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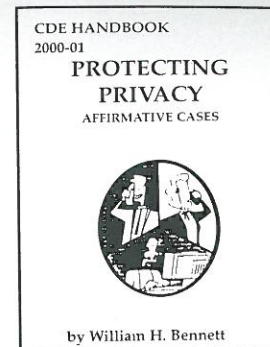
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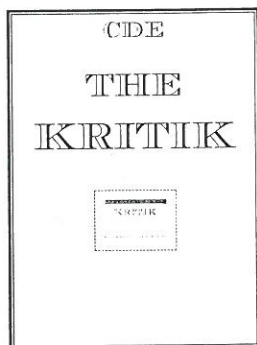
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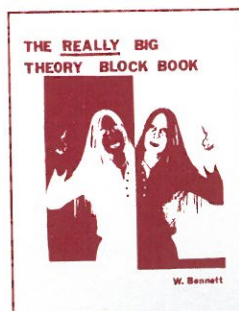
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Resolved: Inaction in the face of injustice makes an individual morally culpable

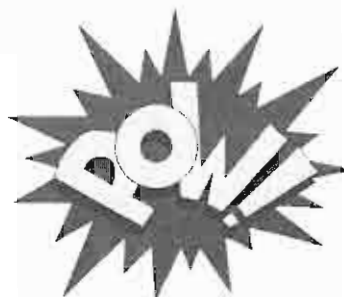
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NORTHWEST ROSE NATIONALS 2000
REGISTRATION TIME SCHEDULE
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8:30	Registration for Tournament Officials Oregon Convention Center Hall A Portland, Oregon
9:00-5:00	General Registration Oregon Center Hall A
9:00	Speech Tab Meeting - Oregon Center Room 106
9:00	Debate Tab Meeting - Oregon Center Room 105
9:00	L/D Tab Meeting - Oregon Center Room 107
10:00	L/D Wording Committee - Oregon Center VIP Suite
10:00	Supplemental Tab Meeting - Oregon Center Room 104
11:00	First Time Coaches and First Time Schools Reception Doubletree-Lloyd Center Hotel
11:00	Congress Officials Meeting - Oregon Center 103
11:00	Consolation Tab Meeting - Oregon Center Room 104 (Impromptu and Storytelling)
12:00	Congress Parliamentarians Meeting - Oregon Center 103
12:30	Extemp Officials Meeting - Oregon Center Room 104
1:00	District Chair Reception - Doubletree-Lloyd Center Hotel
2:00	District Chair Seminar - Doubletree-Lloyd Center Hotel
5:00-8:00	Late Registration Lobby, Doubletree-Lloyd Center Hotel
5:00	Northwest Rose Nationals 2000 Opening Ceremony Oregon Center Clark Ballroom
7:00-9:00	Coaches Reception Student Party NFL Diamond Award Presentations Jazz at the Zoo Portland Zoo

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- Chapter 15: Preparing an Affirmative Value Case
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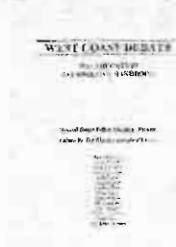
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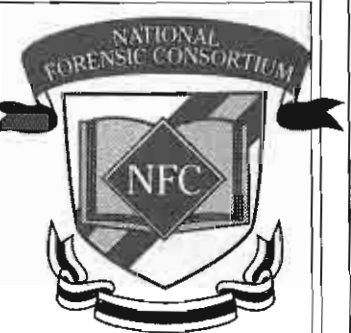
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FACTS ALONE ARE NOT ENOUGH: A PLEA FOR COORDINATED VOICE AND MESSAGE

by Wayne C. Mannebach

Reality over Cliche'

A cliché among many coaches of debate, oratory, and other forms of public speaking occurs when they tell their students to "Research your topic and get the facts!" Some of these coaches quickly allude to Aristotle and others like him who contributed greatly to the development of rhetorical theory and criticism, and who strongly promoted the use of evidence, enthymeme, and syllogism.

A cliché resulting consciously or unconsciously among many students of the aforementioned instructors is: "Since I have researched my topic, gathered evidence, and weaved this evidence into logical arguments to support my message, I will be effective in the classroom and in tournament competition." Coupled with the aforementioned cliché should be another one, namely: **Not necessarily so!**

Aristotle, for instance, did advocate research and fact-gathering, but his remarks should be treated in proper context. Aristotle also realized that external matters like voice, gestures, movements, and facial expressions have much importance because of the "defects of our hearers." Aristotle meant that **in theory** public speakers should focus on inspiring their hearers to accept ideas, evidence, and logic rather than aim on entertaining their hearers through the use of vocal and visual techniques. However, as a keen observer of human behavior Aristotle realized that speaking situations don't work by the preceding desired theory. Instead, delivery is an important instrument of persuasion, and the vocal and visual ways by which a speaker presents his or her messages **do** make a difference. In short, facts alone are not enough for effective communication.

In the February 2000 edition of *Ros-trum*, the author urged his readers not to forsake their physical ethos, namely facial expressions, movements, and gestures. The purpose of this article is to urge the readers to appreciate and employ advantageously the following principal elements of vocal delivery; quality, rate, volume, pitch, pronunciation, and articulation.

Quality Should Blend with Message

Sound always has for its source some vibrating body which produces disturbances, or waves, in some transmitting medium such as air. The waves spread through the medium and reach the ear for the hearer's interpretation. The sounds may seem rich, pleasant, charming, or beautiful; or they may seem thin, rough, harsh, or ugly. These sounds, or **colors**, are a speaker's vocal **quality**.

Vocal quality refers to a tone's complexity, namely the frequency and relative intensity of certain vibrations. For instance, at a humanities concert combining Western music with ancient Japanese court music, successive tones from an oboe, saxophone, clarinet, trumpet, violin, and harp will sound different from each other. Variation in sound also will come from successive tones from a ryuteki (flute), hichiriki (short, double-reed pipe), sho (mouth organ), kakko (small, horizontal, two-headed drum), taiko (large, hanging drum), shoko (small gong), biwa (lute), kono (zither), and ko-tsuzumi (shoulder drum).

Vocal quality in humans is produced by the amount and shape of the breath stream passing over the vocal cords in the larynx, or voice box, by the vibrations of the vocal cords; and by the size, shape, texture, number, and manner of coupling of the various resonance chambers, including the cavities of the throat, mouth, and nose.

For example, deep mellow, and rich voices tend to come from people whose throat muscles are appropriately relaxed. High, sharp, and squeaky voices tend to come from people whose throat muscles are tense and rigid. Dull, muffled voices tend to come from people whose throat muscles are too relaxed. Other unpleasant voices come from people with sore throats and stuffy noses. Judges and other members of the audience easily can respond negatively to a speaker whose voice is nasal, breathy, colorless, rasping, piercing, or grating.

Desire for success in the classroom or in tournament competition should be sufficient reason to develop voice quality control. However, many students of debate,

forensics, and public speaking seem unaware of, or even indifferent to, the effects their voice quality has on their audience. Students who want to improve their vocal quality should learn to hear and evaluate it, and must realize that it is determined only partly by the structural limitations of their respective resonance system.

This article is not intended to correct extremely undesirable deviations of a clinical nature. A medical doctor is needed for that. Instead, this article is designed to help the readers develop awareness of vocal quality and its production. Since good quality generally means the **absence of certain negative tonal characteristics**, this article describes certain deviant qualities and recommends simple, yet often pragmatic, ways to control the objectionable features. This should help the readers to improve their vocal quality.

One way to improve vocal quality is to utilize listening skills. This can be accomplished, for illustration, by listening to different voice qualities on radio and television; in movies, classrooms, shopping malls, and restaurants; at work or public forums; or during play or other social gatherings. Try to identify various types can sharpen listening skills and develop awareness of vocal factors. Personal vocal quality also can be developed by delivering speeches or reading aloud into a tape-recorded and then, with an instructor or friend, trying to identify the pleasant and unpleasant tones that are heard.

To discuss vocal qualities with exactness is difficult, because no universally accepted name exist for them. Many disagreements and contradictions occur, in this respect, among authors of textbooks on public speaking, voice and diction, acting, oral interpretation, radio and television broadcasting, and speech pathology. However, such authors recognize the important of quality differences and advocate control of quality for making voice effective. The following examples of poor quality control usually are easy to detect.

Some Inappropriate Vocal Qualities

BREATHY vocal quality results when the vocal cords are not brought together closely enough during tone production, and when air rushing through the glottis (the space between the vocal cords) produces friction heard as a whisperlike noise in addition to the vocal cord tone. This vocal quality may be appropriate for an actress trying to appear and sound sultry, *but it is inappropriate for effective public speaking!*

HOARSE vocal quality is characterized by a grating, rough, sometimes husky sound heard from people with laryngitis. This quality can be caused by organic problems in the larynx. Swelling, growths, paralysis, or other organic problems can cause laryngeal malfunctions likely to produce the harshness. This quality may be appropriate for drill instructors yelling at their recruits in bootcamp, *but it is inappropriate for effective public speaking!*

NASAL vocal quality occurs from inadequate closure of the nasal port by the velum (the soft palate) and associated structures. It is characterized by resonance from the nasal cavities during the production of sounds normally non-nasal. This quality may be appropriate for a stereotyped villain in a movie, *but it is inappropriate for effective public speaking!*

STRIDENT vocal quality usually comes from strain and tenseness in the resonators during vocal production. The harsh and piercing vocal quality may be appropriate for an actor pretending to have a severe cold, *but it is inappropriate for effective public speaking!*

THIN vocal quality generally is flat colorless, and drab. It may be appropriate for a stereotyped nagging, forceful, and domineering wife or mistress, *but it is inappropriate for effective public speaking!*

Once one is aware of what vocal quality is and what it should not be for effective oral communication, at least four steps can be taken to improve vocal quality:

LEARN TO RELAX. Tension and vocal strain cause numerous vocal problems, including vocal distortion. It is easier to achieve efficient, effective voice production by relaxing the body to a level of tension just adequate to the task at hand. Exercises to relax the muscles of the neck, shoulders, pharynx, larynx, face, and mouth can be helpful, but one should approach these exercises easily, without a feeling of urgency.

SEEK VOICE AWARENESS AND IMPROVEMENT EXERCISES. Exercises to identify different vocal qualities and to improve known negative qualities can be helpful, but practicing these exercises should be done daily and without a feeling of urgency.

WHEN NECESSARY, SEEK PROFESSIONAL HELP. If an important, undesirable vocal quality exists after trying the aforementioned drills, then professional help should be sought. One should not persist in exercises and drills that are not producing the desired result. Perhaps x-rays of nasal and nonnasal vowel production are required. Another possible need is a laryngoscopic examination to determine voice practice or medical attention. In such cases, a physician or speech pathologist should be consulted.

USE VOICE QUALITY FOR PERSONAL ADVANTAGE. Everyone who talks has voice quality characteristics, mostly unconsciously controlled. Voice quality occurs whenever talk occurs, so voice quality should be used for personal advantage. Exercises and drills prescribed, for example, by a physician, speech pathologist, speech instructor, or singing instructor, should not be wasted. Students of public speaking should note that their primary goal is to transmit their intended thoughts, and that vocal quality must coordinate with the intended thoughts. In short, *voice must blend with sense!*

Rate Should Blend with Message

If someone were to blow numerous soap bubbles in front of a two-year-old child, for instance, the child probably would become confused over which bubble to catch and thus would not catch any. However, if someone were to blow one bubble every two minutes in front of the same child, the latter might catch the first bubble, but likely would not be present to catch others. The child's attention would wonder, causing the child to play elsewhere. Similarity holds true in public speaking.

If a speaker were to bombard his audience with multiple ideas rapidly delivered, many of the audience probably would be unable to discriminate among sounds, think about what was said, assimilate the messages, respond to them, or work with them. People who lack sufficient time to apprehend and comprehend a message may give up trying. In such cases effective communication is absent.

Then, too, speakers who talk too

slowly tend to lull their hearers to daydream or even to sleep. Again, effective communication would not occur.

Effective public speakers talk neither too rapidly nor too slowly. Most people speak American English within a range of 130 to 180 words per minute. This does not mean that a rate of 90 words is too slow, nor that 200 words is too fast. The ultimate test of a desirable rate of speech is whether or not the audience understands the intended message.

Rate of speech depends on many factors, especially pause, phonation, occasion, subject matter, and personality.

PAUSE determines rate. Pauses are periods of silence with several functions. For illustration, pauses are normal places to breathe; breathless gasps often reflect inexperienced speakers. Pauses act as oral punctuation, serving to separate words and phrases from one another like commas do; and clarifying and strengthening their meaning like periods, question marks, and exclamation points do. Pauses serve as transitions from one thought to another, serve as attention-getting devices, and give the audience time to digest and react to what is said.

PHONATION determines rate. Phonation refers to duration or time consumed in uttering vowel and consonant sounds. Whether the rate is fast or slow, short or long, some words should be made to stand out from the context by changing their time value. Regardless of the speed or duration, phonation should adapt to the particular audience, message, mood, and the like.

OCCASION determines rate. Fast delivery usually is for gayety, eagerness, and joy as expressed, for example, at pep rallies, athletic events, and political rallies. Slow delivery usually is for reverence, solemnity, and peacefulness as expressed, for illustration, at funerals, graduation exercises, and business meetings.

SUBJECT MATTER determines rate. Subjects that are light, simple, and familiar usually are spoken at a faster rate than subjects that are deep, complicated, and unfamiliar or esoteric.

PERSONALITY determines rate. Speakers who are confident, socially-minded, egocentric, or well prepared on their subject tend to speak faster than those who are nervous, introverted, shy, or poorly prepared on their subject.

In summary, the ultimate test of a desirable rate of speech is whether or not the audience understands the intended mes-

sage. One should speak slowly enough to be understood and fast enough to sustain audience attention. Skilled public speakers frequently modify their rate, well-placed pauses, and phonation.

Volume Should Blend with Message

Volume concerns the loudness or force of the voice. Variation in loudness occurs by increasing or decreasing the force of impact of air against the vocal cords. When the force of the impact is great, the cords become tense and elongated; vibrations occur through a greater distance called the *amplitude*; and a loudness occurs. As the force of the impact is lessened, the cords become relaxed and shorter; vibrations occur through a shorter distance; and a soft sound or even a whisper occurs. This can be seen by using a rubber band. Pulling the band makes the sides long and tense. When plucked in this condition, the band gives a loud noise compared with what happens when the sides of the band are released and allowed to hang loosely. So, too are the vocal cords.

Details about the levels at which sound becomes perceptible and pleasant or painful are best handled by physicians, audiologists, and engineers. However, students of public speaking should be concerned with volume, for it can capture or lose attention, give or lose emphasis, convey or destroy meaning, and transmit or smother feelings and emotions. In short, speakers who antagonize their hearers by talking too loudly, too softly, or with monotonous volume should not expect to be effective communicators. Speakers must change their volume according to degree and form.

DEGREE of volume refers to variations in the amount of energy applied in speaking. Volume can vary from a shout to a whisper. Of course, the meaning of the message should dictate the degree of volume. Some speakers are fortunate to perform in rooms with excellent acoustical design and high-quality, properly-working microphones. Other speakers must perform in rooms with poor acoustical design, improperly-working microphones, and numerous distracting noises coming from the surrounding area, like noises from lawn mowers or construction jackhammers. Whatever the situation, speakers must adapt their volume to the environment; speakers must be clearly heard by the audience.

FORM of volume refers to the ways by which force is applied. Some instructors

categorize form into the explosive, expulsive, and effusive.

EXPLOSIVE FORM is applied abruptly like when a coach shouts an order from the bench to his players on the field.

EXPULSIVE FORM is applied in normal conversation.

EFFUSIVE FORM is applied gradually, resulting in a draw-out tone which indicates control but also sentiment, contemplation, or even grandeur.

Perhaps the most universally known forms of volume are accent, stress, and emphasis.

ACCENT refers to vocal power applied to syllables within a particular word. It is often used to distinguish words spelled the same but different in meaning. Consider, for instance, how the syllabic stress in the following pairs of words changes the meaning of the words.

ADdress - adDRESS

(What is the ADdress of the person about to adDRESS the audience?)

COMbat - comBAT

(If we must enter COMbat, then I will comBAT to the death of one of us.)

conTENT - CONtent

(Are you conTENT over the CONtent of the chapter?)

conTRACT - CONtract

(Did you see his fact conTRACT when he read his new CONtract?)

CONflict - conFLICT

(If there is another CONflict, will your heritage conFLICT with your loyalty?)

deFECT - DeFect

(I shall deFECT from your team, if you have one more DeFect in your plan.)

preSENT - PREsent

(Please come forward to preSENT the PREsent to Mrs. Winthrop.)

PROject - proJECT

(This PROject should proJECT your image move favorably.)

OBject - obJECT

(The OBject of this exercise is to learn how to obJECT more strongly.)

REcord - reCORD

(The REcord department has no secretary to reCORD inventory.)

Usually nouns and adjectives receive primary accent on the first syllable, and verbs receive accent on the second syllable.

STRESS refers to vocal power applied to words. Stress makes certain words stand out from other words in a sentence, thus strengthening the meaning of the specific message. Usually stress is applied to ac-

tion words, idea words, and picture words; rarely is it applied to connective or structural words. Abraham Lincoln's "of, by, and for the people" is a notable exception to general usage.

Consider, for illustration, the sentence, "Marge was determined to win the automobile." Notice how stress on a particular word changes the meaning of the sentence.

(1) MARGE was determined to win the automobile.

(2) Marge WAS determined to win the automobile.

(3) Marge was DETERMINED to win the automobile.

(4) Marge was determined to WIN the automobile.

(5) Marge was determined to win THE automobile.

(6) Marge was determined to win the AUTOMOBILE.

The first sentence implies that Marge alone was determined to win the automobile. The second sentence implies that Marge was but no longer is determined to win the automobile. The third sentence stresses Marge's attitude. The fourth sentence focuses on Marge's method for winning. The fifth sentence implies Marge was after the best automobile. The last sentence identifies the object of Marge's determination. Indeed, stress does determine meaning!

EMPHASIS refers to vocal power applied to units longer than syllables and words. For example, read aloud the following statements and emphasize volume when reading the capitalized parts. Notice how volume strengthens the meaning.

*To err is human, TO FORGIVE DIVINE.

*The man who saves money nowadays isn't a miser, HE'S A WIZARD!

*It should be EASY to make an honest living, for FEW PEOPLE pursue it.

*Before marriage, a man YEARNs for a woman. After marriage the Y is SILENT.

*When a man says, "I run things in my hone," he means the LAWN MOWER.

*It is very difficult to stand prosperity, ESPECIALLY YOUR NEIGHBORS'.

*One advantage of being stupid is that you NEVER GET LONELY.

*If a man wants his dreams to come true, then he MUST WAKE UP.

*Give EVERY man your EAR, but FEW your VOICE.

