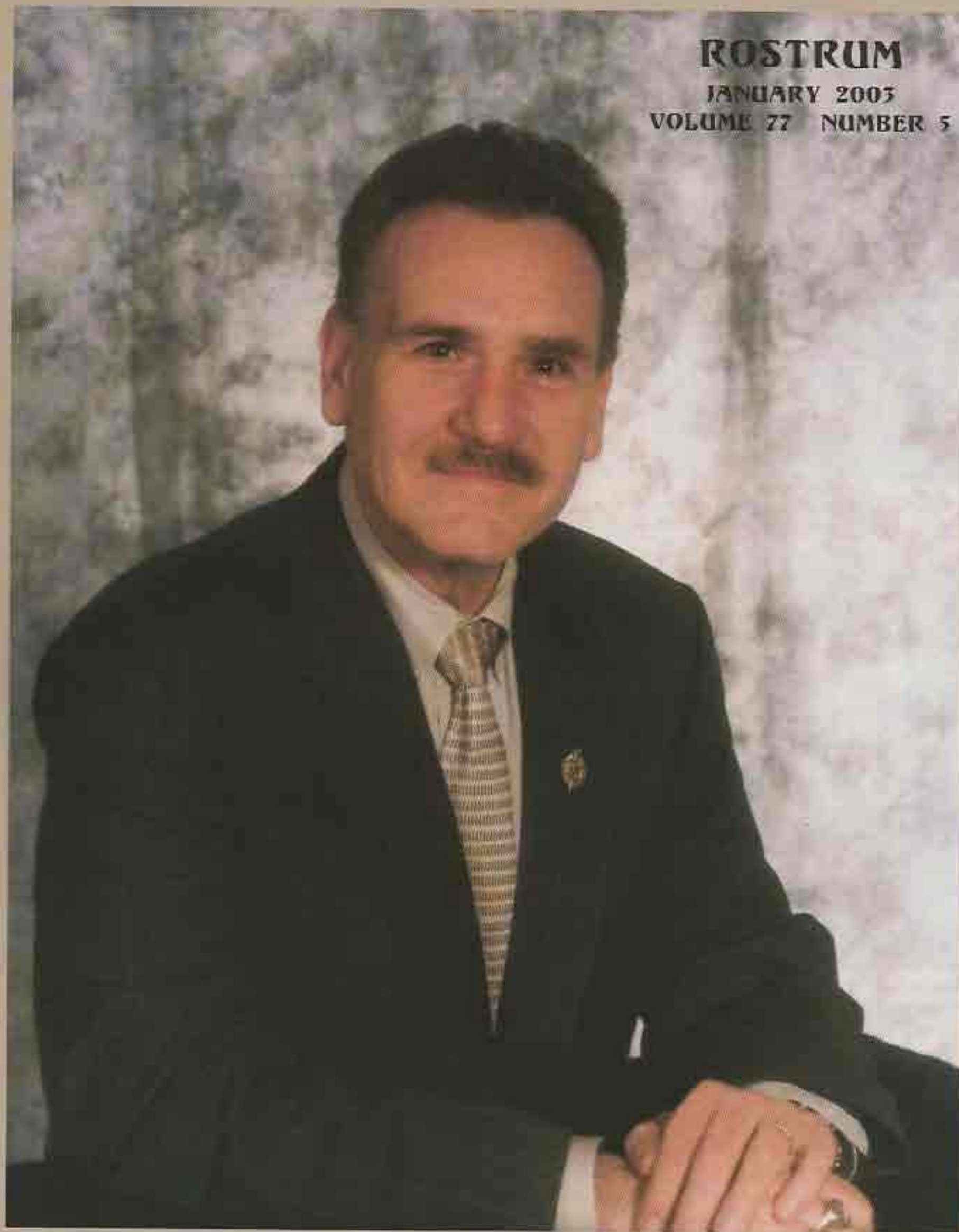


# ROSTRUM

JANUARY 2003  
VOLUME 27 NUMBER 5



**DON CRABTREE**  
NFL VICE PRESIDENT

# CDE Debate and Extemp Camps?!



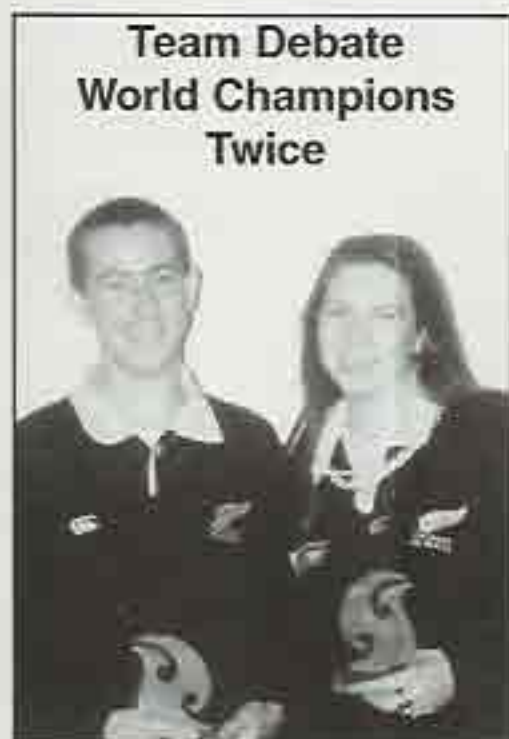
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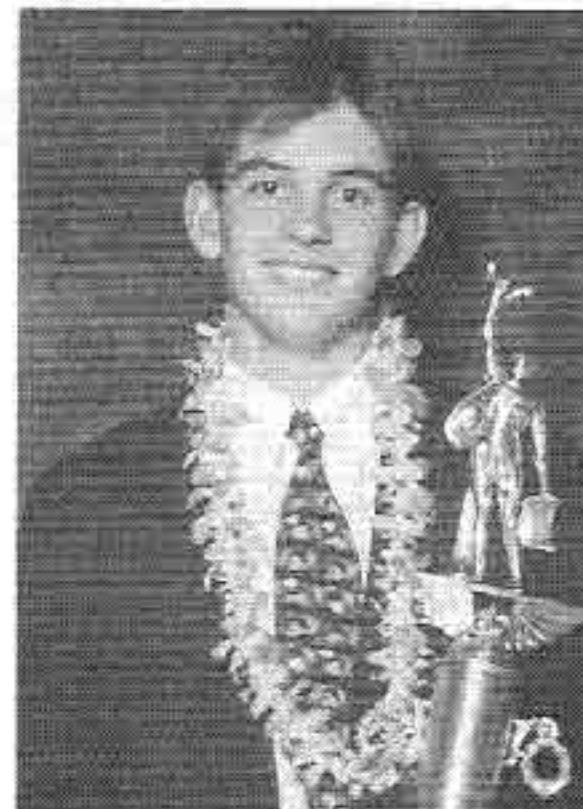
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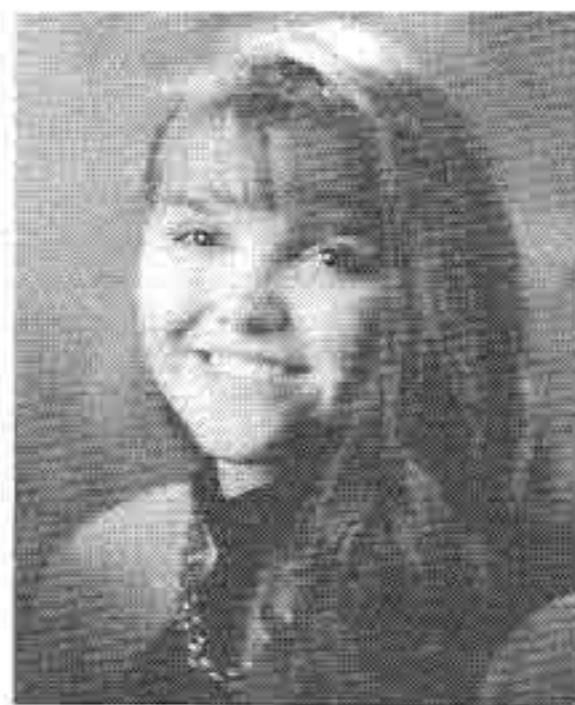
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**R:** The Federal Government should authorize oil exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve.

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**R:** When in conflict, globalization ought to be valued above national sovereignty.

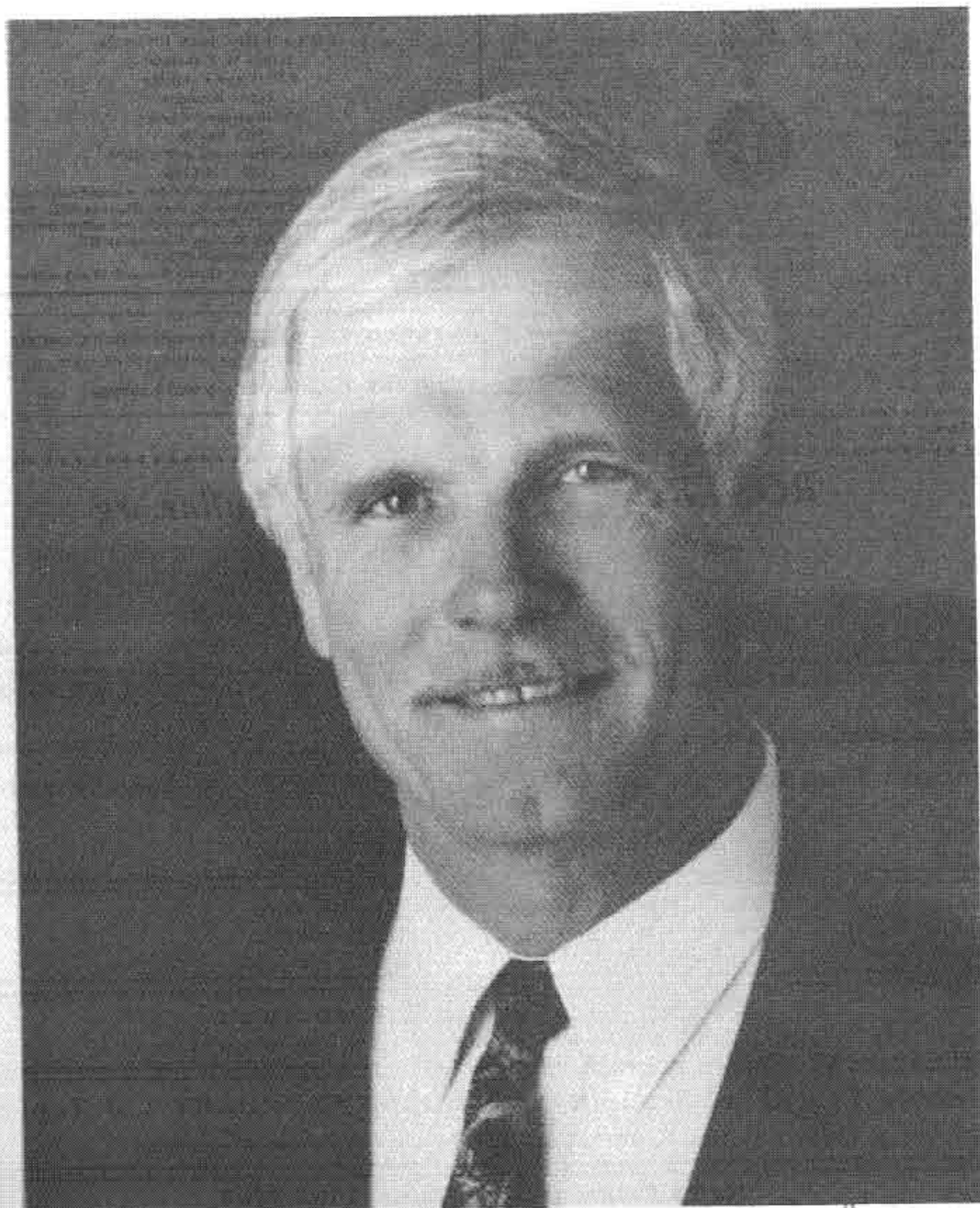
### NAMI Policy Debate Topic 2002-2003

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### NFL Storytelling Topic for Nationals : Urban Legends

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R.E. TURNER

*Earl Turner*



## TED TURNER DEBATE: ESTABLISHING THEORETICAL GROUNDS

by  
John Durkee

### Introduction:

New debate events spawn new theoretical arguments. Ted Turner Debate presents the high school debate community with a new event which has a clear purpose "Promoting audience and media centered debate." However, this purpose only provides marginal information about how a debate student would prepare to debate; and, upon what grounds a judge makes a decision about winners and losers. This article provides

**...A new event which has a clear purpose "Promoting audience and media centered debate."**

discussion of some of approaches which might prove useful in grounding preparation and presentation.

The first reaction by many experienced commentators within the debate community to this new debate event was one of horror at an event without apparent tradition. Ted Turner Debate is not grounded in the legal framework of advocacy which guided policy debate for many years, nor within the familiar territory of values and ethics which enlighten procedural rules and argument construction in Lincoln-Douglas debate. Nevertheless, Ted Turner Debate will develop a body of custom and practice out of a spare one page of official rules to help guide efforts to prepare and to execute effective debating skills. Additionally, familiarity with media debates on television and radio provide a body of tactics and presentational styles on controversial issues from noted personalities such as its namesake, Ted Turner. Many observations and suggestions which follow will use the media orientation of this event to ground practice.

No single article can embody all the potential a new event offers; this article lays out some of the implied and stipulated theory for the event and provides practical advice to debaters and coaches.

### The Role of the Topic:

All debate flows from an adopted resolution. The resolution provides the general field of argument; that is, it frames the territory over which a judge will decide or the parameters of permissible arguments for the advocates of each side.

Topics must diagrammatically place in balance an idea which permits evaluation. In the sample topics provided so far the weighing word was *should*. This word can have policy and/or moral implications; that is, *should* places a burden upon the debaters to provide sufficient argument, analysis and/or evidence to substantiate a claim to the truth of the resolution.

The word *'should'* places any resolution in an indefinite time. This means a debater can argue what is or what should be; and in the case of the negative (con) what should not be, whether it is or is not yet. The topic then establishes the non-immediacy of the topic, removing practical necessity as an evaluative criteria allowing ideology and emotion to also play a part. That is, *'should'* asks for reason and analysis, not action.

Ted Turner Debate topics have an immediacy, and urgency unlike traditional debate topics. While different topics will have more of a policy or more of a values focus, which will show in the tactics of debating, each topic shares the immediacy of today's news. Either form of topic in a Ted Turner Debate round will not likely be adjudicated upon the merits of an implementation of a particular policy or an underlying universal value, but instead will be evaluated within the framework of contemporary media metaphors: "How do I feel about the topic?" "Which debater is more trustworthy?" "Who has the better ethos?"

Finally, the non-expert judge will bring an interpretive criteria of the common understanding of the topic. What this means for the debater is that this common understanding of the issues involved in the topic relate directly to the judge's own life, not to a theoretical interpretation of the topic. This limits the field and range of topicality arguments to a very small number; a mere question during Crossfire should suffice to make the topicality argument. Topicality as an argumentative tactic must yield to topicality as an implied given of the resolution.



## 6 Division of Ground:

"Division of ground" is the term used to establish the theoretical responsibilities for each speaker and each team. Some team expectations flow from the topic – the affirmative [pro] defends the topic, the negative [con] refutes the topic. Ted Turner Debate does not reverse this fundamental stance.

Other divisions between speakers have to do with reasonable arguments. Media argumentation places high emphasis upon the ethos of each speaker. Thus, we judge many arguments based upon whether we "trust" the speaker or not. Trust flows from the manner of the debater and the arguments advanced by the debater. Oftentimes, the best arguments are those which directly concern audience members. A debater with genuine caring for the welfare of the audience will have enhanced ethos.

The 'impression' the debater makes upon the judge is of more substance in determining a winner than the actual argumentative flow. This emphasis shifts the speaker's role from that of legal advocate in traditional debate to that of moral or intellectual advocate. Organization takes a different role, too. The debater's duty is to present in a clear and easily remembered style. This places repetition as a key structural tool for the Ted Turner Debater. Making a few solid points is preferred to making a variety of good, but disconnected, points.

Finally, the media model shifts the role of rebuttal. Advocates should put more emphasis upon the role of decision construction in the mind of the judge than upon a detailed response to an opponent's specific words; except for the effect of a specific attack upon particular words.

Constructing an argument in the judge's mind will sound unusual for those not familiar with Vygotsky or constructivist learning. The task is essentially to create a flowsheet in the mind. That means, creating pathways from what the judge already knows to the central argument the debater is making. The use of illustrative stories, examples, and analogies perform this task. A story creates something familiar – the story – upon which the judge can hang (or create a connection to) something less familiar or unfamiliar – the argument.

The form of the argument, whether created in one sub-point or throughout a whole speech, moves from Argument Label or Tag, to illustrative example, to the argument, to explanation of the argument using the illustration, and finally to creating the connection with the topic. This process fully maps the argument in the judge's mind.

This means that the Speaker 1 position will take the task of presenting the constructive (or new) arguments, creating in the judge's mind the central argument. Speaker 2 will present the responsive arguments (rejoinder), reaffirming and reconnecting the central argument. The summary speaker will refocus upon central issue rebuilding connections. The Last Shot speaker will provide the one compelling reason for a ballot on the central issue.

### Speaker Duties:

The following speaker duties will provide a clear and effective means to prepare for individual debate rounds. Many alternative strategies are warranted. The following only attempts to make an initial division based upon time and the rotating nature of affirmative (pro) and negative (con).

*Speaker 1* – This speaker position for both sides must be concerned with constructing and presenting a logical argument with evidentiary support. This is the one time in the debate where

specific preparation can be used as a tool of the debate. Due to the uncertainty of whether this will become the first or second speech in the debate, a 4-minute speech for and against the resolution is warranted. Reserving time for response in the Speaker 1 position is not practical.

**I. Introduction to the issue** – An overview of the issue presented in a compelling introductory remark or quotation to alert the judge to the importance of the topic.

**II. Definition of terms** – Whenever a debate focuses upon an issue without support of a clarifying plan or value, the topic must have its own agreed upon parameters. Often this is accomplished with a field definition from an expert; occasionally the topic is self-evident. In the latter case, it may be left to the judge to interpret the topic.

**III. Analysis of the issues** – Traditionally, three issues are considered sufficient to establish a warrant. These issues can be abstract or concrete, or a mix of both. However, to be successful, each should be an independent reason to vote for the topic. Given the nature of the audience, a most logical progression would be:

- Personal story or narrative story to provide context for the judge to understand what is at issue.
- Example from the news to show timeliness and to support the analysis and to show the debater as knowledgeable about the subject.
- General or theoretical issue to establish the argument beyond the particular and to provide grounds for revisiting this speech later in the debate.

**IV. Closing** – Why does this issue matter to us? Answering this question in closing provides reasons for the judge to care; while focusing the entire speech into a short, memorable summary.

*Speaker 2* – This speaker position will have the burden of analyzing the opponents' position and explaining flaws in the ideas presented by the other team. While this speaker might present prepared arguments from briefs to establish new points, the judge using media analysis is now looking for the fight. Argumentatively, at least, the judge places an expectation that the two sides will clash.

This speech may take the form of a line-by-line refutation of the opponent's position, but this form is rarely followed in media debate. Instead, the speaker should identify the most attackable issues advanced by the other side. In this manner, the most memorable opposition points are refuted with apt and memorable counterpoints.

Time vested in responding will permit only one or two key responses. A suggested form for this debate would be:

- Introduction which links the 2<sup>nd</sup> speech to the 1<sup>st</sup> speech, probably with a story or quotation.
- An overview of the issue to be discussed.
  - Statement of what opponent said.
  - Reasons and/or proof of why opponent is wrong.
  - Explanation of what this means for the topic.
- (a second issues as in II above)
- Closing which solidifies both of your side's speeches.

**Summary** – Summary is an odd speech. The purpose is implied in the title. Because the summary speaker will have listened to partner respond in the 2<sup>nd</sup> speech and in the give and take of the Crossfire, the summary should manage all of what the judge has heard to this point. Something like this:



- I. Brief overview of the debate so far.
- II. Focus on the key idea, maybe with a fresh antidotal story or other framing quotation.
- III. What does this all mean? The implications for the judge and the world provide a clear summary focus.

**Last Shot** – The duties of the Last Shot speaker are stipulated in the rules. Last Shot chooses the one issue which matters the most and frames in a final parting shot why this single issue is enough to warrant a ballot for the speaker's team.

- I. Statement of the issue and its importance.
- II. Explanation of the issue.
- III. Appeal to let this issue override all other concerns.

**Crossfire:** The Crossfire period establishes the uniqueness of Ted Turner Debate. Unlike other forms of questioning, this period has no specific role for the debaters. As such, debaters need to form a clear idea of purpose in order to be effective in this period of the debate. The cross-examination period of policy and value debates was modeled upon the courtroom practice of interviewing a hostile witness. Controversy intends a different model; the network news program of informed, yet mutually competitive voices.

Judges for this event will place great weight upon success during the crossfire. As in media, the crossfire is not used to advance an argument, but rather to explore weaknesses in your opponents' position and to defend and strengthen your own. Because many debaters will fall into the natural 'shouting at each other' posture of some flaring media talking-heads, the debater who has mastered his/her own emotions and keeps a clear, but playful, direction will gain judge appreciation. It is crucial that debaters understand their personal media model – who do you believe when the discussion gets steamy-hot? Occasionally we appreciate the sarcastic hothead; most often we love the cool analyst.

In the two-person crossfire, the debaters' goal is to advance challenging questions and to provide cogent responses. Simple turn taking – asking and answering – would be a good strategy. However, spontaneous questions and developed responses will mean that turn taking rarely occurs. Instead, conversation will tend to "Yeah, but . . ." With only three minutes, each speaker should focus upon one good extended question, offering the opponent the same opportunity during the first two minutes. Be very careful to have a goal. The last minute is used to quibble the opponent's statements. Quibbling is not bickering. To quibble is to question with reason a certain number of the small points. To bicker is to question the emotional or personal worth of an opponent's position. Bickering will make the judge want to change the channel.

In the four-person crossfire a wider range of goals can be adopted. Here are few ideas.

