1990a) stressed that "education is primarily a state and local function," it was also a "national priority." Pointing out that North Carolina students scored second worst in SAT scores in the nation and had more than 800,000 functionally illiterate adults, he argued for passage of the 1990 Educational Excellence Act and for more investment in Head Start. Gantt argued (Harvey Gantt, 1990a) that "for every \$1 spent, it saves society \$6.00 later by avoiding the costs of legal and educational problems." Gantt appealed to the middle-of-the-road voters by enabling them to view expenditures as investments that might save money in the future.

Whereas Gantt justified short-term federal outlays to avoid long-term expenses, Helms stressed drug-testing and minimum competency testing for teachers. The incumbent's flyers (Helms for Senate, 1990d) used two columns comparing the views of the candidates below a flattering picture of Helms and an unflattering picture of Gantt, noting the candidates' divergent standards on minimum competency testing and drug testing. Helms effectively focused voter attention on the side of the cost-benefit equation of federal expenditure, offering a graph showing how

nationally, SAT scores had declined in recent years as federal expenditures had increased. In terms of quasipolicy debate theory, Helms accomplished two key objectives in responding to Gantt's strong positions on education. First, Helms shifted the focus away from values and criteria concerning education to those concerning thrift in government and efficient and drug-free teaching. Helms transformed one of Gantt's key issues--education--into an argument over high taxes. (Helms for Senate, 1990f). The strategy of refocusing the issues proved to be a key Helms tactic on other social issues. Second, by noting national trends, Helms effectively implied to the wavering white voter that Gantt had made a hasty generalization by referring to North Carolina test scores. Focusing attention on the problems with federal involvement and the problems with teachers deflected attention from the Helms record of voting "no" consistently on many federal education measures, and placed an additional burden on Gantt to show how the challenger's strategies would accomplish what previous programs had not.

**2. Resolved: That the United States government has overemphasized defense expenditures.** Gantt strategically introduced social issues into the campaign to emphasize the senator's constant resistance to measures calling for social progress. Gantt offered a way to pay for some of those programs--namely, cut defense spending. Gantt stressed that with the ending of the Cold War (Gaillard, 1990a), there existed a massive peace dividend to be gained by reallocating resources spent waging the Cold War on domestic programs (p. 1A).

While Gantt's message proved credible early during the year 1990, the persuasiveness of his arguments to reduce defense spending provided fertile ground for Helms on the determinant level later on. During the race, Iraq had invaded Kuwait, and the threat both to the Arab allies and to the United States oil supplies promoted increasing mainstream support for spending during the campaign. The Helms campaign capitalized on the unfolding Mideast drama by distributing a pamphlet with a prominent picture of Saddam Hussein and a soldier wearing a gas mask (Helms for Senate, 1990c), with the bold print, "The Issue: Cut Defense \$300 Billion?" Although neither Helms nor the flyer offered any support for that particular figure, it did create in the minds of the voters the notion that Gantt would enact pacifist values into a policy of "cutting defense," whereas Helms would help America remain strong. The senator's record of supporting defense outlays over eighteen years served to demonstrate his reliability on the issue--to the delight of his hard core supporters, and to the further dismay of those who opposed him. Nonetheless, the intensification of the Iraq-Kuwait war helped Helms attract the mainstream voters, making defense a more central issue in the campaign. The Gantt pamphlet (Harvey Gantt, 1990c) supporting Israel proved inadequate to overcome the Helms advantage in the minds of many who would decide the race.

**3. Resolved: That the United States government has underemphasized protecting our environment.** For years, North Carolinians have taken pride in the unusual variety of natural beauty in their state. Since Helms had often opposed government regulations of any sorts, Gantt was wise to introduce this issue. Gantt effectively countered the



senator's presumption by focusing on prior accomplishments. One of Gantt's pamphlets (Harvey Gantt, 1990b) notes that "during his tenure [as Charlotte's major], Charlotte won national recognition for its creative use of open spaces as urban parks and greenways." "We've got to work together to clean up the environment, protect it from further damage and, most importantly, preserve it for our children and our children's children. A clean environment benefits everyone." During the campaign, Gantt visited rural communities where potential waste incinerators were planned.