*Cruelty is FED, not WEAKENED by

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tears.

Whether it be accent on syllables, or stress on words, or emphasis on phrases or larger units of syntax, every form of volume must coordinate with the intended thoughts, or communication effectiveness cannot occur.

RECOMMENDATIONS. Prior to presenting your speech, try to visit the place where you will be speaking. Take along a friend and have him or her sit in various places while you practice your address. Make sure that your friend can hear you clearly from different locations. If certain places have poor acoustics, then try to adapt to those places while speaking.

Prior to speaking, also try to discover what distractions you will confront during your address. For instance, if heavy construction or lawn mowing is occurring outside your speech setting, then combat such distractions by increasing your volume. Such advice may seem like a "no brainer," but not surprisingly many people fail to employ sufficient volume in such circumstances, thus causing communication breakdown.

Before using a microphone, be sure that everything is working properly. Also remember not to shout into the microphone.

If you have a voice that usually falls below a level adequate for effective communication, then seek instruction for breathing and phrasing exercises. Often the voices that is inadequately loud gets trapped in the speaker's mouth and fails to find its way to the hearers. In other words, the speaker fails to open the mouth wide enough, so oral inactivity or failure to project is the problem.

In summary, the strength of the signal must be above the threshold of the receiver. The speaker must be loud enough to be heard by the receiver, and louder than environmental noises. Signal strength, (volume) and intelligibility (understanding the message) have a close relationship.

Pitch Should Blend with Message

Pitch basically is the position of a sound on a musical scale, and it is determined by how fast the vocal cords vibrate per second. For example, a sound having 256 cycles per second is called *Middle C*. A tone one octave higher is produced by 512 cycles per second. Most people have a usable pitch range of two octaves, but few use this range effectively.

As a person matures, pitch usually follows a downward course. At maturity the

voice is pitched at a lower range than that of an immature voice. Thus, grade school children usually have pitches higher than those of high school students, and the latter often have pitches higher than college students. Also, men's voices, because of the length and thickness of the vocal cords, usually are lower in pitch than those of women's voices. An appropriate pitch for either sex is that which produces the most resonant tone.

Meaningful communication demands variation in pitch, and the latter comes about primarily in three ways. The **STEP** is a distinct change that goes either up or down. The **SLIDE**, sometimes called *inflection*, is a change which starts gradually and continues in the upward or downward direction in which it started. The **DOUBLE SLIDE**, sometimes called the *circumflex*, involves two slides with a change of direction. Rising pitch patterns usually suggest indecision, uncertainty, incomplete thought, suspense, or a question. Downward pitch patterns usually suggest decisiveness, resolution, finality, confidence, or annoyance.

The relationship of the above changes in pitch must vary and adapt to the intended thoughts and language used. If variety of pitch does not occur, then a mechanical pattern develops, resulting in a sing-song pattern or a chant-like monotone.

The causes of vocal inflexibility include, for example, temporary illness, poor health in general, functional problems, emotional upset, hearing loss, or poor ear training. Whether the cause of the deadening effect on pitch is temporary or long-ranged, the important factor is that a limited range makes a dull delivery, and the latter does not produce communicative effectiveness.

It is unlikely that occasionally in your speech you can simply insert various pitch changes. Instead, you must discover the pitch changes you possess and then study how to improve them in value and number. Perhaps the simplest way to do this is to record your voice while delivering a speech and while engaging in normal conversation. Compare the two recordings, note how they differ, and then try to adopt for your public speaking the best elements of your conversational pattern. Also try to determine how you can strengthen your intended thoughts by using a wider range within the pattern you established.

Pronunciation Should Blend with Message

Like most respected leaders in soci-

ety, public speakers are expected to use pronunciation that meets the standards of well educated people. Pronunciation means *choice* in uttering sounds and stressing words in such a way that the words do not call attention to themselves. For instance, a speaker would employ incorrect usage by pronouncing *salad* as saLAD, *Chevrolet* as ChevROlet, *tomato* as TOMato, *basketball* as basKETball, and *transportation* as transPORTation. Therefore, it is advisable to rehearse the proper pronunciation of one's message. Standard references of pronunciation are mandatory for communication effectiveness.

One should be especially careful not to pronounce the following frequently used words: *just*, *can*, *get*, *been*, *to*, *many*, *hundred*, *something* and *for*. Too often the words are pronounced *jist*, *kin*, *git*, *bin*, *ta*, *miny*, *hunerd*, *sompin*, and *fer*. Such pronunciation makes the speaker appear slovenly or ignorant of appropriate usage, and either image prevents effective communication.

Articulation Should Blend with Message

Whereas pronunciation essentially involves human *choice* as to the ways sounds are uttered and words stressed, articulation involves *capacity* or *ability* to produce sounds. To understand the important of articulation, it is necessary to review how the speech mechanism works.

The first step for producing speech is the *breath stream* or power mechanism. The primary biological function of breathing is to take oxygen and release carbon dioxide. Speech formation begins with the escaping air.

The second step for producing speech is *phonation*. The breath stream produces a controlled column of moving air that furnishes the power for speech. During exhalation, the escaping air passes through the throat and larynx. When the air passes over the vocal cords in the larynx, the cords assume various positions. When the cords are in a *wide* position, the air can escape with no significant noise. The cords can also take a *partially* closed position, thus causing friction noises characteristic of whispering. The cords can go into a very rapid motion, causing the space (glottis) between them to open and close alternately. When this happens, the air column is allowed to escape in the rhythmical puffs of air that produce the sound waves of typical speech. Finally, the vocal cords can go into

a *closed* position, completely stopping the passage of air and thus forming the *glottal stop*, so typical of a Scotsman's speech.

Once the vocal cords flutter and cause sound to develop, the sound waves in the breath stream bounce against different sounding boards and enter various chambers. This stage is called resonance and produces voice quality. Sounding boards include the chest walls, bones in the head, and the hard palate (alveolar ridge). Chambers include the throat, mouth, and nose. Before the sound waves and their quality escape from the body, they are shaped into various forms. The latter is the fourth state, namely *articulation*.

The articulators act as valves or valve contacts for the interruption of the breath stream by complete stoppage, or by constriction of the passage. The major articulators of the human voice are the soft (velum) and hard palates, lower jaw, teeth, lips, various parts of the tongue, and the opening and closing of the vocal cords.

To appreciate the value of the articulators, slowly recite the following words and *feel* which articulators are involved in the formation of the capitalized sounds. The following words represent the major sounds of American English. Each line stresses a single sound. (Refer to the middle column)

RECOMMENDATIONS. Most people are capable of producing the primary sounds of American English, but careless habits develop when attention is not devoted to articulation. When practicing for a speech, it may help to request someone to sit in the farthest seat from the rostrum, if possible, and check for articulatory effectiveness. One can also listen to oneself via a tape recorder, video recorder, and the like.

Another exercise for good articulation is to abandon phonation when practicing a speech. This is the act of whispering so that the vocal cords are not vibrating and producing sounds. Without phonation, the speaker can concentrate on clearly enunciating the vowels and consonants to increase intelligibility.

Probably the most effective method is to invite someone formally trained in speech to analyze one's vocal characteristics.

The Educational Trinity - a Closing Remark

The Attic orator Isocrates clearly identified the educational trilogy of **theory**, followed by **criticism**, followed by professional, constructive **criticism**. The theory

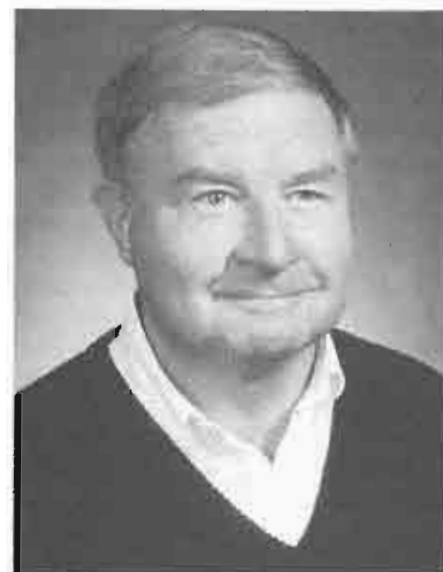
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nOt	schooLing
vetO	beHind
crOoked	pAinful
sOOt	dIamond
heaRd	fOist
altaR	hOUse
craekLe	thOUGH
whittLing	tWirl
Humble	WHarf
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fIOWn	lauGH
nitWit	haVe
WHich	someTHing
Yesterday	THese
HUman	fenCe
Rue	hoSe
Lemon	maCHine
PHone	beiGe
caVe	caBin
THeme	triP
THere	aDDition
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ZigZag	piCKle
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bAGgage	ruGby
maNy	huMdrum
designAte	iNcome
clTy	fiNGer
rEpEat	whiCH

presented in the February, 2000 edition of **Rostrum**, coupled with the theory presented in this article, should give students of debate, oratory, and other public speaking genres sufficient information on how to make the delivery of a message effective.

The next step for the above students is to employ consciously the theory in their classrooms, tournament competition, and other public speaking activities.

Finally, the students should listen with open minds to the feedback of their instructors, coaches, and tournament judges. Students should never interpret helpful comments as **ad hominem**, or "attacks" on their personal character. All criticism should be interpreted - **and given** - as remarks intended to improve the quality of public speaking.

In conclusion, students of public speaking who want to be successful should always strive to employ good delivery, for facts alone are not enough!



Wayne C. Mannebach

(Wayne Mannebach directed debate and forensics at Ripon College for nine years, and for the past twenty-five years he has taught English at St. Mary Central High School in Neenah (WI).)



Portland, Oregon



Announcing the 26th Samford Summer Forensics Institute

16-29 July 2000
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Policy Debate Division: The SSFI Policy debate program is designed for students entering their first or second year of debate. Experienced coaches stress the fundamentals of debate. At the end of the institute, each student will have participated in writing an affirmative case, writing a disadvantage and a kritik, and taken part in at least eight practice debates. First year students learn how to flow and cover the fundamentals of debate. As of 1 January, policy debate labs will be directed by Michael Janas, Ph.D. (Samford University), Ben Coulter, MA (Samford University), David O'Connor, BA (Iowa City West High School), Thom O'Rourke, MA (University School, TN) and Heidi Hamilton, Ph.D. (Augustana College, IL).

Lincoln-Douglas Debate Division: Samford hosts one of the longest-running Lincoln-Douglas workshops in the nation. The program is designed for students who are in their first or second year of debate and acts as a complimentary program to the University of Iowa Summer Institute. In addition to providing a primer on the basics of moral and political philosophy, the L-D institute also seeks to develop fundamental skills such as flowing, briefing and casing. The Lincoln-Douglas workshop is directed by Marilee Dukes (Vestavia Hills H.S., AL), Pat Bailey (Homewood H.S., AL) and Claire Carmen (Episcopal H.S., TX).

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For more information:

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The Scholars Program at the Emory National Debate Institute

June 18 - July 1, 2000 • Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia

The Emory National Debate Institute, which has contributed to the education of high school debaters for a quarter of a century, now offers a specialized workshop-within-a-workshop catering to experienced high school debaters with advanced skills. The Scholars Program, which was conceived and designed by some of the nation's most competitively successful college coaches, gives accomplished debaters the opportunity to receive the kind of instruction, research opportunities, and feedback they will need in order to meet their competitive goals for the coming year.

The Scholars Program will take place alongside the established Emory National Debate Institute, under the Direction of Melissa Maxcy Wade. Those who enter the Program will have access to the entire faculty of the ENDI. However, the Scholars Program contains a number of additional features designed specifically to benefit the advanced debater.

Special Features of the Scholars Program Under the Direction of David Heidt

Advanced curriculum: Every aspect of the Scholars Program has been redesigned by our staff of accomplished coaches, from the lecture schedule to the structure and pace of lab groups. Members of the Program will receive advanced library instruction, including guided research in the Woodruff library system and targeted use of Internet resources. Our curriculum helps students understand and utilize the most advanced modern debate positions, but without sacrificing their ability to win rounds with traditional skills and strategies.

Emphasis on evidence accumulation: Rather than forcing experienced students to endure redundant basic lectures, we let Scholars get on with the business of researching the topic and practicing advanced techniques.

Amazing staff-to-student ratio: We maintain a 1:4 staff-student ratio in lab groups, and each student will interact with nearly every member of our large Scholars Program faculty.

Unique, separate lectures: Outside their lab groups, members of the Program will receive direct instruction from top-rated college coaches. Even in lecture settings, our staff-student ratio is unusual, with no more than 20 students listening to one instructor. Furthermore, we offer a small group theory seminar menu targeted to students' needs and interests.

Numerous debate rounds: Our curriculum includes a minimum of 12 rounds, with extended time for critiques from our staff.

Select faculty: The Program will be directed by David Heidt, past winner of the National Debate Tournament and coach of numerous national collegiate champions at Emory over the past several years. Assistant Directors will include Kristin Dybvig and Stephen Bailey. Kristin is the coach at Arizona State University, where she was a nationally ranked debater, and has coached teams into the elimination rounds of national championship tournaments. Stephen Bailey, a veteran instructor of the Emory and Michigan Institutes, set a national college record last year when he compiled the second best win-loss record in the country as a sophomore. The rest of the Scholars faculty has been selected from among the ENDI's staff of accomplished college debaters and coaches.

Great value: Scholars will pay the same price as other students at the Emory National Debate Institute. We are a nationally competitive institute at a discount price!

You must apply for the Scholars Program at the ENDI. Those seeking admission should call or write:

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EMORY

Barkley Forum • Emory National Debate Institute

June 18 – July 1, 2000 • Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia

Under the Direction of Melissa Maxcy Wade

The Emory National Debate Institute has been contributing to the education of high school debaters for twenty-five years. The curriculum is steeped in the most fundamental aspects of debate: presentation, research, and critical thinking. An excellent combination of traditional argument and debate theory and an emphasis on current debate practice makes the Emory National Debate Institute one of the most successful year after year. Novice, mid-level, and varsity competitors have found the Institute a worthwhile learning experience because the staff has the expertise to teach all levels of students and the experience to adjust to a variety of student needs.

Features of the Policy Division Under the Direction of Bill Newnam

Experienced staff: Our senior level staff has worked at this Institute and many others, including: American University, Bates College, Baylor University, Berkeley, Dartmouth College, Georgetown University, University of Iowa, University of Kentucky, Northwestern University, University of Michigan, Wake Forest University, Samford University, and Stanford University.

Excellent staff-to-student ratio: The Institute offers debaters the opportunity to work with one senior level instructor accompanied by at least one active college debater in small lab groups of 10 to 20 students.

Flexible curriculum: The Institute has always provided students a wide variety of instruction suitable to their levels of experience. Each laboratory group has explicit objectives and a field tested curriculum for the two week period, dependent upon their level of experience.

Commitment to diversity: The Institute has always been committed to making instruction accessible to urban and rural areas. We have several funded scholarships dedicated to promoting diversity. Additionally, ongoing grants make it possible to support many students from economically disadvantaged areas.

Dormitory supervision: An experienced staff including high school teachers, graduate students, and college upperclass students will supervise the dormitory.

Coaches workshop: An in-depth coaches workshop is conducted. Topics will include administration, organization, and coaching strategies. A full set of lectures appropriate for the classroom will be developed.

Inclusive Fees: The standard Institute fee includes tuition, housing, food, lab photocopying fees, entertainment, a t-shirt, and a handbook—the works.

Features of the Lincoln-Douglas Division Under the Direction of Jim Wade

Experienced staff: The Director of the Lincoln-Douglas division has been in the activity for over twenty years, and has served in his current position for eight years. Other staff members include an array of the finest college coaches, as well as some of the top college debaters in the nation.

Excellent staff-to-student ratio: The Institute offers debaters the opportunity to work with one senior level instructor accompanied by at least one active college debater in small lab groups of 10 to 14 students.

Flexible curriculum: The Institute has always provided students a wide variety of instruction suitable to their levels of experience. Our classes deal both with general philosophical issues and practical technique. There is a strong emphasis in lab groups on building speaking experience and providing constructive critique. A typical day involves three classes dealing with philosophy or technique and theory, followed by five hours of practical lab sessions.

Commitment to diversity: The Institute has always been committed to making instruction accessible to urban and rural areas. We have several funded scholarships dedicated to promoting diversity. Additionally, ongoing grants make it possible to support many students from economically disadvantaged areas.

Dormitory supervision: An experienced staff including high school teachers, graduate students, and college upperclass students will supervise the dormitory.

Inclusive Fees: The standard Institute fee includes tuition, housing, food, lab photocopying fees, entertainment, and a t-shirt—the works.

For an application, write or call:

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HARD TO
BELIEVE THEY
ACTUALLY CALL
THOSE THINGS
DEBATES!

LINCOLN

DOUGLAS

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LET'S PUT "DEBATE" INTO PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

by William L. Benoit

Presidential debates come in all shapes and sizes. The presence and length of opening statements and closing remarks, the opportunity and length of rebuttal, the nature of the questioner, and other factors have created a bewildering variety of formats. However, most scholars agree that these confrontations are not "really" debates but merely "joint press conferences." This observation raises the question of whether presidential debates should be more like traditional debates. I propose six modifications in political debates based on five important principles (campaign discourse should: inform voters, address topics that matter to voters, encourage candidates to distinguish themselves from competitors, facilitate "cost-benefit" analysis by voters by emphasizing clash, and address primarily policy topics but also character). These improvements are designed to improve the ability of this important form of communication to better inform voters.

Scholars have deliberated about whether we should consider presidential debates to be genuine "debates" (Bitzer & Rueter, 1980; Carlin, 1989; Weiler, 1989). Auer (1962) characterized these encounters as counterfeit debates and as "a double public press conference for simultaneous interviewing" (p. 147). Jamieson and Birdsell coined the phrase "joint press conference" to describe presidential debates (1988, p. 6). Zarefsky made explicit the argument that presidential debates do not live up to their potential:

Debates have great potential for focusing the audience's attention, for identifying issues, and for inviting deliberation. Sadly, however, this potential is largely unrealized. The [presidential] debates have been formatted for television—the confrontation with reporter-questioners adds dramatic conflict and the short time limits respond to audience's limited attention span. But these same conventions thwart sustained discussion of serious issues; they encourage one-liners and canned mini-speeches. (1992, p. 412)

I believe that the artificial format of

presidential debates, which makes them "joint press conferences" rather than true debates, is flawed. I will first argue for the importance of presidential debates, then articulate five principles for presidential debates, and finally use those principles to develop six specific suggestions for improving the format of presidential debates.

Importance of Presidential Debates

Political debates are important for three reasons. First, they give viewers an opportunity to see the principal contenders for office, meeting eye to eye, treating the same topics (Hellweg, Pfau, & Brydon, 1992). Jamieson (1987) explains that "As messages running an hour or longer, debates offer a level of contact with candidates clearly unmatched in spot ads and news segments. . . . The debates offer the most extensive and serious view of the candidates available to the electorate" (p. 28). Voters have the opportunity to compare the candidates in a relatively extended period of time in a political debate.