1. One partner can take the role of questioner, while the other mollifies the opposition.
2. A stronger partner can cover for a weaker partner.
3. Partners can mutually intervene to deflect questions from their opponents in order to try to unsettle well-placed attacks.
4. Partners can interrupt each other, not just the opposition, to shift the focus of questions and attacks.

Probably the best debaters will pre-identify mutual strengths and weaknesses. These may be issue based, the ability to question or respond upon demand or exploit the known qualities of the other team. Effective teams will not begin the Grand Crossfire with-

out forethought and preparation. It is in this exchange the judge will see the qualities of each debater and each under pressure.

The Grand Crossfire is the moment when the pinnacle of the round is reached in the judge's mind. This is the final clarification of which team has better reasons and superior ethos. Debaters should not treat this as a time when the judge 'doesn't flow,' but rather as a time when the judge is making a final evaluation of the merits of the issues presented by each side. If the judge is not comfortable with or does not assume the role of moderator, the team who sacrifices a voice in the arena for the cool direction of moderator will earn points in the critique's mind. This means debaters must be aware of the total impact of each part of the debate round, facilitating dialogue is rewarded.

**Coin toss:** The 'coin toss' opens the most challenging theoretical ground in the debate. Unlike every other debate event, the opening team does not have the closing speech. More importantly, the negative (con) may elect to initiate the debate. Both of these innovations throw out traditional ideas of presumption, inherency, burden of proof, and even stock-issues. Further, the negative block in policy and the extensive negative rebuttal in Lincoln-Douglas are not tactical tools for argument placement. That means neither side has what have been traditional theoretically strong positions. Instead, debaters must weigh the intrinsic strength of the resolution against the advantage of speaking first or last. Debaters have but an instant to make an evaluation of the merits of the topic, the natural orientation of the judge, and the advantages of speaking first or last.

"Is the first speech worth giving up the strongest side?" (Copeland 2002). Upon winning the coin toss, whether to have the first or last speech is both tactical and theoretical. Despite Mark Antony's savage devastation of Brutus in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* arising from Brutus' error of seeking to speak the truth first, most communication analysis gives additional advantage to the side who can first advocate. Theory suggests that if the judge comes unbiased to issue adjudication, then the side which first presents a cognitively pleasing reason will create in the judge's mind a map for final decision making. The theory informs the tactical dilemma of first speech or strongest side. Which option correctly captures the nuanced structure of Ted Turner Debate will be argued for the duration of this new event, and for each new topic.

Resolutional analysis takes a different position when advocates do not automatically debate each side of the resolution evenly. By coin toss, a team could defend the resolution during all rounds at a tournament. This event does not call for an even number of pro and con debates. Instead, using the media-centered approach of this event, the debaters need to do pre-round polling of likely judges to determine lay-response to the topic. If presumption enters a Ted Turner Debate round it will come from judges who have no background in adjudicating debate, but who instead yell at television-news commentators in the safety of their own home or from judges who interested in issues and looking for bright high school students to cogently discuss the merits of each side.

A lucky coin toss may capture this volatile presumption. More often, teams will use the results of the coin toss to position their arguments in the round. Losing the coin toss does not mean forfeiting advantage. Once the winner of the toss commits to a side or a speaker position, the loser of the toss can still assert its own choice to advantage. Each choice has consequence. Both teams can profit from choosing wisely.



**No Experienced Debate Judges:** This rule is troubling, both practically and theoretically. There is no argument theory which suggests that ignorance of a field of study renders one better capable of reasoned decision making. While this rule stands as a guideline for NFL tournaments, two major exceptions are made: Judges who only judge Ted Turner Debate or debate coaches who are also classroom teachers may continue to judge Ted Turner Debate throughout the season. Without this stipulation, there would never be an informed body of coaches able to discuss the merits of the event. Even with this stipulation, classroom teachers who have policy teams will still be often consigned as critic to policy rounds, but occasionally they will judge Ted Turner Debates and develop a body of 'rules' and practice. This alleviates the most troubling aspect of 'ignorant judge' as decision maker.

Whether the rule prohibiting experienced debate judges may ultimately 'save' debate or may ultimately 'destroy' debate as an event lies outside the scope of this article. Instead, this article examines the mandate of using only 'lay' judges upon the theory of the event.

Lay judges provide the test of an informed citizen judge. This places the judge in an old role, silent audience. Unlike the judge who noisily prattles to the debaters about this paradigm and that theory, this hate and that love, the lay judge will sit in silence. Personally, I find this refreshing. Debate is not well served by judges who insist upon debaters adapting to their own peccadilloes. Good judges are always *tabula rasa*. Good judges in any debate event enjoy innovations by debaters; rewarding thinking and diminishing the value of stale, purchased arguments.

While experienced debate judges often find their personal voting criteria the subject of discussion prior to higher level policy rounds, what kind of paradigmatic advice can be provided to debaters about judges who are in their first round of a new event?

Students should rely upon polls of citizens, extrapolating an average judge from regional demographic trends. More practically, the desired stance of the debaters is audience exploration. In this new event the judge will have longer-sustained eye contact with the debaters. Reciprocating debaters will use the information provided non-verbally by the judges to measure argument success adjusting to the clues provided by the judge.

Practice, then, focuses upon reading a judge. Coaching may involve learning the occupation, political affiliation, or civic organization associated with the judge and using this information to prepare debaters during pre-round preparation. Good coaching will also rely upon teaching the proven techniques of adapting to the information provided non-verbally by the critic in this round of debate.

**Prep Time:** Use of preparation time is more tactical than theoretical. How prep time can be used will influence the decisions made as to side and topic. The two minute prep rule has these implications.

The A team must save at least one minute of preparation for the Last Shot. Following the Grand Crossfire, the A team will have no time to build a final single issue argument. All other A speeches do have opposition time for speech preparation.

The B team may wish to use the bulk of its prep time prior to the first Speaker 1 speech. This is the only time in the debate when the opposition derives no benefit from your own prep time. However if all Speaker 1 arguments are pre-written, prep time ought to be saved for the Last Shot. Team B does not need prep time like

team A. This might even be a consideration in choosing to go second in a round. A good Grand Crossfire could squeeze team A by forcing more than one issue to the top. team A is limited to only that issue, team B can easily respond to that one issue by holding all of its prep time for use prior to the final speech in the debate.

Timers should be provided by tournament hosts in order to allow the citizen judges to focus upon issues and not technicalities.

**Research:** The cornerstone of many debate teams is systematic research. This need not change with the advent of Ted Turner Debate. With a one month window for each topic, experienced debaters will find ample time to discover excellent evidence for each topic. Those who have the best evidence will have an edge at winning rounds. Evidence will look more like what Aristotle and Cicero thought of as evidence, than what modern policy debaters see when they hear that word.

Two types of evidence are crucial: stories and statistics. Stories hold universal viability for interest and our current culture is statistically driven. Each of these forms of evidence will have probative utility. Traditional tests of authority will still be used to establish the source's and the debater's credibility.

Only one speech needs extension evidence – Speaker 2. Speaker 2 may well use a small file to hold responses to potentially hostile arguments. For even though the debate focuses upon a broad topic, the Speaker 2 position in this debate requires that speaker to show some depth of understanding and analysis. For many debaters, this is best done with evidence. Counter-examples and counter statistics should be a top priority. Though any debate issue invites some discussion of the warrant, or value, or invites a critique of existing norms, these arguments will have to come out of the generalized pop-culture in order to be accepted within the debate. Academic criticism demands prior knowledge; public critique is an American habit.

Briefs should generally be focused upon a single idea with one example or statistic as the anchor for organization.

**Format:** Some issues of format are ambiguous and need to be addressed by the tournament host (or the NFL or state committee). In lieu of subsequent clarification, the following answers are suggested:

1. Do speakers stand or sit during Crossfire?

During the one-on-one Crossfires, speakers stand next to each other facing the judge. This maximizes the personal nature of the exchange while isolating the two speakers from their partners in order to allow the judge to focus on these two speakers alone.

During the Grand Crossfire, all speakers remain seated facing each other. Questions and responses are presented while seated. This emphasizes the "free for all" nature of the exchange while creating a comfortable and familiar atmosphere.

2. Who initiates the Grand Crossfire?

While the A team is charged with initiating the Crossfire, Speaker A1 should ask a question of Speaker B1. B1 having just presented the last speech contra A1, this would be a natural sequence. A1 is allowed to 'fire back,' while providing a clear initiating sequence. The next questions should flow from the general advice provided as to time and focus.

3. What role does the ballot play?

The NFL sample ballot [*Rostrum* November 2002] provides an issue oriented ballot. It provides the benefit of an issues



oriented ballot with clear categories for evaluation and comparison. A drawback would be that a list of criteria, as given, tends to focus the judge upon only a few criteria and, thus, away from the big issue.

## NFL Ballot

ROUND # _____		TOPIC # _____		JUDGE _____	
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**Barkley Forum • Emory National Debate Institute**

June 15 – June 28, 2003 • 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-eight 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 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 ten 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 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:

Melissa Maxcy Wade  
P.O. Drawer U, Emory University  
Atlanta, GA 30322

Phone: (404) 727-6189 • email: lobrien@emory.edu • FAX: (404) 727-5367



## The Scholars Program at the Emory National Debate Institute

June 15 - June 28, 2003 • 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

**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 1:1 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 a select group of the nation's best debate minds. Past Directors of the Scholars Program have included award-winning college coaches, multiple NDT winners, and some of the country's most prominent high school coaches. In the last few years alone, Joe Zampetti (Director of Forensics at Mercer University), David Heidt (winner of the 1996 NDT), Jon Paul Lupo (winner of the 2000 NDT), and Kacey Wolmer (NDT first-round debater and multiple participant in the finals of CEDA Nationals) have all been a part of the Program's administrative team. The rest of the Scholars faculty will be 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:

Melissa Maxcy Wade

P.O. Drawer U, Emory University • Atlanta, GA 30322

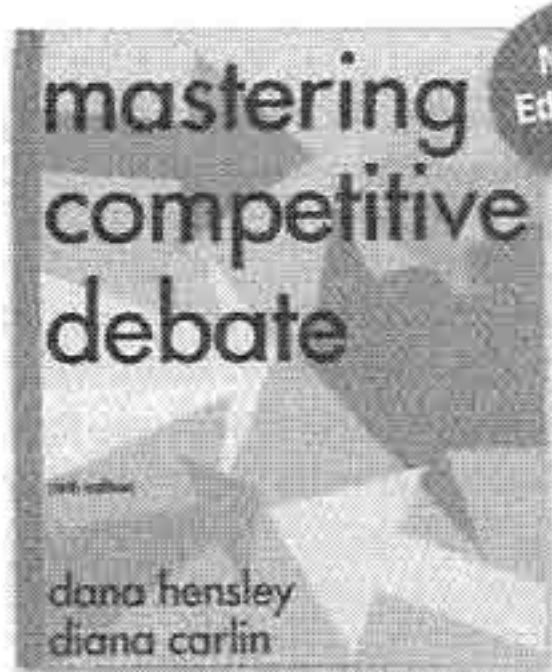
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# Policy Debate Skills

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- debate formats
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- rebuttals
- defense
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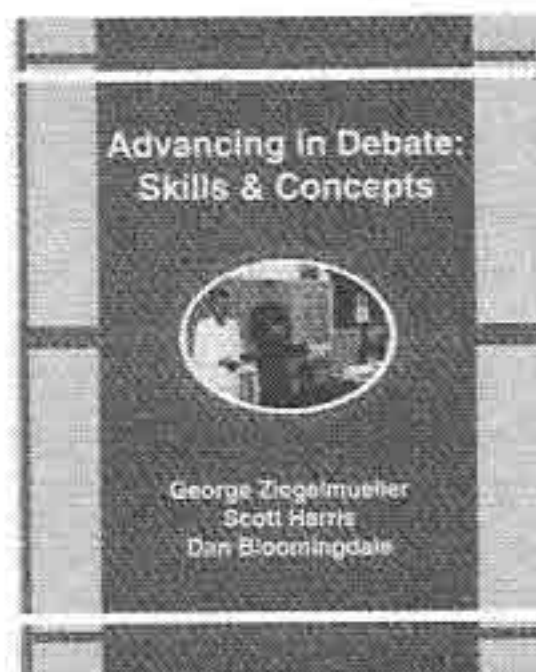
### A complete text for advanced debaters

This invaluable follow-up to *Mastering Competitive Debate* explores recent debate theories and their practical applications for high school debate. Focusing primarily on policy debate, the text includes such concepts as

- critique strategy and arguments
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- judging paradigms and their implications
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- agent counterplans
- theoretical issues related to counterplans
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# THE PERFECT STORM X 50: 13

## STATE BUDGET CRISES AND THE IMPACT ON MEDICAID MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES



The Nation's Voice on Mental Illness

by

Joel E. Miller

*Medicaid represents a major source for financing mental health care. In addition, Medicaid has also encouraged the expansion of innovative community-based treatment modalities for people with serious mental illnesses such as psychiatric rehabilitation, case management, and day treatment/partial hospitalization services. Prescription drugs available through the Medicaid pro-*

*gram have been essential to the recovery of many persons with mental illnesses, but overall Medicaid costs are escalating rapidly. State governments are facing budget deficits over the next two years due to declining tax revenues. In response to this difficult economic climate, states are planning to institute Medicaid cost control efforts that are likely to negatively affect lower-income populations with mental illnesses.*

**...Several economic forces are in play that are likely to impact the financing and delivery of needed services for people with serious mental illnesses...**

*gram have been essential to the recovery of many persons with mental illnesses, but overall Medicaid costs are escalating rapidly. State governments are facing budget deficits over the next two years due to declining tax revenues. In response to this difficult economic climate, states are planning to institute Medicaid cost control efforts that are likely to negatively affect lower-income populations with mental illnesses.*

### What is Medicaid?

Medicaid is a program financed jointly by federal and state governments, providing medical care and long-term care to many of the nation's most vulnerable lower-income people. Created in 1965, Medicaid pays physician and hospital bills, prescription drug costs, and other health care costs for lower-income mothers and children, frail seniors, and people with disabilities.

Each state decides how to structure benefits, eligibility, service delivery and payment rates with guidelines established by federal law. State spending on Medicaid is "matched" by the federal government (known as FMAP). The federal financing share averages 57% and this federal

"match" varies based on per-capita income in the state. Medicaid finances almost 75% of all state health care spending.

States who participate in Medicaid (all states do) must provide all beneficiaries with a basic set of services, including doctor visits, hospital care, lab and x-ray services, family planning services and special health screening for children. States are also required to pay for care in nursing facilities and for home-based services. Medicaid pays for almost 50% of nursing home expenses nationally. Costly long-term institutional care is generally not covered by private health insurance companies or Medicare. States may provide "optional" services, including mental health care, dental care, eyeglasses, speech therapy and prescription drugs (1).

Eligibility rules for people applying for Medicaid are complex, and vary widely from state to state. They are linked to both income and other factors like family or disability status.

### Who Does Medicaid Cover?

Major categories of eligible people that the states must cover (known as mandatory populations) include:

- Pregnant women and children under age 6 in families with family incomes under 133% of the federal poverty level (\$20,000 for a family of three).
- Children ages 6 to 18 in families with family incomes under 100% of the poverty level (\$15,000 for a family of three).
- Parents and 18 year olds whose incomes are below welfare standards as of July 1996.
- Elderly and disabled individuals who are eligible for Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program (2).

States have substantial flexibility to cover "optional populations" who may not have health insurance. These optional populations include:



- Children and adults above the federal minimum income levels;
- Certain working disabled people; and
- People with exceptionally high medical bills also may qualify in the category of being "medically needy."

Spending on optional groups and benefits accounts for two-thirds of all Medicaid spending. The extent to which states cover optional groups varies widely. Massachusetts covers 41 percent of their lower-income non-elderly residents through Medicaid, compared to Virginia, which covers 14 percent of its lower-income non-elderly residents (3).

### What is Medicaid's Impact?

Medicaid covered 44 million people in 2000, including 22.6 million lower-income children, 12 million elderly and disabled persons, and 9.2 million lower-income adults.

Over 25% of American children rely on the program for their health coverage. It pays for the care of about two-thirds of nursing home residents. Medicaid finances one-third of the baby deliveries in the country and covers more than half of people with AIDS.

Medicaid spending for 2003 is expected to reach \$280 billion, with the federal government share amounting to \$159 billion (4).

### The State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP)

SCHIP was established in 1997 to provide funds to states to expand coverage to children who were not eligible for Medicaid under state standards in place in 1997. Uninsured children under 200% of the poverty are the target population. States have used their SCHIP funds either to expand Medicaid coverage for children or create a separate SCHIP program. Medicaid program rules apply in SCHIP-funded Medicaid expansions. Nearly 3.5 million children are enrolled in the program as of December 2001 (5).

### Medicaid and Mental Health Benefits

Medicaid is the primary payer of *public* mental health services. States have relied heavily on its funding for community mental health services over the past two decades.

Medicaid agencies have greatly influenced the development of public mental health care, especially related to organization, financing, services covered, and access.

Some key facts about Medicaid and mental health services:

- Medicaid now pays for more than 50% of the public mental services that states administer.
- It is expected that Medicaid financing of mental health services will reach 60% by 2007. The beneficiaries of these services represent 30% of the "high cost" enrollees.
- Depending on the state, between 25% and 50% of persons receiving state mental health services only receive them from Medicaid.
- Among 6-14 year olds, about 25% of Medicaid spending is for mental health services; in some states it is as high as 40% (6).

Medicaid has relatively generous coverage for mental health benefits, compared with private insurance plans. Substance abuse services are covered less often.

Medicaid provides coverage for inpatient and outpatient mental health services and physician services, although the number of days or visits per year may be limited.

Other key services in a mental health continuum such as rehabilitation and case management services are optional under Medicaid, although the majority of states cover them for children.

Several states provide Programs for Assertive Community Treatment (PACT) services under the "Rehabilitation Option". PACT programs deliver comprehensive community treatment, rehabilitation and support services to consumers in their homes, at work, and in community settings.

Many states cover partial hospitalization/day treatment under outpatient care with a higher reimbursement rate.

The Early Periodic, Screening, Diagnosis, and Treatment (EPSDT) benefit of Medicaid is mandatory. The Medicaid EPSDT mandate requires states to provide the following services to Medicaid eligible children and adolescents:

- **Screening** – states must provide children with early, periodic and comprehensive assessments of both physical and mental health development;
- **Diagnosis** – when a screening examination indicates the need for further evaluation, states must ensure that referrals to treatment and service providers are made without delay and follow-up must be done to ensure that a child receives a complete diagnostic evaluation; and
- **Treatment** – states must ensure that children receive the health care and treatment necessary to treat their physical or mental condition discovered by the screening services.

Medicaid also plays a fundamental role in the provision of outpatient pharmacy services to lower-income populations. Prescription drug coverage is one of the most widely utilized benefits in Medicaid programs (second only to physician services) and it is the fastest growing area of Medicaid spending.

Medicaid's drug benefit is particularly vital to those enrollees who depend most upon drugs to maintain or improve their health and functioning, including those with severe mental illnesses.

### Caught in Between the Waves – Medicaid Spending Increases and State Budget Deficits

Several economic forces are in play that are likely to impact the financing and delivery of needed services for people with serious mental illnesses. The acceleration of Medicaid spending growth, fueled by rapidly escalating health care costs, has attracted the close attention of both federal and state federal policymakers. At the core of this tension are deteriorating economic outlook and declining revenue which have strained state budgets, and the



# Stanford National Forensic Institute

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Extended Week

August 14 - August 21, \$1000

## Lincoln Douglas & Individual Events

July 28 - August 10, \$1600

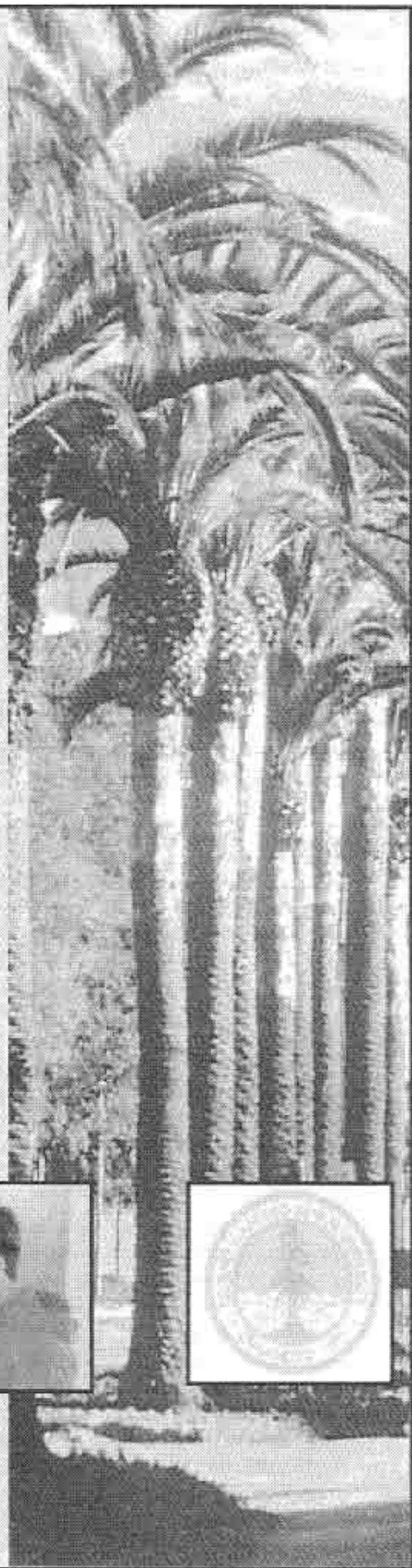
LD Extended Week

August 10 - August 17, \$1000

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federal budget also is in deficit. Due to the sputtering economy over the last two years, the number of people who have become eligible for Medicaid has dramatically increased which has placed more pressure on state policymakers to implement short-term solutions to control Medicaid costs. In essence, 50 perfect economic storms are being churned up in the states threatening basic health care services for the most vulnerable populations, including people with severe mental illness.

We know the indirect economic costs and social and medical consequences that come from inadequate and denied treatments for people with serious mental illness are staggering:

- Over \$100 billion in lost productivity (e.g., absenteeism from work and school and disability), including \$11 billion in Social Security Disability Insurance benefits to 1.3 million persons and \$11 billion in Supplemental Security Income benefits to 2.0 million persons (7).

