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John F. Kennedy, 1961

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Abraham Lincoln, 1863

Gentlemen may cry, "Peace! Peace! - but there is no peace. The war has actually begun!...I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

Patrick Henry, 1775

The course of this conflict is not known, yet, its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

Fellow citizens, we will meet violence with patient justice, assured of the rightness of our cause and confident of the victories to come.

George Bush, 2001

Nuclear Threat Initiative/NFL Policy Debate Topic

That the United States federal government should establish a foreign policy significantly limiting the use of weapons of mass destruction.

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5. Loren Knaster - Reid Levin
   Cherry Creek HS, CO
   Coach: Ms. Peggy Benedict

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Co-chaired by Ted Turner and Sam Nunn, NTI is a private foundation working to reduce the threat of use and prevent the spread of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. WMD 411 was prepared *for NTI* by the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. NTI is a co-sponsor of this year’s high school debates and is offering this resource to support increased student education and awareness about these issues.
“LIVING IN A NEW ERA OF INSECURITY”
by
Sam Nunn

The bitter events of September 11th will never pass from the American memory. But whether they are remembered as an isolated, unrepeatable horror, or the first nightmare in a new era of insecurity, may well depend on what we do now. The terrorists who planned and carried out the attacks showed there is no limit to the number of innocent lives they are willing to take. Their capacity for killing was limited only by the power of their weapons. As we strengthen airport and airplane security, we must not automatically assume that the next attack against America will be like the one we just experienced.

While we may not yet know with certainty which group sponsored these attacks, we do know that Osama bin Laden declared in 1998 that acquiring weapons of mass destruction is “a religious duty.” This statement should not be taken lightly. We have had a look at the face of terrorist warfare in the 21st century, and it gives us little hope that if these groups gained control of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, they would hesitate to use them.

As America prepares a response to the events of September 11th, we must build a new framework for national security that protects us from the full range of new dangers we face.

Ten years ago a communist empire broke apart, leaving its legacy 30,000 nuclear warheads, more than 1,000 tons of highly enriched uranium; 150 tons of plutonium; 40,000 tons of chemical weapons; 4,500 tons of anthrax; and tens of thousands of scientists who know how to make weapons and missiles, but don’t know how to feed their families.

Russia’s dysfunctional economy and eroded security systems have undercut controls on these weapons, materials, and know-how — and increased the risk that they may flow to hostile forces.

Our nation understands from heart-shattering experience that America is targeted for terrorist attack. But we do not fully grasp how Russia’s loose controls over weapons, materials, and know-how dramatically increase our vulnerability to an attack with nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. In 1998, an employee at Russia’s premier nuclear weapons laboratory was arrested for trying to sell documents on nuclear weapons design to agents of Iraq and Afghanistan. Just this year, a former bin Laden associate admitted to a federal grand jury his role in a plot to purchase uranium. These threats of terrorism and the threats of weapons of mass destruction are not separate, but inter-related and reinforcing. The world’s security now depends in great part on who is faster and smarter — those trying to get weapons, materials, and know-how, or those trying to stop them.

To reduce these threats to our own security, we have — for the last ten years — helped the Russians secure weapons and weapons materials to prevent theft; convert nuclear weapons facilities to civilian purposes; and employ their weapons scientists in peaceful pursuits. But we need to do much more. Russia itself has experienced terrible terrorist attacks in recent years and their outpouring of support in the last few weeks indicates there may be a real opportunity for enhanced U.S.-Russia cooperation.
Early this year, a distinguished bipartisan task force declared loose weapons, materials and know-how in Russia: "the most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States," and called for a four-fold funding increase to reduce these threats. We need to reflect this sound advice in our budget priorities. Keeping weapons of mass destruction out of terrorists' hands is either a priority or an afterthought. If it is an afterthought, after what?

The tragic events of September 11th have given us a rare opportunity to lead a world coalition against terrorism. NATO, for the first time in 52 years, has formally declared that the alliance has been attacked, and nineteen democracies are now committed to join America in hitting back. We also have other partners in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa. To carry out the Bush Administration's war on terrorism, we must:

1. Prevent terrorist groups from getting their hands on nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, weapons materials and know-how.
2. Eliminate terrorist cells wherever they are, including those in the United States.
3. Enlist the support of our coalition partners to destroy the infrastructure and cut off the funding of terrorist groups wherever they are.
4. Hold nations that knowingly harbor or support terrorists accountable.
5. Take every feasible and reasonable step in our military planning to avoid inflicting large numbers of civilian casualties that will only sow the seeds for the next generation of fanatical, suicidal terrorists.

6. Make it clear by our words and actions that our war is against terrorism—not a war against Islam at home or abroad.
7. Continue to address the underlying conflicts and conditions around the world that breed fanatical hatred and terrorism—probably our most difficult challenge.
8. Promote and enhance the diplomacy, intelligence gathering and cooperation that are our first line of defense.

In implementing this strategy, we must make sure that we don't undercut the international cooperation we need to protect ourselves against a wide range of dangers. The United States cannot identify and eliminate terrorist groups, destroy their funding and support, apply pressure to rogue regimes, secure dangerous materials, limit the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and gather intelligence without the support and active cooperation of allies and former adversaries. While we must be prepared to act alone if necessary, if we are going to go after terrorists before they come to our shores, we must have partners abroad.