Second, viewers can obtain a somewhat less contrived impression of the candidates from debates than from other forms of campaign messages. While candidates do prepare for the debates, they cannot anticipate every question from the panelists, moderators, or audience members or every remark from an opponent. Furthermore, unlike speeches or TV spots with scripts, candidates are not usually permitted to bring notes to debates. Thus, voters may obtain a somewhat more spontaneous and accurate view of the candidates in debates.

Finally, political debates routinely attract the largest audience of any campaign message form (Jamieson & Birdsell, 1988). For example, in 1964, for example, no message by either Johnson or Goldwater was seen by even a quarter of the audience that watched the first 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates. (p. 122). Carlin develops a detailed argument about the size of the audience for presidential debates:

Nielson (1993) reported that the second presidential debate in 1992 attracted 43.1 million television households or 69.9 million viewers. . . (p. 4). Those numbers

contrast sharply to the 4.1 million homes or 20.5 million viewers who tuned in for each of the major party conventions (p. 1). In 1980, nearly 81 million people watched Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter in their only debate encounter (p. 4). Miller and MacKuen (1979) noted that 90% of the adult population watched at least one of the Kennedy-Nixon debates, and 83% watched at least one Ford-Carter match up. These numbers compared favorably to 73 percent who read about the campaigns in the paper, 4 percent who read magazines, and 45 percent who listened to radio reports. (1994, pp. 6-7)

The large size of the audience for presidential debates means that opportunity for influence from these campaign messages is substantial.

Is this potential for influence realized? Hellweg, Pfau, and Brydon concluded that "most studies suggest debate viewing contributes to considerable learning about the candidates and their positions" (1992, pp. 106-107). Research has found that presidential debates can influence many voters. Middleton (1962) indicated that the 1960 Nixon-Kennedy debates were "extremely important" for the voting decision of one out of eight voters. Roper (1960) reported that 4 million viewers changed their voting intention on the basis of the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates. Debates may also affect the outcome of elections. Wayne asserted that "Kennedy and Carter might not have won without the debates" (1992, p. 229). Kelley (1983) indicated that about one-fifth of voters reported that they had decided how to vote after watching the Carter-Reagan debate. Kirk, reported that "focus groups and exit polls told us that more people based their decision in 1992 on the debates than any other single means of information throughout the course of the campaign" (1995). So, research strongly suggests that presidential debates can influence voters and election outcomes.

However, Jamieson and Birdsell (1988) asserted that "debates don't very often convert partisans on one side to the other"

(p. 161). While this statement is true, debates can influence elections without converting partisans, by persuading undecided voters to favor one candidate (Carlin, 1994; Pfau & Kang, 1991). Zakahi and Hacker (1995) provided concrete evidence on the margin of victory in several elections:

In 1960, John Kennedy beat Richard Nixon by about 100,000 popular votes. This is a fraction of a percentage (0.2%) of the total vote. In 1968, Nixon defeated Hubert Humphrey by 500,000 votes (0.7%). In 1976, Jimmy Carter won by less than 2% of the popular vote. Polls in late September of 1976 showed an unusually large number of undecided voters (Reinhold, 1976). In 1980, Ronald Reagan beat Carter by less than 10% of the popular vote, yet two

debates) ought to inform voters. Voters are the ones who choose the president. The essence of democracy is for voters to select who will represent them in their government. This means that campaigns should be designed to encourage candidates to provide voters with information on which to base their voting decisions.

Second, campaign discourse should inform voters about *issues that matter to voters*. It would be a waste of time for two candidates to wax eloquent about foreign policy toward Albania if no one in the electorate cares about Albania. On the other hand, if voters care passionately about public education, candidates can help them make their voting decision by discussing education. I don't mean to imply that candidates should not be allowed to try to influence what the public believes are key issues; my point is that campaign discourse

benefits. *Attacks* tell voters of an opponent's (alleged) costs. *Defenses* refute alleged costs. Together, these three discourse functions can help voters decide who is probably the better office-holder (see, Benoit, 1999; Benoit, Blaney, & Pier, 1998; Benoit, Blaney, & Pier, 2000; Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Benoit, Wells, Pier, & Blaney, 1999). Of course, attacks (and other utterances as well) should not distort the record. The main point is that only with attack and defense, as well as acclaims, can voters get desirable clash.

Fifth, campaign discourse should address both *policy and character topics*, but focus more on policy. Political office holders create or implement governmental policy. Of course, there are limits to what any given political office holders can accomplish. Even presidents have limitations on their ability to create and carry out policy.

Table 1. Most Important Vote Determinant:

Campaign	Policy or Character		Poll
	Policy	Character	
1996	65%	27%	NBC/Wall Street Journal, 10/19-22/96
1992	143%*	16%	Harris Poll, 11/3/92
1988	59%	16%	USAToday, 1/21-28/88
1984	87%	7%	LA Times, 2/4-9/84
1980	59%	34%	LA Times, 10/5-9/80
1976	57%	36%	CBS/New York Times, 10/24-27/76

*Respondents were allowed to pick the two most important factors in this poll.

"Don't know" and "unsure" responses also occurred.

All polls obtained from Lexis/Nexis Academic Universe on-line.

weeks before the election, 25% of the voters were undecided. (p. 100)

The number of voters who are neither Republicans nor Democrats has increased substantially: The proportion of independents has risen from 22.6% in 1952 to 38.0% in 1992 (Weisberg & Kimball, 1993). Neither political party enjoys a majority of citizens, so it is not possible to win the presidency without persuading millions of these voters. Thus, presidential debates need not influence committed partisans to influence the outcome of the election, because the number of citizens who are not committed to the two major parties is quite large. Thus, presidential debates clearly merit attention.

Principles for Better Campaign Discourse

I will articulate four principles that inform my suggestions for improving the format of presidential debates. First, *campaign discourse (including presidential*

should not ignore the issues that matter to the public and it should not dwell on topics voters consider inconsequential.

Third, campaign discourse should *highlight the differences between candidates*. By definition, voting is a comparative act: Citizens vote for the candidate who appears to be the *better choice*. One cannot choose between two (or more) candidates who seem to be the same. The only possible basis for choosing between candidates are differences, or contrasts, between them. Thus, debates should encourage candidates to display the differences that will allow voters to choose who is likely to be the better office-holder.

A fourth general principle emerges from this conception of voting as choosing the better candidate. For voting decisions to best resemble cost-benefit analysis, campaign discourse should *encourage clash (acclaims, attacks, and defenses)*. *Acclaims* tell voters of the candidate's (alleged)

Still, the basic task of elected officials is to run the government. Thus, voters have a right to know the candidates' policy positions -- as well as the pros and cons of those positions. In the 2000 primary, one common criticism of George W. Bush is that he is reluctant to take issue positions. Public opinion polls from 1972 through 1996 indicate that voters consider character less more important to their presidential vote decisions than policy (see Table 1). Thus, debate format should encourage candidates to clash on their policy positions.

However, while I do not believe that candidates ought to discuss their private lives, some character questions are important to voters. We need to be able to *trust* candidates to follow through with their campaign promises. Furthermore, no candidate can anticipate every potential issue that might arise in his or her term of office. Thus, voters ought to know a candidate's ideals and, again, be able to trust that if elected,

he or she will deal with unanticipated crises or opportunities in appropriate ways. Thus, I believe debates ought to focus primarily on policy and but also address character concerns (although not private personal details).

Suggestions for an Improved Debate Format

I will advance six specific suggestions for improving the format of presidential debates. They do not all need to be implemented together, which is important because candidates and their campaign advisors may well resist some suggestions more than others.

- (1) **Debates should focus on a single topic.**

Within reason, the more narrow the topic of debate the better (domestic issues, for example, should be considered too broad). It is unrealistic to expect candidates to be prepared to address thoughtfully, in an extemporaneous debate, any conceivable topic. When the topics are not restricted, that inevitably has the effect of encouraging the candidates to prepare superficially for many topics. When topics are restricted, candidates have the opportunity to prepare more thoroughly and to do a better job of informing the electorate. Of course, candidates may object about the narrowing of topics (for example, it seems possible that in 1996 Clinton would have benefitted more from a debate on education than Dole). Choosing narrower topics for presidential debates is likely to improve the information available to voters on those topics, and the clash that ensues from the candidates.

- (2) **Debates should feature as topics the issues most important to voters.**

Debate topics should not be chosen at random (or by the whims of journalists). Instead, I propose that the topics of presidential debates should be chosen that reflect the issues most important to voters. How better to inform voters than encouraging candidates to address the issues that matter most to voters? This can give voters a choice to learn more about the topic(s) that are most important to them.

- (3) **Debates should encourage clash between the candidates.**

Candidates should be given the opportunity to make statements (in alternating order), to refute their opponents' positions, and to defend their own positions. Clash, in which we hear both of the candidates *refute* and *defend*, is important for voters to be able to distinguish between the candidates. In March of 1996, the *New York Times* quipped that the Clinton-Dole

race would pit the "center against the middle" (Toner, 1996, p. 4.3). Obviously, one candidate can only be *better* than an opponent if there is a *difference* between those candidates. For voters to be able to exercise meaningful choice, they must know the differences between the candidates. This means the debate format should not discourage attacks (although it should discourage *inappropriate* attacks). Direct clash will highlight contrasts between candidates, making it easier for voters to see the differences between them and facilitating their voting choice.

- (4) **Questions, when they are used, should come from voters, not journalists.**

Journalists should report the news, not create it. I think it would be difficult for a journalist to retain his or her objectivity when faced with the opportunity to "get" a candidate (of course, no one can be completely objective, so it would be better to say that the opportunity to question candidates may exacerbate this inherent subjectivity). Furthermore, given that debates are staged to help voters decide between the candidates, it makes more sense to use questions from voters as prompts for candidate statements. This procedure will make it more likely that debates will focus on the issues that matter most to voters.

- (5) **Candidates should be permitted to question one another.**

Candidates who are well-prepared will know the places where their opponents are most vulnerable. This will facilitate clash among the candidates. Skillful questioning has the potential to pin down elusive rhetors (although it, like other forms of discourse, can be abused). Thus, it can help give the electorate information about the candidates and differences in their positions that might not emerge without questions.

- (6) **Debates should have a limited number of participants.**

One of the problems I see with primary debates (especially early in the campaign) is that they often feature as many as nine candidates. For example, in 1996, ten candidates (Alexander, Buchanan, Dole, Dornan, Forbes, Gramm, Keyes, Lugar, Specter, and Taylor) participated in one or more presidential primary debates. We cannot expect voters to be able to contrast that many candidates at once (especially if the debate has no restriction on topics). This is a clear example of information overload. We must balance competing interests here: the more candidates who participate, the more choices given to the electorate; the more candidates, the more difficult it is for

voters to compare them all. I would rather see two or three debates among three or four candidates than one debate with nine candidates. Note that voters would have a choice about which debates (with which candidates) to watch. This procedure will facilitate voter learning about candidates.

Conclusion

Together, these changes will probably improve the quality of presidential debates. Debates ought to inform the voters, treat topics that matter to voters, highlight the differences between candidates, and encourage clash on issues of policy and character. These changes ought to result in a better informed electorate and better voting decisions. Of course, these changes need not all be adopted for political debate to see an improvement -- and surely some of these suggestions would be more palatable to candidates and their advisors than others. Any one, or any group, of these changes could improve the quality of presidential debates.

Some people may not be aware that primary debates have a longer history than general debates (Davis, 1997). The first primary debate featured Thomas Dewey and Harold Stassen in 1948. Kennedy warmed up for the Nixon-Kennedy debates by contesting Humphrey in a primary debate. I find it ironic that these debates employed, arguably, superior formats. Dewey and Stassen debated a topic (that communism should be outlawed in the United States) and featured constructives and rebuttals with no questions. Kennedy and Humphrey had constructives and rebuttals. While they did have questions, they had been submitted by citizens rather than reporters. It is unfortunate that we strayed from our roots into the formats used today. These early experiments, which enacted some of the ideas championed here, demonstrate that these suggestions are viable.

(William L. Benoit (Ph.D., Wayne State University, 1979) is a Professor of Communication at the University of Missouri. With William T. Wells, he wrote *Candidates in Conflict: Persuasive Attack and Defense in the 1992 Presidential Debates*. With Allison Harthcock, he analyzed the 1960 Nixon-Kennedy debates in *Communication Monographs*. He competed in debate and individual events at Ball State University and served as Director of Forensics at Bowling Green State University from 1980-1984.)

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A Tribute to Kenneth M. Sharp

by David Baker

(Kenneth M. Sharp, 82, of Comanche (OK) died Sunday, February 6, 2000. Mr. Sharp was a longtime, outstanding speech and drama coach and English teacher at Comanche HS (OK)

It is unlikely that many of you knew Ken Sharp. Mr. Sharp was my high school speech coach. To my knowledge, he qualified one student for the NFL Nationals in his career, and it wasn't me. Comanche is a small school and competes in the small school classification in Oklahoma. He had a number of state champions during his tenure but more importantly he changed hundreds of lives. Ken Sharp was a missionary for the National Forensic League. While he never achieved national academic celebrity status, he made important contributions as a disciple of forensics.

The door to his room represented one of the few exits from the farms and oil fields of rural Oklahoma. During my years there, (1972-1976) a large percentage of college bound students came from his program. Several of his students went on to debate in college and a good percentage of them became coaches. He brought global vision to a small town. It was a mission and a focus that I could never hope to replicate. Unless you were raised in a small town, you could never understand the strength of forces that keeps people there.

More than anything else, Ken Sharp was about excellence, and he proved daily that high standards can motivate people to achieve more than they might imagine. He deftly juggled the per-

ceptual conflict between liberal education and local values. He taught parents as well as students.

As with most coaches, Mr. Sharp's lessons extended well beyond the classroom. He was an example of class and grace to the entire student body. He was firm and unrelenting in his expectations. We knew what he expected from us, and we worked very hard not to disappoint him. In a world where poverty was common, every student on the squad competed in dress clothes. I guess I should have known that he was the secret source of ties, jackets and dresses for those who couldn't afford them, but I never thought much about it then.

I suspect that there are and have been thousands of Ken Sharp's in America. Coaches who will never hold the H. B. Mitchell Trophy or qualify for the NFL Hall of Fame. Coaches who go about their business every day making the world a better place by exposing students to the educational miracle of forensics. He was a fine man, and I thought you should know a little more about him. Thank you Mr. Sharp!

[David Baker coaches at The St. Mark's School of Texas. His team was national debate champion in 1990 and national runner-up in 1987 and 1992]

"I'm a high school coach from Wyoming. Met you guys at Arizona (also have your LD topic handbooks). I'm really glad to see you back in the business – or better yet, the vocation – of writing/researching/teaching and helping our cause. I really like the way that your handbooks are designed. They require students to think and make their own choices about the issues/topic as opposed to other authors who just give case structures. I especially like the novice approach to your handbooks on each topic area – very, very helpful. Don't stop doing that!"

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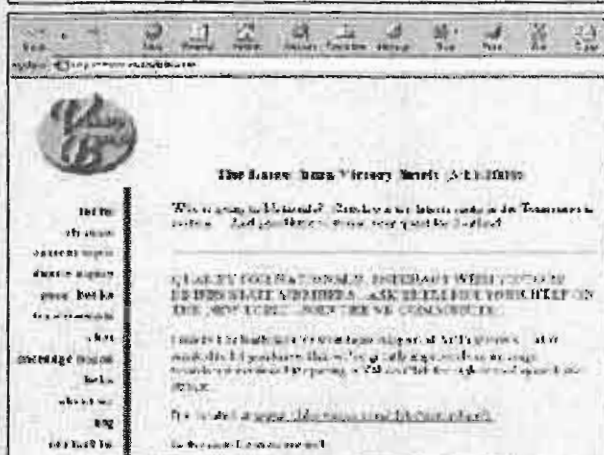
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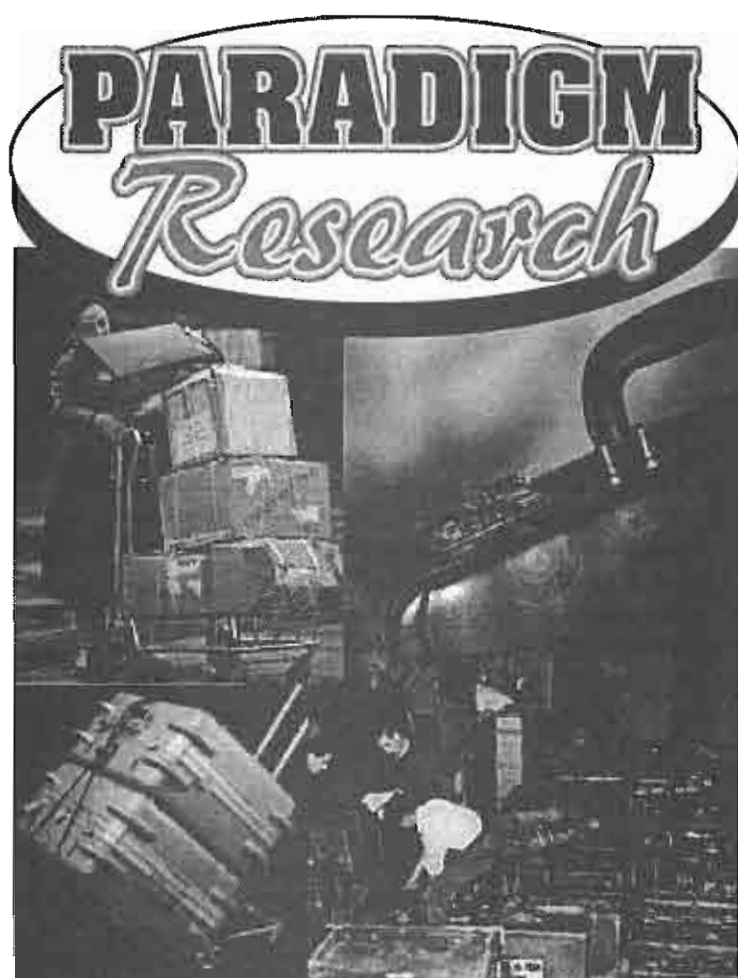
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RESPONSE TO DR. GLASS'S ESSAY ON FOUCAULT AND HEIDEGGER

by Asher Haig

Having just read the essay written by Dr. Glass in the March 2000 *Rostrum*, I felt that a response was necessary. I want to begin by saying that I appreciate such a thorough examination of the kritik (critique). It seems to be an important area that begs further discussion -- particularly in areas that conflict with philosophical understandings of the work that is being utilized in the round.

It seems, however, that the essay relies on a limited approach to Foucault in order to attack the position of the kritik in debate. Many of these issues seem to rely on an understanding of the kritik that ignore current or potential developments.