- Mental illness ranks first in terms of causing disability in the United States, Canada and Western Europe. Mental illness accounts for 25% of all disability across all industrialized countries. Heart disease and cancer account for 5% and 3% respectively (8).

- \$12 billion in lost productivity due to premature death, including suicide (9). Up to 90 percent of all persons who commit suicide suffer from a treatable severe mental illness (10).

- \$6 billion to incarcerate more than 283,000 persons with mental illnesses in jails and prisons (11). This is four times the number of people with these illnesses being cared for in hospitals.

- 50-75% of youth in juvenile justice facilities have a diagnosable and most often untreated mental illness (12).

- Suicide is the third leading cause of youth in the 15 to 24 year-old age group, preceded only by homicide and accidents, and as many as 90% of children and adolescents who commit suicide have a mental disorder (13).

- Approximately one-third of the nation's 600,000 homeless persons suffer from severe mental illnesses (14).

- Many people with severe mental illness die prematurely or experience disproportionately high rates of medical illnesses because of neglect or disregard by health care systems of their medical symptoms. A recent report issued by the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health (DMH) showed a seven-fold increase in the number of deaths from cardiac events among DMH clients in the 25 to 44 year-old group in 1998 and 1999 (15).

The indirect costs and consequences of not supporting mental illness recovery are clear and must be considered even in times of state fiscal pressures. The costs of not treating consumers with serious mental illnesses will make it even more difficult for states to control costs due to increased hospitalizations, more physician visits and higher prescription drug costs.

The costs associated with the Medicaid program have skyrocketed in recent years, with projected program growth of 9.5% between fiscal years 2002 and 2003. This growth in total spending follows on the heels of 11% growth between FY 2001 and FY 2002. Long term, under current law, program growth is projected 8.5% annually over the next ten years (16).

States fiscal conditions have been hit hard over the last 12 months, with revenue losses not seen in at least two decades. In response, states have been forced to implement numerous cuts to public services, slashing growth in spending to levels far below historic norms and implementing a range of reductions in services such as Medicaid health care programs, public education and child care.

The outlook for state finances in the next couple of years is bleak. State revenues are unlikely to rebound quickly, and many of the reserve funds and one-time measures used to balance last year's budgets will no longer be available to fill budgetary shortfalls. When state legislatures meet in early 2003, they will likely be faced with fiscal problems as unfavorable (or in some cases worse) as those they encountered last year. The difficult choices of significant additional program cuts and/or tax increases may be unavoidable.

A sign of the times: Governor Warner of Virginia announced recently 11% to 15% reductions for each state agency for fiscal year 2003. And state support for community mental health, mental retardation, and substance abuse services will be reduced by 10%. Warner said that more targeted reductions, which could further affect mental health services, will be necessary in order to balance the budget (17).

As states contemplate cuts in Medicaid, state lawmakers are faced with the reality that every dollar of state appropriations cut for Medicaid forfeits anywhere from \$1 to \$2 of federal funds through the Federal Medical Assistance Percentage (FMAP).

The federal government reimburses states for a substantial portion of their Medicaid costs. The Medicaid budget problems that states are experiencing are being exacerbated by reductions in federal Medicaid matching payments to many states, which are based on the "Federal Medical Assistance Percentage" or FMAP. The FMAP is based on historical economic data. Unfortunately, the rates for 2002 are based on economic data from the late 1990s, when economies were booming. Even though the economy has weakened greatly since then, the federal Medicaid matching rates for 29 states declined in 2002, and matching rates for 17 states will be lower in 2003 than in 2002. Since current matching rates are based on data from years prior to the economic downturn, several states are in the position of having to fund their Medicaid programs with fewer federal dollars in a budget-challenging period (18).



Realizing the service and economic development impact of the loss of federal funds, state governors are aggressively supporting congressional attempts to increase the federal match rates. Proponents of an FMAP increase contend that increased federal support will temper the need for drastic cuts in Medicaid programs.

The Medicaid program is based on a federal-state partnership. During this difficult economic period, the federal government should increase its role in this partnership and provide some needed fiscal relief to states. A temporary increase in the FMAP could help to ensure that lower-income children, families, elderly people, and persons with disabilities continue to receive the medical care they need. It would also help to ensure that there are sufficient financial resources for hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, physicians, and other health care providers to continue to offer health care services to lower-income people.

But as the debate on the FMAP continues in Washington, state leaders are faced with the reality of budget cost containment at home. With many one-time measures unavailable (e.g., tobacco settlement funds) and assistance from the federal government apparently on hold, states that continue to experience ongoing budget deficits will likely be forced to choose between raising new revenues (raising taxes) and/or reducing access to health care under their Medicaid programs and other vital public health services. It appears that state policymakers will follow the latter path because raising taxes in the current economic environment is not politically popular.

The combination of the economic forces facing states and the solutions being contemplated has the potential to severely undermine the basic tenet of the Medicaid program, which is to provide comprehensive and affordable health coverage, services and benefits to eligible lower-income populations. The implications for people with mental illnesses who are served by Medicaid could be devastating as coverage and benefits for mental health services are curtailed in order to control government bottom line costs.

### **Controlling the Storm Surge – State Efforts to Limit Medicaid Spending on Prescription Drugs**

The threat to mental health services is beginning to play itself out at the state level with a tidal wave of initiatives to limit Medicaid expenditures for prescribed drugs. The raw numbers that are staring down at Medicaid officials are likely to cause knee-jerk and systematic reactions to escalating drug costs and utilization.

- It is estimated that total spending for outpatient prescription drugs in Medicaid was \$21 billion in 2000. This figure represents roughly 10% of total Medicaid expenditures in 2000 (19).

- Medicaid spending for outpatient prescribed drugs increased by 6.5 billion dollars from 1997 to 2000, or 16% of the \$40.2 billion increase in total Medicaid spending over that period.

- Medicaid spending for outpatient prescription drugs increased by an average of 18.1% per year from 1997 to 2000, compared to 7.7% for total expenditures.

- It is estimated that nearly 12% of total Medicaid prescription drug expenditures are attributable to the use of psychoactive prescription drugs (20).

The current double-digit growth rates of Medicaid spending have serious implications for states and the federal government as they face deteriorating economic outlooks and declining revenue growth. As drug expenditures continue to climb and budgetary pressures mount, states are becoming more aggressive in trying to limit utilization of prescription drugs and regulate pharmaceutical prices.

It is likely that medications for people with severe mental illness are going to be scrutinized and targeted for cost containment and utilization control strategies employed by Medicaid agencies.

The implications of the current budget environment for mental health are clear. Unlike FY 2002 when many state mental health budgets avoided the budget knife, upcoming fiscal years promise to not be as kind to persons with mental illness.

Access to quality care is at risk when states implement cost containment strategies. Decisions regarding specific medications prescribed to persons with mental illnesses should be based on physician judgments of treatments, not on economic factors. Studies show that limiting needed medications can result in interruptions in recovery and increases in costs to the system through higher hospitalizations, more physician visits and higher medication costs. Further, shifting costs away from the health care system into other systems (e.g., homelessness), has been documented earlier in this article.

The Medicaid program is a critically important safety net for lower-income people with severe mental illnesses. NAMI and other mental health advocates are communicating to state officials and Medicaid representatives that:

- The state must not balance the budget on the backs of its most vulnerable citizens.

- Adequate funding of the state's mental health care system is critical to ensuring the health of the state's citizens and communities. People with severe mental illness are the most vulnerable consumers – removing access to treatment is life threatening.

- We must adequately fund and support a strong mental health system and Medicaid program in the state. It is well documented that our nation's failure to provide adequate services for children and adults with mental illnesses has resulted in a crisis for schools, families, communities, and the state.

- Cutting Medicaid expenditures will have a profound and rippling effect. Not only will affect the health of the citizens of the state, but it will also impact the health care industry and the economy in the state.

- Rising pharmacy costs should be understood as part of



the larger picture: Dramatic reductions in hospitalizations and criminalization result from access to effective medication and outpatient care for people with serious mental illnesses.

- Medicaid health care services to people with mental illness are especially important in the state's rural areas, where a system of hospitals and community clinics and centers meet not only the critical health care needs of citizens of the state, but also provide a backbone to the rural economies.

## Conclusion

The cataclysmic consequences of failing to provide children and adults with mental illnesses with necessary services will result in increased deaths, homelessness, incarceration in jails, prisons and juvenile justice systems and immeasurable suffering. The devastating consequences of obstructing access to medications and services for people with serious mental illnesses cannot be understated. We must assure that people with mental illnesses are not cast away in the financing and economic storm that states and Medicaid programs are experiencing.

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(Joel E. Miller, M.S. Ed., Senior Policy Advisor on Health Initiatives, NAMI Policy Research Institute)



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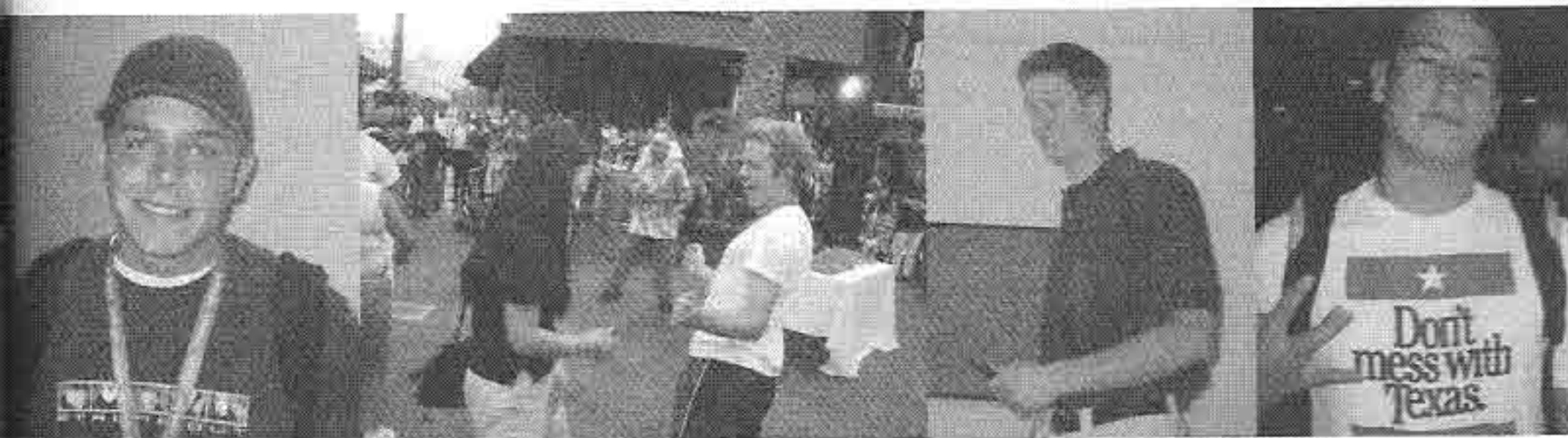
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# DRINKING FROM OUR OWN SKULLS: <sup>23</sup> THE RHETORICAL INVERSION OF LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE

by  
Jason Baldwin

I had hoped to write something kinder, but LD is in a bad way, and there is no point in pretending otherwise. In its supposedly most competitive and elite venues, it is degenerating into an inarticulate jumble of bad thinking, bad speaking, and bad manners. Many of the coaches closest to the meltdown seem unaware or, worse, untroubled by it. In the case of many of the students I observe, it is no longer clear to me that participation in LD does them more good than harm. It is absolutely clear to me that many of the parents and schools who pay for LD

skills we taught. But increasingly, we see and hear from students confronting an ugly dilemma: if they practice the skills we have worked hard to teach them, they will lose to students who are less informed, less thoughtful, and less eloquent but who are more willing to exploit often inane debate conventions and to pander to increasingly clubby LD judges. Like most teachers, it pains me to see my students forced to choose between developing bad habits and losing. I am eager to see them grow and prosper as intellectually skilled people, and I want the incentives of LD to encourage rather than discourage their progress.

This essay attempts to sketch (very roughly) the nature of LD's problems, to challenge the mistaken beliefs behind those problems, and to motion toward possible solutions. Although my goal is constructive (I would not write if I did not hope that doing so might help), my tone is critical, at times harshly so. In order to minimize the amount of personal offense generated by my criticism, I write at a regrettably high level of generality. I believe the problems I write about are widespread enough to merit widespread concern.

**....."LD requires a combination of skills not found in any other activity, and learning to do it well is a unique kind of achievement".....**

on account of its supposed educational value are being coned.

My interest in this subject is two-fold: First, my four years of LD were the most academically valuable experience I had in high school. They made me a better researcher, reader, thinker, writer, and speaker. I got more out of college than many of my fellow undergraduates because, thanks to debate, I came in with a huge head start. And while I cannot say that debate has made my graduate career easy, it may be true that debate has made it possible—without the skills I honed in LD, I would probably not be able to hold my own in a field (philosophy) where most students are smarter and more knowledgeable than I am. So LD gave me abilities and therefore opportunities which I wouldn't otherwise enjoy. For this reason, I value "the activity" and am jealous to see its value preserved for other students. I am also grateful to the coaches and judges who structured my LD experience around the right educational ends, and I want to see their honorable legacy preserved. My second interest is for the students I have had the privilege to teach as a summer LD lecturer and sometime coach. My colleagues and I have focused more on teaching the kinds of skills I mentioned above than on teaching "how-to" tips for winning LD rounds. Until fairly recently, we trusted that, on the whole, the course of a student's debate career would reward the mastery of the

but I have obviously reached this conclusion on the basis of experiences which are, from the reader's perspective, merely anecdotal. I would be delighted if this essay is irrelevant to most *Rostrum* readers because it responds to conditions that do not obtain in their neck of the forensic woods. But it is difficult to say if those who reject the picture I am painting do so because they view a different landscape or because they view the same landscape through different (and I would say diseased) eyes. And I do not apologize too much, because the ready agreement of *all* of my intended audience would suggest that I had failed to make myself clear.

## I. Rhetorical Inversion

Many readers will already have noticed some of the symptoms of perverted debate in LD: First and most obviously, the quality of speaking has declined dramatically. Many LD students now speak too quickly to be understood by normal educated listeners, and they speak in broken strings of ungrammatical pronouns, jargon, and generic debate phrases. Little to none of the speech in a typical elimination round makes any clear claim about the truth of whatever resolution is being debated. Some of the worst speakers and their fawning judges openly celebrate poor speaking as a mark of deep and nuanced thought, although I have never heard the connection between the two explained; my teachers, who have in-



cluded at least a few (by my lights) deep and nuanced thinkers, have consistently criticized obscure or slovenly expression.

A second symptom of LD's decline is the increasingly successful appeal to topic-dodging arguments as the basis of decisions. Winning has now become a matter of exploiting petty debate conventions or impugning the character of one's opponent rather than offering straightforward reasons for or against the given resolution. Some debaters spew out coach-written lists of trivial objections, hoping that one or another of them will be "dropped" by an opponent due to time limits. Some debaters fabricate elaborate and abusive definitions and statements of burdens to distort the clear sense of a resolution to their own advantage. Some debaters quibble over their opponents' diction for its lack of political or debate-culture correctness. In many rounds, these extraneous considerations replace serious reasoning about the resolution being debated; that is, a normal educated listener would say after hearing such a debate that neither speaker had offered good reasons to conclude that the resolution was true or false.

To the extent that debaters do offer arguments about the resolution, they are often very poor arguments, little more than assertions claiming "bad impacts" to such hopelessly vague notions as "societal welfare," "democratic legitimacy," and "rights trivialization." The prevalence and success of these sorts of arguments are a third symptom of LD's woes. Such phrases have become the unchallenged currency of LD, and their vacuity is disguised, in part, by the elaborate chains of asserted empirical causation leading up to them. That is, action-type A is asserted to cause effect B is asserted to cause effect C is asserted to cause effect D is asserted to cause a decrease in societal welfare. By making these causal chains sufficiently long, convoluted, and numerous, speakers deflect the scrutiny that might properly attach to any given link in any given chain. Speakers seem unaware that such arguments are often narrowly utilitarian, and they also seem unaware that there are powerful non-utilitarian arguments for this or that moral or political proposition, arguments which are often more intuitively plausible and less causally baroque than their utilitarian alternatives. Speakers rarely support their ambitious empirical assertions with the detailed empirical evidence those assertions require. Any evidence that is presented is reduced after its first hurried reading to the author's last name ("extend the Bozo analysis"—some of the "best" LD judges now treat such empty commands as reasons for decision); its content and quality are rarely scrutinized. Many students, coaches, and judges seem to believe that such arguments are just what LD is supposed to be about, and they debate, coach, and judge accordingly.

A fourth symptom of LD's deterioration is the increasing reliance, even by well-established teams, on mail-order evidence and arguments. These briefs are generally of poor quality, but since many of the undergraduates who produce them were successful debaters, it is assumed that the briefs must contain material as good or better than what current LDers could generate for themselves. The result is the atrophy of research skills and the homogenization of arguments made on a given resolution. (Some people might also wonder if judging students who are using arguments one has sold them involves some conflict of interest, but several prominent LD judges apparently do just that.) The growing financial support of this trend by students and coaches may suggest that they are more concerned with keeping up with the competition or with winning for the sake of winning than they are with developing the research and argument skills successful debaters once ac-

quired. (In many non-debate contexts, the practice of passing off other people's work as one's own is called "cheating" or "plagiarism," and it is still frowned upon by academics.)

No doubt careful observers of the LD scene could identify other symptoms of debate gone awry. What such observers may not recognize is that these are symptoms of a single disease. I could catalog and dissect many of the individual symptoms, but that is not my goal here. If we want to kill the hydra, we must attack its body rather than swinging at the hideous faces it sprouts. The body of the LD hydra is a set of beliefs about the nature and purposes of debate. Most of the people who hold these beliefs do so unreflectively, so the beliefs might be thought of more as an outlook than as a creed. It is the largely unreflective character of this outlook which gives me hope that some of those who presently hold it will reject it if they reflect on it. I am going to summarize the outlook as best I can in the mouth of an imaginary adherent; thus the quotation marks. To be clear, what follows is a statement of beliefs I reject; Part II will discuss my reasons for rejecting them. Behold, then, the body of the beast:

"LD is properly pursued as an end in itself. It requires a combination of skills not found in any other activity, and learning to do it well is a unique kind of achievement. The standards of excellence in LD evolve with the practices of those whom the debate community identifies as the best LD debaters. Members of the LD community are uniquely competent to decide what counts as good LD. In this respect, LD is no different from other complex organized human practices: gymnasts are uniquely competent to decide what counts as a good dismount, surgeons are uniquely competent to decide what counts as a good suture, and LD coaches and judges are uniquely competent to decide what counts as a good IAR.

"Sadly, LD has for much of its short history been treated like the neglected stepchild of forensics, left to the care of mere 'sponsors' rather than professional debate coaches, and judged by parents, bus drivers, and other rustics. But at least in its upper echelons, LD has come into its own, with a circuit of elite national tournaments where the most skilled and forward-looking LDers, coached by professional LD coaches and fortified by the genius of professional LD evidence peddlers, can be judged exclusively by a pool of chipper young LD experts. Any competitive activity should be run by its best and brightest, and LDers should be grateful that their activity now has the resources to chart its own future rather than answering to demands imposed from the outside by people who prefer dueling oratory to real debate and who (among their other incapacities) are unable to wipe their slates of feeling and opinion blank enough to be good judges. If such people question the value or even the intelligibility of high-level LD, they are merely exposing their own ignorance and presumption in criticizing an intellectual discipline which they do not understand and which is really none of their business. Nobody would ask a bus driver for his opinion of a commercial real estate appraiser or an abstract painter, and likewise, no one should ask him for his opinion of an LD debater. Good LD debaters and judges are a lot smarter than the average Joe or Joanna, and no one should be surprised when smart people invent new ways of doing things (like debating) which less smart people cannot understand."

## II. The Proper Place of LD

The above-summarized view of LD as an autonomous, specialized discipline is an inversion in two senses: first, it is a turning inwards of the LD community away from the larger world of human



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criticism and concern; this type of inversion is rapidly transforming LD into a kind of intellectual incest and producing predictably ugly progeny. This first type of inversion is an instance of the second, more general sense of inversion—that sense in which current LD has inverted the proper scale of educational value and authority, allowing the temptations of prideful ignorance and self-congratulatory obscurantism to trump the educational goals which have traditionally been cited as debate's reason for being. In this section, I want to sketch a better picture of LD, commenting on problems with the inverted picture along the way.

LD is an educational game. It is not an autonomous guild or discipline with its own unique task or subject matter. Its only justifying purpose is to teach the students who practice it skills and knowledge which will improve the quality of their actions and lives outside the game. The skills are debate's primary aim and include the abilities to research thoroughly and read carefully, to think critically about important moral questions, and to write and speak precisely and eloquently. The accompanying knowledge may include a familiarity with important theories in moral and political philosophy and a basic acquaintance with the facts and issues relevant to a variety of important ethical controversies.

None of the issues LD confronts, and none of the tools it deploys to confront those issues, is the special province of high school debate. Neither debaters nor their coaches invented the standards of valid reasoning or persuasive rhetoric. The resolutions selected for discussion raise questions of the broadest human concern, questions which no professional expertise alone can answer. Defenders of the inverted outlook typically behave as if there were arguments so subtle and advanced that only the jargon and conventions of debate could express them. This is not a very plausible suggestion, for it entails that there are good arguments for or against the truth of moral and political propositions which cannot be understood by people outside the world of scholastic debate. It entails, for instance, that there may be arguments about distributive justice which neither Thomas Aquinas nor John Locke nor Robert Nozick could have understood without first learning about high school debate. (Anyone who can take this suggestion and its implications seriously is not going to be persuaded by anything else I have to say.) There is no unoccupied chunk of intellectual turf which the academy has left to debaters to colonize, and no special method of investigation which LD employs to give it a lock on some fraction of the truth.

One might think that cutting-edge LD seeks to function not as its own academic discipline but as the high school surrogate of some other established discipline, a discipline with complex theory, forbidding jargon, and specialized professional norms. One likely candidate discipline would be philosophy, but as someone who knows a little about that subject, I can vouch that current LD does not much resemble what philosophers do. Philosophers strive for clarity and logical soundness, and they do not try to "dump" as many "turns" as possible on anyone's "flow." Friends in political science tell me that LD does not much resemble what they do, either. I suppose there may be corners of "literary theory" or "education theory" which approach the jargon-caked pretension, intellectual vacancy, and rhetorical inversion of some current branches of high school debate, but these are not fields I would wish for students to emulate.