Helms did little to respond to issues concerning the environment. Helms concentrated on issues such as defense, quotas, and morality. While the failure to respond to the environmental issue would appear to be a failure to meet a burden of rejoinder, the incumbent's strategy of shifting attention away from this Gantt-biased resolution would prove both strategic and wise. Gantt never mentioned federal spending in his environmental discussion, and consequently, denied Helms the anti-tax lynchpin of his arguments against federal involvement in social programs. At the same time, Gantt never transformed the environmental issue into a simple value-structure, where voters could compare his position with that of Helms. The environment provided a fertile, nonracial ground on which Gantt could focus his campaign, but he failed to make this the key issue throughout the campaign. While argumentation over the environment aided the challenger early on, it proved to be only a minor factor later in the campaign.

**4. Resolved: That racial quotas in hiring are desirable.** The quasipolicy proposition used in the Gantt-Helms race followed the structure of the topic as it was introduced by the Helms camp in an advertisement that appeared late in the campaign. Trailing, according to some polls going into the final weeks of the campaign, Helms had failed to respond to the notion that Gantt would prove far superior in supporting civil rights—a notion at the time which was not a salient threat to many undecided white voters. Helms, in fact, had provided the decisive no vote in a senate 66-34 (one vote short) vote to over-ride President Bush's veto of the 1990 Civil Rights Act, which would have outlined legal remedies for discrimination based on race or gender. After the vote was taken, Gantt stressed that had he been senator the outcome would have been different.

Rather than responding directly to Gantt's claim on the determinant level of discussing the proposed Civil Rights Act, Helms introduced the entirely new resolution about quotas. Helms did so by introducing a television advertisement during the last week of the campaign that spurred intense racial polarization. In the commercial, white hands were shown crumpling a rejection notice as ominous music played and a voice intoned, "You needed that job. And you were the best qualified. But they had to give it to a minority because of a racial quota." Focusing on the quasipolicy dispute over the desirability of civil rights, the ad continued to note that Gantt "supports Ted Kennedy's racial quota law that makes the color of your skin more important than your qualifications. You'll vote on this next Tuesday. For racial quotas--Harvey Gantt. Against racial quotas--Jesse Helms (Healey, 1990, p. 6).



The quotas issue became extremely important during the last week of the campaign, with many national political commentators raising issues of racism and ethics. Yet from a quasipolicy debate perspective, the quotas issue shaped the election in three ways. First, however inaccurate, it provided an artistic and memorable impression in the minds of many white voters that their chances for promotion and chances for increased income (or perhaps any income at all) would definitely be threatened by a candidate embracing the values of Ted Kennedy. Second, it cost Helms a chance at making inroads in the African American community--whereas African Americans nationally cast the highest percentage of votes for Republican congressional candidates in decades (22 per cent), North Carolinians of African descent only cast 7 per cent of their votes for Republican Helms. Third, Gantt's steadfast adherence to a positive campaign prevented the challenger from responding effectively to this advertisement. This failure to respond probably helped Helms among the undecided voters perhaps using the tabula-rasa paradigm to make their voting decisions--to their minds, Gantt simply dropped the argument.

**5. Resolved: That the moral values of the past are superior to today's values.** Not only did Helms gain ground by polarizing voters along racial lines--he also polarized voters according to age. Exit polls showed voters under thirty supported Gantt, while voters over fifty overwhelmingly supported Helms. Presumption may explain these results--many younger voters may have used "progress" as a paradigm for judging the election, while many older voters may have stressed traditional "North Carolina" values, such as family, patriotism, individualism, conservative sexual morality, and free enterprise.

Helms hammered away at the morality issue. Helms repeatedly linked Gantt with the "extreme liberal values" of Kennedy. The incumbent's quota ad (Healey, 1990) as well as several other pamphlets, notably, Helms for Senate (1990b), employed a pictorial column format, which contrasted with the senator's stand on issues ranging from higher taxes, the death penalty, abortion, homoerotic art, and national defense, to those of Gantt. Helms stressed that Gantt agreed with Kennedy on all those issues. Characterizing his personal background, Helms (Helms for Senate, 1990c) stressed that his sponsorship of a Christian camp and his service as a Sunday school teacher in his Southern Baptist Church. Implying the Gantt supported mandatory rights for homosexuals (Helms for Senate, 1990d), that Gantt promoted abortion on demand, and by noting the Gantt's sellout of a minority firm, Helms built a concrete image of the difference between what he characterized as "North Carolina values" and those he labeled "extreme liberal values." Throughout the Helms campaign, the word liberal appears with Gantt in almost all of the Helms for Senate advertisements (e.g., Healey, 1990; Helms for Senate, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1990f).