It seems that the article comes down to a few points:

1. Kritiks are inherently contradictory with debate because debaters use them "to win."
2. Kritiks establish their own "truth" in the process of the debate round.
3. Kritiks demand rejection of modes of thought, inherently creating the same situations they indict.
4. Kritiks aren't unique.
5. Kritiks aren't "competitive" which ultimately becomes a means for excluding the affirmative team and establishing a regime of truth.

Not so surprisingly, these five arguments seem to make up just about every 2AC that I hear when running the kritik. I have trouble finding these to be compelling arguments.

Perhaps the problem is not the kritik or the forum, but the manner in which they have been combined? I have several particular responses to the arguments advanced in the essay.

Debate is Inherently Contradictory

It seems that Dr. Glass's point seems to be that the use of either Foucault or Heidegger within debate necessarily relies on what each of them would classify as calculative thought -- an analytical mode of discourse that believes everything can be reduced to a manner of causality that is defined in terms of a population. In other words, we think about people in a way that makes them people rather than individual persons, each one represented as a number

rather than an individual.

I'm not sure why this necessarily conflicts with debate. Certainly, both Heidegger and Foucault find conflict with the mode of analytics that is used to describe the realm of policy, but to say that they reject the analytics of policy-making as a whole seems to ignore the agenda of both. A fundamental part of Foucault's critique is to reinsert the "I" in a mode of discourse that is so reliant on the "we."

To say that Foucault's representations cannot be utilized in terms of policy analysis ignores a large part of Foucault's work -- *Madness and Civilization*, *The Birth of the Clinic*, *Discipline and Punish*, and all of the *History of Sexuality* books come to mind. This description of Foucault's work seems to selectively utilize Foucault's analytics in favor of describing Foucault as "a historian." Certainly, Foucault fits within the field of history, but I think that many would find dispute in the claim that he was a historian.

Foucault's work might make more sense put in terms of anthropology. This distinction can probably be best understood from Foucault's *The Order of Things* and *Archaeology of Knowledge*. The purpose is very much to reject the notion of history as it is currently conceived -- but that does not leave Foucault in a realm of historical nihilism.

Fundamental to this understanding is the concept of the genealogy. Although not explicitly considered until *Archaeology of Knowledge*, the approach is clearly considered in all of Foucault's works. The concept seems to be to understand history in terms of its contingencies -- to go beyond our simplistic understandings or representations of history and realize that those representations are simply part of history itself -- culturally constructed understandings of what "is." Foucault's analytics involve a deeper investigation, sometimes so deep as to ignore the surface entirely, expecting the observer to piece together new meaning from that which is exposed. The point is to analyze the historical process in terms of what is now.

This distinction is seen in Foucault's work as the distinction between Continual History and the Genealogy. Foucault's rejection of continual history means that we must begin to try to understand history not in terms of now, trying to prove why the status quo was inevitable, but in terms of the past, trying to understand why the now is contingent -- part of a historical process of knowledge that was *not* inevitable.

Now the question probably remains, where does this come back to debate? It seems to me that the point is rather simple: the kritik in the debate round serves as a form of Genealogy. It is an approach to policy making intended to understand the manner in which we enframe (to borrow from Heidegger) our political process in terms of certain political formations of knowledge. The purpose of the kritik is thus twofold: one is to expose, the second to de-struct (more on this later).

Understanding the Contingencies vs. Negating

And so we've all heard it before -- "It's negation theory. We just have to prove the affirmative wrong." The questions seems to remain: What the Hell does that mean?

Dr. Glass argues that Foucault's position is that rejection is not an option. He quotes Foucault as saying "These pre-existing forms of continuity, all these syntheses that are accepted without question, must remain in suspense. They must not be rejected definitively of course, but the tranquility with which they are accepted must be disturbed; we must show that they do not come about of themselves, but are always the result of a construction the rules of which must be known, and the justifications of which must be scrutinized..." (p25, *Archaeology of Knowledge*). The insight indicates rather a middle ground that does not appear to be considered. Certainly Foucault does not advocate rejections in terms of absolutes. Humanism is not bad -- it is merely contingent. The distinction comes in the manner of approach.

To reject the affirmative does not

mean to refuse its framework. Negation theory seems to mean quite the opposite — we, as the negative, don't have to prove the affirmative's *framework* wrong, merely the approach to resolve that framework. The kritik is a process of exploring those contingencies and exposing them. If we can illustrate what is wrong with a policy, the natural step that follows is not to accept that policy as a solution. This serves, in Foucault's words above, as part of the process to show that "the tranquility with which they are accepted must be disturbed."

Thus endorsing the kritik does not mean endorsing some sort of new replacement framework that would represent a new regime of truth, but instead voting not-aff. The consequence certainly means voting neg, but that is not on the pretense that voting neg somehow rejects as a whole the framework the affirmative used. Much to the contrary, voting negative recognizes the contingencies that are inherent in such a framework, a first step toward finding an alternative.

Ultimately the importance of this view is in understanding that Foucault does not find the concept of rejection problematic, but instead the manner in which we move toward rejection. Accepting is the binary opposite of rejecting. Voting negative, then, might be better understood as not-accepting, rather than rejecting.

Leaving Foucault Behind

All of these arguments seem very obsessed with accepting or denying Foucault in binary terms. Certainly there may be contingencies within the forum of the kritik itself, but it seems that the exact point, as established above, is not to necessarily reject, but to recreate or to develop. That seems to mean that rather than refusing the kritik because of potential problems we should work to develop beyond those problems. It seems to me that a large part of that process means using Foucault's theories to move beyond Foucault. There is never an explicit denunciation of the debate forum. The methods, however, seem to serve as a perfect forum for the modes of resistance that Foucault discusses. A fundamental part of that resistance includes the creation of a Counter-Hegemony — in effect a new mode of truth that serves to counteract the existing, dominant mode. The claims that the kritik is a truth-claim seem to be interesting *non-sequiturs*. Foucault's point is never that truth does not exist or is necessarily bad, but that we should recognize the sociologi-

cal construction of truth. It is not a matter of avoiding truth-claims altogether — such a move is impossible — but of understanding the political implications of particular claims to truth.

It seems impossible to divorce argument from agenda. Even Foucault carried a constant agenda, beginning with May 1968 and the response to socialism, where Foucault breaks away from the socialist movements in search of a new form of resistance. The point seems to be that nothing is neutral — the kritik is not an exception. This does not seem to be a reason to reject the kritik out of hand. The point seems to be that the kritik has an agenda which conflicts with the affirmative. One or the other has to win out — the very structure of debate. I'm not sure why this necessarily conflicts with the philosophical process as discussed by Foucault. In fact, using the analysis that nothing is neutral and the understanding that rejection is impossible, it would be impossible to ever have a discussion that could result in change; we would always reject things that are said to have an agenda, and since everything has an agenda, we would never go anywhere.

The Question of Uniqueness

At a more technical debate level, such criticisms seem to face the question of uniqueness that is fundamental to disadvantages.

Dr. Glass's description of uniqueness is that "it would not matter much if the plan resulted in inflation if inflation was already occurring." This in itself seems to make some sense — unless you are involved in economics and are working from the recognition that inflation is necessarily evil. The following explanation clarifies the position: "unless there was an additional and unique harm to increasing inflation further." Such a clarification seems to change the consideration dramatically.

The point seems to be that things can always get worse. It seems to be the purpose of the kritik to prove why this is true. Perhaps the problem is that we have to reconceptualize the meaning of uniqueness. Perhaps putting it in a different context makes it easier to understand. The affirmative (200 years ago) says that slavery exists now, and says that we should reform the work conditions for slaves. The negative says that slavery is bad to begin with. Wait — this claim seems hopelessly non-unique working from the current notion of uniqueness. Affirmative claims that kritiks are non-

unique disads work from very much the same position.

But let's assume that it isn't unique, for a moment. So what? A non-unique case turn still serves as an absolute (that is, absolute) solvency take-out with at least a *risk* of uniqueness. That still seems to be a reason *NOT* to endorse the affirmative.

Fiat is Illusory

(Directed at Kritik Debating in General rather than the Essay)

Yes it is. Such an observation, as Dr. Glass notes, seems to be utterly absurd. The point of policy debate (need it be said) is to analyze policy. What use (even if it does make logical sense) is it to say that the affirmative has to talk about policy (they have to be topical) and then to say that the only issues that matter are critical ones? Similarly from the opposite side, what sense does it make for an affirmative to advocate a policy (that the federal government should do) and then say that *fiat* doesn't exist in order to escape a discussion of the political implications of it? Seems to me to be an artificial distinction.

It also seems, however, that such a recognition of the absurdity of these claims allows us to develop a new forum for kritik. *Fiat* seems wholly irrelevant — the point of the kritik is that the affirmative would be a bad idea. The affirmative's job is thus to prove that it would be a good idea. Suddenly — <gasp> — we're debating *LINKS* to the kritik!

The Alternative and Notions of Change

Perhaps the biggest problem I've seen in kritik debating (on both sides) is that no one either utilizes the notion of the alternative or debates the kritik in terms of the alternative. In this sense, the argument is that the performance of the kritik actually creates change. That is *NOT* to say that endorsing the kritik endorses change (although that is certainly a viable concept) but instead to say that by running the kritik, the negative team actually creates change within the round. This concept will serve in a moment to illustrate why a permutation is nonsensical.

The point is that voting negative endorses the de-struction (removal of the structure) established by the 1AC. The affirmative is responsible for defending their structure that they have established. The point is that political change is misconceptualized. We understand change solely in terms of the political, and we un-

derstand the political solely in terms of the government. Foucault's ultimate point is that the government is not a privileged structure. To the contrary, the government exists solely on cultural terms — it exists because we want it to exist, it continues because we keep sending people to make it continue.

The point, then, is that the political can mean more than the government. If the government is merely a result of culture, then why can't we change the government by changing culture?

Permutations

So why can't we do the affirmative at the same time?

Well hopefully, there will be a link to the kritik. What's the point of doing the affirmative if the link proves that the plan is a bad idea? Beyond this, the manner in which permutations are traditionally structured makes them necessarily intrinsic permutations (as well as severance). First, the permutation severs out of the 1AC framework that it establishes. The kritik argument is that the plan means nothing without the framework upon which it is based — the rest of the 1AC. Those things are things which have been said and done. The affirmative doesn't just get to forget about them. Second, The permutation tends to come in the form that "well we link, let's just change that so we don't!" In other words, the affirmative could say academic achievement should be increased, the negative says academic achievement is bad. Why does the affirmative get to say, "OK make academic achievement good"? Seems to be the very definition of intrinsicness and why it is abusive. If there's a specific link to the plan, why does a permutation let you just ignore it?

False Advocacy

So certainly there can be the accusation sometimes that the permutation is a false advocacy. What does that mean? Dr. Glass frames it in terms of exclusion — that the kritik says that the affirmative isn't allowed to agree. I think that this ignores the terms of the link. The links prove that is *impossible* for the affirmative to advocate the same thing as the negative — at least with any consistency.

Further, what does criticism mean if the affirmative is also making arguments about why criticism is a flawed concept? This seems to be a personal contradiction, not one that is forced.

Finally, given the negative's argument with the alternative about how voting affir-

mative reconstructs the framework that the negative is de-structing, why does it make any sense to vote affirmative unless the affirmative justifies its structure?

Beyond these theoretical issues of kritiking, there are three specific areas that Dr. Glass addresses that I feel need response.

Problem/Solution

Heidegger and Foucault both address the notion of the Problem/Solution mindset (a familiar phrase for those familiar with Spanos) — but in a way that is distinct from most people's understanding of the issue. The point is not that we cannot identify problems and then search for solutions. The point is that the way we generally do that is a myth — when we separate the two we simply ignore the manner in which we start with the solution and then work toward a problem as a justification. The problem/solution mindset is not one of political responses, but one of the order of things.

Liberation and the Ability to Speak

Paramount in Foucault's kritik of power is the notion that no one possesses power — it is not a matter of having it or lacking it. Power is exercised. It is not taken, it is used. To say that power is possessed traps people who don't have power in a discursive prison box — they are powerless and thus do not have the power to resist. Foucault's argument comes in response to this notion. Foucault believes that personal resistance is the only way to create change without reifying the disciplinary system that is so coercive and dangerous to begin with.

Foucault's point is that there is not one silence, but many silences (*History of Sexuality*), and that liberation is defined by the ability to regulate and manipulate these silences in favor of the dominant discourse. Liberation is not simply a matter of thinking out — that is the repressive hypothesis. Foucault says that while we think we have been repressed, the actuality of the matter is that we have been regulated — discourses have created schemes of regulation that are productive rather than silencing. Instead of silencing sexuality, we have produced new forms of discourse such as homophobia. Foucault's point is that speaking out has empirically only trapped us further. The idea is that through kritik we can develop new forms of resistance.

The Question of Rights

This resistance certainly at some point involves the question of rights and repre-

sentation in the law as well as legal equality. Dr. Glass says that "it is simply the case that Foucault believed in rights, and believed in the possibility of governmental change — he even participated in demonstrations, and argued for governmental changes which increased individual liberty." Such an observation is astute, but ignores Foucault's stated purpose in these demonstrations, as well as his conflicting interests. Further, it ignores Foucault's positioning as well as for *what* issues he was demonstrating. To quote David Halperin, "Foucault felt able to advance proposals because he could do so not on the strength of some antecedently established authority but on the basis of personal experience, communal participation, and a situated knowledge which he shared with his interlocutors. Far from prescribing courses of action... Foucault was describing and reflecting on developments in gay culture that he saw already taking place around him." (*Saint Foucault: Toward a Gay Hagiography*, p100). The point seems distinct from the idea that Foucault simply supported the notion of rights. In fact, Foucault has been quoted numerous times discussing the concept of rights in relation to the subject — the point that he came to ultimately is that supporting the notion of rights is in conflict with the notions of the subject, but as he is able to engage in the personal de-struction of the subject (identity politics) at the same time he is able to support rights, he is able to support specific forms of legal equality.

That does *NOT* translate directly to meaning that all rights and all movements are acceptable immediately. The point is that we have to engage in forms of identity politics and avoid speaking for others. Identity politics ultimately means allowing people to define themselves rather than trying to define people through categories.

Foucault does not believe that such a thing as governmental change exists. To Foucault, the government is nothing more than a centralized position upon which discourses circulate. The government is not a privileged position of power, it is a reflection of culture. To create governmental change, a fundamental step is the realization of identity politics — individual cultural change that translates to new legal realities.

These ideas are intended to promote discussion and a move to a new understanding of critical debate theory. None of my references or argumentation above (*Haig to page 60*)

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Dan Fitzmier, Emory
Jon Dunn, Stanford Debater
Michael Major, formerly CPS
Byron Arthur, Stuart Hall
Jonathan Alston, Newark
Josette Surrat, New Orleans

Robert Thomas, Emory
Anne-Marie Todd, USC
Ryan Mills, College Prep School
Byrdie Renik, Columbia U
Jon Sharp, W. Georgia College
Jessica Dean, Boston U
Hetal Doshi, Emory
Leah Halvorson, Reed College
Aaron Timmons, Greenhill

Dave Arnett, UC Berkeley
Randy Lusky, El Cerrito HS
Abe Newman, UC Berkeley
Jessica Clarke, Whitman
Tina Valkanoff, Northwestern
Adam Lauridsen, Harvard U
Nick Coburn-Palo, Hopkins
Michael Edwards, Princeton
Matthew Fraser, SNFI Director

*listed affiliations are for identification purposes only. The institutions noted are where the relevant SNFI staff member works, debates or debated, and/or studies during the academic year. More detailed staff qualifications are enumerated in the program brochure, available in March.

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<i>Michelle Coody, St. James</i>	<i>Jessica Dean, Boston University</i>
<i>Hetal Doshi, Emory University</i>	<i>Michael Edwards, Princeton</i>
<i>Jon Geggenheimer, Woodson School</i>	<i>Leah Halvorson, Reed College</i>
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The Stanford Debate Society presents the

Stanford National Forensic Institute

CX Program: July 25 - August 13, 2000

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THE PROGRAM

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THE PRIMARY FACULTY

Dan Fitzmier is a debate coach at the renowned Emory University debate program. He was also a nationally ranked NDT debater at Emory University. Among his successes were first speaker and first place at the Heart of America Tournament, and he was one of the debaters who closed out CEDA nationals for Emory University in 1998. During his coaching career his teams have cleared to late elimination rounds at every major national tournament, and in the last two years at Emory his teams have won outright ten major college tournaments. In high school Dan was top speaker at the TOC. Dan is returning to the SNFI and the Swing Lab for the third year,

Jon Sharp is a debate coach at West Georgia College, and was an NDT debater at Emory University. At West Georgia his teams have received first round bids to the NDT for the last 5 years in a row. In his senior year of debating he won the Harvard and West Georgia tournaments, and the Dartmouth round-robin. He and his partner were ranked #3 in the nation going into the 1994 National Debate Tournament. He was top speaker at the Pittsburgh, Louisville, and Heart of America tournaments, and in his senior year cleared to late elimination rounds at both the NDT policy debate national championships and CEDA debate nationals. This will mark his eleventh year of teaching summer debate institutes.

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NDT & CEDA NATIONALS FINAL RDS.: 2000



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DAVID GLASS'S RESPONSE TO HAIG

Mr. Haig misstates the central arguments of my essay, and then pronounces the misstated arguments unconvincing.

My actual arguments are:

1. Critiques are inherently contradictory with Foucault (not with debate), because debaters use them "to win." I go to some lengths to illustrate severe tensions between Foucault's writings and the way he is referenced in the Policy Debate Discourse. To say Critiques are inherently contradictory with "debate" is nonsensical. The last paragraph of my original essay makes this position quite clear.

Nothing in Mr. Haig's fleshed-out discussion contradicts my (cited) contention that Foucault explicitly rejects a silencing of opposing discourses. Further, Mr. Haig has no citations to back up his claim that a purpose of Foucault's criticism is to "deconstruct". (Deconstruct, yes, understand, yes, destroy or silence, no).

As for Mr. Haig's quibbling with my labelling of Foucault as a historian (he says "many would find dispute in the claim that he was a historian"), say for example Gary Gutting's book: *Michel Foucault's archaeology of scientific reason*, pg 1: "He [Foucault] can be regarded as a philosopher, a social historian, a literary analyst, a social and political critic; each of these perspectives focuses on something integral to his achievement. But his intellectual metier, through which he develops all his ideas about philosophy is the history of thought. With one exception, all his major books are histories of aspects of Western thought, and the exception (AK) is a methodical reflection on this historical work. Foucault's choice of title for his chair at the College de France was entirely appropriate: Professor of the History of Systems of Thought."

Given that Foucault called himself a historian, I feel pretty secure in the labelling.

2. I just reread my essay, and could not find Mr. Haig number two argument in there anywhere.

3. The Foucault and Heidegger critiques are used to criticize humanism, they critique constructed acts geared at solving a problem; this constructed act is, however, no different than the construction of the critique itself, geared to win a policy debate round. (Note that this argument is totally distinct from that written as Mr.