The value of debate is purely instrumental, to equip students to lead more thoughtful, informed, critical, and eloquent lives. There are other (and arguably better) ways to acquire every one of

the skills debate can teach, but good debate training is distinctive in teaching so many important skills at once and in using a competitive format to motivate students to pursue those skills intensely. Once the purely instrumental value of debate is acknowledged, the inverted picture of LD collapses in on itself. For there are no standards of argumentative excellence peculiar to debate, no sense of "good LD" intelligible apart from such mundane (if rarely exemplified) notions as "critical reading," "sound reasoning," "clear writing," and "polished speaking."

And so, likewise, there are no LD experts uniquely qualified to judge the excellence of LD speakers. Any person of sound and open mind can listen to an exchange of arguments on a topic of widespread moral concern and criticize the logical and rhetorical skill of the speakers. I have met a fair number of bus drivers, and I would welcome many of them as more honest and reasonable critics for my debate students than some of today's "top" LD judges. (I would also try to avoid talking in ways that demean the value and intelligence of people who earn an honest living driving buses, especially if I were sensitive to the stereotyping of other sorts of people.) This is not to suggest that all people are equally acute listeners or equally effective teachers, but it is to suggest that there is no magic in being a professional debate judge or coach which equips one to comprehend and criticize a high school LD round.

Like all educational games, healthy debate must accommodate two perspectives. On the one hand is the internal perspective of the players of the game, from which it appears that the point and purpose of the game is to win in whatever artificial terms the game defines. In the case of LD, this first perspective is that of the debaters, whose immediate aim is to win ballots, trophies, and (in extreme cases) TOC bids. On the other hand is the perspective of the teachers who design and administer the game. From this external perspective, the point and purpose of the game is to teach students something they might not otherwise learn. The rules of the game create a framework in which the players will learn what they are supposed to learn by pursuing incentives such as grades and prizes, incentives which are connected, via the rules of the game, to the game's deeper educational goals. In a well-functioning game, the prizes are reliably attached to educational achievement, and vice versa.

When educational games become inverted, prizes and educational achievement come apart, because the second, defining perspective of the game becomes obscured. This may occur either because the teachers who define the game lose sight of its original educational purposes and themselves take on the internal, prize-focused perspective of the student players, or because the teachers cease to administer the game, ceding control to people who do not understand or respect the game's defining educational purposes. I will say more about the second of these failures in Part III, but the recent degeneration of LD involves both failures, and any blame rests finally on the adults who have, wittingly or not, abandoned their responsibility to administer the game their students are playing. No one should blame students for acting on the incentives their teachers have provided them. (The purpose of these last remarks is to excuse students. Anyone tempted to deflect criticism by accusing me of hypocrisy should understand that I am more committed to the truth of what I am saying here than to my own innocence.)

As the players' perspective becomes the only perspective, an inverted game takes on a life of its own and evolves into an



ever-more-specialized and irrelevant community. It rejects its original responsibility to game-independent standards of excellence. The game comes to resemble the sort of self-justifying, autonomous practice characterized by the inverted picture of LD sketched above. The beliefs and suggestions of those outside the game are denigrated as uncultured and inferior to those of insiders. And, of course, the game ceases to be an effective educational tool, because its incentives train students in habits of no positive value (and sometimes of negative value) outside the game. This is how things stand in LD, at least in that ingrown, infected segment of LD which I am trying to lance.

### III. Toward a Restoration

If my diagnosis of LD's ailment is correct, the obvious solution is to restore a proper sense of LD's instrumental character and of the extra-debate ends it serves. Such restoration would require much more than a vague assent to educational platitudes of the sort we debate types are apt to chant when pumping outsiders for money; it would require many specific and, in the current climate, difficult changes by coaches in the way they coach and the way they run tournaments. Many more experienced coaches are better placed than I am to recognize and implement the needed changes; I would be delighted if interested coaches began to exchange ideas about this subject with me and with each other, perhaps through the pages of this magazine.

But before I turn to some specimen proposals of my own, I want to call attention to the value of general reflection of just the sort which I am saying cannot by itself solve our problem. I suspect that the inversion I am criticizing would never have gained a foothold if more of us had spent more time asking ourselves why we do what we do. Coaching is demanding enough to fill every waking moment (and then some!) with the demands of the here and now—this topic, this student, this round, this judge, this phone call, this paperwork. One need not make a grand or evil resolve to invert the educational order of debate in order to slowly but surely be driven off the right course. Perhaps the best single thing coaches could do for the welfare of their students and of debate would be to practice asking the question, "How will this [action, habit, advice, decision, silence] affect these students' education as thinkers and speakers in their lives after debate?" It is an obvious truth that reflective, self-aware coaches are more likely to achieve their educational goals than are coaches who react only to the contingencies of the moment with the resources of the moment.

And now, a bit (but only a bit) of detail. I argued above that a well-administered educational game must key its rewards to its educational goals. In the case of debate, the rewards are ballots, speaker points, and trophies. And so it follows that the judge's role is crucially important in effective debate education. Yet judging is an area where the teachers who should control the debate game have too often ceded their authority to people with no clear sense of debate's purposes. As a result, the rewards and the educational purposes have separated, and students must now often choose between arguing well and winning LD rounds. (Times were when I would tell students frustrated with a loss that *they* were the ones to blame; those times are sadly past.)

How have even very good LD coaches ceded their power to not so good judges? By hiring ex-debaters to do all their judging. As a group, college-age judges are much less likely than are older coaches to have an appreciation for standards of rhetorical excellence outside the latest fads of high school debate. (To be clear, the comments below do not apply to all college-age judges, and

they do apply to some post-college-age judges, and even [unfortunately] to some coaches.) Many younger judges have spent their entire intellectual lives inside the debate bubble, and they have no larger educational perspective from which to assess that student practice. They are, however, extremely bright people who have become bored with the first-order issues relevant to specific resolutions and who have therefore developed an aesthetic attraction to debate theory and to "non-standard" arguments as ways to continue their intellectual diversions within the worlds of high school and college debate. Uninterested in the basic skills which LD was originally designed to teach and which LD students still desperately need to acquire, these young humanians work, through their decisions, their critiques, and their tongue-in-groove coaching, to move LD in a theoretical direction which they find interesting and which confirms their status as the vanguard of an intellectual elite, regardless of how silly the result may look in the wider (but, of course, benighted) world. One specimen of the sort of judge I am describing has recently written in defense of LD jargon that "Jargon solidifies our existence as an elite group that excludes the uninitiated from our ranks."

My point in saying these things is not to attack college judges; many of them (Thank goodness, and thank them!) are exceptions to my generalizations, and for many who aren't, it isn't their fault they lack the eyes of seasoned educators (or even the uncorrupted eyes of bus drivers). They are doing what they are asked and paid to do by the coaches and tournament directors who hire them. Their involvement is celebrated as "giving back to the activity," and it saves overworked coaches from the exhausting chore of listening to (increasingly bad) debates. So my first suggestion is that regular adult coaches judge debates whenever they can and that tournament directors prefer coaches to college students as judges, *especially* in high-profile elimination rounds. Of course, my hope is that coaches will in their role as judges encourage educationally valuable practices and discourage educationally harmful practices.

And when coaches cannot judge debates themselves, my second suggestion is that they try to include more parents, teachers, and community members from outside of debate. Such people do *not* need, and should not receive, extensive training in the conventions of LD in order to be effective judges. The very point of including them is to make students accountable to the ordinary norms of good speaking and argument which LD now often ignores. There's no harm in offering new judges some tips on optional note taking, but they should be made to understand that it is the students' job to persuade them, not their job to conform to the students.

I am well aware of the unfair partiality which "lay judges" sometimes display; I am also well aware of the similar partiality which professional debate judges sometimes display. But I cannot make any sense of the notion of a "*tabula rasa* judge." Such a person would, among other unfortunate traits, be unable to understand spoken English, or even to use a bathroom. (I have wondered how much of the phrase's debate appeal might vanish if it were no longer bestowed the thrill of casual Latin-dropping.) The only hint of sense I can detect in those judges who advertise their overwhelming mental blankness may be summed up in two (and perhaps the only two) instructions which every new judge should be given: (1) Recuse yourself from any round in which the winner would be a foregone conclusion for you. (2) Do not make your decision on the basis of arguments unrelated to those presented in the round.



even if such arguments *are* related to the resolution at hand. Note that this second counsel does not preclude what many LD types would consider "judge intervention." It allows judges to evaluate for themselves the claims students make, as any intelligent listener and responsible teacher should. Within these wide boundaries, judges ought be preserved in as pure a state of pre-debate good sense and innocence as possible.

A third suggestion is that judges begin to take speaker points seriously. What were once 30- or 50-point performance scales have now been reduced to 3- or 4-point scales—every student is rated as "excellent" or "superior." A soft-hearted judge could do a lot of good by availing himself of only the top half of the points scale, and a hard-hearted judge could do even more good by availing himself of all of it. Many tournaments make some to-do about penalizing the students of "low-point judges," thus discouraging the honest and direct evaluation of student speaking. Such tournaments should rethink those policies, but until they do, friends of LD should do their best to ignore them.

A fourth and final suggestion is that tournaments not allow students and their coaches to rank and strike judges. The very notion of student competitors selecting their adult judges is almost laughably perverse, and it has provoked dropped-jaw, incredulous stares from the sampling of educated non-debate adults to whom I've mentioned it. But it is a notion increasingly popular at the biggest and most prestigious "national circuit" tournaments. The effect of such policies, intended or not, is predictable: judges from outside the tribe, including any prone to question the emperor's attire, are rigorously excluded from the pool. An acquaintance of mine who has had the temerity to criticize some of the LD trends I have discussed recently found himself struck from every panel on the last day of a large Texas tournament where he had volunteered his time to judge—a tournament which he had won as a competitor. As one jaundiced student observed afterward in an online forum, "Round after round, the behavior contin-

ues and nobody on the panels says anything. When they do, 'strike.'" The immunity to outside challenge and criticism which judge preference and strike policies provide is the antithesis of the ideals of public reasoning good debate should promote. Any judge who cannot be trusted to recuse himself from conflicts of interest should be removed from the judging pool altogether; any judge good enough to be in the pool should be good enough to judge any students to whom he is not specially connected. Once again, the players inside the game cannot be faulted for availing themselves of an officially sanctioned chance to rig their juries. It is the sanctioning officials who should revise their policies to better align them with the game's educational purposes. Barring responsible changes by tournament directors on this issue, concerned judges can simply (but vocally) refuse to judge at tournaments which practice such exclusionary tactics. For my part, I will not waste my time judging at any tournament which trusts debaters to evaluate me more than it trusts me to evaluate debaters.

There are doubtless other and important ways the current LD situation could be changed for the better, to align it more closely with the right educational ends of the game. And judging is not the only area for reform. My aim in this essay has hardly been to give a full prescription for the ways LD might be cured. I have simply tried to call attention to a problem and to gesture, however feebly, toward its solution. My hope is that some of the many talented and dedicated coaches who share my educational ambitions for LD students will correct, enlarge on, and refine the ideas I have presented here. If nothing else, some other concerned teacher may be encouraged to learn that he or she is not alone.

*(Jason Baldwin is a Ph.D student in Philosophy at the University of Notre Dame and the longtime LD coordinator of the Kentucky National Debate Institute. In the early 1990's, Mr. Baldwin compiled the most "national circuit" titles in the history of LD, among them St. Mark's, the Glenbrooks, Emory, and the TOC. Many of Mr. Baldwin's articles can be found in the NFL's online archive.)*

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# THE D G E

## DEBATING FASTER TEAMS

by  
**Dr. David M. Cheshier**

The greatest shock experienced by novice debaters usually occurs when they meet considerably faster debaters. It's humiliating: getting run out of the room is no fun, and being on the losing end of hyperspeed is frustrating too, since one can't escape the sense that the loss happened on pure pyrotechnics, as opposed to pure intellect. When a judge says something like, "what can I say? — you dropped the third answer!" You're made to feel stupid even though it was simply a technical glitch.

The sick feeling that comes from being outrun doesn't always go away after the novice year, as any experienced debater will volunteer, though often only when put under truth serum. I still vividly remember a debate that happened during my junior year in college, against a superfast debater who last year wrote a best-selling business book based on his experiences as a vice president at *Yahoo!*. I had enough experience to expect that we could win the debate if we were smart, although I knew it would be very tough since our opponents were a top ten team. We lost because I didn't adequately cover in the 2AC. Ugh! I can still remember it to this day. For weeks afterward all of my practicing was centered on reliving that debate, although we never again had the chance for a rematch.

As you might expect, my coaching colleagues have mixed reactions to such occurrences. An old friend and former coach who came out of the Northwestern debate program famously sneered at debaters





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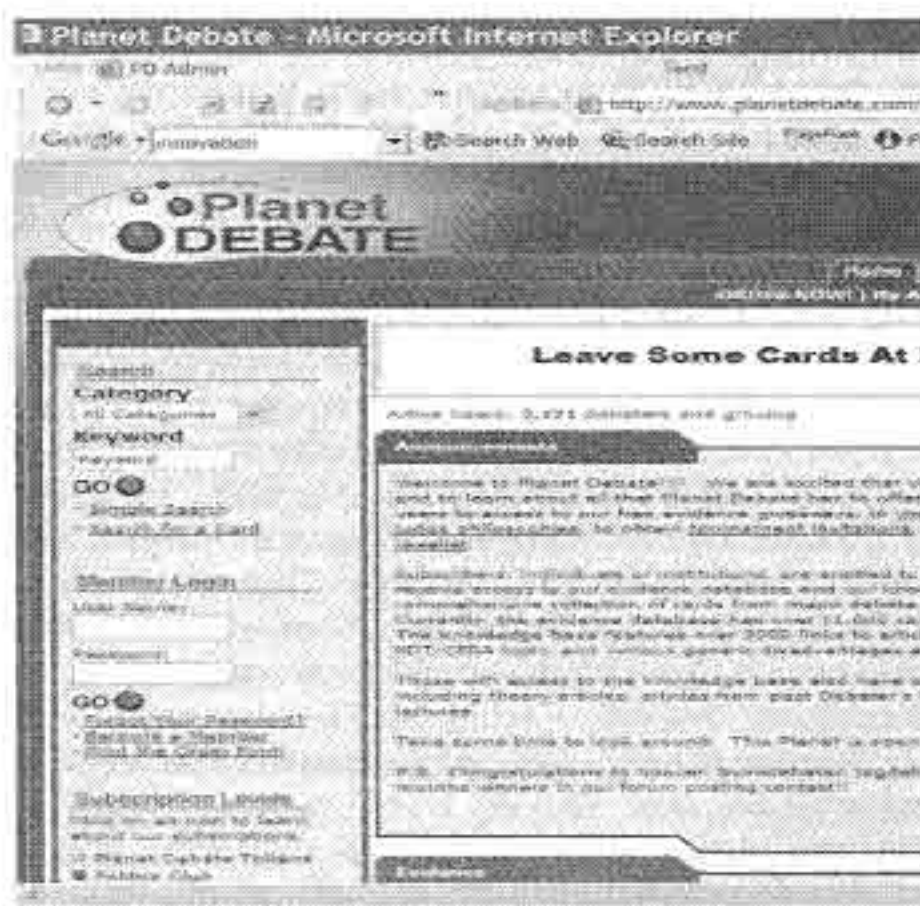
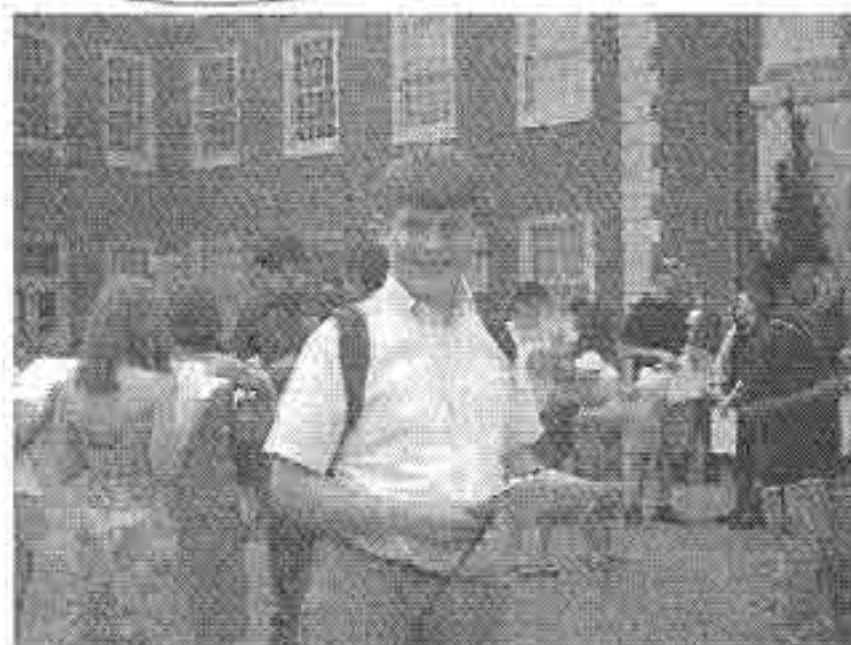
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who complained about the speed of their opponents. Her point was this: the skills it takes to become fast or efficient enough to win are not that difficult to master. So get over it, do the drills, and learn to get speedily efficient in making arguments. On the other hand, I've heard a great debate coach from Wake Forest often say he thinks such drills are a big waste of time—speak eloquently and efficiently, practice speaking with passion, and the rest will follow. Still others privately express their frustration—it's hard to defend debate as a game of smarts when you're talking to a student disillusioned by a loss suffered on pure technique. And the technique is, for many coaches, hard to defend in the first place. Whether your coach defends or deplores fast talking, there's no denying that high speed rates of delivery mark debate as an idiosyncratic speaking event. And there is something of a "tragedy of the commons" effect: it's often in the self-interest of any given individual debater to press the speed as much as possible, and not in the direct individual interest of individual judges to dial it back. So while this doesn't mean debate is faster today than it was twenty years ago (it isn't), it's not likely to significantly slow down without a major and unlikely intervention.

I want to give some practical advice about what to do when the other team is talking so fast you cannot keep up. As is usually the case when I attempt to give practical advice, I'll acknowledge up-front that some of what I say will be blindingly obvious—my purpose there is just to remind you of things you may already know, but might have forgotten.

If you are currently angry at debate because you lose to faster teams, I sympathize but also want to disabuse you of a potential misconception. You are not losing simply because they talk faster. Speedy opposition puts pressures on you and your partner, in the process revealing all your shortcomings. For instance, a fast talking opponent can quickly reveal the inadequacies of your preparation. When you have to prepare a 2AC to cover fifteen major arguments instead of the more normal five or six, if you are inadequately briefed ahead of time you will pay the price in the faster round. And responding by talking back just as fast is not the only cure. In fact, matching speed for speed is not even the most strategic way to respond—as I'll argue below, creating a contrast effect where you talk in a noticeably slower but more efficient way is a far better recourse than straining your own abilities to blindingly spread.

Some suggestions, then, in no particular order of importance...

*Practice speaking more efficiently*, by which I mean you should practice making the same number and quality of arguments by use of fewer words. There are some easy ways to rehearse this. Some give rebuttal reworks under the condition that the student must make all the same arguments but with thirty fewer seconds on the clock. Rewriting briefs so they more efficiently convey your ideas is a good way to build efficiency into your speeches.

I've argued in a previous essay that a common source of inefficiency is the lengthy rebuttal-opening oration or overview. My point before was that debaters should work to make the overview a source of increased and not decreased efficiency. That is, if the overview just introduces a point you'll be repeating later, then abbreviate or nix it. If it saves you the time of having to reinforce your ideas later, then go ahead and orate, but briefly. One of the cautions I offered in that earlier essay had to do with the temptation to orate at great length since the start of the rebuttal seems to

impose few time constraints (of course that's a myth—forty-five seconds robbed from actual extension-making at the start of a rebuttal are just as devastating as 45 seconds stolen from the end). My advice to students who find themselves wasting more time than they intended at the rebuttal start was to script the overview out word for word.

At some point debaters obviously need to acquire the confidence necessary to trust that their ideas are getting through. Too often students repeat points over and over because they believe they must to be understood. But their judges probably got it the first time around and their opponents gratefully use the duplication time to prep their own speeches. Trust yourself!

*Practice talking faster*. Again, this is a much lower priority, and since I've recently written a full essay on the mechanics of speaking more quickly, I won't reproduce my advice here. Remember, though, that speed drills (where you push yourself faster and faster) can achieve faster speed but too easily come at the consequence of incomprehensibility. The overall imperative is thus to improve your speed for circumstances where you need it but to do so in a way that keeps you always clear. A reading overemphasis on key words from your evidence and explanation is the best way to preserve clarity and convey a sense of passionate urgency in delivering arguments.

*Look harder for ways to simplify the debate*. "Disco" refers to strategies that drastically simplify the debate in rebuttals. A 1AR might, for example, concede a part of their plan isn't topical (by, say, granting an extra-topicality argument) and jettison it as a way of also avoiding a disadvantage link. Such approaches are controversial with many judges, who consider major concessions of this sort to constitute new arguments in the rebuttal (a position with which I strongly disagree—I don't see how it's ever new to concede your opponents' arguments), and on that account disco isn't very common.

In a debate where you find yourself under enormous time pressures, though, the downsides of disco recede. If making a major concession in one place can reduce the number of arguments you have to make, and advance your strategic position, then you might consider doing it more often under circumstances of speed-induced duress. You may also find judges are more willing to accept radically round-transforming approaches when your opponents are exceptionally fast. Of course one must be careful: you will still encounter a lot of skepticism about major concessions, and that has to be considered under any circumstance. Still, considering drastic strategic maneuvering able to simplify the debate can be of enormous help.

*Don't whine, but be willing to make it an issue if the situation becomes absurd*. Sometimes students are tempted to complain in their speeches about opponent speed, but the problem is such an approach inevitably sounds whiny. Many judges will think to themselves something like, "if this debater gave the twenty seconds rationalizing a failure to cover to other answers, they'd have twenty more seconds to answer everything." In other words, simply complaining about your opponents' speed or clearness rarely accomplishes anything. If you say the 1AR made no sense, his or her partner will simply say, "What's the problem? I got every word!" And what are you to do? Ask for a 3NR?