Aside from polarizing voters based on age, the senator's morality strategy tended to create a we (North Carolinians and traditional Southerners) versus they (the Massachusetts Yankees and other liberals) climate that worked in both ways detrimental and beneficial to the Helms campaign. The incumbent's focus on selected values functioned



in three ways in the quasipolicy argumentative structure of the campaign. First, it served to offend many of the state's urban and college-educated voters who often embrace "liberal" values. Second, Helms' focus on individual values put Gantt on the argumentative defensive. Biographical information distributed by the Gantt campaign stressed individuality, where opportunity was obtained through hard work. Given the campaign context of Helms promoting individual morality and individual initiative, as opposed to federal initiatives, Gantt's position sounded like a muffled echo of his opponent. Third, Helms' ads on abortion and his characterization of Gantt as someone profiting substantially from selling a minority firm to a white group offered concrete perceptions to the voters that Gantt had exercised bad morality. Gantt (1990d) never mentioned the word abortion; instead he claimed that "no choice is more individual or personal than a woman's decision to conceive and bear a child. All women must be guaranteed a choice." Although Gantt did use ads charging Helms with opposing abortion even in the cases of rape and incest, his abortion stance failed to deny the claim the Helms abortion ads, nor did the response focus the values in the morality argument as simply and effectively as did Helms.

Overall, Gantt fared neither significantly worse nor better than Helms previous three opponents for the Senate seat--the margins of victory fluctuated between 45 and 48 per cent each time. The Helms strategy of focusing the quasipolicy debate on comprehensible if arguably simplistic values again proved effective in defeating a Democratic opponent. As Table 1 indicates, the theoretical issues stemming from the value level tend to be less complex and technical than those stemming from the criteria and determinant levels. By arguing more from the complex *criteria* and *determinant* levels, all of the senator's challengers failed to focus their arguments in a fashion salient to the indecisive voter. While Helms could effectively "drop" some specific policy issues during the campaigns, his opponents, given their burden of proof, could not.

### IMPLICATIONS OF QUASIPOLICY DEBATE AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

By showing how the issues similar to quasipolicy debate topics can become the key issues discussed by candidates in a pivotal campaign, this study has demonstrated the usefulness of applying quasipolicy debate theory to political communication. While the above discussion only proved a partial explanation of the outcomes of the 1990 election, it also demonstrates how the theory and practice of quasipolicy debate can both (a) benefit and (b) garner benefit from the research, theory, and practice of political communication.

Quasipolicy debate theory can benefit the political process in three ways. First, it enables participants and theorists to better analyze the structure of arguments involved in a political campaign. Second, it trains participants to understand campaign strategies and *locate* the level (values, criteria, and/or determinants) at which public disputes are won and lost in the here-and-now world of political campaigns. Third, quasipolicy questions and formats may prove useful in planning candidate debates that are more like true debates than the current joint press conference formats.



Examining the political elections process could also benefit quasipolicy debate in three fashions. First, the campaigns may provide fertile ground for both the selection and the development of CEDA resolutions. For example, among the five resolutions discussed from the Gantt-Helms discourse, a resolution was discovered pertaining to racial quotas. Since a study showed how using "quotas" biased the race in favor of one candidate (Helms), the topic might be refined into one discussing affirmative action, or the 1990 (or 1991) Civil Rights Act. Second, by studying campaigns argumentation scholars can keep abreast of voter attitudes on certain issues. Third, quasipolicy debate scholars can continually test the relevancy of CEDA debate issues of public debate likely to be confronted later in life. While this study has provided a framework for applying quasipolicy debate theory to political communication, it also urges scholars to apply in detail specific areas of theory to case studies.

### NOTES

1. I borrowed from Zarefsky's (1980) definition of a quasipolicy proposition: one that "does not advocate a plan of action, yet (a plan) is implicit within the statement of the resolution. It would be difficult to defend the proposition, 'Resolved: That federal financing of abortion is immoral,' without advocating that such payments should cease" (p. 10).