Haig's number 3).

4. Critiques aren't unique. This argument was correctly stated.

5. Critiques aren't "competitive", which ultimately becomes a means for excluding the affirmative team, an artificial exclusion which is used simply to maintain separate ground for the negative, that they might win (Mr. Haig states this as "establishing a regime of truth"; again, this was not part of the argument.

Missing from Mr. Haig's list is the most important point in the essay, that there exists an over-arching "Policy Debate Discourse", and that actions taken and arguments made within this Discourse have particular purposes which must be understood, dissected, and exposed.

Furthermore:

If Mr. Haig is correct that the negative does not have to prove the affirmative's framework as wrong, then this is already an affirmative argument against the Foucault critique, since the most popular link is that the affirmative's framework is wrong.

If, as Mr. Haig states, the critique is a "process of exploring those contingencies and exposing them", then it should not be a voting issue. We should simply pronounce the contingencies exposed, and move on, with that understanding.

Mr. Haig states that "if we can illustrate what is wrong with a policy, the natural step that follows is not to accept that policy as a solution." That depends. If, by advancing, the Critique, the Negative is committing this same "wrong" act, then the Critique would not be a reason to reject the Affirmative, but rather the Negative (since the Negative is the only team which is arguing that this is grounds for rejection). If the thing labelled as "wrong" with the policy is not unique; if that thing would not go away whether or not the policy existed, then this is an additional reason why there is no "natural" step towards rejection.

Mr. Haig states that "endorsing the kritik does not mean endorsing some sort of new replacement framework that would represent a new regime of truth". But I'm asking the reader to be aware that the Critique functions within the Policy Debate Discourse identically to the way a policy proposal functions as an action of states, as a means to an end, as an example of Bio-

power. As such, endorsing the Critique as a reason to reject the Affirmative is both hypocritical and dishonest, since it selectively ignores the framework under which the Critique is advanced, as part of the Policy Debate Discourse.

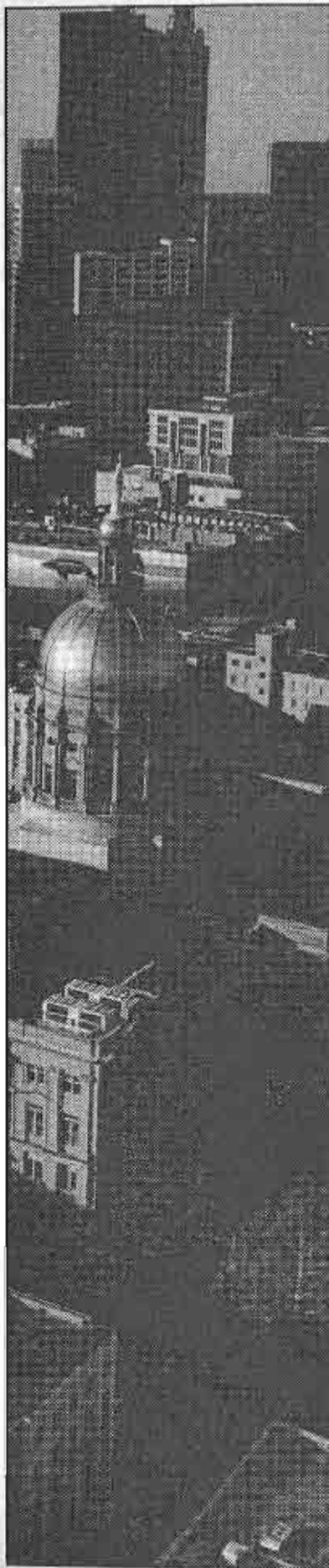
Mr. Haig states that "the importance of this view is in understanding that Foucault does not find the concept of rejection problematic." Sorry, but this simply is false. And there's no citation to prove it true. And there is a citation to prove it false (see my essay).

It is important to highlight that the next section of Mr. Haig's rebuttal is titled "Leaving Foucault Behind", since that is clearly his real agenda. But the entire point of my piece was to embrace what Foucault actually said, and use Foucault to Criticize the Critique. I have no intention of leaving Foucault.

It is ironic that, in this section "Leaving Foucault Behind", Mr. Haig states that the point is to "recreate or to develop." This can be restated as Mr. Haig admitting that he's basically making stuff up. This is a link to the Foucault Critique of the Use of the Critique in the Policy Debate Discourse. It's clear that the critiquer basically does not care what Foucault actually said; he's just concerned with being able to use an argument to win. If Foucault is inconvenient, then just "recreate or develop" what he said. Lest this seem harsh, just re-read Mr. Haig's further elaboration. "That seems to mean that rather than refusing the kritik because of potential problems we should work to develop beyond these problems. It seems to me that a large part of that process means using Foucault's theories to move beyond Foucault." Indeed, that is Mr. Haig's process. If there was ever a better link to a Foucault counter-critique, I'd like to hear it.

Just one more quote from this section, "It seems impossible to divorce argument from agenda." That's my argument, that the agenda of the Critique is the link to Foucault.

As to the question of uniqueness: I challenge any debater, people who run critiques and those who don't, to re-read Mr. Haig's (slavery) example in his section on Uniqueness, as to why uniqueness shouldn't matter.... Now, aren't you more (Glass to page 60)



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DEBATING PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP DISADVANTAGES: WHAT DOES THE ACADEMIC LITERATURE PROVE?

by David M. Cheshier

The Clinton disadvantage is the most popular policy argument on this year's education topic, as it was last year, and until Bill Clinton vacates the office next January (at which point we'll shift to arguing Bush or Gore popularity/focus/agenda links) this brand of political process position is likely to dominate the circuit. The availability of up-to-the-minute database evidence has increased our collective reliance on presidential popularity/focus/capital arguments, since efficient update work can produce timely impact and brink stories, not to mention late breaking horserace assessments.

Concerns about the widespread use of the Clinton argument are by now well known, but apart from some limited efforts to craft theoretical objections, few inroads have been made against its use or success. In the abstract I think most judges agree the most defensible explanations of likely fiat mechanisms can provide compelling affirmative link takeouts, but these have proven hard to win in practice, since negative teams who specialize in Clinton have developed a laundry list of defenses. The fiat debate (A: "Fiat takes out the link - Congress won't backlash to itself!" N: "Fiat assumes minimal means, which leaves room for the link!") has become something of a yes/no contest where few debaters are understandably willing to invest the rhetorical energy necessary to make their position compelling.

Another problem with the Clinton disadvantage, apparently well understood in the abstract but rarely decisive in practice, has to do with the often strained internal link story defended by the negative. If there is a connection between presidential unpopularity effects following a policy fight, there is rightful skepticism about the strength of the spillover to other major legislative contests. But as any observer knows, these objections also tend to carry little weight against the disadvantage. When internal link attacks are offered, a few cards from Bond and Fleisher (the now dated evidence asserting such a spillover) usually suffice.¹

In this essay I introduce some of the recent academic work on presidential power, especially on factors able to predict successful presidential leadership in the legis-

lative arena. To a large and surprising degree this work has not been greatly utilized by the debate community, maybe because it seems too heavily theoretical, too easily trumped by yesterday's assessment of the horserace. But my suggestion is that a closer reading of the proliferating work on the American presidency can substantially strengthen the affirmative's hand when it comes to undermining the internal link claims of the disadvantage, at least as commonly argued, because I aim to direct you to these literatures, I've footnoted my claims more fully than normal; these notes give some indication of the available work, old and new.



Dr. David M. Cheshier

A Quick Introduction to the Presidential Leadership Scholarship

If you've been debating Clinton a lot recently, you might naturally assume the major determinant of presidential success in the legislative arena is popularity, or the more amorphous concept of accumulated political capital. But the literature on presidential success does not emphasize the popularity issue, or even political capital, and many of the standard works do not even seriously consider these issues in a manner that would be recognizable to policy debaters.²

Consider three widely cited and relatively recent works on presidential success. One, by Marvin Olasky, emphasizes how presidential success mainly derives from a given president's capacity for moral leadership. Olasky believes the articulation of what he calls "moral vision" is the best predictor of capable political leadership.³ Another recent book by Robert Shogan makes much the same point.⁴ Or consider Philip Abbott's interesting application of literary

theory to presidential power. One prominent theory of literary success, advanced some time ago by Harold Bloom, argues that great writers succeed by triumphing over the "anxiety of influence." That is, they overcome the legacy of the great writers who precede them, in the process producing genuinely unique work, made possible by a willful misreading of their mentors. Abbott explores whether the same argument explains presidential success, and defends an argument that the historically great presidents succeeded by reacting to their strong predecessors.⁵ From the vantage point of presidential popularity scenarios, these accounts are interesting precisely because they omit day to day dynamics, and the ups and downs of public approval. Such work is typical in the sense that in accounting for leadership, it tends to credit longer term historical or characterological factors over the short term tactical variables which so dominate policy debates.

This has been true since the most influential accounts of presidential success were first written. The most cited work, by Richard Neustadt (which first appeared in 1960), equates presidential power with the power to persuade, but is not dominated by arguments over public opinion control. And this is true of other major works in the field, such as book by Richard Pious and Edward Corwin, both of which emphasize the president's managerial competence as the major predictor of success.⁶

By contrast to how presidential success is argued in typical debate rounds, academic research tends either to emphasize the institutional circumstances of leadership (e.g., does it occur in a time of crisis?) or the personal traits of the men who have served as president. For example, Clinton Rossiter's 1956 book used characterological analysis to divide presidents into two categories, "earth movers" and "earth smoothers." The great presidents were "movers" who made things happen. Erwin Hargrove used a similar strategy of classification, categorizing presidents as either leaders of "action" (like the Roosevelts, Wilson, and Johnson) or of "restraint" (such as Hoover or Eisenhower).⁷ More recently James David Barber's typology of presidential character has exerted an influence on

the academic debate, but here again the traits Barber singles out are those of disposition rather than perceived approval by the Congress or public.⁸

Institutional accounts vie with characterological theories; among the first and most influential of these was produced by Theodore Lowi. Lowi, in part responding to Barber but still influenced by work stressing the effects of a president's personal characteristics, nonetheless argued personal characteristics are dwarfed by "the tremendous historical forces lodged in the laws, traditions, and commitments of institutions."⁹ Contemporary work based in rational choice theory has tended to emphasize how members of Congress make their decisions out of perceived self interest more than out of deference to party leaders or presidents; that is, they will give a president what he wants only when they believe it advances their own purposes.¹⁰ In a more general sense, among the most impressive recent attempts to study all the available data on the complicated relationship between president and Congress, and organize findings around a comprehensive appreciation of the institutional complexities of the office, was produced last year by Steven Shull and Thomas Shaw.¹¹

Given this range of scholarly approaches, what then is the role of public approval, presidential agenda setting, and political capital in determining legislative success? And how might our debates be improved by taking account of such research?

Public Approval and Presidential Success

Much of the research on presidential leadership and approval ratings is anecdotal, for despite the wealth of available polling data, it can be difficult to draw generalizations regarding the relationship between popularity and success. A number of books offer very careful historical accounts about specific presidential administrations, but careful model construction has been difficult to accomplish. At the extremes one can easily reach common sense conclusions about the relationship: overwhelmingly popular presidents are more likely to achieve their goals than hated ones. In this vein the most common quotes come from Abraham Lincoln - "Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed" - and Woodrow Wilson - "let him once win the admiration and confidence of the country, and no other single force can withstand him,

no combination of forces will easily overpower him."

For many years debaters have quoted work by George Edwards, who has argued that "the greatest source of influence for the president is public approval."¹² Edwards found his strongest evidence in a apparent correlation between public approval ratings and presidential influence with members of Congress, findings often cited despite Edwards' own plain skepticism on the matter. In fact, Edwards' subtle argument is often lost in the give-and-take of policy debate. An example of this (which has more to do with how evidence is introduced in Clinton debates than any flaw in Edwards' work) is how affirmative evidence denying a popularity effect is often answered with "perception" evidence; that is, disadvantage defenders often read evidence saying if members of Congress perceive a president as popular, they're more likely to go along with his agenda, whether his power is real or not. While the insight is commonsensical enough, it takes only a moment's reflection to see that if such an effect exists, it should be showing up in the studies; thus if the studies show no effect, those results trump perception claims.

There are other problems with the claims of a popularity-to-legislation connection. One is the impossibility of proving that a bump of, say, five percentage points in the president's approval ratings translates to a specified increase in the odds of legislative passage. Compounding this is the fact that almost all scholars of the presidency agree approval is not a precondition or guarantor of success. As Plischke once put it, "over time, the attempt merely to please, unaccompanied by initiative and accomplishment, is likely to boomerang. In practice, a President may be popular without being prestigious."¹³ We might also recall the cautionary tale of Bill Clinton, who continued to enjoy historically high second term approval ratings while struggling mightily to secure passage of his still-ambitious policy agenda.

One important implication of the public approval research is that the likelihood of presidential success is less a function of a given program's popularity than of a president's salesmanship skills. Thus, our conventional method of explaining the approval disadvantage link ("Federal sex education mandates are unpopular. Thus having Clinton fight for congressional sex ed approval will undermine his approval; Clinton needs his popularity to secure WTO

admission") misconstrues the research, by ignoring a president's personal ability to shape the debate, adapt to the political climate, modify his proposals given nascent opposition, or deflect criticism by distancing himself from the most unpopular aspects of his proposals.¹⁴

Another factor to be considered is the extent to which members of Congress connect a president's general approval ratings with a perception that his support is based on his policies. As Barbara Sinclair has noted, "the purposive behavior framework predicts that only when members read the president's popularity as resting, at least in part, upon their constituents' support for his policy proposals is this popularity likely to significantly increase congressional support."¹⁵ This has implications for many policy debate rounds: it implies popularity is not likely to have much issue-to-issue crossover effect,¹⁶ and so-called context variables (the time of the term when debate occurs, the political balance in Congress, etc.) are likely to carry more weight than simple approval, even when connected to particular policy controversies.¹⁷ It also implies that if members of Congress believe public support is being orchestrated by a president (as opposed to reflecting a genuine groundswell of outrage), they are less likely to be moved to action, and may even backlash by attempting their own information campaigns.

These implications are confirmed by studies which downplay the influence of public opinion on congressional decisionmaking. A study carried out by Jeffrey Cohen found popular presidents are not significantly more successful in controlling the public agenda than less popular ones, and presidential efforts to impact opinion on particular issues produce gains that tend to fade fast.¹⁸ A more recent Cohen essay speculates that the Congress might well respond to public opinion in setting its agenda, but admits "no such study exists."¹⁹ In addition, there is strong evidence that popularity effects are very constrained under circumstances where government is divided (some point to the Democratic Congress' immunity to Bush's post-Gulf War popularity as evidence of this). The research also emphasizes the extent to which popularity effects lag; that is, a loss of popularity (or for that matter, a quick gain) takes time to percolate through the system. The standard 2NR story, which often says something like "voting for this unpopular plan today will derail WTO tomorrow" is simply

not supported by most research.²⁰

Presidential Agenda-Setting

The president, of course, wields considerable influence over the national agenda. One of the most cited books on this point remains Paul Light's *The President's Agenda*, which appeared in 1984.²¹ Light's basic premise is that the most important strategy for securing presidential power is successful control of the decisionmaking agenda. There is a certain logic in the view that, following Light's argument, a president will succeed or fail to the extent he creates an agenda and prioritizes his wish list to take full effect of the political situation.

As debated, the agenda-setting argument tends to undergo a not-so-subtle transformation. Presidential agenda-setting is often described this way by negatives: "Passage of policy Q is at the top of the president's agenda today. But here comes the plan, and passing it will require the president to divert his energy from policy Q advocacy. He will have to divert his valuable time away from policy Q and toward plan passage, thus a tradeoff link." But this argument is a significant distortion of the agenda-setting research, which emphasizes not the relative placement of one agenda item over or under another, but the timetable of presidential action. Paul Light argued that the basis of presidential success was speed in the first year of the term, when presidents can exploit their so-called "honeymoon" to advance pet programs more easily. Light claimed if a president failed to act decisively during the start of either of his terms, his programs would likely be overwhelmed by other unavoidable institutional forces (divided and fragmented government, inevitable media souring on presidential leadership, entrenched battle lines, and so on).

Indeed, if all it took to derail important initiatives was competition from other proposals, presidential power would be inevitably eviscerated, from day one of the president's term. After all, every day's newspaper conveys major new developments domestic and international which, if only temporarily, bump the president's priorities off the nightly news. Even when the chief executive devotes complete attention to one issue, as President Clinton did in March with his tour of South Asia, he is unlikely to successfully control the public opinion or political agenda (Clinton's visit, for example, was largely overshadowed by the Pope's tour of the Middle East, and to some extent by Clinton's own announcement of a last

minute meeting with Syrian leader Hafez el-Asad).

A president's ability to control or set the agenda is also a function of which party controls the Congress. When the president's party is in control, he is better able to coordinate the legislative agenda with the leadership. But, as in the current circumstances, the government is divided, a president's agenda is forced to contend with competing opposition proposals.

Presidential Political Capital

Anyone with experience debating the Clinton disadvantage knows the popularity of the so-called "winners win" argument. Advanced several times over the past few years by Norman Ornstein, the claim is that presidents benefit from legislative passage even if the substance of the law is unpopular simply by enjoying the afterglow of victory. Defeat taints a leader, reveals his Achilles' heel, thereby making subsequent victory less likely; victory, by contrast, makes leaders seem more intimidating to their opponents, and by enhancing presidential stature winning makes it easier to force agreement on opponents who mainly respect raw political power. "Winners win" is the logical extension of understanding that presidents have at their disposal a certain amount of "political capital," the resources required to get their way. These resources include chits (favors owed them by their colleagues), quid pro quo agreements (where a president gets something in return for giving up something else), the perception of power that comes from favorable approval ratings or good media coverage, and also the simple perception of success. The "winners win" claim usefully calls our attention to how such political capital is not static but can change over time, increasing and decreasing as the public's and Congress' impressions are altered over time.

The winners win position is also, of course, vulnerable on many fronts. It does not assume the peculiar dynamics of an election year, during which opponents are unlikely to be awed even by impressive displays of presidential suasion. Nor does it assume, Ornstein to the contrary, a context of divided government. Republicans controlling Congress are less likely to be awed by Clinton success than angered by it; the likely outcome of Democratic presidential success is reinvigorated opposition, not cowering concessions down the road. And the winners win claim is simplistic, in the sense that winning does not inevitably start a snowball effect of guaranteed future suc-

cess (nor for that matter does a single loss necessarily set the end of a presidency into motion); wins and losses are inevitable regardless of the office's occupant, and the effect of a win or loss on subsequent outcomes is easily exaggerated.