The solution is to debate more assertively than normal, and to find ways to provide a specific impact to the speed issue if you really feel abusive arguing has occurred. Since the vast majority of judges will not vote against a team simply because they were fast,



I wouldn't waste time arguing for such a loss. Instead, be more precise in designating a decision rule. Argue for something like stricter judge scrutiny of potentially new arguments in the last rebuttal. Or defend the idea that you should be waived from punishment for missing an argument.

Here is a common problem: Let's say a 1NR blazing through a topicality position is utterly incomprehensible. You weren't able to get his second and third responses to your first 2AC answer. But making a big deal about that may get you nowhere, since the judge may have understood arguments two and three, but missed numbers four and five. What can you do? General complaints sound like whining; specific complaints may garner no sympathy since only you missed the answer.

One approach which I've recommended for years but have never seen a student gutsy enough to try is making a federal case out of speed in this way: Let's say you are the 2NR and you get to a 1AR disadvantage answer that makes no sense. Maybe the judge got it, maybe she didn't. Either way consider saying this: "On the 2AC three, the link turn, the 1AR was incomprehensible. Maybe you got it and missed the next one, but I couldn't understand him here, and I refuse to answer this argument, whatever it was. Not only should I not have to pay the penalty of wasting my prep time to have figured out the blur, but I don't think I should be held accountable for the response. *Vote against me on this argument if you must, and I'll live with it*—but just remember in doing so *you're rewarding incomprehensibility.*"

Do you see how such a response calls your opponents' bluff? And I think it would be very hard for a judge to work up the courage to vote against you on an argument you plausibly claim made no sense. Of course, such a tactic cannot be overused, or you'll soon get a reputation for finding all the tough answers "impossible to understand." Still, if the abuse is real, take a gamble. I think it will pay off.

Make the issue comprehensibility, not speed—*fight especially hard to stay clear*. Students too often try to fight fire with fire. The 1NC goes blindingly fast, too fast, and so the 2AC goes even faster or tries to. The downsides of this approach are obvious. At round's end the judge is exasperated with both teams, and lowers everyone's points because the whole thing broke down in mindless speed.

In my view, it is far better to create a *contrast effect*. I want to emphasize that the contrast need not be absurd, and it is not necessary to slow down to kindergarten speed to illustrate the differences between you and your opposition. And the contrast need not be evident at every moment in the speech, since there can still be runs of relatively speedy delivery. But at all points you should struggle to be clearly understood. Don't give your judge the easy cop-out that "everyone was to blame." Beyond the efficiency necessary to cover a faster team, debate in a super-efficient manner that will enable you to be plainly slower than the other team if at all possible.

*Make your four best answers, instead of the fifteen ones you've briefed.* In response to a very quick team (or even a team possessing both the skills of speed and efficiency) consider cutting out weaker responses. This advice, by the way, is an important reminder of the need to create briefs that make the stronger arguments at the top. This tip can be difficult to embrace—after all, when the 1NC runs ten off case positions, and you know her strategy is to drop all but the most under-covered in the block, who wants to play into her hands by making just a couple arguments on

every argument? But reducing the number of answers will not hurt you. How much mileage did you ever get out of asserted "no threshold" disadvantage responses anyway? Consider giving them up so that your truest and best evidenced responses remain on the table even if you are slower.

*Avoid the temptation to group everything, but do group more than normal.* Grouping is especially a good idea on high risk positions. Thus 1AR's should consider grouping entire topicality violations or blown up case positions. Group when doing so increases your ability to comprehensively cover important arguments, and when it leaves you free to more specifically extend the positions you must to win.

Here are some final quick tips to keep in mind when you debate considerably faster teams. *Take advantage of available cross-examination time.* Obviously the cross-ex period can help you fill in gaps. But instead of letting the speaker invent intelligence out of babble ask more narrow questions: "Your third answer to Bush/Iraq was, and I quote, 'turn IAC Smith.' What did you mean by those three words?" It is important to *coordinate with your partner*. Don't engage in lots of quiet chatter while the fast constructive is going on, since you'll both end up missing even more. But do *coordinate ways to communicate* so you're two partial flowsheets can fill in gaps. This can help you recover from the speed without losing all your prep time in the process.

Some recommend that you try to bring incomprehensibility to your judge's attention by engaging in *nonverbal behaviors*, like moving your chairs closer to the speaker, and so on. I'm unconvinced this makes much of a difference, but if you feel differently it can't hurt to try.

Apart from intelligently briefing at home, you should also *write a 1AC that will hold up well against exceedingly fast 1NC's*. Build preemptions into the 1AC, and if there are specific pieces of evidence you always read in the 2AC think about moving them into the 1AC if you can do it without incurring a strategic disadvantage.

After fast debates, you might consider *asking the judge for specific advice about the speed situation*. I don't mean that you should ask accusatory questions ("why do you insist on endorsing mindless spewing?!"), but it might yield useful advice to ask something precise, like: "You saw I had trouble covering in the 2AC. Would you mind looking over your flow of that speech and telling me what I might have done to better allocate time?" *Consider using fast debates where you were really stressed to cover as the basis for post-tournament practicing.* Practice that 2AC or 1NR over and over until you can competently respond to all the arguments in a clear and eloquent manner.

Even doing your best, you'll encounter opponents who end up gaining a very real tactical advantage by speaking unclearly. Still, a lot of this apparent edge can be undone by careful strategizing. And remember this: despite the "tragedy of the commons" effect which has gradually ratcheted up speed over the years, a lot of judges remain basically sympathetic to teams on the receiving end of unclear speeches.

*(Dr. David M. Cheshier is Assistant Professor of Communications and Director of Debate at Georgia State University. Dr. Cheshier will host the 2003 Lincoln Financial Group/NFL National Tournament at Georgia State University. His column appears monthly in the Rostrum.)*



# HIGHEST POINT STUDENTS AT YEAR END 2002

Name	School Name, State	Points	Name	School Name, State	Points
Brady Littlefield	Fargo Shanley HS, ND	1607	Carl Brinton	Mountain View HS, AZ	1267
Natalia Espejo	Fargo Shanley HS, ND	1498	Kyle R. Kimball	Arroyo Grande HS, CA	1265
Amaris Singer	Albuquerque Academy, NM	1473	Femi Morohunfola	Blue Valley HS, KS	1264
Paul Storm	Fargo Shanley HS, ND	1471	Christos N. Theophanous	Miramonte HS, CA	1264
Elizabeth A. Alquist	Arroyo Grande HS, CA	1441	Paul Ready	Savannah HS, MO	1264
James Vietti	El Dorado HS, KS	1438	Amanda Melliani	Sioux Falls Roosevelt HS, SD	1257
Michael Bretches	Hutchinson HS, KS	1426	Kobi Libii	Snider HS, IN	1256
Ryan Thoreson	Fargo Shanley HS, ND	1414	Vince Falconi	St Joseph Catholic School, MS	1255
Nundu Janakiram	Mountain View HS, AZ	1410	Stephanie Lam	Casera Hall Prep, OR	1255
Scot Miller	Fargo South HS, ND	1377	Adam Chilton	Mountain View HS, AZ	1253
Chris Berk	Durango HS, CO	1349	Benjamin Hall	Ozark HS, MO	1252
Chris Mowder	Lahette County HS, KS	1348	Melissa B. Taddei	Lodi HS, CA	1250
Danielle Imhoff	Springfield Parkview HS, MO	1347	Ben Rohrs	Bolivar R 1 HS, MO	1250
Sheila Pechacek	Benilde St Margaret's Sch., MN	1340	Rachel Bjorhus	Dilworth Glyndon Felton, MN	1248
Laura Edwards	Deer Park HS, TX	1338	Shamestrish Holman	Parsons HS, KS	1248
Christopher D. Carr	W T Woodson HS, VA	1335	Sean Smith	Ladue Horton Watkins HS, MO	1247
Andrew Richards	McPherson HS, KS	1334	Mark C. Chubb	Parsons HS, KS	1247
Ronn McNeal	Greene County HS, MS	1334	Faris Mohiuddin	Leland HS, CA	1245
Nick Trusty	Bishop Miege HS, KS	1328	Eric Batz	Dilworth Glyndon Felton, MN	1240
Tyler Scott	Savannah HS, MO	1325	Kevin Kiley	Granite Bay HS, CA	1238
Ross Keogh	Buffalo HS, WY	1322	Varsha C. Ramakrishnan	Vermillion HS, SD	1232
Robert Haar	Deuel School, SD	1320	Patrick Memillan	Harlingen HS South, TX	1231
Brittany Janis	Gilmour Academy, OH	1319	Jessica Huynh	Clear Lake HS, TX	1227
Danny Haase	Springfield Hillcrest HS, MO	1317	Ingrid Gustafson	McPherson HS, KS	1225
Jamie Smith	Kickapoo HS, MO	1317	Thomas Hendrick	Palisade HS, CO	1221
Micalann C. Sharp	Watertown HS, SD	1315	Sarah B. Whitney	Pueblo Centennial HS, CO	1221
Chris Roby	Watertown HS, SD	1310	Cara Hurst	Marquette HS, MO	1219
Owais Siddiqui	Mesquite Poteet HS, TX	1302	Henry P. Tappen	Pueblo Centennial HS, CO	1217
Omar Shakir	Leland HS, CA	1302	Phillip Londerree	Petal HS, MS	1216
Christine Nguyen	Cypress Falls HS, TX	1296	Sorab Sidhu	Amarillo HS, TX	1215
Spencer Harris	Blue Springs HS, MO	1296	Doug Hill	Nixa R 2 Schools, MO	1213
Liz Brink	Mitchell HS, SD	1293	Grace Mlady	Mitchell HS, SD	1211
Andrew Braver	Cleveland HS, CA	1292	Richard Hsiao	Gabrielino HS, CA	1210
Paige Hendrix	Neosho HS, MO	1292	Colin E. Hughes	Foothill HS, NV	1209
Scott Stewart	Collierville HS, TN	1291	Brandon Goodwin	Springfield Hillcrest HS, MO	1206
David S. Booth	Canon City HS, CO	1285	Ryan Hamilton	Chaparral HS, NV	1205
Andrew Payne	Garden City HS, KS	1285	Weston Elkins	Lamar Consolidated HS, TX	1202
Michael Kozminski	Savannah HS, MO	1280	Kristin Hoff	Greeley Central HS, CO	1200
Chris Kochevar	Bryan HS, TX	1273	H.J. Shea	Benilde St Margaret's Sch., MN	1197
Becky Thilo	Lake City HS, ID	1270	Seth Stadler	Sioux Falls Roosevelt HS, SD	1196
David Kald	Ronald Reagan HS, TX	1267	Justin Goetz	Aberdeen Central HS, SD	1195



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# IN DEFENSE OF THE NFL <sup>41</sup> (AND DEBATE IN ALL ITS FORMS)

by  
Tammie Peters

I must admit I was rather dismayed when I read Donus Roberts's article, "Controversy: NFL's New Debate Event" in the November 2002 *Rostrum*. Here was one of our most decorated coaches celebrating the new event, Ted Turner Debate, by exclaiming all our other events are essentially a waste of time. Roberts writes, "Policy debate and LD debate have become specialized, filled with code-words that ordinary people do not understand on topics people don't wish to hear. Debaters often talk beyond the speed limit. Extemp has also be-

come a documentation speech, oratory has become interp, interp has become filled with innuendo and explicitness." Say it isn't so!

**...."I still believe that each of the events we offer has academic value - or at least each event can be taught or coached in such a way as to promote critical thinking and intellectual understanding...."**

While there may be bad seeds in each of our events, I cannot believe that everything we do is so contemptible. While it appears Roberts has lost his faith in what we do, I still believe that each of the events we offer has academic value - or at least each event can be taught or coached in such a way as to promote critical thinking and intellectual understanding.

I realize Roberts's article was designed to garner enthusiasm for NFL's new event, Ted Turner Debate. Personally, I am still undecided about the new event - we'll have to see how it plays out. However, I am disturbed by the apparent "widespread" denouncing of NFL events, especially the debate events. Even Bill Davis's article about argumentation in the same *Rostrum* issue indicated that much of our debate has become worthless drivel. I for one am not ready to let debate in its present forms sink into some evil abyss without a fight. Here, then, are some ideas for those of you willing to join my battle for better debate.

## The Many Faces of NFL Debate

Many of the arguments I've heard about the need

for a new debate event center on some of the weaknesses which have been associated with CX/policy debate. Roberts specifically writes about students who can't do all the research required for a year-long topic. He also writes about needing to meet the needs of schools who do not have "extensive financial resources" or access to specially trained coaches. But there are other forms of debate currently available to students that fill these needs.

Lincoln-Douglas debate provides one alternative to CX/policy debate. Topics change every two months; thus, there is less of an emphasis on great quantities of research. While still a bit difficult, it is easier for a student to pick up LD mid-year than it is to pick up CX/policy, precisely because the topic continually changes. Additionally, the topics in LD are generated by coaches and competitors; I certainly hope they "wish to hear" debates on topics they submit. Furthermore, many of my LDers have returned from college thanking me for the background in philosophy and logical thinking they developed in the event. In our part of the country, some schools have chosen not to teach CX/policy debate (for a variety of reasons), but they are quite comfortable and successful with LD. Judges who hesitate to judge CX are willing to evaluate LD rounds.

Another debate alternative to CX/policy is Student Congress, one event Roberts doesn't even mention in his article. The specific topics debated change from tournament to tournament and are student generated, hopefully guaranteeing student interest. Since the bills and resolutions can change from week to week, the research required is less extensive than either CX or LD. It is also easy for students (and new coaches) to pick up the event in a very short amount of time. The three minute speech format is attractive to my interpreters as well as my debaters; we have also received positive feedback from observers about the audience adaptability of this event. As for judging, the 0-6 point scale is very user friendly and we often use "lay judges" as scorekeepers. Learning the basics of parliamentary procedure is also one of the most realistic skills we teach students in Student Congress.

NFL also offers Barbara Jordan Debates, another event not mentioned by Roberts. While I have no experience with this event, I understand it was designed for schools with little or no experience or traditions in de-



bate and limited access to coaches and other resources. I would also guess that this form of debate was designed for communities with few "debate" judges.

Before I move to the next section, though, I would like to take a moment to defend CX/policy debate. While a year-long topic may seem intimidating to some students, others relish the opportunity to learn about an area truly in-depth. My students' understanding of mental illness and public health issues has already increased exponentially in the first three months of competition. CX/policy debate is one of the few places where students learn there are no easy solutions to the nation's or world's problems – a lesson that would benefit many idealistic high school students. Only sustained research and discussion of a topic can reveal the complexities of the real world. Additionally, the sustained discussion of such recent issues as mental health, weapons of mass destruction, privacy, and education are important issues of our time, and topics are selected by coaches and students who vote for those topics that merit extended investigation.

### **The Need to Build a Better Mousetrap**

In spite of its educational value, CX/policy debate has received more than its fair share of criticism recently. I've heard complaints about rapid-fire delivery that is uncommunicative, new arguments like kritiks that seem to avoid the true purpose of debate, and students who avoid doing research and truly understanding the complex issues involved by relying on purchased evidence and camp canned cases. I, too, have witnessed teams engaged in these practices. However, CX/policy debate doesn't have to be this way.

If coaches and teachers are frustrated with the direction of CX/policy debate, then those coaches need to begin their own rebellions on their teams. Let me describe our team: I teach at a medium-sized school (1300) that is suburban/rural. My students rarely attend camps. We don't have "extensive financial resources" and must do fundraising to pay for entry fees and bus costs. While we do purchase some evidence, we use it as a starting point for our own research (other very successful teams in the area refuse to buy any evidence). During our debate classes, we focus on critical thinking skills – how various arguments can be answered. As opportunities arise, we deal with economic theory, governmental fiscal policy implications, issues of federalism and the balance of power, as well as specific issues regarding the topic area of that year. We chide our debaters who want to rely on spewing illogical briefs. We practice listening to evidence and challenging its application. We share *Rostrum* articles that focus on communication and common sense argumentation. We work on explaining debate jargon in common terms so our students understand what is going on in a round. We reject the "win at all costs" mentality and focus on making our students think.

And we are relatively successful. Many schools in our area approach CX/policy debate in a similar manner and are successful (i.e. they win) both in Colorado and in more nationally representative tournaments. Fast mouths and lazy minds don't have to be accepted by coaches who value something else in debate.

But what if that's what the judges buy? Then change the judges. If a group of coaches is truly frustrated with the criteria used by their CX/policy judges, then those judges need to be replaced with criteria more educationally suitable. About 25 years ago, Colorado speech coaches established judge certification, a three-hour class that educated speech critics about the

expectations to be used when judging. Colorado debate coaches had determined that the stock issues paradigm was the most educationally sound approach to debating federal policies; thus, certification has stressed that paradigm. Certification is not required of all debate judges at all tournaments, but it does earn the judges extra pay and only certified judges are invited to the State Tournament. Furthermore, certification has expanded the appeal of CX/policy; when the rules and expectations were presented in a simple, common-sense and user-friendly way, more critics were willing to evaluate CX/policy rounds. And many of those critics have insisted that our students be more communicative in their argumentation – a style which requires students to either adjust or perish. While certification hasn't solved all our problems, especially in CX/policy debate, it has provided concerned coaches with a tool to better educate our judges.

Other methods of altering the direction of debate judging are also being tried in our area. One group of coaches is trying to design a new state ballot for CX/policy debate, one which emphasizes more concrete issues and downplays some of the perceived "game playing" some students use. At Golden's tournaments, a note is attached to all CX/policy ballots in an attempt to remind judges of the criteria we, the coaches, believe is most academically sound. Other tournaments are posting giant signs for both students and judges to see that explain the paradigm to be used at that meet.

If coaches are frustrated with the direction of CX/policy debate, then perhaps we, the coaches, should change that direction instead of simply bemoaning its course. There are many ways that we, the educated professionals who are concerned with the academic integrity of debate, can take control of our event back from the destructive influences of those judges who lead our students astray.

### **There Is No Magic Bullet**

Perhaps there is a need for an event like Ted Turner Debate, but I don't believe it will solve all the "problems" mentioned by Roberts and others. Bill Davis said it best when he said, "Winning is the source of all distortion in debate." NFL is creating another debate event which involves head-to-head competition and all the perils that implies.

Certainly, when LD debate was adopted by NFL it was seen as an event that might avoid some of the pitfalls of CX/policy debate while adding another dimension, philosophical and value argumentation, to high school competition. I was a member of that first class who tried to qualify to the National Tournament in LD. While it had been in Colorado and a dozen other states for many years, it was new to the District Qualifying Tournament. Certainly, the speaking style was relatively slow when compared to CX/policy. However, when I used Machiavelli to explain the weaknesses in an all-volunteer military force, judges rejected my argument for being too erudite and difficult to understand. Now, though, it is quite common for good LD debaters to nimbly maneuver through the writings of Kant, Mill, Locke, Rousseau, Rawls, Rand and other complex philosophical writers. Some of our judges (and coaches) are intimidated by the level of philosophical discussion in LD debates; perhaps that is the type of "code-words" Roberts criticizes. Initially envisioned as an event that would avoid the weaknesses seen in CX/policy debate, LD developed its own specialty jargon and issues.

Good Student Congress can be wonderful, but bad Student





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1. Any students who advance to the final round of the open division of their state tournament will automatically qualify.
2. Any students who advance to the open division elimination rounds of any two of the following tournaments will automatically qualify.

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NFL Nationals 2002 (NC)	University (GA)	University of Southern California
University of California at Berkeley	Florida Blue Key	University of Texas at Austin
Bradley University George	The Glenbrooks (IL)	Vestavia Hills Classic (AL)
Armstrong Heart of Illinois	Harvard University (MA)	Villager (PA)
Invitational	Illinois State University	Wake Forest University Early-Bird Invitational (NC)
Columbia University (NY)	Isidore Newman (LA)	Western Kentucky University
Crestian Classic (FL)	St. Mark's Heart of Texas	Whitman College (WA)
Dowling (IA)	Stanford University Spring National (CA)	Yale University (CT)

This list is not yet complete! Tournament directors can apply to add their tournament to this list of qualifiers until February 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003 at [www.tocextemp.com](http://www.tocextemp.com). A final list of qualifying tournaments will be posted on the website by February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2003.

3. Any students who do not meet the criteria above may apply for an at-large bid.

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44 Congress can be dreadful. In 1989, when Golden hosted the National Tournament, we had the opportunity for Super Session to compete in the State Legislative Chambers – student senators sat in a real Senate chamber as did student representatives. Some of our State Legislators happened to visit the building that day and were incredibly impressed with the maturity and depth of understanding demonstrated by these competitors. But Student Congress is not without its weaknesses. Since the topics continually change and little research is required, practice congresses can become “b. s.” sessions full of unsubstantiated teen opinions. When competition improves and students try to qualify for Nationals, Student Congress can degenerate into a battle of political wrangling, deal-making and back-stabbing. The Districts in our area have tried various methods of reining in student game-playing.

The point that I am making is not that these events should be eliminated, replaced or less valued. Each of the debate events began with great intentions and high expectations. Each has developed its own quirks and drawbacks over time. Adding yet another debate event will not “save” debate; the competitive nature of what we do will shape this new event into something we may not foresee. We need to be careful when adding events; moreover, we need to remedy the events we have already created and return to their academic origins, instead of abandoning them.

### The Last Shot

As I read Robert's article, the words of John Donne came to mind:

Do not go gently into that good night[. . .]

Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

I am not ready to give up hope and belief in the events NFL currently offers. I do not believe any of them are hopeless beyond salvation – indeed, NFL's current events are strong academic opportunities that can be mistreated now and then by misguided young people. Perhaps the National Council is wise in creating a new event and sees a need that I do not see; however, I hope that the sentiments expressed by Roberts, that all our events are worthless and vile, are not the inspiration for the new debate event. I also hope that their motivation for this new event extends beyond the desire to impress a media mogul with an event named after him. If our only motivation is to give up on what has already been created and proven to work in terms of educationally benefiting students, then perhaps NFL deserves to “go gently into that good night” and fade away.