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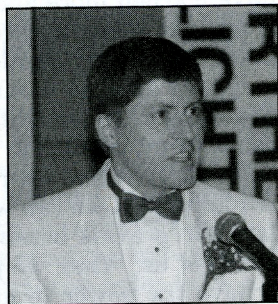
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## FRATERNALLY SPEAKING

### "A NEW VISION FOR 'CITIZEN LEADERS' IN PI KAPPA DELTA

Remarks following the induction of Robert S. Littlefield  
as the 36th President of Pi Kappa Delta, March 23, 1991

■ Past presidents, President Cole, current and newly-elected members of the National Council, distinguished guests, provincial officers, colleagues, students and friends. Twenty years ago tonight, I sat as a freshman way in the back of the room at my first PKD awards banquet in Houston, TX. I certainly didn't know then, that in 20 years I would be standing in the front of the room. It's a lot different up here! The road from student, to alum, to coach, to National Council member, to president of PKD, has been a wonderful journey -- not without its potholes, detours, and road construction, to be sure -- but certainly one that has left me richly blessed with many individuals I consider to be more than professional colleagues and experiences that will help to guide me throughout my life. These people know who they are and they know how I feel about them. In addition to God, to whom I am thankful for the special gifts he has given to me, there are many people that I would like to recognize for their support and encouragement over the past eight years while I have served on the National Council: my parents who have always led by example and taught me the importance of attention to detail, love, and commitment to people and causes that are worthy of support; my wife Kathy and our children whose love, pride, and





understanding help to keep my life on an even keel; my students from NDSU who were so enthusiastic in 1983 at Estes Park that they convinced Carolyn Keefe, then chair of the Nominating Committee, that PKD should take a chance and consider this "young" person for a position on the National Council. One of those students is here tonight as an excellent coach and forensic director in his own right, Jaime Meyer of UW-Eau Claire; Margaret Greynolds, one of my special friends in Pi Kappa Delta, who nominated me for that National Council position in 1983 and spent a good deal of time helping to make sure people knew who I was and what I stood for; Robert Ridley and my colleagues and friends in my home province -- the province of the Northern Lights -- for their friendship and steady support over the years; my colleagues at NDSU for their support and encouragement; to the students and faculty from NDSU who are here tonight celebrating this important event with me; and to the National Council members past and present with whom I have served. But perhaps most importantly, I would like to thank my friend Michael Bartanen, one of the most creative and innovative leaders Pi Kappa Delta has had, in what I would call "modern" times, who has helped me to shape my vision and to understand more fully my role and obligations in Pi Kappa Delta. Michael has taught me that there is a difference between management and leadership. As Warren Bennis, past president of the University of Cincinnati so candidly put it in an article entitled, "Learning Some Basic Truisms about Leadership": "Leaders are people who do the right thing; managers are people who do things right." I have always thought of myself as a manager. I could do things right. By watching and listening to Michael, I have learned more about doing the right things for Pi Kappa Delta. My friends, being in forensics, and in PKD, has enriched my life, and I thank you for giving me the opportunity to serve you. But the journey to which I alluded is far from over.

Standing here tonight, I must say that I am humbled by your confidence in my ability to lead this organization. The fear that I will be unable to live up to your expectations, is one that is outweighed by my confidence that we can work together, and my faith that the values we share will prevail, because they are based upon something that is good in each of us. When we put all of "that which is good in us" together, we have the power to move ahead into the next decade of PKD's existence as a forensic organization.

Being in New Jersey and at Monmouth College for this 37th Biennial Convention has been great! The Province of Colonies, the staff at Monmouth, the efforts of Dr. Yaremchuk, and his students, have been superb. All are to be commended for making this convention a very memorable experience. But beyond this, there is something historical about being at Monmouth College this year, the location of Woodrow Wilson's summer home, for this convention and tournament. In March of 1913, upon his inauguration as President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson said, "this is not a day of triumph, it is a day of dedication." As an historical note, it was just two months earlier, in January of 1913, that the constitution of PKD was completed and the fraternity officially organized. Seventy-eight years later, we are here -- the challenge is still



appropriate -- this is a day of dedication for Pi Kappa Delta. Tonight, our thoughts rightly should focus on the status of PKD and our responsibilities as leaders and members of this organization.