The political capital issue is another one easier to see in the extreme than at the margins. The insight that President Carter spread his available political capital too thin by overloading the Congress with initiatives (and declaring them all his highest priority) has now become conventional wisdom. But to what extent is presidential success a function of *changes* in political capital? Put more specifically, to what extent does adding one new proposal to the agenda subvert a president's influence? Interestingly, the most cited defense of presidential capital, offered by Paul Light, offers a broad definition of the concept that does include popularity, but which also defines it as a function of the number of partisan seats in Congress and the extent of the original electoral margin. These are variables over which a president, regardless of his skills, has little influence. If capital is a function of relatively unchanging environmental constraints, we might reasonably infer that political capital changes at the margin will tend to matter very little.

Arguing the Media Manipulation Internal Links

As Theodore Roosevelt so memorably put it, the United States presidency affords its occupant with a singular power to persuade, to make use of the "bully pulpit" to advance his causes, or as Ronald Reagan put it, to "go over the heads" of Congress and directly to the American people for support. This fact has induced many affirmative teams to argue against the Clinton internal link by stressing the president's institutional advantages in framing and controlling the national debate. The White House staff is increasingly organized to direct the country's conversation. Some affirmatives use this fact to argue the president can never really suffer from his actions; he will invariably find a way to spin the issue, blame his adversaries, or salvage victory even from defeat.

But, as with the relationship between high poll numbers and successful leadership, the media relationship is more complicated than our debating usually recognized.²² We know that a president's failure to effectively use the media will complicate his efforts to see his initiatives, but it does (Chesier to page 60)



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Dean

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B.S., M.A., Ph.D., Northwestern University; Dean, The School of Speech, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. More than 30 years involvement in debate and forensics: national high school champion, nationally acclaimed coach, veteran director of the National High School Institute in Speech (the model for all other "good" forensics institutes), lecturer, consultant, author; past president of SCA; husband and father of two.

Dr. Zarefsky gave major attention to the importance of competitive debate in his keynote address to the International Communication Association in Amsterdam. Dr. Zarefsky's "Paradigms"

lectures and "Logic" seminars have been enjoyed by Iowa participants for more than a decade. Professor Zarefsky may well have given more lectures to high school students on debate than any person living. None would disagree that any lecture by Dr. Zarefsky is expertly delivered. Students particularly enjoy the opportunity to ask questions after the lectures and sessions. Dr. Zarefsky is available to speak personally with teachers and students at Slater Hall on the last night of his visit. It is a singular honor to have him returning in 2000.

Faculty

THOMAS SULLIVAN, Division Director. Former teacher and director of forensics, Highland Park High School, Dallas; B.S., University of Wisconsin; M.A., Baylor University; his teams have won every major speech and debate tournament in the forensics world.

RICHARD EDWARDS, Professor, Baylor University, Waco, TX; B.A., M.A., Ph.D., The University of Iowa; designed and perfected the Tab Room on the Mac program that has revolutionized tournament management; long time member of the wording committee for the national high school topic; editor and author of dozens of articles and publications for high school teachers and students on debate.



Thomas Sullivan



Richard Edwards

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CONSOLATION STORYTELLING AT NATIONALS

Why?

A second consolation contest was needed. The large and increasing numbers entering impromptu were making the contest difficult to complete in one day. Although many popular contests could have been chosen, two criteria had to be met:

1) Since this is a consolation event, entered only after elimination in one (or two) main events and one (or two) supplemental events, the new event must require limited or no preparation. Events which required either research or writing were unsuitable. No contestant concentrating on a main event or supplemental events will have time to prepare for a consolation event.

2) The new event should have an interp bias since the current consolation event, impromptu, has a public address bias. Interp contestants will now have an interp consolation event.

3) Hence - Storytelling

What Storytelling is not:

1) It is *not* story reading. There is no script or book. NFL has a contest in Prose reading already.

2) It is *not* children's literature, although one year the theme might be children's stories. Other types of story telling occur in our society. Recall Alberto Rios storytelling at the Phoenix Nationals, the National Storytelling Festival and even the National Liar's Contest.

3) It is *not* drama. The Presentation of characters is not banned but the focus will be on communication of a narrative.

4) It is *not* original fiction made up by the contestant.

5) It is *not* Improvisation.

What Storytelling is:

1) The retelling of single narrative incident. Think of yourself telling a group of friends your favorite ghost story or golf anecdote or debate war story or Greek myth or urban legend.

2) The extempore (no notes or props) re-creation of a story one has previously read (not memorized) or heard. (i.e. Secretary Jim Copeland grew up in Michigan where his relatives told him the tales of Paul Bunyan and Babe the Blue Ox. Jim can still retell those tales today - 50 years later)

3) Each year there will be a central theme for storytelling.

Possible Areas:

Myths and Legends from past times.
Ghost tales around the Campfire
Urban Legends
Children's Stories, etc.

This year's Storytelling theme at the 2000 NW Rose Nationals will be Native American and Western Legends and Stories.

Preparation for Storytelling:

A student will prepare by:

- 1) Selecting a story within the theme
- 2) Reading it
- 3) Writing a brief introduction
- 4) Retelling it in 4 minutes w/o notes
- 5) Practice retelling it.

Rules:

1) A single published, printed story, anecdote, tale, myth or legend must be *retold* without notes or props.

2) The maximum time is 4 minutes, but the story may be briefer without penalty. Any introduction must be included within the 4 minute time limit.

3) The student may not tell a story s/he used previously in any NFL district and/or national tournament.

4) The delivery must be extempore, not read. No book or script may be used. The story may be delivered standing or seated.

5) Gestures and pantomime may be used with restraint. Characterization may be used, but the focus must be on the narrative.

6) The retelling must be true to the original tale. The contestant may *not* add original material or materially change the content of the story.

Judge Ballot:

The art of storytelling is to create a mood wherein a spoken narrative transports the audience to the time and place of the story being recounted.

A story teller is a narrator - not an actor or actress - and although gestures, pantomime, movement, and characterization are not barred, they must be used with restraint.

The focus of the presentation must be on the narrative, with the teller acting as an unobtrusive presenter and not a performer. The teller must clearly grasp and convey the meaning of the tale.

The judge should rate highly the mechanics of superior speaking: fluency, vocal variety, articulation, eye contact, gesture.

The presentation should be extempore, not read. No book or script may be used. The storyteller may speak standing or seated. No props or visual aids may be used.

"When the teller has been successful in bringing the tale to life, the telling will seem entirely natural, almost effortless"

Policy Debate Extended Week Program

Inquire about our LD extended week program too!

August 13 - August 20

The idea behind the policy extended week is simple. Debaters improve most by debating - especially when challenged by experienced critics in a stop-and go format, redoing rebuttals, and receiving extensive feedback after the round. This program offers all this and more. Students are guaranteed to get 17 fully critiqued practice rounds in just one week, and since the program is near the end of the summer, participants have the advantage of extensively debating a topic that has evolved over the course of the summer institute season. These 17 guaranteed rounds effectively make the extended week program equivalent to as many as three start of the year tournaments - a big advantage for participants when tournaments do begin. This program is staffed by some of the top instructors from the regular SNFI policy camp.

- **TYPICAL DAILY SCHEDULE.** Most days will follow this basic format (with breaks for lunch and dinner):

9:00 AM - 12:00 PM	Round 1, morning round
1:00 PM - 3:00 PM	rebuttal redos/ topic seminars or independent research
3:00 PM - 5:30 PM	Round 2, afternoon round
7:00 PM - 9:30 PM	Round 3, evening round
9:30 PM - 11:30 PM	Movie or recreation time

- **NATIONALLY RENOWNED FACULTY.** The practice rounds will be adjudicated by experienced critics who will give valuable advice and guidance on improving your debate skills. All of the staff for the extended-week program have a wealth of success at both the high school/collegiate level, and include top-flight current and former collegiate competitors. Directing the program is Robert Thomas, formerly of Bainbridge Island HS, Emory University, and Woodward Academy. Initially confirmed faculty include Dan Fitzmier of Emory University, Sarah Holbrook of West Georgia College, Abe Newman of UC Berkeley, and others of the SNFI policy debate program staff - check us out on the web for updates!

- **ACCELERATED LEARNING ENVIRONMENT.** Includes 17 critiqued debates in this exclusive program to help students get the equivalent of a semester of debate experience and actual improvement during the course of the camp. The program also features topic/theory seminars and rebuttal rework exercises, all designed to teach mastery of superior technique at all levels. Students learn in a relaxed atmosphere, more akin to a graduate seminar or retreat than a traditional debate camp.

- **PROGRAM PRE-REQUISITES.** Students should attend the regular Stanford Policy Debate Forensic Institute. Students who will have previously attended a different policy camp of sufficient rigor the same summer will also be considered for admission, as will all previous year's attendees of the SNFI policy debate camp.

Check out the SNFI web-page at www.educationunlimited.com for staffing updates for the extended week program, or contact our offices!

Costs (which includes housing, lunch and dinner throughout the program, and a standard program materials/ briefs and evidence packet). Students not continuing from the regular SNFI may wish to purchase the supplemental evidence packet from the camp (about \$85):

Extended week CX program

\$850 (rm, board, tuition), commuters \$525

No additional \$75 enrollment fee is required upon application for those applicants continuing from the regular SNFI policy debate program.

SNFI, 555 Bryant Street, #599

Palo Alto, CA 94301

The National Forensic Consortium presents the

Austin National LD Debate Institute

Regular LD Session: July 2-15

One-Week LD Session: July 2-9

The Austin National LD Institute offers a national-caliber program with great instructors at a cost comparable to local camps. The camp has a variety of outstanding features, and has a history of preparing students for all levels of competition: local, regional, and national circuit.

The 2000 faculty includes:

Nick Coburn-Palo of Hopkins High School and Jessica Dean of Boston University. Both of these instructors specialize in teaching philosophy and advanced techniques of LD debate. Instruction is available for students from beginning to advanced level.

And here are what some previous ANDI LD camp participants thought:

"All of the philosophical lectures and discussions were awesome! I was really pleased with the level of instruction. Our lab leader was very dedicated to providing us with a good experience, and the level of intensity was extremely high. I would definitely recommend this camp!"

Addie Frieweaver, previous program participant

"I would recommend this camp to other students because it was tons of fun and I learned a lot. The work was hard, and the intensity was high, but wasn't overwhelming... The staff did a good job explaining things and made it easy to ask questions. The quality of instruction, level of intensity, and student to staff ratio were all a '10'..."

Alison Campbell, previous program participant

"I learned a lot and feel I've improved tremendously. I liked the emphasis on research... I felt the best features of this camp were the friendliness of the staff, their dedication to our intellectual and spiritual growth, and the free bumper stickers! The level of preparation of my lab leaders, their knowledge and skill level, and their commitment to providing a quality experience were all 10 out of 10..."

Will Orloff, previous program participant

"I would recommend this camp because it's affordable with the same qualities as more expensive camps. I really enjoyed the counselors. ...the instructors were experienced, but were also people that students could relate to..."

Viviana Gonzalez, previous program participant

For a brochure contact:

**1678 Shattuck Ave, #305
Berkeley, CA 94709
or call: 510-548-4800**

NFC ANDI LD Camp Fees :

**\$535 for the one-week, or
\$825 for the full program,
plus a \$75 application fee.**

Listed fees include tuition, room and a meal plan.



Austin National Debate Institute

CX Main Session: July 2 - July 18

LD Main Session: July 2 - July 15

The Austin National Debate Institute seeks to provide students access to a national-caliber faculty at an incomparably low cost. The ANDI is an independent program which offers **both Policy and Lincoln-Douglas debate**, taught by some of the finest and most respected forensics educators in the country. The ANDI provides a true national level program, with options for policy debate or LD debate programs or for one-week primer sessions in either type of debate.

Fabulous Learning Environment

- **Great location.** The ANDI is located in Austin, Texas, an exciting city known for its cosmopolitan atmosphere and quality libraries. Students are housed in a secure facility which is one of the finest residence halls in Austin. Housing is of the highest quality, with comfortable, climate controlled double rooms, many of which have a separate living area and kitchen facilities.
- **Educational emphasis.** The ANDI programs focus on the teaching of debate skills and techniques in combination with a proper emphasis on preparation and original research. The program is designed to accommodate students at the beginning and advanced levels, with separate labs and primary instructors for beginners. All essential camp evidence and materials, including over a thousand pages of briefs produced at the camp by policy debate students, are included absolutely free of additional charges. Policy students will graduate prepared to tackle the 2000 policy topic, while the LD students will be prepared to debate likely national topics.
- **Numerous special program features.** These include enrollment caps to ensure student access to ALL the top faculty; an incredible faculty-student ratio of around 1:7; special theory seminars, lectures and guest lecturers; multiple critiqued debates; rebuttal reworks and strategy training; and much more! The program as a whole emphasizes learning through doing, with all students working with a variety of faculty on basic and advanced skills such as argument preparation, strategizing, extension of positions, and foundational theories of debating and delivery. Policy debate students will also receive access to the best evidence produced at the NFC camps!
- **Top quality national-circuit faculty.** The ANDI faculty is composed of some of the finest coaches and debaters in the nation. Students will have the opportunity to learn from a supportive and experienced staff. A glance at the qualifications of the ANDI staff will reveal the depth and quality of what is every summer debate program's most important asset, its teaching staff. ANDI compares favorably with any other program in this and every regard!

Carefully Structured Schedules

SAMPLE CX SCHEDULE

8-9:00 AM	Breakfast
9-10:30 AM	Topic Lecture
10:30-Noon	Aff Case Construction
Noon-1:00 PM	Lunch
1:00-3:30 PM	Library work
3:30-5:00 PM	Theory seminar
5:00-6:30 PM	Dinner
6:30-8:30 PM	Lab session
8:30 PM	Commuter checkout
8:30-10:00 PM	Topic preparation
10:00-12:00 AM	Recreation & relaxation
Midnight	Lights out

www.educationunlimited.com

SAMPLE LD SCHEDULE

Breakfast
Value Analysis Practicum
Seminars on Strategizing
Lunch
Case preparation
Practice debate w/critique
Dinner
Delivery drills
Commuter checkout
Aff case work session
Recreation & relaxation
Lights out



Fees : \$995 for CX,
\$825 LD, \$535 1-week
plus \$75 application fee.
For info contact: NFC
1678 Shattuck Ave, #305
Berkeley, CA 94709
or call: 510-548-4800

The National Forensic Consortium presents the

NATIONAL DEBATE INSTITUTE, D.C.

HELD AT GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Policy Debate Programs: July 2 - July 20

The National Debate Institute, D.C. offers an exciting opportunity for students to attend a national caliber debate institute at a cost competitive with the fees of most regional camps. Students receive instruction from some of the nation's finest debate teachers, including respected high school and college coaches, as well as some of the nation's most successful current and former collegiate debaters.

- **NATIONALLY RENOWNED FACULTY.** Outstanding coaches with proven track-records of success at both the high school/collegiate level, and top-flight current and former collegiate competitors.

- **RIGOROUS CURRICULUM.** A carefully crafted schedule developed and refined over the years at NFC camps. Classes are intensive, designed for the dedicated student of debate who wishes to maximize personal improvement.

- **SUPERIOR FACILITIES, LOCATION AND RESOURCES.** Students have access to the vast educational resources of the nation's capital, its abundance of libraries and think-tanks, and get to experience the city's cultural and entertainment attractions while on fully-supervised excursions. Program pricing includes lunch and dinner throughout the program, and all evidence produced at the camp for policy debaters! Remember to compare complete costs when pricing other camps.

- **TARGETED LEARNING** for both national circuit debaters and regional competitors. Classes utilize a variety of mutually reinforcing techniques, including fast-paced lectures, affirmative and negative labs, theory and practicum seminars, and individualized consultations.

- **ACCELERATED LEARNING ENVIRONMENT.** Includes over a dozen critiqued debates in the standard program as well as repeated argument drills and rebuttal rework exercises, all designed to teach mastery of superior technique at all levels.

- **INTENSIVE 30-ROUND POLICY DEBATE OPTION.** For students who feel they need a camp experience heavily weighted toward practice and technique instruction. Students in this special focus lab will spend a portion of each day learning theory, cutting originals, and putting together positions, and then will debate an average of two rounds a day (fully critiqued with reworks) for the duration of the camp. Look for an update on the outstanding staff for this special program in upcoming issues of the Rostrum!

- **EXPERIENCED PROGRAM DIRECTION.** The director is Dan Fitzmier, debate coach at Emory University. His college teams have closed out or won 10 major tournaments in the last two years. As a college debater he won the Heart of America, and closed out CEDA nationals with another Emory team. While in high school he was top speaker at the TOC his senior year. While coaching at Pace Academy his teams cleared to elimination rounds at most major tournaments.

Costs (which includes housing, lunch and dinner throughout the program, and all program materials/briefs and evidence):

Regular CX Program

\$1,450 (rm, board, tuition)

30-round plus CX program

\$1,675 (rm, board, tuition)

An additional \$75 enrollment fee is required upon application.

For more information:

on the web at:

www.educationunlimited.com (510) 548-4800

NFC

1678 Shattuck Ave., #305

Berkeley, CA 94709



NATIONAL DEBATE INSTITUTE, D.C. 30-ROUND CX LAB

at George Mason University July 2 - July 20

The National Debate Institute, D.C. 30-round CX lab is built around one important premise: for many students of debate, practice rounds with in-depth critiques by quality instructors are the single most efficient path to improving as quickly as possible. The normal quota of rounds at three-week national caliber camps tends to be 6 to 12 rounds by the time a camp is done. While this provides a solid introduction to the topic, and a chance to practice many of the skills you are being taught, it is simply not enough practice to create real mastery of new techniques and critical core of the topic arguments. The NDI-D.C. 30-round CX lab solves this problem by providing an incredible 1 to 4 ratio of staff to students. Students will average two debates a day for the duration of the camp, while still receiving access to theory seminars, lectures, research sessions, and topic analysis discussions. This cutting edge program features:

- **NATIONALLY RENOWNED FACULTY.** Outstanding coaches with proven track-records of success at both the high school collegiate level, and top-flight current and former collegiate competitors. The faculty includes UC Berkeley coach Dave Arnett, Ryan Mills of the College Preparatory School, Russ Falconer of Emory University, Carrie Reilley formerly of Stuyvesant High School, and Lacy Martin and Erin White of the Georgetown Day School. This outstanding staff is exclusive to the NFC!

- **RIGOROUS SCHEDULE.** Most days will follow this basic format (with breaks for lunch and dinner):

8:30 AM - 11:45 AM	Lectures, seminars, topic prep
1:15 PM - 2:30 PM	Research, theory sessions
2:30 PM - 5:15 PM	Practice debate with rebuttal reworks and in-depth critiques
6:30 PM - 9:30 PM	Practice debate with rebuttal reworks and in-depth critiques

- **ACCELERATED LEARNING ENVIRONMENT.** Includes over 30 critiqued debates in this exclusive program to help students get the equivalent of a semester or more of debate experience and actual improvement during the course of the camp. The program also features repeated argument drills and rebuttal rework exercises, all designed to teach mastery of superior technique at all levels.