(*Tammie Peters is a diamond coach at Golden High School in Golden, Colorado. She has served on the Colorado State Critics certification committee for the past ten years.*)

## Secretary James Copeland Replies

I believe Mrs. Peters has missed Mr. Roberts' point. Mr. Roberts was not criticizing NFL events as being “worthless, vile” “waste of time” and the other *ad hominem* adjectives used by Mrs. Peters, nor has Mr. Roberts lost faith in NFL or its activities. There is no finer NFL citizen than eighth diamond coach Donus Roberts who pointed out, quite accurately, that no NFL debate events are well suited for presentation to television or live audiences.

The *academic* values of existing debate events may be exemplary but the *public communication* values are wanting.

Modern audiences and local access cable will not sit through an hour long debate where obscure kritiks are spewed at auctioneer speech. Nor are discussions of Kant and Hobbes viable. These may be fine in the classroom or at the tournament, but are not acceptable for the public – or the student who wishes to learn to speak to the public: juries, the church congregation, the electorate.

Mrs. Peters offers a thoughtful suggestion on how to improve events by certifying judges. But at the end of this process NFL is still left with debate events that are research oriented and academic in nature. What is needed is one event that is aimed at public audiences! In order to build support for speech and debate NFL must attract audiences and the media. Student activities like Quiz Bowl, Academic Decathlon, Cheerleading and Sports dominate the airwaves and draw audiences of citizen's who become enthused about those events. NFL hopes that Ted Turner debate will energize principals, superintendents, school boards, parents and local access cable to support debate.

Ted Turner Debate has been very popular with large numbers of teams competing in early tournaments held in upstate New York, South Carolina, Texas, South Dakota and Missouri.

Mrs. Peters other argument is essentially that there is no need for the new event because everything is wonderful in Colorado. Agreed. With her father Lowell Sharp and the legendary Frank Sferri in charge how could things not be wonderful. (It also helps

that there is not the tension created by national circuit debate teams constantly beating all the local debate teams, which has caused debate in other states to decline).

Unfortunately the Council can't make policy based upon one atypical example. Around the nation as a whole, schools (except for the elite national circuit schools) are abandoning policy debate in droves. The spew and the kritik have decimated debate.

Encouraged by Colorado's success Mrs. Peters ignores the hard facts. Last year six NFL districts had no policy debate at all; eight others had only one or two policy schools. Twenty more NFL districts have four policy schools or less. NFL needs a debate event which will attract schools so students may be exposed to training in both argumentation *and* communication.

If policy debate is widely practiced and well liked in Colorado, fine. Ted Turner debate might not be as useful there. LD never took root in areas where policy was widely practiced. But Turner debate is badly needed in areas where policy debate has declined, and Mr. Roberts saw that need.

Mrs. Peter's misses the point when she poignantly whispers “I am not ready to give up hope and belief in the events NFL offers.” Give up? Not! The NFL, the council, coaches and students are not “giving up” on anything! All events are being offered and anyone may choose to select which events meet their needs. No events have been abolished, or even changed. A new event was added for a specific purpose: provide training for students who wish to speak to audiences and the media.

Mr. Roberts and the council, did not “give up on what has already been created”. They added a new event! Like Humor, reintroduced in 1977, like L/D added in 1980, like Duo added in 1996 and like Barbara Jordan Debate adopted in 1998, Ted Turner Debate is yet another innovative initiative by the Council to meet the needs of schools large and small and students of all abilities, interests, and commitments.



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# THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY TODAY ESSAY COMPETITION

International Debate Education Association essay competition

## Guidelines:

Each essayist must refer to Ambassador Palou's article, available at [www.idebate.org/essaycontest.asp](http://www.idebate.org/essaycontest.asp) and may want to consider using personal experience, examples from your own country and other supporting evidence. All middle school and high school students are eligible to apply.

## Topics (choose ONE):

1. The author argues that there are "natural limits" to the idea of democracy, and that a democratic world government is undesirable. What are the possibilities of incorporating democratic ideals and practices in the international world order?
2. The author discusses preconditions that have made democracy possible historically. What can be done in today's world to promote the spread of democracy?
3. The author notes that democratic governments have "a greater inclination toward peace in their international behavior." But he also notes that democratic societies tend to co-operate with each other. Is conflict between democracies and non-democracies inevitable?
4. What did you think of this essay?

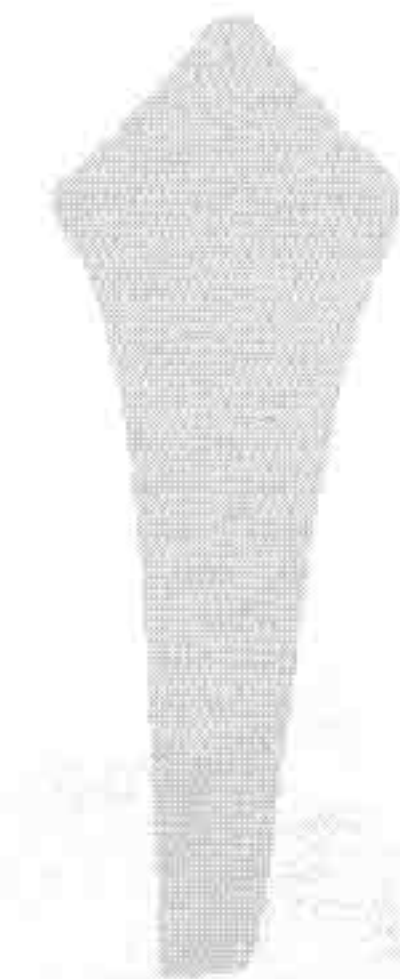
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# WHAT DOES DEMOCRACY MEAN TODAY?

by Martin Palouš

Czech Ambassador to the United States  
and a member of IDEA's Academic Advisory Board

What does the word democracy mean today? There is certainly more than one answer to this question, because democracy is a word with a long and rich history and multiple meanings. First, a meaningful analysis must distinguish among the meanings it must then examine their interdependencies and relationships. I suggest that the question of democracy today be approached from four perspectives:

## I. Democracy as a form of government

Democracy as a political culture; the ethos of democracy

III. Democracy from the historical perspective: ancient and modern

IV. Democracy as a central and truly "cosmopolitan" value in the age of globalization; democracy as a precondition for peace among nations; the internationalization of democracy

## I. DEMOCRACY AS A FORM OF GOVERNMENT

According to its classical definition, democracy is a form of government. It is the rule of the many (literally, "the people"), in contrast to a monarchy, which is the rule by one, or an oligarchy, which is the rule by a few. As with any other rule, democracy requires a system of offices and institutions designed to order the social body, to administer its necessary functions, and to defend its vital interests in the external environment. The successful building and marketing of institutions is a necessary condition for democracy's development and its enduring vigor and prosperity. The institutional set-up of democracy (which may include constitutional frameworks; executive, legislative and judiciary branches of the national government; political parties; elections; local or regional governments; the protection of individual, economic or social rights before independent courts of justice; media and information; civilian control of the military; a system of edu-

cation; etc.) can be described and studied from all possible perspectives. Legal, functionalist, and historical analyses of democratic institutions represent the principal point of departure for every student of democracy today, making up the foundation of our cognitive basis for understanding and evaluating its actual state.

Nonetheless, democracy is always more than a static functioning system. Above all, it is a political idea that is endowed with the power to set human matters in motion rather than to keep them as they were. It opens human society under its rule, rather than keeping it closed. Therefore, a synchronic analysis is not sufficient to grasp the very essence of democracy. One needs to look at the process by which democracy came into existence—the transition from the traditional hierarchical way of administering human matters to a radically new, "egalitarian" organization of human society.

When democracy first emerged in



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ancient Greece in the eighth century BC, it was perceived as an epoch-making, truly revolutionary event; power that had originally been in the possession of kings who administered human communities as their own households, was given "unto the midst of the people." Prior to the discovery of democracy, it was the will of the deified rulers who acted as mediators between heaven and earth that was recognized as the ordering principle in human society and the basic source of its laws. A city-state or polis, governed democratically, was placed under the law (nomos), which was above all of its members. It was the rule of law that made all citizens of a polis free and equal. This endowed them with certain unalienable rights, and enabled Aristotle to say that in the polis, "those who rule and those who are ruled are the same." It was freedom based on equality that made the Greeks see themselves as different from and "more human" than the "barbarians"—those who were subordinated to the unconditional will of their rulers, like immature children. Freedom, based on equality, was the fundamental value, the *raison d'être* of their democracy.

In short, in order to understand the actual state of democracy, we have to start not only with a description of a democratic form of government, but also with a historically informed analysis of the processes of democratization. It is essential to study the conditions under which the democratic idea historically was set in action. Sections II, III and IV will address the three areas of interest which are relevant in this context.

## II. DEMOCRACY AS A POLITICAL CULTURE; THE ETHOS OF DEMOCRACY

As I stated in Section I, a democracy is not just a state whose goal is to survive and maintain its existence. Rather, a democracy must always have a dynamic process driven by the conscious decision to make people equal before the law; it must be informed by the deliberate will to institute freedom as one of the fundamental human values; it must be animated by the belief that being free is not just a privilege of some individuals—according to their status—but an open possibility for every human being, something that all humans can achieve under favorable conditions because it is rooted in human nature. Thus we shift our focus from the objective components of the democratic system to the subjective preconditions of a democratic, open society.

Without the proper institutional architecture, the life of a democratic society is likely to be emotionally loaded, messy and short. It cannot exist without people sharing the conviction that the Greek form of a free life (even if sometimes harsh, demanding and full of uncertainties) is incommensurably better than the "barbarous" life of slavery. In short, if individuals are not truly committed to the democratic values of freedom and equality, they cannot create a democratic society.

"While the state came about as a means of securing life itself, it continues in being to secure the good life," according to Aristotle in his *Politics* (1252b31). According to

modern political theory, the origin of the state is connected with a kind of primordial agreement—a social contract that must be upheld as binding by future generations. The debate on the state of democracy in the contemporary world reminds us once again of what such a social contract is about. It affirms the recognition of the difference that Aristotle was speaking of: the difference between a "sheer life" that might be luxurious, pleasant and sufficient for one's material well-being and a "good life"—one that can flourish only in the freedom of the polis and in the openness of its public space. A democratic society, then, is a community which has deliberately selected a democratic form of government where all activities and functions are performed under the conditions of the rule of law, in which respect for privacy and the individual rights of the citizens are upheld, and where there exists an open political system in which those in power can be replaced peaceably by others with different policies.

The contractual basis of democracy requires a democratic ethos and political culture, a democratic education, and the "intermediary bodies" of civil society, which occupy the space between the private sector and government. It is these intermediary bodies of civil society that Alexis de Tocqueville recognized as essential to democracy during his visit to America in 1831. The intermediary bodies not only perform various functions that do not need to be performed by the state government, they also act as guardians of the social contract and important indicators that the



decision to choose the freedom of a "good life" over the slavery of a "sheer life" continues to be cherished and unconditionally recognized as valid.

### III. DEMOCRACY IN THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: ANCIENT AND MODERN

#### Ancient

The principal objection to the use of historical arguments in discussing democracy, especially the "Greek example," is well known. There is a critical difference in the very foundations of ancient and modern societies. The number of free citizens in the Greek city-states was both proportionally and in absolute numbers rather small, and the vast majority of inhabitants, including slaves, women and foreigners with permanent residency, had no chance to participate in the political processes and enjoy the freedom of democracy. Accordingly, some thinkers would argue that "Greek nostalgia," as it might be called, has no place in current progressive political thought. I believe that they are mistaken.

It is true that Greek society did not reach our level of individualism and emancipation. Nonetheless, the trend to free more and more individuals and enable their entry into the public space was one of the most dynamic factors animating Athenian politics, triggering several fundamental constitutional reforms in Athens. The political culture of the period was ingrained in the dominant polytheistic reli-

gious beliefs as well as in kinship and blood ties (the web of gentilician relationships), which had a profound influence on the formation of human identity—more than we can ever imagine in our current context, which has been formed predominantly by a Judeo-Christian monotheistic personalism. Notwithstanding major differences, we need to acknowledge that the very idea of an open society and of a democratic government structure was born among the inhabitants of small city-states in the Aegean region who shared a common language, common religious traditions, a common cultural heritage and who called themselves, in opposition to all the "barbarians" in their region, Hellenés.

The ancient Greeks were the first nation to discover the liberating power of the public sphere, where individuals—freed from the duties to their families, tribes, or gentes, could stand face to face with other free men as equals among equals, ready to deal with the matters of the world. Having emerged as equal citizens, they had the right to speak and to be heard, to voice their agreements or disagreements, to participate with their peers in collective decision-making, and to protect their polity by common action. The very fact that the public space was constituted in the "midst of people" with free individuals ready and able to leave the privacy of their households and to act, as Hannah Arendt continually said, "in concert," changed the whole of human existence, giving history a new direction. The previous tendency of human societies to be protected against the erosive impact

of time and to participate in the immortality that the cosmic divinities bestowed upon their deified rulers, was overruled by the tireless efforts of mortal men to immortalize their finite existence on earth by virtue of their own words and deeds.

Just as democracy cannot be reduced to a form of government, it is also not sufficient simply to list the objective components of a democratic system. The subjective preconditions for democracy are indispensable for the formation of civil society and democratic political culture.

The emergence of democracy is a historical event of enormous magnitude, one of the crucial events in the history of both man and being. One does not need to be a Hegelian speculative philosopher to believe that only when man invented democracy did he become fully conscious of his own historical existence. The founders of democracy in ancient Greece were the first people that we know of who realized and acted upon the insight that the human condition does not bind human beings to a stable and unchangeable place in the cosmos; that humans qua humans can abandon their inherited passive attitude and adopt an active stance toward the world; that they can understand the finiteness and fragility of their own historical situation, accept responsibility for it and thus begin to shape their own history.

Democracy allows for the replacement of those in power by others with different policies, functioning even as the pendulum swings from





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one side to another. It is the steady pendular rhythm of democratic process that provides the element of order and regularity in public space, which is "disorderly" by the very fact of the diversity of those who occupy it. Democracy functions by moving back and forth between extremes and hovering around the center. The major virtue of a true democracy is not so much its smooth functioning, however, but rather its open-mindedness and creativity, its capacity to "tolerate" and integrate change; its readiness to take difficult, courageous decisions and actions.

Where a genuine democratic spirit and culture prevail, there is an inclination to move between the conservative forces committed to maintaining the status quo, on the one hand, and the progressive forces of innovation and change on the other.

But there is even more than that. Democracy derives its strength and vitality from the capacity of human beings to break the circle of necessity imposed on them from outside forces and making them open for the freedom of the world.

In analyzing democracies over the course of history, we should consider the *Iliad*, in which Homer mentions the famous dilemma that Achilles faced—choosing between a long but tedious life at home and a short but adventurous life out in the world. Taking part in the Achaean military campaign against Troy, Achilles chose the second option—a short life filled with deeds worthy of being remembered and transformed into song. Being

genuinely democratic does not necessarily mean being as militant and bloodthirsty as the ancient Homeric heroes. It does, however, mean that one should be prepared to face dilemmas often and to be able to make choices similar to the one made by Achilles. Democracy liberates human beings to act freely, but for the sake of our common freedom, our common human values, and, last but not least, our civility.

### Modern

Democracies as we know them today are products of a different historical era. The rediscovery of the democratic form of government coincides with the transition of European Judeo-Christian civilization from the "Middle" to the "Modern" Age. The origins and growth of modern democracy are part of the all-encompassing process of modernization, which includes the gradual but profound transformation from predominantly agrarian societies to industrial societies; the crises of medieval political and religious authorities; the emergence of new arts and sciences; the formation of modern political nations; and the radical enlargement of the inhabited world resulting from the discovery of new naval routes and new lands.

In the context of this treatise, we will consider ancient and modern democracies, looking at the similarity in the basic attitude of their respective advocates and protagonists. What is important to our debate is the fact that those who had the courage to dethrone the established regal rule and replace it

with the political rule saw the rediscovery of democratic ideas by the emerging European nation-states as a major historical event—a new beginning. We know well from the biographies of English political thinkers and politicians of the 17th and the 18th centuries, as well as from the American founding fathers and those who inspired the French Revolution, how much attention those well-educated men paid to ancient political thought and how deeply they were influenced by classical Greek and Roman authors. The three great revolutions of the modern era—English, American and French—which set the whole "civilized" world on its way toward constitutionalism and democracy as we know them today, were not inspired by utopias, even if certain utopian elements are embedded in political revolutions, but by their ambition to find new uses for the old, well-tested, "liberal" ideas of classical antiquity.

Modern revolutionaries took these ideas from their original contexts and, by using them in a new situation, gave them a new content and new meaning. The building and strengthening of democracy, nonetheless, presented them with a challenge very similar to the one experienced by their ancient predecessors. When we look closely at how modern democracies function, what we see is the old problem of isonomia and the rule of law; questions of the protection of individual "unalienable" rights; questions of the independence of the judiciary; and struggles for political emancipation and corresponding constitutional reforms. We are again reminded that it is the ethos of soci-



ety that is the most important condition for the survival of its democracy, the belief that the free life is better than enslavement; that the "good" political life lived in the public space is worthy of defense and personal sacrifice.

#### IV. DEMOCRACY AS A CENTRAL AND TRULY COSMOPOLITAN VALUE IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION; DEMOCRACY AS A PRECONDITION FOR PEACE AMONG NATIONS; THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF DEMOCRACY.

The final part of this brief journey through the world of democracy will focus on democracy's international life, on the behavior of democracies towards the external environment in which they operate. It will begin with an analysis of the question in the context of the historical evolution of international systems. Second will be a commentary on the ideas, visions, and blueprints that are currently being considered. Sometimes these concepts are too ambitious, and sometimes they are too dangerously down-to-earth.

There is a traditional, well-tested response to threats to the existence of states, and democracies are no exception in this regard: the use of force. When the rebelling Greek cities, discovering, constituting, and occasionally experimenting with the democratic form of government, had to resist the military campaigns

of the Persian Empire, they were left with one single option to keep themselves in existence: to fight and win. After the American founding fathers signed their famous Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, they also had no other choice but the use of force if they were to succeed in turning their political ideas into a political reality and separate their republican cause from the British Crown. They had to defeat the British colonial armies if they were to gain as well as declare their independence. In these cases, war was not only an act of self-defense, but also a crucial state-making event. It gave their revolutionary ideals full meaning, laid the foundations for state traditions, and endowed the emerging political body with a proper "reason of the state" and state ideology. Eventually the democracies stopped being so bellicose and were ready to negotiate agreements with their former enemies. But regardless of how peaceful and peace-loving they became, they never abandoned the "golden rule" of any state—regardless of whether they are democratic or undemocratic: to protect themselves in the environment of international anarchy and to survive. The state's survival, the sacrosanctity of its basic prerogatives, such as territorial integrity and sovereign equality, remained the supreme "meta-value" above all values that animate the civil society contained within its borders. It is true that the rule of law was the landmark of a democratic government—but all good democrats were aware of the iron logic that dominated the tough world outside: in order to have democracy, you have to have a law; in order to have a law, you must

first have a state; in order to have a state, you must be able to defeat and to keep warding off its enemies.

Realistic conceptions of the international behavior of states—based on the belief that "international society" is doomed to operate in a state of nature and thus be, by definition, "anarchic" (in the state of permanent war of all against all)—have had their fundamentum in re throughout human history. At the same time, it is evident that the "realists" do not offer the full picture of the world of international relations. Although confrontation is an indisputable fact of life for states in the international environment, it is not the only possible *modus operandi* of states among themselves. What always has been available as a plausible and more attractive alternative to the use of force, or threats of force, is peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Under what conditions are states inclined not to fight each other, but rather to cooperate? What has been the most important instrument to define, promote and bring into existence various forms of cooperation? Is a democratic form of government more conducive to the peaceful solution of international conflicts, or is the international behavior of a state entirely independent of its internal organization, influenced only by the nature of the international system? Every elementary textbook on international relations answers these questions. States show the tendency to cooperate under certain conditions; when they do not threaten one another, when they have to face a common enemy,

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and when the way of life their inhabitants cherish—the civilization they embody, the religious or cultural values they stand for—are in danger. The instrument they use to define cooperative frameworks, to determine and gradually broaden the scope of their actual cooperation—be it military alliance, trade and economics, culture, people-to-people contacts, education or anything else—is international law.

The history of modern conflicts proves the Kantian thesis that democracies have a greater inclination toward peace in their international behavior. On the one hand, there have been situations in human history when democratic ideals and values turned out to be powerful enough to influence decisively the international politics of the time, motivating the collective resistance of "civilized" nations to "barbarity," initiating intensive activities in the field of international law, giving birth to new treaties or even whole legal corpuses, inspiring the founding of new international organizations or even starting the process of integrating cooperating nation-states into a larger, supranational political unit. Still, it is not advisable to succumb to the illusion that the fundamental difference between domestic and international politics can and should be abolished entirely; that planetary mankind can be brought to its final historical stage—international civil society—with a democratic world government. Such an idea, as Kant realized, could be dangerous for the future of democracy. The situation of the world at the beginning of the 21st century, in the ever-faster and more dynamic process of globaliza-

tion, and considering the horrible experience with totalitarianism in the 20th century, offers many good reasons why it is advisable not to stretch the capabilities of the democratic idea beyond their natural limits. The problem of democracy in the international environment, regardless of how much power is eventually delegated to democratic international institutions, how large is the territory under their jurisdiction and how strong and enforceable is their international law, must ultimately be conceived not as a "state" (i.e. a stable form of government), but as an open-ended process.

Let us consider in this context the case of the Greek poleis that managed to organize themselves in defense of their Hellenic civilization—formed by their common religious and cultural heritage, the poetic insights contained in Greek philosophy and most important, by the common idea of democracy and politics—against their common "barbarous" enemy during the Persian Wars. Their coalition held together and their "customary" international law was able to survive only in the unique situation of confrontation with the Persian Empire. After that war had been won and the Greek poleis had experienced their golden age, life-and-death conflicts burst out among them. The war between former allies set the entire Aegean region in motion and the entire Greek political experiment, the entire Hellenic civilization—as though inspired by Achilles, who preferred a short but glorious life to a long but tedious one—was turned into ruins in a couple of decades. Thanks to

Homer, the heroic deeds of Achilles were turned into a song, and Greek political thought has illuminated the path of mankind through its history, even in the darkest times.