Pi Kappa Delta, as an organization, has been described by many leaders in the forensic community as an honor fraternity based upon ethical practices, an "education-based" organization, a student-driven convention and tournament. We have all taken great pride in these descriptions and have often used them to differentiate PKD from other forensic organizations. But, like many families that appear to be well adjusted, supportive, self-sufficient, and loving to the outside world -- only to have internal problems, such as substance and physical abuse, depression, or financial problems -- Pi Kappa Delta gives the outside appearance of being a strong, healthy, viable organization, despite the fact that PKD can, in actuality, be described as dysfunctional. Unfortunately, our outward appearance masks the problems that continue to plague the very core of the organization and forensics in general. The following represents a range of concerns held by many students and instructors within our forensic organization.

Financial concerns are always in the forefront -- the costs of the national tournament, travel, lodging. The constant criticism that we want absolute lowest cost and the expectation that there will be no corresponding drop in the quality of the tournament or convention.

Organizational concerns are many -- students are the backbone of Pi Kappa Delta -- yet there are few meaningful ways for students to give their input in the decision-making process of PKD. We block exceptional leaders from office by a process that can change in a few short minutes the course of the fraternity for years to come. Communication between the National Council and the province officers -- along with communication between province officers and the local chapters -- is not always productive or frequent.

Competitive concerns often come into conflict with educational concerns for many members of PKD. Are we providing meaningful educational experiences at the national and provincial tournaments when students and coaches believe they are victims of inconsistent practices or untrained judges? Have we, as an organization, bought into the claim that the longer the season, the better? Have we accepted the argument that you must do what is appropriate on the circuit in order to be competitive rather than do what is educationally sound? Are our practices burning out our coaches, students, and exacerbating our already dwindling financial resources? These questions trouble many both within our fraternity and in the forensic community as a whole.

Finally, the absence of a commitment to diversity among different ethnic groups is a growing concern among many PKD. How are we reaching out to new members in our local chapters? How are we developing an appreciation for diversity within the organization? Are we becoming an organization of the "center" of the country, rather than embracing and defining a role for expansion to new regional, and even international territories?

Although I am optimistic about being able to find solutions for the problems leading to my assessment that PKD could rightly be describ-



ed as dysfunctional, and I believe your next council has a strong commitment to strengthening the organization, the reality of leadership as Dr. Bennis suggested is often that the routine tasks of management drive out the non-routine tasks and smother creative planning, and all fundamental changes in an organization. Upon hearing my appraisal, you might ask: who or what is to blame for these problems?

It is only natural to point the finger of blame to the leaders and the "system" as it exists. One might blame that National Council for the tournament and convention costs; college administrators might be blamed for cutting programs; the PKD organization might be blamed for the low levels of students involvement; individual leaders might be blamed for not communicating with their peers or constituents; lack of time might be blamed for not being able to get the job done; and tradition might be blamed for never changing. Unfortunately, it is a common response to deflect responsibility, rather than shoulder it.

In 1991, instead of looking for others to provide solutions to these problems, I would suggest that each of us look in our mirrors and say "there" is the leader I have been looking for -- each of us must be what Thomas Jefferson referred to as the "citizen leader." The notion of the citizen leader as described by Suzanne W. Morse, Director of Programs at the Kettering Foundation in Dayton, Ohio, is based upon the Jefferson ideal providing opportunities for each generation to be able to deal with its own governing, and for citizens to have a place to practice politics. We need freedom of speech and a space where that freedom can be exercised. Pi Kappa Delta is uniquely designed to meet both of these ideas -- students can be effective and energetic leaders and our national convention and tournament can provide the opportunity for student leaders to discuss and debate the issues that are of concern to them.

It is time for Pi Kappa Delta to challenge its members to do something about the factors that contribute to its shortcomings. As one initiative that will be discussed and ratified by the National Council this summer, I am proposing that all student members of PKD become actively involved in PKD's future by participating in a two-year referendum on the following topic: Resolved: that Pi Kappa Delta should be significantly changed. Debates should be held at the provincial and national tournaments on this topic. Those who are critical of the system will have the burden of proof; those who uphold the status quo must be prepared to defend it.

As another initiative, I am calling for a National Constitutional Congress of Student Leaders in Pi Kappa Delta to discuss resolutions related to the national organizational structure and processes of PKD, tournament rules and practices, forensic education, and the structure and processes of the provincial organization and local chapters. Using the format of the student congress event sponsored by the National Forensic League, the resolutions will be drafted at the province conventions next year and forwarded to the National Tournament Director for inclusion in the events for the 1993 National Convention and Tournament.

These actions are only two of the initiatives that will be considered by the National Council this summer. There are others that will be developed as a result of the recommendations made by the working