- **EXPERIENCED PROGRAM DIRECTION.** The NDI-D.C. 30-round CX lab directors are Dave Arnett and Russ Falconer. Dave is the coach at UC Berkeley, where this year he qualified two teams to the NDT. Dave has taught at the Austin, Emory and Stanford workshops.

Russ is a debate coach for Emory University, and as both a high school and college debater was widely regarded as one of the top competitors in the country.

COSTS:

Resident program: \$1,675
(room and board)

Commuter program: \$915

An additional \$75 program fee is required with application

"I think the staff was excellent. They gave critiques that enabled us to improve faster than I have ever improved before!"

Justin Wales

1998 30-round participant



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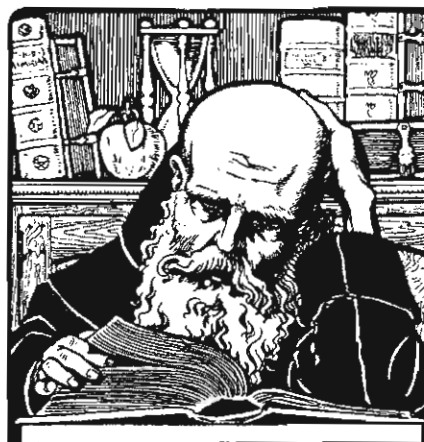
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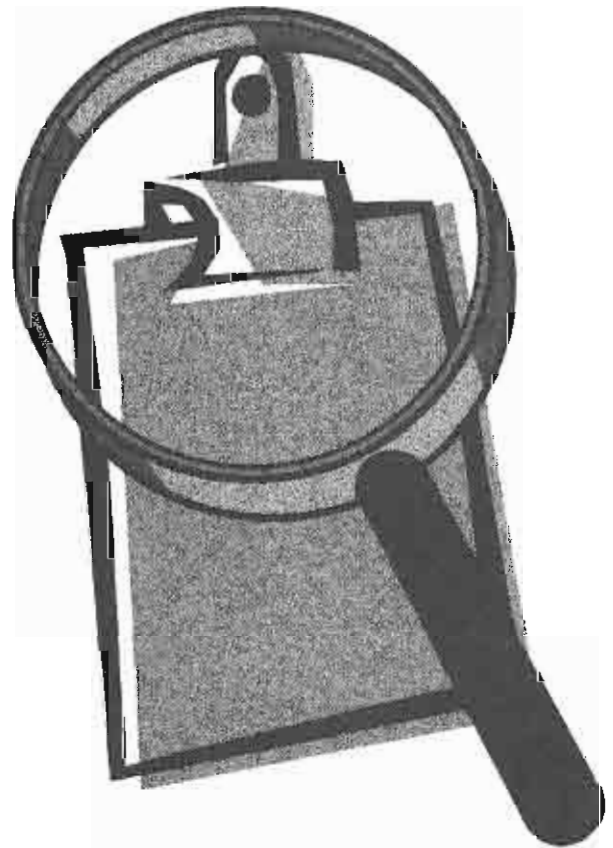
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 S David Sabados, Highlands Ranch
 P Mike Seibert, Mullen
 P Brian Schrader, Mullen

House 2
 * O David Goldman, Cherry Creek
 S Sean Kelly, Columbine
 P Brenda Bautsch, Cherry Creek
 P Sean Kelly, Columbine

House 3
 * O Sergio R. Gonzales, Columbine
 S Paul Christopher, Overland
 P Paul Christopher, Overland
 P Meghan Callahan-Peters, Mullen

Hole In the Wall

Senate 1
 * O Ryan Ford, Cheyenne-East, WY
 S Justin Johns, Lead, SD

House 1
 * Jessica Zelfer, Sturgis-Brown

House 2
 * Jason Shuffelbarger, Cheyenne-East

Montana

Senate 1
 * O Michael Greig, Flathead Co.
 S Andrew Bissell, Flathead Co.

House 1
 * O Jon Thompson, Capital
 S Annie Glover, Great Falls

House 2
 * O Vel Martin, Butte
 S Grant Hewitt, Flathead Co.

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 S Ed Stevenson, Ogden
 P Clay Campbell, Moulain Crest

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 * O Jacob Gotberg, Northridge
 S Justin Fox, Layton
 P Jacob Gotberg, Northridge

House 2
 * O Stacey Jeppesen, Moulain Crest
 S Kimball B. Allen, Northridge
 P Stacey Jeppesen, Moulain Crest

House 3
 * O Kyle Studstill, Layton
 S Jayme Thiemann, Davis
 P Joshua Doncouse, Layton

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 * Roger Larson, Duluth-East
 O Jesse Matson, Moorhead
 S James Schumann, Dilworth-Glyndon-Felton
 P Daniel Otto, Moorhead
 P Roger Larson, Duluth-East

House 1
 * O Andrew Grace, Duluth-East
 S Ashley Hane, Walker
 P Manney Anderson, Brainerd
 P Robin Wheeler, Willmar

House 1A

* Ehren Bittner, Duluth-East
 O Rebekah Freed, Duluth-East
 S Aaron Weir, Moorhead
 P Knute Nix, Grand Rapids
 P Laura Birkeland, Grand Rapids

House II

* O Thomas Reed, Moorhead
 S Kristoffer Smemo, Moorhead
 P Josh Langseth, Dilworth-Glyndon-Felton
 P Matt Broughton, Park Rapids

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 * O Jonathan Brown, Palisade
 S Timothy Hinerman, Canon City
 P Timothy Hinerman, Canon City
 P Jessica Gibson, Pueblo-Centennial

Senate 2

* O Thomas Noah, Canon City
 S Kyle Cheesewright, Durango
 P Thomas Noah, Canon City
 P Timm Bryson, Pueblo-Centennial

House 1

* O Rebecca Stump, Liberty
 S Marshall Arney, Sierra
 P Rebecca Stump, Liberty
 P David S. Booth, Canon City

House 2

* O Jennifer A. Miller, Canon City
 S Matthew Lira, Liberty
 P Matthew Lira, Liberty
 P Michael Jacobs, Air Academy

House 3

* O Steven Hunsacker, Canon City
 S Ian J. Sarnuel, Pueblo-Centennial
 P Steven Hunsacker, Canon City
 P Whitney Smith, Palisade

Michigan

Senate 1
 O Arhyis Ealmon, Kalamazoo Central
 * S Erich Nagengast, Portage-Central
 P Aman Ansari, Portage-Northern
 P Erich Nagengast, Portage-Central

House 1
 * O Nicole Green, Kalamazoo Central
 S Stefani Zimmerman, Portage-Central

North East Indiana

Senate 1
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 S Melanie Boynton, Fort Wayne-Northrop
 P Christin Eatherion, Columbia City

House 1

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 S Owen Sulkowski, Chesterion
 P Nathan Lefever, Columbia City

House 2

* O Benjamin Barone, Snider
 S Amber Zehner, Chesterion
 P Brett Mock, Columbia City

Chesapeake

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 S Joseph Wantz, Calvert Hall College
 P Brian Holler, Catonsville
 P Terrell Smith, Baltimore City College

House 1
 * O Thomas Lantzas, Loyola
 S Warren Jones, Baltimore City College
 P Warren Jones, Baltimore City College

Sundance

Senate 1
 * O Cheryl A. Christensen, Jordan
 S Sam Peay, American Fork

House 1

* O Amy Sullivan, Alta
 S Aaron Hergel, Jordan

House 2

* O Adam Jensen, Mountain View
 S Patrick Y. Lagua, Jordan

House 3

O Jonathan L. Leach, Jordan
 S Ali Hasnain, Jordan

Eastern Missouri

Senate 1
 * O Matthew Markowitz, Parkway-West
 S Andria Rockwell, Ritenour
 P Matthew Markowitz, Parkway-West

House 1

* O Amanda Hechinger, Pattonville
 S Michael Jeffcoat, Rock Bridge
 P Amanda Hechinger, Pattonville

House 2

* O Zachary Rackovan, Pattonville
 S Mark Ladd, Ladue Horton Watkins
 P Zachary Rackovan, Pattonville

House 3

* O Brad Baebler, Ladue Horton Watkins
 S Mike Lehmkuhl, Pattonville
 P Brad Baebler, Ladue Horton Watkins

House 4

* O Matt Fuller, Pattonville
 S Will Sterrett, Columbia-Hickman
 P Will Sterrett, Columbia-Hickman

Pennsylvania

Senate 1
 * O Nathaniel McWherter, Derry Area
 * S Elizabeth Dye, Trinity
 P Justin Welch, Trinity

House 1

* O Allan Edwards, Greater Latrobe
 S Natalie Bell, Bellwood-Antis
 P Cassandra Crable, Uniontown Area

House 2

* O George Sprows, Trinity
 S Richard Winski, Greater Latrobe
 P James Fox, Greater Latrobe

West Iowa

Senate 1
 * O Cameron Hawkins, Herbert Hoover
 * S Josh Padgett, Ankeny Sr.
 P Katie Bouma, Fort Dodge
 P Josh Padgett, Ankeny Sr.

House 1

* O Keith West, Ankeny Sr.
 S Jon Richardson, Sioux City-North
 P Sean Bowmer, Fort Dodge
 P Justin Shapiro, Ankeny

House 2

* O Tiffany Lentz, Ankeny
 S Dave Daniels, Bishop Heelan
 P Shannon Friday, Atlantic

House 3

* O Kathryn Martin, Ankeny Sr.
 S Amanda Freil, Ankeny Sr.
 P Brian Presnall, Ankeny Sr.
 P Joe Jolesch, West Des Moines-Dowling

Heart of America

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 * S John Whitteck, Independence-Truman
 P Joshua Hedrick, Carrollton

House 1

* O Nathan Edwards, North Kansas City
 S Evan Absher, Kansas City-Oak Park
 P A. J. Marchisello, Park Hill

House 2

* O Brandon Swafford, Savannah
 S Tyler Scott, Savannah
 P Michael Cockrum, Carrollton

House 3

* O Isaac Allen, Smith Cotton
 S Wade Thomas, Kansas City-Oak Park
 P Isaac Allen, Smith Cotton

House 4

* O Quinn O'Brien, North Kansas City
 S Jill Dispensa, Park Hill
 P Tommy Lupton, Kansas City-Oak Park

Hoosier South

Senate 1
 * O Andrew Yeager, Connersville
 * S Chelsea Carroll, Evansville-Reitz
 P Rick Swim, Chrysler

House 1

* O Cori Boersma, Connersville
 S Evan Helt, Evansville-Reitz
 P Paul Musgrave, Evansville-Reitz

House 2

* O Jami Cales, Evansville-Reitz
 S Diana Moers, Evansville-North
 P Nick Manicke, Evansville-Reitz

Northern Illinois

Senate 1
 * O Tom Clarke, Deerfield
 S Elizabeth Remien, Glenbrook-South
 P Kevin Parker, Barrington

Senate 2

* O Karl Muth, Prospect
 S Laila Leigh, Lake Forest
 P Karl Muth, Prospect

House 1

* O Nicholas Zwang, Deerfield
 S Nicholas Alexander, New Trier Twp
 P Ryan Meher, Prospect

House 2

* O Chris Hajduk, Loyola Academy
 S Kevin Grant, Rolling Meadows
 P Chris Hajduk, Loyola Academy

House 3

* O Michael Simmons, St. Ignatius
 S Vivek Natarajan, Adlai Stevenson
 P Michelle Mangan, Prospect

Central Minnesota

Senate 1
 * O James B. Medek, Mounds View
 * S Bill Dalsen, Coon Rapids

House 1

* O Joshua Huang, Circle Pines-Centennial
 S Sean Sands, Apple Valley

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Senate 1
 * O Jonathan Willis, Mountain Brook
 * S Andy Galese, Altamont School
 P Burt L. Welch, Homewood

House 1

* O Bernie Dorrough, The Montgomery Academy
 S Ian Tumipseed, Saint James School
 P Bernie Dorrough, The Montgomery Academy

House 2

* O E. J. Stern, Saint James School
 S Rich McRoberts, Mountain Brook
 P E. J. Stern, Saint James School

Louisiana

Senate 1
 * O Anthony Berryhill, Newman School
 * S Luke Hill, St. Thomas More
 P Sarah Roy, Lafayette
 P Luke Hill, St. Thomas More

House 1

* O Meredith Clark, Lafayette
 S Andre Pire, St. Thomas More
 P Andre Pire, St. Thomas More
 P Ryan Lemaire, Lafayette

House 2

* O Dominic Hood, St. Martin's Episcopal School
 S Amber McZeal, Lafayette-Acadiane
 P Dominic Hood, St. Martin's Episcopal School
 P Amber McZeal, Lafayette-Acadiane

Idaho

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 S Jared Cooke, Hillcrest
 P Justin Eslinger, Centennial

House 1

* O Kevin Smith, Centennial
 S Natalie M. Cook, Skyline
 P Kevin Smith, Centennial

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House 1

* O Davey Roberts, Haven
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House 2

* O Ashley Clayton, Hutchinson
 P Josh Carter, Chaparral
 P Josh Beal, Haven

House 3

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 P Arthur Gebers, Chaparral
 P Megan Becker, McPherson

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 P Smith Lilley, Clinton

House 1

* O Jeffrey Lewis, Clinton
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 P Ricky James, Hattiesburg

House 2

* O Sangita Goel, St. Andrew's Episcopal School
 S Jason Dechert, Watkins
 P Jason Dechert, Watkins

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 S Jenny Miller, Bettendorf
 P Daniel Shivapour, Burlington
 P Brian K. Golden, Davenport-West

House 1

* O Amanda Lassance, Wahlert
 S Melissa Smith, Bettendorf
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 P Lucas W. Schneck, Clarke Community

House 2

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 P Christopher R. Raap, Davenport-West
 P Alan E. Thede, Davenport-West

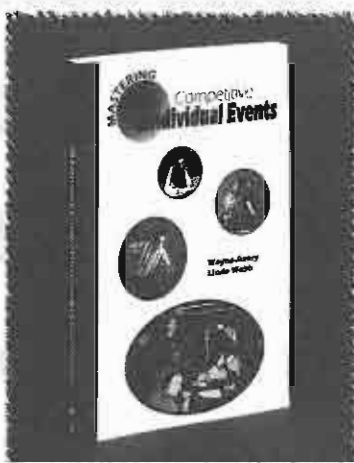
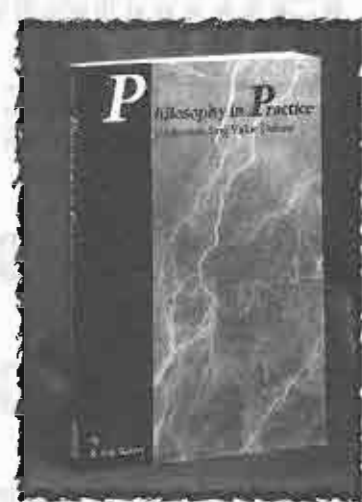
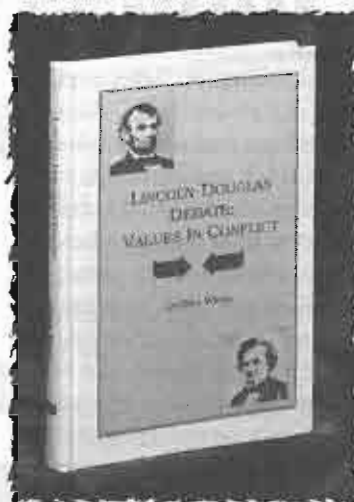
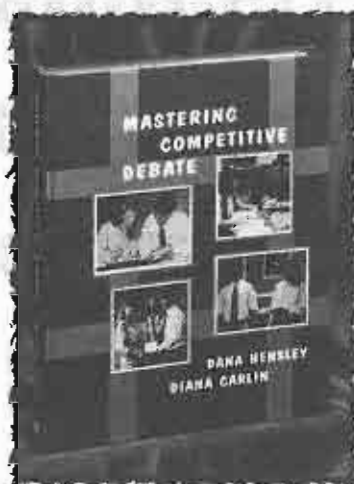


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(Cheshier from page 41)

not necessarily follow that the successful courting of media elites will produce success. We assume that as new media technologies proliferate, presidential efforts to use media outlets will intensify, but the historical record shows a surprisingly constant historical tendency for presidents to attempt media manipulation.²³ We accept as true the idea that presidents must be preoccupied with their coverage, but tend to ignore the backlash which results when presidents end up looking less like leaders and more like performers. We tend to believe skills presidents will always find a way to frame their programs successfully, but underestimate the extent to which the intrinsic limits of the relevant mass medium can constrain such efforts (consider, for example, how attempts to defend free trade are regularly subverted by the ease of showing images of trade's downsides - child labor abuses, environmental damage, and the difficulty of visually showing trade's benefits, like lower prices and heightened productivity). And the idea that presidents need only roll out their spinmeisters to direct public opinion their way ignores the typical climate of tension pervading the media's relationship with national politicians.

It is tempting to overstate the benefits of what Jeffrey Tulis first called the "rhetorical presidency" for occupants of the

office. It was this sentiment that led former Vice President Walter Mondale to claim the media had turned the presidency into the nation's "fire hydrant." Presidential scholar Mary Stuckey recently wrote that "the rhetorical presidency has created...a dramatic increase in public expectations...More resources mean heightened expectations, which require presidents to find more resources, which in turn raise expectations. The cycle is endlessly self-perpetuating, and is potentially dangerous for both presidents and for the system in which they are embedded..."²⁴

In short, the effects of intensive media coverage are mixed, and hardly unidirectional in the sense often claimed in Clinton disadvantage debates. As Cronin and Genovese put it, "television has both *enlarged* and *shrunk* the presidency."²⁵ Our debates will more accurately reflect the state of the academic research to the extent they acknowledge these mixed effects. Negatives teams are on solid ground when they bolster their internal link by noting that unpopular positions taken by presidents tend to be "piled onto" by the press, an effect which can multiply the risk. But when either team stakes out a position implying that either supporters or opponents of a particular policy will find it easy to shape public reaction, they are sliding around on thin ice.

Conclusion: Some Implications for Debating Clinton

This review of the theoretical literature on the American presidency has by no means been a comprehensive one. Nonetheless, one can easily drive several implications for debate over the internal links to the Clinton position.

First, *to the extent that affirmative responses can emphasize the complex context of presidential politics, they should.* The disadvantage can only succeed by emphasizing the singular importance of the plan, the novel commitment of time or political capital required by a president to see it enacted, and the total irrelevance of all competing issues. Negatives create such an impression by reading evidence that their impact issue is at the "top of the agenda," with the implication that a political capital tradeoff will necessarily connect the plan with a mega-impact (WTO, NTR, or in earlier times CTBT, NAFTA, CWC, or others). They read hyperbolic press releases from the White House stressing how the president is spending all his time wooing wavering members of Congress, with the implication that the enactment of any other policy will fatally divert the president from averting nuclear war.