Another less poetic, but perhaps more relevant case of historical dynamism for our debate is the history of European (or Western) civilization in the Modern Age, which gave birth to the idea of nation-states and their international politics. The history of international systems came into existence after the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and has been evolving up to the present. From time to time it is exposed to the strikes and blows of revolutions, ravaged by either local or all-out wars or struggles for independence.

Those who debate the future of international (or even cosmopolitan) democracy should be aware of the long and winding road that modern political thought has traveled—from its origins in the works of Bodin and Hobbes, who laid down the theoretical foundations, to the concepts of state sovereignty, state supremacy and sovereign equality of states, through various stages of modern political debates, either connecting the modern situation with the classical political thought of the past or reflecting on fresh and raw historical experience. Current discussions concern the European integration and its endemic "democratic deficit," transatlantic cooperation between Americans and Europeans based on Western values, or possibilities for international governance in the environment of a more connected, global world. What must be con-



sidered is the dynamic evolution of modern international law, from Grotius and Vattel to current concepts of human rights and fundamental freedoms. From the classical doctrines of "humanitarian intervention" we go to the language of the European Convention which states that "common understanding and observance of Human Rights" represents "an effective political democracy," creating "greater unity between its Members" – i.e., European countries which are like-minded have a common heritage of political traditions, ideals, freedom and the rule of law.

In the current context, Kant's 1795 project of "perpetual peace" represents the most articulate theory for bringing the idea of democracy to the international level. Departing from a simple postulate that "all men who can mutually influence one another must accept some civil constitution," Kant not only formulates his famous thesis that for the sake of peace all civil constitutions should be republican, but proceeds to the idea that the rights of nations be based on a federation of free states, and to the cosmopolitan right that "shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality." The Kantian project, scorned by political realists as sheer utopia, has never been realized. However, it is a fact that Kant's key postulate of the project of perpetual peace – that it is the republican constitution, provides for this desirable result, namely, perpetual peace – has been empirically confirmed by modern European history. This idea is in fact being tested day after day by the existence and everyday life of the European Communities (the

European Union).

The European integration proves that it makes sense to talk about democracy among "like-minded states," within a region that has been historically and spiritually tied to the concept of civilization.

Can we extend this debate to democracy on the global level? Is it possible to confirm the principle of the rule of law as valid in the realm of international relations, and by doing so limit in an unprecedented way the sovereignty of nation-states and their territorial jurisdiction? Who should approve this step and how? In history it was the citizens of small city-states and, later, the larger, well-defined political bodies born in the Modern Age, that entered into the social contract, constituting their civil societies and policies. It was always a finite, exclusive and homogenous people that shared the same elementary values and common understanding of the difference between the "good" life of the democratic polis and the forms of life available to the members of non-democratically administered communities. Is it not somewhat beyond our common sense, and therefore somewhat unrealistic, to expect that humankind, with all of its cultural, religious, social and historical diversities, could ever enter into a social contract that expresses the consent of the governed with the idea of a global, even if very limited, government?

Can we think meaningfully about a democracy that is all-inclusive? Shouldn't we, on the contrary, be

worried that the transformation of the whole planet into one political body would rather kill the very idea of democracy, her open political culture and her ethos? Is it not more likely that such a step would bring us into the "Promised Land" of peace and justice for all, but deprive us of our freedoms and condemn us and our posterity to live in a prison or concentration camp, from which there would be no escape, because it would embrace all territories of our Mother-Earth? Would it not be much better to indulge in the fantasies of cosmopolitan democracy, international civil society, and the New Age, etc., and then return to earth and ask ourselves not how to transform our world into one big democratic monster, but to raise once more the century-old question posed by Woodrow Wilson, the question of how to make the world "safe for democracy"?

I am going to stop here and leave the rest for future discussions. In trying to clarify the theoretical roots of our currently used political concepts, it is useful to look back in history to refresh our political thought, making it less rigid and more dynamic, less judgmental in an absolute sense, and more open to making political judgments that are appropriate to our changing world. Whatever happens, one thing is certain: Whether we are liberal reformers or political realists, democracy has indeed become the flagship of our hopes for a better future. The idea of its wreckage in the ocean of international affairs, running extremely high after September 11, 2001, is rightly perceived as a major disaster.







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### The Democracy Reader Sondra Myers (Editor)

Foreword by Benjamin Barber

A comprehensive tool for understanding democracy and the central role that citizens play in making democracy work. The first section contains texts by distinguished scholars and discussion questions on the basic elements of democracy; the second, using the same format, deals with the obstacles encountered on the way to democracy and strategies for addressing them. The third is an album of civic stories, accounts of civic epiphanies and transformations from around the world. (pb)

Price \$25.95 / ISBN 0-9702130-3-4

### Many Sides : Debate Across the Curriculum

Alfred C. Snider and Maxwell Schnurer

A comprehensive guide for using debate in an educational classroom setting, including plans to integrate debate into the curriculum, designing proper formats, developing topics for debates, preparing students for debating, staging the debates, audience involvement and evaluation of classroom debates. (pb)

Price \$24.95 / ISBN 0-9702130-4-2

### Art, Argument and Advocacy: Mastering Parliamentary Debate

John Meany and Kate Shuster

Provides a theoretical and practical foundation for effective participation in academic parliamentary debate competition. It explores contemporary American and international parliamentary debate formats, offering a comprehensive examination of argument anticipation, construction and extension, case development, critical refutation of given assumptions and data, and persuasive speaking. (pb)

Price \$24.95 / ISBN 0-9702130-7-7

### On That Point!: An Introduction to Parliamentary Debate

John Meany and Kate Shuster

This is the first parliamentary debate textbook for secondary school students. The text is designed to provide a theoretical and practical foundation for effective participation in parliamentary debate in competition or in the classroom. (pb)

Price \$25.95 / ISBN 0-9720541-1-1

### The Debatabase Book: A Must-Have Guide for Successful Debate

By the Editors of DEBATABASE

An invaluable resource for debaters, this book provides background, arguments and resources on approximately 150 debate topics in areas as diverse as business, science and technology, environment, politics, religion, culture and education. Each entry presents the resolution; an introduction placing the question in context; arguments pro and con; sample motions; and web links and print resources for further research. Organized in a handy A-Z format, the book also includes a topical index for easy searching. (pb)

Price \$25.95 / ISBN 0-9702130-8-5

### Transforming Debate: The Best of the International Journal of Forensics

Jack E. Rogers (Editor)

Represents the very best scholarly work published by the International Journal of Forensics. It is an essential work for anyone interested in the role of academic, competitive debate in shaping the social persuasion movement. (pb)

Price \$24.95 / ISBN 0-9702130-1-8

### Perspectives in Controversy: Selected Essays from Contemporary Argumentation

Kenneth Broda Bahm (Editor)

Brings together recently published essays from the journal Contemporary Argumentation and Debate into a single volume. These essays explore current controversies in the theory of competitive academic debate. (pb)

Price \$24.95 / ISBN 0-9702130-5-0

## SOURCEBOOK ON CONTEMPORARY CONTROVERSIES SERIES

### Aids, Drugs and Society

Anna Alexandrova (Editor)

Brings together articles that address the interconnected epidemics of HIV/AIDS and drug abuse. Background readings in the introductory section show how these epidemics are connected. The substantive part of the book offers different sides of two key debates in the field. First, there are debates about policy aspects of the 'war on drugs.' Second, there are debates about the human rights aspects of viewing HIV/AIDS as a human rights issue. The editor places particular importance on 'harm reduction,' a policy attempting to decrease the adverse consequences of drug use without total prohibition of drugs. The book ends with source documents that offer examples of harm reduction initiatives, human rights treaties, guidelines and a glossary of key terms. (pb)

Price \$24.95 / ISBN 0-9702130-2-6

### Globalization and the Poor: Exploitation or Equalizer?

Julie Clark (Editor)

Brings together articles that address both sides of the debate: does the global economy harm or help the poor? The first section alleges that the global economic system disadvantages and exploits the poor; the second section refutes the first, asserting that globalization has the potential to empower and enrich the poor. The third section examines the role governments and international organizations play in globalization's effects on the poor. The final quarter of the book is a case study of the East Asian Crisis: how international organizations and governments responded in the crisis and how their policies affected the poor. The book concludes with original source documents and a glossary of key terms. (pb)

Price \$24.95 / ISBN 0-9720541-0-3

### Roma Rights : Race, Justice and Strategies for Equality

Claude Cahn (Editor)

Brings together diverse materials related to combating anti-Romani racism. Early sections of the book present facts on the human rights situation of Roma in Europe. Subsequent chapters present arguments surrounding the strategies and approaches used by anti-racism activists in areas including the problem of hate speech, the promotion of minority participation in a democratic society; and methods of combating discrimination in the criminal justice system. (pb)

Price \$24.95 / ISBN 0-9702130-6-9



# The International Public Debate Festival:

## Extending your voice, Erasing your borders - July, 2003, Washington D.C.

### Overview

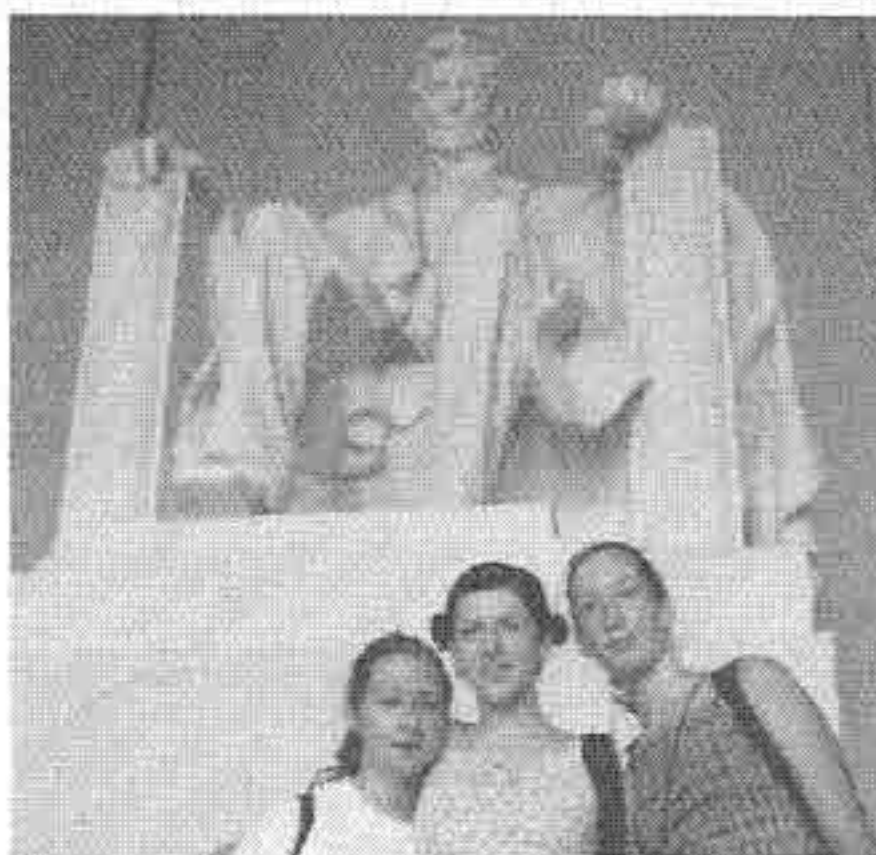
The International Public Debate Festival is community service project developed and initiated by IDEA's Southeast Europe Youth Leadership Institute (SEELYI) and the faculty and students of Towson University and Catholic University. The project is inspired by the need for democratic deliberation and dedicated to the ability of every informed citizen to participate in vital discussions on the events of the nation and the events of the world. Preceded by opportunities for training, this one-day event will be held in the heart of America's capital and will bring together diverse organizations and individuals to share in a number of public debates held on subjects of international and national interest.

Our objective is for the International Public Debate Festival to be an event enjoyed by participating organizations and universities; participating local, national, and international civic and political organizations; and the public at large.

### Process:

Groups and individuals will be invited to hold public debates; others will answer an open call; others would participate as part of existing on-campus programs such as the Baltimore Urban Debate League (BUDL). We plan to arrange debates into themes which occupy specific time-periods (e.g., "Globalism: noon to 2 PM") in order to serve the interests of groups and classes interested in a specific subject. Direct invitations will be offered to additional groups and individuals. Public advocacy organizations will have the opportunity to focus a debate on an issue of their own concern, and seek to attract an opponent.

Several simultaneous debates will take place on multiple sites in Washington throughout the day of the festival. The audiences for these debates will include a.) the general public (attendance is free of charge), b.) invited summer Towson University classes, c.) those who have come to debate and stayed to watch other debates, and d.) the 120 or more participants in the SEELYI, and e.) public figures who will serve as master of ceremonies or moderators for particular debates. In addition we encourage organizations that have proposed a debate or accepted an invitation to debate to self-publicize their own debate and to bring their own supporters.

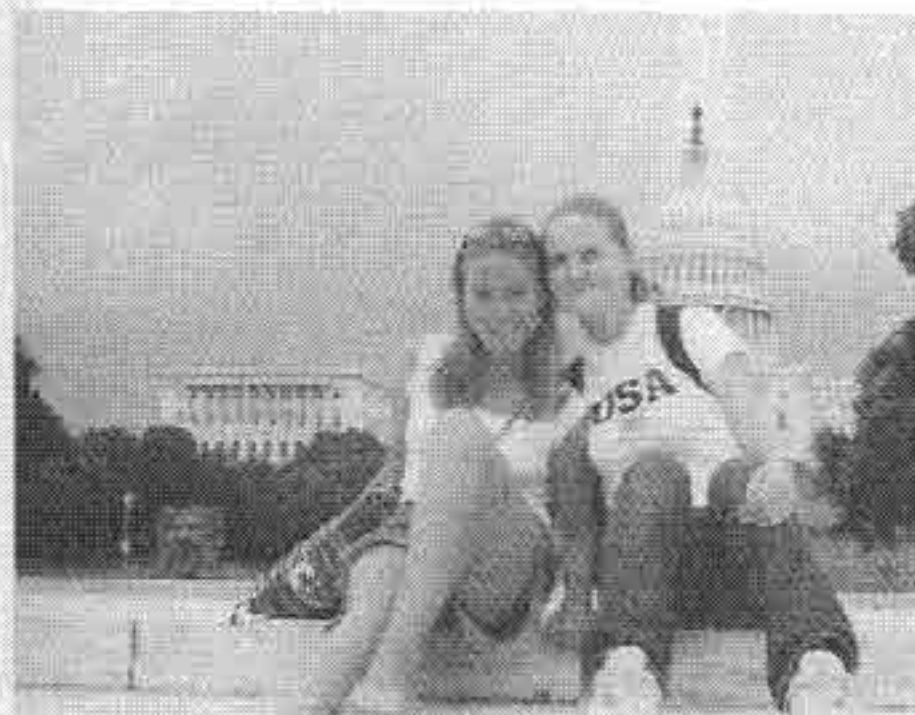


### Training and Educational Materials:

Training for these debates will be offered to SEELYI participants and (on an optional basis) for any other participant who desires it (for more information, go to [www.idebate.org/seelyi](http://www.idebate.org/seelyi)). The event will come at the end of an 8-day training which will focus specifically on preparing individuals for their public debates. This 8-day training is funded by the SEELYI grant for participants from that program, but will be offered at modest cost to others as well in the U.S. and Europe. In addition to making this 8-day training available, organizers will also provide a free 2-3 hour clinic on public debating skills which will be available at no cost to all participants.

For students as well, public debates offer opportunities to learn in a new way - a way that is intimately connected to the intellectual life of a community. As Gordon Mitchell of the University of Pittsburgh noted, "By creating forums where salient and pressing contemporary issues can be debated and discussed in a robust, wide-open fashion, students can lend vibrancy to the public sphere. Public debates represent sites of social learning where the spirit of civic engagement can flourish, ideas can be shared, and the momentum of social movements can be sparked."

For more information, go to [www.idebate.org/SEELYI](http://www.idebate.org/SEELYI).



*"The give and take of debating, the testing of ideas, is essential to democracy. I wish we had a good deal more debating in our institutions than we do now."*

- John F. Kennedy





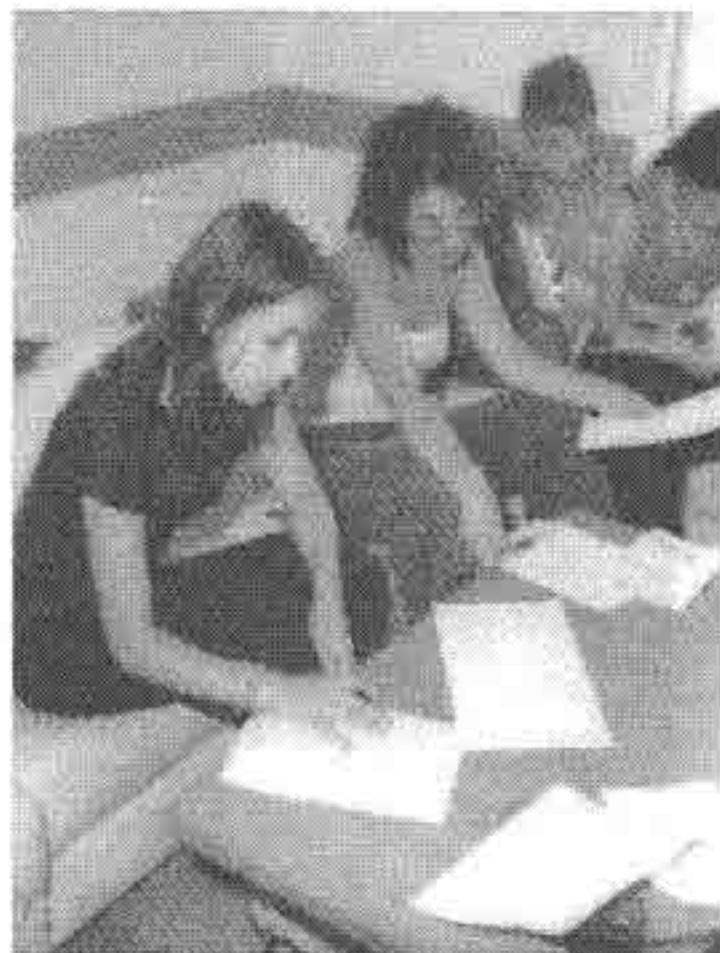
# DUINO

INTERNATIONAL DEBATE & SPEECH INSTITUTE IN DUINO, ITALY

by Lizzie Grosso and Tanya Lewallen

The Duino International Debate Institute is about as far from the average debate institute as you can get. We had a terrific staff and a scholarly environment (the World College of the Adriatic) but some of the most memorable events took place during the real life debates rather than the classroom kind. We honed our skills of persuasion by playing mafia late into the night, although rarely based on logic (the most common accusations followed the format of "his shirt looks suspicious"). We discovered the utilitarian calculus involved in yogurt division when ownership of the best flavors was in dispute. We became one with nature by enjoying the beautiful panoramic view of the Gulf of Trieste, and communing with local Italian mosquitoes which in the immortal words of Togrul (of Azerbaijan), not only attack but defend. Daily "survival Italian" classes taught us enough phrases to communicate when necessary in the local environment and on our day trips to Venice and Trieste. (Even if the only phrase we remember today is 'dove e la piazza de San Marco'). We were also lucky to have attended an institute with only 29 students. The relatively small number of debaters made it possible to really get to know each other, and night activities like soccer, walks to the nearby town of Sistiana, and card games could include everyone. It was also untraditional in the sense that staff and campers could relate on a personal level during our small group discussions, or over breakfast in our shared kitchen/living room. We generally had the freedom to come and go as we pleased during free time, and to enjoy the town of Duino and nearby attractions like the Mickey "Cafe" and Bowling alleys. Although we started out strangers to northern Italy, by the end of the 2 week program we were even giving directions to tourists. In the mornings we had philosophy lectures or discussions led by the 3 junior staff members. Locke, Rawls, Aristotle, Mill, Hegel etc., all became familiar figures if they weren't before. And it was striking to discover that despite our different backgrounds most of us could agree on what was right or moral for our world. In topic discussions however, a variety of perspectives came out. Issues that American debaters at home would normally take for granted, like the separa-

tion of church and state, became controversies where our assumptions were fairly challenged. But after all, being able to explain and communicate to anyone irrespective of their opinions or specific knowledge of a subject is really what debate is all about. Leaders could take a lot of lessons from the way we all got along. Although some told us they were firmly against American policy, it never interfered with friendship or cooperation among students. The Czech Republic and Slovakia even shared a poster at the country presentations at the institute. In a way this was the biggest lesson of all. That however diverse and different we think we are, in the most important ways, all kids are the same.

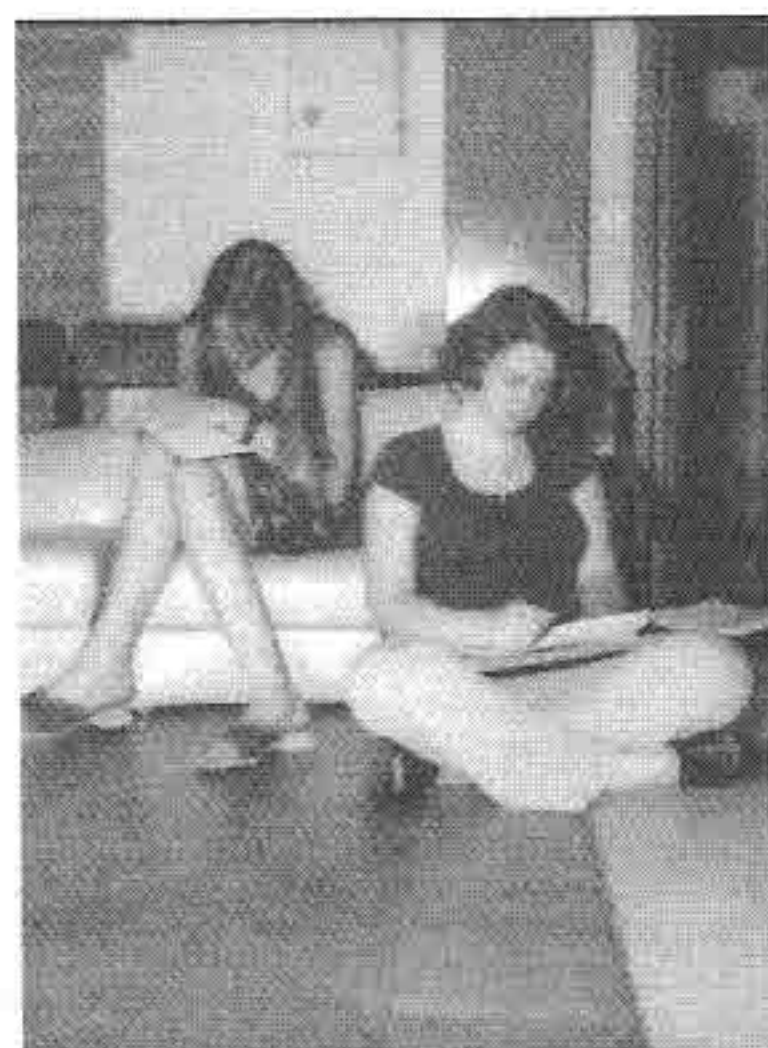






**Tari Romanenkov Jr.**

Without the smallest doubt, I can say that the first session of the Debate & Speech Institute in Duino, Italy was a success. The greatest advantage of this camp was the atmosphere of friendship and unity that, for three main reasons, prevailed for the whole duration of the session. Firstly, there were simply wonderful people gathered in Duino. Secondly, there were only 29 of us, which allowed us to get to know almost every other person rather well. Finally, it was excellent that we had a lot of time to know each other before the tournament, so that we could view our opponent not as a rival, but as a friend. As for the 'academic' side of the camp, it was also excellent. Mainly because we not only learned Lincoln-Douglas, a format previously unknown to most of us, but also had the opportunity to try extemporaneous speaking, original oratory, dramatic, humorous and duo interpretation - and these activities proved to be as fascinating as debate. To conclude, the two main goals I have when going to a debate camp are to find new friends and gain new knowledge, therefore, the Duino debate experience fulfilled all my wishes.






 idea

## International Summer Speech and Debate Institute/Duino, Italy

### LOCATION:

The institute will be held at the United World College of the Adriatic campus, which is located on cliffs overlooking the beautiful Adriatic. In addition to the formal sessions, the campus offers opportunities for swimming, hiking and other outdoor activities. Siteseeing excursions to nearby cities such as Venice and Trieste will be offered.

### SESSION 1: (June 30 - July 14)

#### Lincoln-Douglas Debate & Speech

The L-D workshop will be for students wishing to work on 2003-2004 NFL debate topics. The Speech workshop will offer instruction in Humorous and Dramatic Interpretation, Original Oratory, and Extemporaneous Speaking (including in-depth topic analysis). Students can cross-register in speech and debate.

**PRICE:** \$1,400 USD

Institute Director: Eric Di Michele

(212) 288-1100, ext. 101- Email: edimiche@regis-nyc.org

### SESSION 2: (July 15 - 21)

#### "Bridge Program" to IDEA's International Youth Forum in Ljubljana, Slovenia

For students interested in attending both the IDEA Speech and Debate Institute and IDEA's 9th Annual Youth Forum in Ljubljana, Slovenia, a special one week program will be designed. Students will prepare for the Youth Forum debates through research and discussion. Students will also have the opportunity for advance research and discussion on the NFL topics covered at the Lincoln-Douglas camp. Additional sightseeing trips around Northern Italy will also be planned.

Session Director: Nina Watkins, IDEA

(212) 548-0185 -Email: nwatkins@sorosny.org

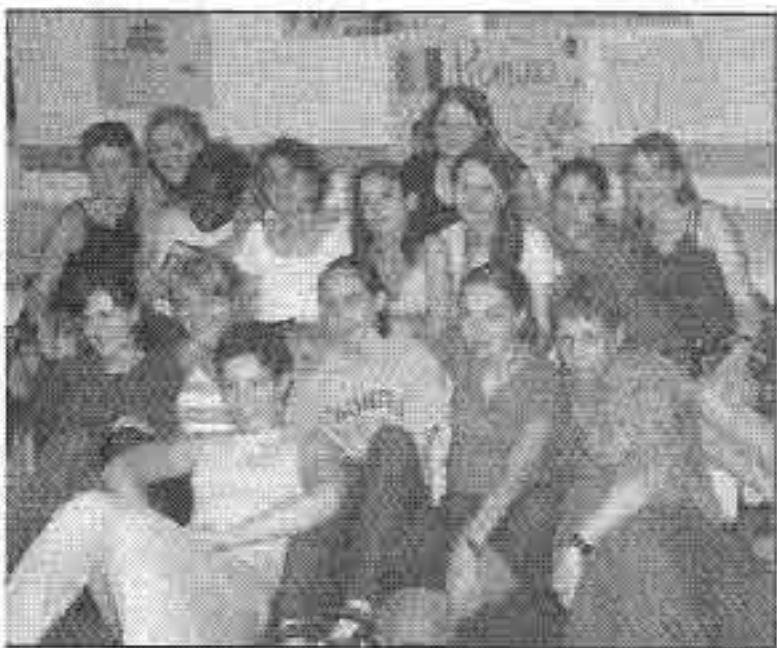
### PRICE for Sessions 1 & 2 - \$2,000 USD

**Session 2 is not available without Session 1.**

These prices include:

- Housing and meals
- Research materials
- a "survival" Italian course
- two excursions per session
- transportation to and from the Trieste airport or train station

Travel to and from Italy is not included. IDEA will be arranging a group travel discount for students departing from and returning to JFK International Airport in New York City.





## What Makes Our Institute Unique:

Our camp provides the opportunity for intensive debate and speech preparation with the caring guidance of nationally recognized veteran coaches within an international community of students. Last year's participants included students from the United States as well as Uzbekistan, Macedonia, Slovenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Albania, Croatia, Romania, Slovakia, Lithuania and the Czech Republic.

## STAFF:

**Eric Di Michele (Institute Director)** has been the speech & debate coach at Regis High School in New York City for over twenty years. His teams have won the New York State Forensics Championship eleven times. He has coached NFL national champions in Lincoln-Douglas Debate and Foreign Extemp. (Seven of his students have been national finalists in extemp). He was the co-chair of the NFL Lincoln-Douglas Debate Word-ing Committee for five years. As a consultant with the Open Society Institute, he has taught speech & debate seminars in over fifteen countries – from Haiti to Uzbekistan.

**Lydia Esslinger**, long-time forensics coach and an NFL 5-diamond coach, at Syosset High School on Long Island (NY), has extensive experience in all areas of speech and debate. She has coached over twenty-five New York State champions, and her students have advanced to semis and finals in every event at CFL nationals. NFL achievements include semifinalists and finalists in every speech event at nationals, a 1st place in Congress and Dramatic Interpretation. Her past seven summers have been spent teaching debate, extemp and interp in eastern and central Europe, as a senior consultant to the Open Society Institute. In her "day job" Mrs. Esslinger teaches A.P. English, coaches acting, and has directed more than twenty main stage musicals.

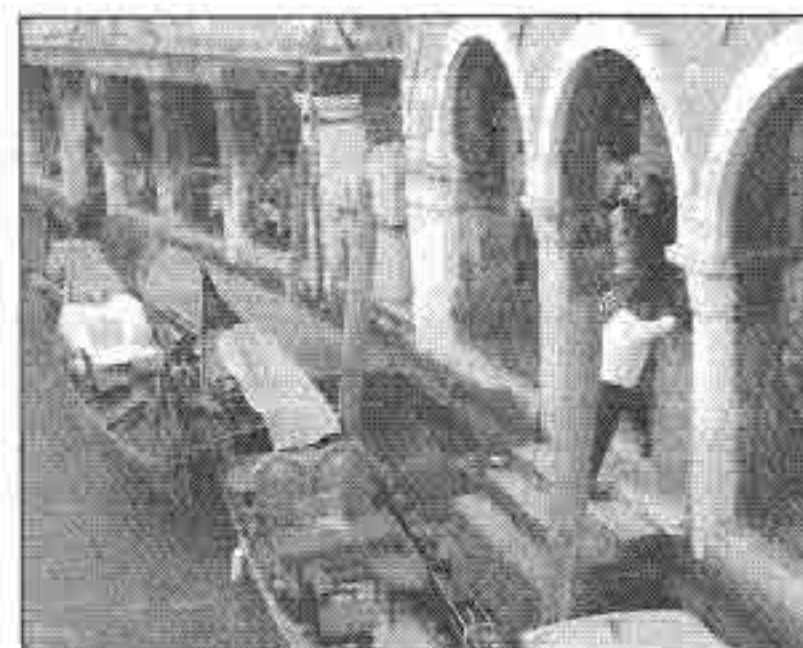
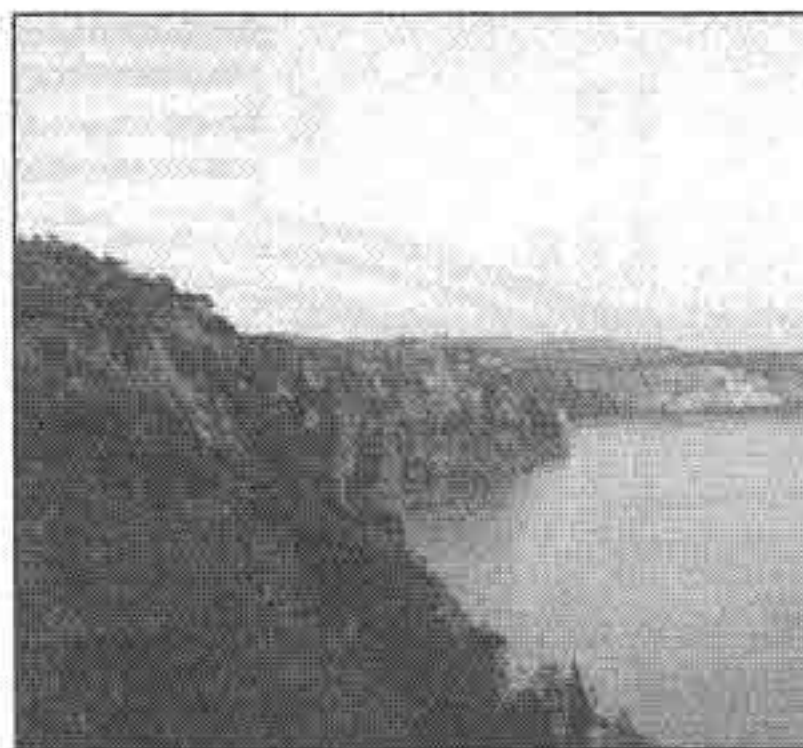
**Noel Selegzi, (Guest Lecturer)** has coached debate at Hunter College High School in New York City for thirteen years. His teams have won numerous tournament championships. In addition, he is the Executive Director of IDEA. A student of social and political philosophy, he specializes in the history of political thought ranging from the Ancient Greek philosophers to contemporary political theory.

**Marcin Zaleski** obtained his International Baccalaureate at the United World College in Duino, Italy. In 1995 he became the coordinator of the Polish debate program, and also wrote a book about debate. As a consultant for the Open Society Institute, he conducted trainings throughout Central and Eastern Europe. In 1999 Marcin was elected the President of the Board of Directors of the International Debate Education Association (IDEA), and continues to work as a debate trainer, curriculum developer and a fundraiser for the debate program.

**Additional Staff will be added in the spring and will be posted on our website: [www.idebate.org](http://www.idebate.org)**

## For further information contact:

Eric Di Michele (212) 288-1100, ext. 101,  
[edmiche@regis-nyc.org](mailto:edmiche@regis-nyc.org)  
 Nina Watkins, IDEA (212) 548-0185,  
[nwatkins@sorosny.org](mailto:nwatkins@sorosny.org)





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Best of Foreign Extemp 1983 - 1985	Item No. VB 1003
Best of Lincoln Douglas Debate 1985 - 1986	Item No. VB 1004
Best of Lincoln Douglas Debate 1983 - 1984	Item No. VB 1005



# NFL'S TOP 50 DISTRICTS

(as of December 2, 2002 )

Rank	Change	District	Ave. No. Degrees	Leading Chapter	No. of Degrees
1.	--	California Coast	208	Leland HS	447
2.	--	Three Trails	188	Blue Valley North HS	411
3.	+2	Heart of America	157	Independence Truman HS	396
4.	--	Northern South Dakota	150	Watertown HS	390
5.	+3	Show Me	142	Blue Springs South HS	313
5.	+5	Rushmore	142	Sioux Falls Lincoln HS	351
7.	+2	West Kansas	138	Hutchinson HS	252
7.	--	New York City	138	Regis HS	368
9.	-6	New England	135	Lexington HS	351
10.	-5	East Kansas	133	Shawnee Mission East HS	389
11.	+2	Kansas Flint-Hills	126	Washburn Rural HS	403
12.	-1	East Los Angeles	124	Gabrielino HS	456
12.	--	Sunflower	124	Wichita East HS	294
14.	+1	Illini	113	Downers Grove South HS	340
14.	--	Central Minnesota	113	Apple Valley HS	282
16.	--	San Fran Bay	110	James Logan HS	492
17.	+5	South Kansas	109	El Dorado HS	192
18.	--	Montana	108	Flathead County HS	200
19.	-2	Northwest Indiana	104	Plymouth HS	373
19.	-1	Northern Ohio	104	Youngstown Boardman HS	192
21.	-3	Rocky Mountain-South	100	Wheat Ridge HS	239
21.	- -	Florida Manatee	100	Nova HS	348
23.	+5	Carver-Truman	99	Neosho HS	339
24.	+1	South Texas	94	Houston Bellaire HS	450
25.	-2	Northern Illinois	93	Glenbrook North HS	279
26.	-2	Hole in the Wall	92	Cheyenne East HS	295
27.	--	Southern California	91	Redlands HS	216
27.	+3	Eastern Missouri	91	Pattonville HS	242
29.	+1	Eastern Ohio	90	Perry HS	212
29.	-4	West Oklahoma	90	Norman HS North	273
31.	-3	Southern Minnesota	89	Edina HS	316
32.	+12	North East Indiana	88	Chesterton HS	467
32.	+1	Northern Wisconsin	88	Appleton East HS	277
34.	+5	Florida Panther	87	Wellington HS	222
34.	+5	Northern Lights	87	Moorhead HS	219
34.	+2	Nebraska	87	Millard North HS	276
37.	-2	North Coast	86	Gilmour Academy	212
38.	+1	Deep South	84	The Montgomery Academy	249
38.	-4	Idaho	84	Hillcrest HS	174
38.	+1	North Dakota Roughrider	84	Fargo Shanley HS	209
41.	+8	South Carolina	83	Riverside HS	244
42.	-5	East Texas	82	Dulles HS	180
43.	+1	Sierra	81	Bakersfield HS	173
43.	+1	Ozark	81	Springfield Central HS	224
45.	+4	Golden Desert	80	Green Valley HS	163
46.	-16	Carolina West	77	Myers Park HS	189
47.	+7	Colorado	76	Cherry Creek HS	282
47.	+22	Georgia Northern Mountain	76	Chattahoochee HS	212
49.	-12	Florida Sunshine	75	Sarasota Riverview HS	188
49.	+4	Great Salt Lake	75	Salt Lake City West HS	132



## NFL DISTRICT STANDINGS

Rank	Change	District	Ave. No. Degrees	Leading Chapter	No. of Degrees
51.	--	Chesapeake	74	Calvert Hall College HS	95
52.	--	Lone Star	73	Plano Sr. HS	213
52.	-8	Eastern Washington	73	Gonzaga Prep HS	146
54.	--	Central Texas	72	Ronald Reagan HS	305
55.	-16	New Jersey	71	Ridge HS	218
56.	+1	Pennsylvania	70	Greater Latrobe HS	177
57.	-3	South Oregon	69	Roseburg Sr. HS	186
58.	+11	Sundance	68	Jordan HS	159
59.	-1	Colorado Grande	67	Pueblo Centennial HS	325
59.	+10	East Oklahoma	67	Jenks HS	179
59.	+3	West Texas	67	Riverside HS	163
62.	--	Big Valley	66	Modesto Beyer HS	249
62.	+5	Georgia Southern Peach	66	Thomas County Central HS	111
62.	-2	Southern Wisconsin	66	Marquette University HS	188
65.	+2	Western Ohio	65	Centerville HS	144
65.	+13	Tall Cotton	65	Amarillo HS	149
67.	-1	Valley Forge	64	Truman HS	174
67.	+7	Utah-Wasatch	64	Sky View HS	119
69.	--	Rocky Mountain-North	63	Northridge HS	171
69.	-11	Greater Illinois	63	Belleville East HS	160
69.	-9	Pittsburgh	63	Bethel Park HS	160
69.	+12	North Texas Longhorns	63	Plano East Sr. HS	181
73.	+1	Arizona	62	Phoenix Central HS	127
73.	+5	Nebraska South	62	Lincoln East HS	126
75.	+3	New Mexico	61	Albuquerque Academy	185
75.	-1	Gulf Coast	61	Gregory Portland HS	174
77.	+5	Hoosier Crossroads	60	Carmel HS	173
77.	-8	Tennessee	60	Brentwood HS	135
79.	-35	West Los Angeles	59	Arroyo Grande HS	132
79.	-5	Hoosier Heartland	59	Ben Davis HS	172
79.	+3	Kentucky	59	Rowan County Sr. HS	130
79.	-17	New York State	59	Scarsdale HS	105
79.	+3	Wind River	59	Casper Natrona County HS	120
84.	+6	East Iowa	58	Iowa City West HS	223
84.	+2	West Iowa	58	West Des Moines Dowling HS	194
84.	+4	Western Washington	58	Gig Harbor HS	140
87.	-1	North Oregon	56	Gresham Barlow HS	122
87.	+1	Heart of Texas	56	Hays HS	131
89.	-7	Mississippi	54	Hattiesburg HS	140
90.	+3	Tarheel East	52	East Carteret HS	93
91.	--	Sagebrush	51	Reno HS	133
92.	-30	South Florida	49	Hialeah HS	115
92.	--	Louisiana	49	Bolton HS	125
94.	+2	Puget Sound	47	Kamiak HS	132
95.	--	UIL	45	Princeton HS	103
95.	-1	West Virginia	45	Wheeling Park HS	78
97.	-1	Capitol Valley	41	Granite Bay HS	84
98.	+1	Maine	40	Lewiston HS	64
99.	-1	Mid-Atlantic	34	Blacksburg HS	114
100.	--	Hawaii	29	Kamehameha Schools	91
101.	--	Iroquois	24	Christian Brothers Academy	60





## WHO IS THIS MASKED MAN??

# P i c t o r i a l



Brother Rene' Sterner dressed as "Zoro" at the La Salle College High School auction.

Is it true that he signs his ballots



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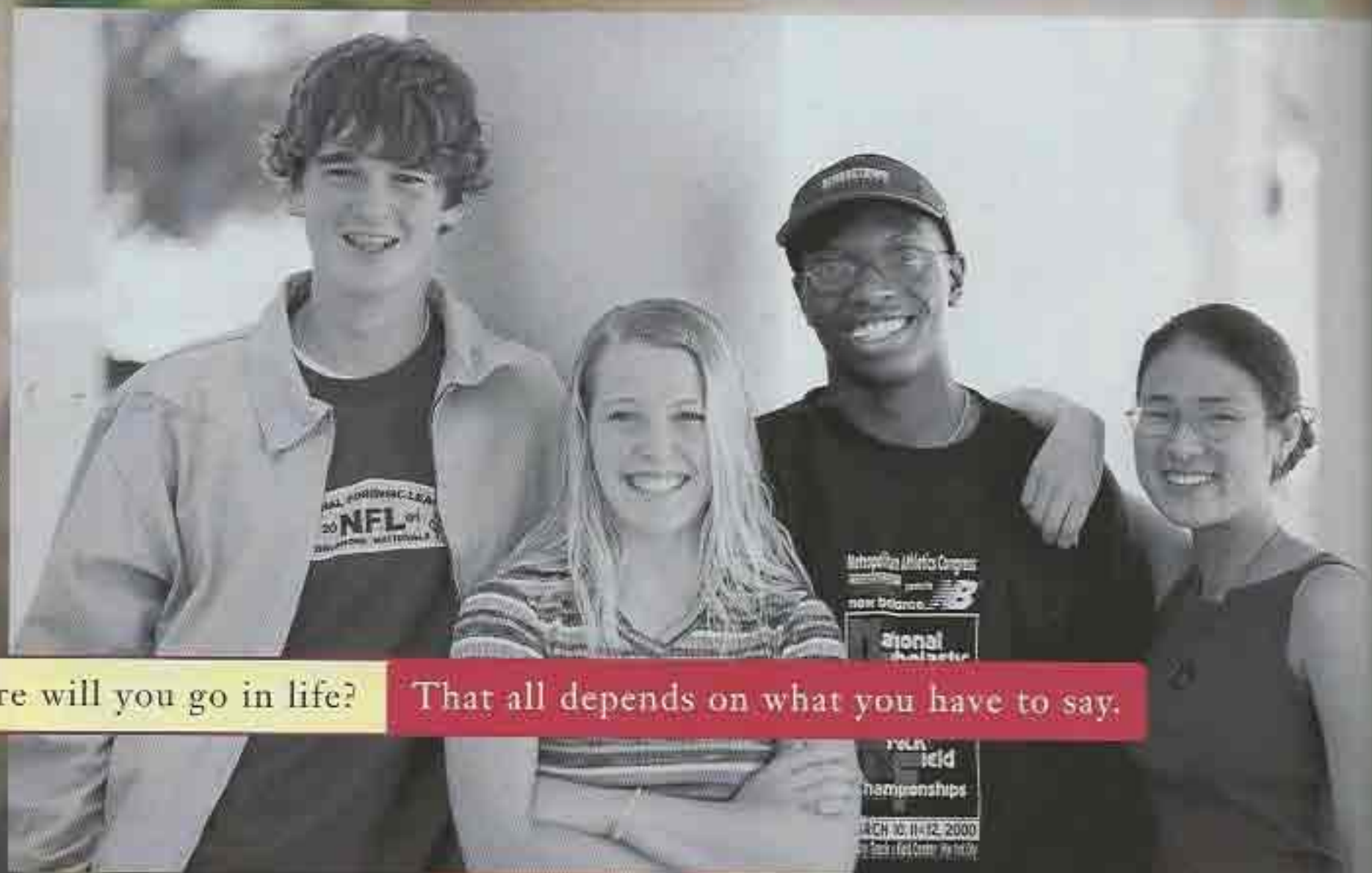
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