But as a review of research on presidential politics establish, these claims are drastically exaggerated. The context for (Cheshier to page 63)

(Haig from page 31)

should be construed as personal attacks. Hopefully the post will spur some sort of response and potentially even a discussion.

Asher Haig ahaig@warped-reality.com
Greenhill Debate

"I am speaking the language of exile. This language ... muffles a cry, it doesn't ever shout ... Our present age is one of exile. How can we avoid sinking into the mire of common sense, if not by becoming a stranger one's own country, language, sex and identity? ... Exile is a way of surviving in the face of the dead father ... of stubbornly refusing to give in to the law of death." — Julia Kristeva

(Asher Haig debates for Greenhill School, Texas. His post to the CX-L LCX-1 @ debate net, is used by permission)

(Glass from page 37)

convinced then ever as to why uniqueness is so critically important? Why on earth would you reject a case which reformed work conditions for slaves because of a criticism demonstrating that slavery was bad?? Wouldn't that be even more of a reason *TO* endorse the affirmative? And where is the warrant in the sentence "A non-unique case turn still serves as an absolute (that is, absolute) solvency take-out with at least a *risk* of uniqueness"? If the case turn is not unique, it is not a turn. If it is *absolutely* not unique, then there is *no risk* of uniqueness. If the case turn proves that the affirmative doesn't solve, then it's an absolute Plan-Meet-Need argument, for which uniqueness is irrelevant.

Mr. Haig agrees on the absurdity of the fiat debate, and doesn't answer the testing rationale for the concept; the notion of change happening as a result of criticism would work doubly well for the permutation, because the affirmative would be the

example of change within the context of the criticism. There would be no structure conceptualized by the affirmative, because the permutation would endorse the destruction of such a structure, while still doing some demonstrable good. The dichotomizing of the problem/solution mindset sets up a false distinction.

Finally, Mr. Haig's understanding of Foucault (see the section "Liberation and the Ability to Speak") nicely illustrates the silencing function of the Critique, within the Discourse of Policy Debate. The Critique is an instrument of regulation. It's advocacy is an appeal to silence. It's purpose is a grab for power. It's derivation is argument-forms which failed; it's purpose therefore is to succeed. The Critique is used to silence the affirmative, and is therefore precisely the sort of power-wielding that Foucault was thinking about.

(Dr. David Glass is a cancer researcher, published playwright, and debate coach at Edgemont NY NC)



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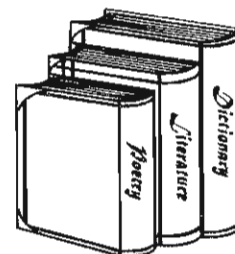
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(Cheshier from page 60)

presidential decisionmaking is almost never monopolized by pursuit of a single goal; this is especially true given the decisionmaking and governance style of Bill Clinton, who prefers to pursue a hundred goals all at once. And the complexity of Washington decisionmaking will only increase given population growth, inattention to media coverage because of competition from other information sources, and the probably further weakening of political party discipline.²⁶

Current debating on presidential leadership tends to advance these claims through the vehicle of multiple uniqueness responses. A laundry list of alternative policy proposals, agenda items, and legislative action does help illustrate the contrived nature of most Clinton stories. But among the implications of scholarly research on presidential decisionmaking is that other internal link responses might have as much effectiveness as yesterday's uniqueness stories in revealing the more strained impact accounts.

Second, our debates over presidential leadership do not adequately account for where in a president's term controversies are airing. All of the variables we've considered, popularity, media influence, power to control the agenda, extent of political capital - vary substantially depending on what point in a presidential term we're in. Consider the popularity variable. As a general rule, presidents in the modern age have inevitably lost popular support over time. Even relatively successful presidents like Reagan and Clinton have showed slow erosion in position support over time (for Reagan this also translated into a slow diminution in personal approval, while Clinton seems to be escaping this fate). As Cronin and Genovese put it, "When news is good, the president's popularity goes down or stays the same; when news is terrible, popularity merely goes down faster and farther."²⁷ There are several explanations for this general trend. One emphasizes how presidents will inevitably lose support over time as it becomes clear they cannot match the expectations raised by their own rhetoric. Cronin and Genovese refer to this as the "popularity dilemma."²⁸ Another emphasizes the likelihood that media coverage will inevitably turn sour as a president gradually becomes "old news." Yet another stresses how opinions are likely to become settled over time, less susceptible to redefinition and manipulation.

The upshot for political process debates is a two-edged sword. At this late point in Bill Clinton's term, the connections between public approval, legislative success, agenda-setting, and media manipulation are most attenuated, and the disadvantage most contrived. But this conclusion also implies that, whoever our next president is, the popularity position will be especially viable during his honeymoon period. Debaters should offer arguments more carefully attuned to the rhythms of the presidential calendar.

Finally, our debates should more fully reflect the growing body of research on presidential leadership. The heavy emphasis on evidential recency has produced uninformed argument on the internal dynamics of popularity and agenda-setting. Just one example of this is the continuing reliance by some negative debaters on internal link evidence from Bond and Fleisher's 1990 book, where the more speculative sections and helpful anecdotes are quoted in apparent ignorance of the fact that the overall study finds *no effect* for presidential popularity on legislative support.

References

¹ The evidence most widely read on this issue comes from these sources: (1) Charles Ostrum and Dennis Simon, "Promise and Performance: A Dynamic Model of Presidential Popularity," *American Political Science Review*, 79 (1985): 334-358; (2) Douglas Rivers and Nancy Rose, "Passing the President's Program: Public Opinion and Presidential Influence in Congress," *American Journal of Political Science*, 29 (1985): 183-196; (3) Jon Bond and Richard Fleisher, "The Limits of Presidential Popularity as a Source of Influence in the U.S. House," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 5 (1980): 69-78; and (4) Bond and Fleisher, *The President in the Legislative Arena* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1990). Less frequently cited is a newer addition to this literature: Ken Collier and Terry Sullivan, "New Evidence Undercutting the Linkage of Approval with Presidential Support and Influence," *Journal of Politics*, 57 (1995): 197-209.

² One of the best general introductions to the issues surrounding presidential power is a reader produced by Pfiffner and Davidson, James Pfiffner and Roger Davidson, eds., *Understanding the Presidency* (New York: Longman, 1997). Another good introduction is Robert DiClerico, *The American President*, 5th edition (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000), one of the popular textbooks on the subject.

³ Marvin Olasky, *The American Leadership Tradition: Moral Vision from Washington to Clinton* (New York: Free Press, 1999).

⁴ Robert Shogan, *The Double Edged Sword: How Character Makes and Ruins Presidents, From Washington to Clinton* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1999).

⁵ Philip Abbott, *Strong Presidents: A Theory of Leadership* (Knoxville, Tenn.: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1996).

⁶ Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power: The Politics of Leadership from FDR to Carter* (New York: John Wiley, 1980); Richard Pious, *The American Presidency* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); Edward Corwin, *The President: Offices and Powers, 1787-1957*, 4th revised edition (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1957).

⁷ Clinton Rossiter, *The American Presidency* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1956); Erwin Hargrove, *Presidential Leadership* (New York: Macmillan, 1966). Hargrove recently published a major valedictory assessment of his own research on the presidency. Edwin Hargrove, *The President as Leader: Appealing to the Better Angels of Our Nature* (Lawrence: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1998).

⁸ James David Barber, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1985). Since this edition Barber has released at least one major revision.

⁹ Theodore Lowi, *The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1985).

¹⁰ The two most cited early studies in this tradition were produced by David Mayhew and Richard Fenno. Mayhew's work tended to emphasize how members of Congress act out of their singular desire to get reelected, where Fenno tended to emphasize multiple goals (reelection, the desire to enact good public policy, and the interest in improving their power in Congress).

¹¹ Steven Shull and Thomas Shaw, *Explaining Congressional-Presidential Relations: A Multiple Perspective Approach* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999).

¹² George C. Edwards, *The Public Presidency: The Pursuit of Popular Support* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), p. 1.

¹³ Elmer Plischke, "Rating Presidents and Diplomats in Chief," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 15 (1985): 725-742.

¹⁴ On this last point, the last several years have produced significant scholarly attention. Cf., Richard Ellis, *Presidential Lightning Rods: The Politics of Blame Avoidance* (Lawrence: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1994).

¹⁵ Barbara Sinclair, "Studying Presidential Leadership," in *Researching the Presidency: Vital Questions, New Approaches*, ed. George Edwards, John Kessel, and Bert Rockman (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), 222.

¹⁶ "Indeed, support is specific to a policy and may appear and disappear quickly around critical legislative votes." Cohen and Collier, "Public Opinion," in *Presidential Policymaking: An End-of-the-Century Assessment*, ed. Steven Shull (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 52. They add: "While presidential popularity or prestige is a constant force that operates continually in the background, specific appeals for support on policies are sporadic, even for enthusiastic practitioners like Reagan." *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁷ These effects are complicated, of course. Edwards and others have argued that members of Congress are likely to defer to a president's approval rating if only out of intimidation, since they can never be sure what the basis of popularity is, personality or program.

¹⁸ Jeffrey Cohen, "Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda," *American Journal of Political Science*, 39 (1995): 87-107.

¹⁹ Jeffrey Cohen and Ken Collier, "Public Opinion: Reconceptualizing Going Public," in *Presidential Policymaking*, 41-58.

²⁰ An example of this is the long time it took for Richard Nixon's plummeting popularity to effect his legislative irritatives. As Cohen and Collier note, "Nixon's character-based popularity problems undermined his personal credibility and his general bargaining position with Congress, but Watergate had little to do with most votes that members cast." Cohen and Collier, "Public Opinion," 50. Another obvious example from the opposite direction is the difficulty George Bush experienced in converting his historically unprecedented, approval ratings after his Gulf War success into fast legislative accomplishments, although, as just noted, this may reflect partisan splits more than a time lag.

In fairness, of course, there is evidence to the contrary, some even offered by Cohen. An example is his passing assertion that, in fact, "prestige can garner the president some short-term victories," a point which both supports the fast time frame analysis of many negative teams and which lends some additional validity to the "winners win" claim discussed below. Jeffrey Cohen, *Presidential Responsiveness and Public Policy-Making: The Public and the Policies That Presidents Choose* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1997), 247. And with respect to the specific examples, some advocates of a popularity-legislation link point to the Congress' refusal to fund the Vietnam War as Nixon's popularity plunged.

²¹ Paul Light, *The President's Agenda: Domestic Policy Choice from Kennedy to Carter* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1984).

(David M. Cheshier is Assistant Professor of Communications and Director of Debate at Georgia State University. His column appears monthly in the *Rostrum*.)

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Where allowed, these entwined silver and ruby cords may be worn with cap and gown at graduation ceremonies to signify the graduate has earned NFL membership. Silver is the color of the student key and Ruby the color of NFL's highest degrees. New silver and ruby colors will not conflict with the cord colors of the National Honor Society.

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Gettysburg Area School District
900 Biglerville Road
Gettysburg, PA 17325

-or-

Call (717) 334-6254, extension 1212

NFL'S TOP 50 DISTRICTS

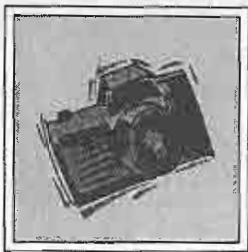
(as of April 2, 2000)

Rank	Change	District	Ave. No. Degrees	Leading Chapter	No. of Degrees
1.	--	Northern South Dakota	200.77	Watertown	572
2.	--	Rushmore	189.60	Sioux Falls-Lincoln	380
3.	--	Northern Ohio	183.72	Youngstown-Boardman	338
4.	--	Heart of America	182.77	Independence-Truman	421
5.	+2	East Kansas	162.15	Blue Valley Northwest	391
6.	--	New York City	159.28	Bronx HS of Science	436
7.	-2	Florida Manatee	157.54	Fort Lauderdale	324
8.	+1	Northwest Indiana	157.16	Plymouth	455
9.	-1	Show Me	152.47	Blue Springs	366
10.	+1	Florida Sunshine	150.75	Sarasota-Riverview	271
11.	-1	East Los Angeles	149.60	Gabrielino	402
12.	--	Kansas Flint-Hills	145.00	Washburn Rural	520
13.	+2	South Kansas	141.27	El Dorado	274
14.	-1	San Fran Bay	138.64	James Logan	533
15.	-1	Sunflower	138.41	Wichita-East	289
16.	+10	California Coast	133.33	Leland	474
17.	+2	West Kansas	132.40	Manhattan	328
18.	-2	Montana	128.55	Flathead Co.	288
19.	+6	Illini	128.08	Downers Grove-South	388
20.	-2	Central Minnesota	125.56	Eastview	333
21.	+1	Hole in the Wall	123.62	Cheyenne-East	329
22.	-5	Nebraska	122.85	Millard-North	319
23.	-2	Northern Illinois	120.85	Glenbrook-North	377
24.	-4	Eastern Ohio	117.30	Carrollton	285
25.	-1	Carver-Truman	117.26	Neosho	416
26.	+37	Southern Nevada	116.33	Green Valley	326
27.	+11	Hoosier Central	112.50	Ben Davis	337
28.	-5	Eastern Washington	109.90	Gonzaga Prep	204
29.	+13	Northern Wisconsin	107.87	Appleton East	305
30.	-4	West Los Angeles	107.54	Sherman Oaks CES	259
31.	-3	South Carolina	106.14	Riverside	301
32.	-3	North Coast	103.71	Gilmour Academy	256
33.	-3	Hoosier South	103.66	Evansville-Reitz	481
34.	+14	Sierra	101.38	Centennial	269
35.	+19	Rocky Mountain-South	100.47	Wheat Ridge	286
36.	-5	Eastern Missouri	100.22	Pattonville	409
37.	+21	Southern Wisconsin	100.07	Marquette University	221
38.	+21	Southern California	99.80	Redlands	197
39.	-3	Colorado	99.66	Cherry Creek	422
40.	-8	Western Washington	99.36	Auburn Sr.	188
41.	-8	Southern Minnesota	98.89	Edina	231
42.	+22	Great Salt Lake	98.72	Lone Peak	136
43.	-4	Utah-Wasatch	97.54	Layton	177
44.	+26	Orange Blossom	97.09	Wellington	239
45.	-10	East Texas	96.56	Dulles	252
46.	-1	Idaho	96.10	Centennial	192
47.	-10	West Iowa	95.70	Ankeny Senior	315
48.	-14	New England	95.68	Lexington	239
49.	-6	Northern Lights	94.55	Moorhead	353
50.	+22	West Oklahoma	94.04	Norman	239

NFL DISTRICT STANDINGS

Rank	Change	District	Ave. No. Degrees	Leading Chapter	No. of Degrees
51.	--	Rocky Mountain-North	93.81	Greeley-Central	277
52.	+4	New Mexico	92.61	Eldorado	280
53.	+24	Greater Illinois	89.41	Belleville-East	215
54.	-10	Pittsburgh	89.15	Bethel Park	172
55.	+5	Ozark	89.04	Springfield-Central	183
56.	-7	South Texas	89.00	Houston-Bellaire	419
57.	-16	Valley Forge	88.93	Truman	226
58.	-12	Tennessee	87.86	Mars Hill Bible School	223
59.	+6	Wind River	86.26	Worland	144
60.	-10	North East Indiana	85.68	Chesterton	409
61.	+8	Big Valley	84.25	Modesto-Beyer	325
61.	-4	Nebraska South	84.25	Millard-South	166
63.	-23	Heart of Texas	83.70	Westlake	190
64.	+16	New York State	83.30	Monticello	164
65.	-10	Sundance	82.36	Alta	240
66.	-14	Michigan	82.14	Portage-Central	211
67.	+6	North Oregon	81.53	Gresham-Barlow	227
68.	+11	Big Orange	81.44	Esperanza	232
69.	-7	Colorado Grande	81.26	Canon City	180
70.	-23	South Oregon	79.78	Ashland	257
71.	-10	Pennsylvania	79.30	Bellwood-Antis	152
72.	-4	Carolina West	76.00	Myers Park	211
73.	+10	Arizona	75.82	Mountain View	185
74.	-8	Western Ohio	75.58	Dayton-Oakwood	212
75.	+18	Sagebrush	75.33	Reno	196
76.	-9	East Oklahoma	75.22	Tulsa-Washington	222
77.	+15	Tall Cotton	74.53	Amarillo	185
78.	-3	Louisiana	74.27	Caddo Magnet	190
79.	+6	New Jersey	74.17	Montville	179
80.	-6	Lone Star	74.10	Plano Sr.	271
81.	-28	Chesapeake	73.80	Calvert Hall College	134
82.	-4	North Dakota Roughrider	73.22	Fargo-Shanley	180
83.	-12	Deep South	72.75	Vestavia Hills	223
84.	+4	North Texas Longhorns	70.77	Marcus	152
85.	-3	Maine	66.12	Brunswick	143
86.	-10	Georgia Northern Mountain	66.06	Westminster Schools	158
87.	+9	Mid-Atlantic	65.75	Blacksburg	200
88.	+3	Kentucky	65.33	Boone County	139
89.	+6	Central Texas	64.94	San Antonio-Churchill	199
90.	-9	East Iowa	64.88	Bettendorf	156
91.	-7	Gulf Coast	63.42	Gregory-Portland	257
92.	-5	Mississippi	61.42	Hattiesburg	144
93.	+4	Capitol Valley	60.36	Sacramento-Kennedy	131
94.	-8	West Virginia	59.00	Wheeling Park	90
95.	-1	South Florida	58.93	North Miami Beach	160
96.	-7	Georgia Southern Peach	57.73	Fayette County	93
97.	-7	Puget Sound	57.33	Kamiak	137
98.	+1	Tarheel East	57.09	South View Sr.	117
99.	-2	Iroquois	41.70	Mount Mercy Academy	77
100.	+1	Patrick Henry	40.21	Madison County	128
101.	-2	Hawaii	39.06	Punahou School	104
102.	-2	West Texas	37.72	Montwood	117
103.	-1	Guam	8.50	George Washington	22

FORENSIC FOLLIES



P
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Team Secretary Mandy Spears performs Oratory



Jake Simpson performs Humorous Interpretation



Tomi Robb performs Dramatic Interpretation



Students demonstrate the rushed lunch time at a forensic tournament



The team concludes every trip with the singing of the school's alma mater



A disappointed Earl Mason pretends he did not make finals



Casey Scruggs performs Poetry Interpretation



President Jennifer McGuire demonstrates the difference between DI and Solo Acting

The Gallatin High School NFL Chapter in Gallatin, TN, coached by Kimberley L. Reed-Bracey, recently performed their third annual "Forensic Follies", a nonprofit show where team members showcase their talents for their parents, teachers, community leaders, and peers.



Ms. Reed-Bracey gets audience assistance in selecting an impromptu topic



Whitney Purcell performs an impromptu speech on the topic of toilet paper

Submit pictures of
events
and activities to:
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