We must develop a comprehensive defense against the full range of threats, based on relative risk, and supported by strong alliances so that the pain of today will not be known by the children of tomorrow.

(Former U.S. Senator Sam Nunn (D, GA) is Co-Chairman of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a charitable organization working to reduce the threat from nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.)

This article originally appeared as an Op-Ed column on September 16, 2001 in the Atlanta Journal Constitution)
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“Hey, buddy! Can you tell me how to get to the baseball stadium?”
“Sure, go down the street here and turn left... no, that’s not right. OK, go down the street here four blocks and then turn right, then... no, that won’t do it. Let’s see, turn around and go back till you get to... Nope, that won’t work either. Hmm. You know what? You can’t get there from here!”

“You can’t get there from here.” So many times those of us who spend our weekends listening to and evaluating speeches by young people either consciously or unconsciously have a similar reaction to a speech we hear. Student after student stands before us, warning of the dire consequences of his or her problem, and we, the judges, fail to see the problem. Or we can’t quite understand how what the speaker is presenting as a problem will result in the harms that he or she claims it will. We get to the end of the speech and hear the speaker tell us that we must do __________, and we are still asking ourselves, “Why must I do this?” or “Why will this help to solve the problem (which I’m still not sure of anyway)?” When a judge or listener reacts this way to an orator’s presentation—that is, fails to see the reality of the problem, or fails to see how the material presented in the speech supports the existence of the problem, or fails to understand the connection between the problem and the proposed solution—then, most of the time the fault is that of the orator. Either the material itself is not strong enough to convince the listener of his or her thesis, or the speaker has failed to make clear the connections that exist between his own reasoning and the material from which he derives support. In the latter case, the most likely cause of the problem is that the speaker has not provided enough transitions or, in many cases, clear transitions from point to point as he or she travels on the train of thought intended to carry the listeners along the journey from indifference to conviction that is the journey of oratory.

Transitions are among the most difficult, yet most important skills to master in oratory or any kind of writing for that matter. At the same time, transitions serve fundamental and necessary purposes in writing. Among them are the following:

1. They point the listener in the direction that the speaker’s thought is going
2. They help to summarize where the speaker has been
3. They keep the listening audience from being intellectually “disoriented”
4. They enable the listener to discern and follow the order of events and thoughts that the speaker is presenting
5. They are the “glue” or the context that makes clear the connection between the following intellectual pairs: idea-idea; idea-example; idea-statistic; idea-testimony; statistic-testimony; example-statistic; example-testimony

In essence, a transition acknowledges what has gone before and prepares the way for what is to come.

There are three types of transition which we will consider in this article. Are they the only kind? Probably not, but, at the very least, mastering these transitions will take the speaker a long way toward clarity in the organization of his or her oratory.

Transitions of Order

Transitions of order are perhaps the easiest to accomplish in practical terms, while being among the most difficult to accomplish creatively. Order may refer to chronology, location, importance or significance, etc. Obviously this kind of transition may move in either ascending or descending order. The simplest transitions of order are the ordinal numbers, “first,” “second,” etc., or the adverbs derived from them, “firstly,” “secondly,” and so on. Other adverbs which indicate the three relationships are: “chiefly,” “primarily,” “more/most importantly,” “here,” “there,” etc. As you can see, these things are not the stuff of creativity, and it would be a mistake for the speaker to rely too heavily on these one-word adverbs or short adverbial phrases to move from point to point in his/her presentation. Few things sound as pedestrian as a speech that progresses with transitions such as, “my first point,” “my second point,” etc. For this reason speakers may sometimes make use of some sort of vehicle or device in their presentation which allows them to conceive of the speech topic as, for example, a three-course meal or a journey which goes through different stages to its destination, or the three acts of a play and so forth. This enables the writer to make use of the analogy as he/she moves from idea to idea in his/her speech. These too can be overdone and should be approached with caution.

Transitions of Relationship

A transition of relationship, as the name implies, is one which establishes or makes clear the relationship or connection between two elements of a speech. For example, notice how the following underlined transition sets the stage for the contrast between the statistical information that comes before and the statement which follows:

According to the National Institute of Diabetic and Digestive and Kidney Diseases, more than half of U. S. adults are overweight and more than one quarter of Americans are actually obese. These statistics, however, hold little meaning for a sizeable group, though obviously not the majority, of people in our country. These
are the thousands of people, young and old, who suffer from anorexia and/or bulimia.

Likewise the following transition establishes the connection between the testimony of the psychologist and the example which follows:

Psychologist Mary Contrary states that eating disorders are among the most destructive emotional illnesses facing young women today. Few things can illustrate this better than the case of Sally Johnson. Sally was a young, happy, bright teenage girl . . .

In both of these examples, the transition binds or “glues” the information which came before it to the information which comes after and establishes what kind of connection that there is.

In order to write this kind of transition, the most important thing is that the writer know exactly what the relationship is between the two thoughts that need to be connected. Although this sounds obvious, for many young orators just learning their craft, it is not. In the first example, element B contrasts with element A. In the second example, element B illustrates or provides an example of element A. Element A could be a statement that the writer is making and element B could be a statistic or testimony whose purpose is not just to illustrate but to prove what has been said. Some other relationships which can be clarified by providing a good transition are:

generalization: “this is but one example of a situation that is becoming widespread throughout our country.”

results: “the results of _______ are clear.

conclusion: From all this information it not only reasonable but necessary to conclude that _______.

Transitions of Movement

A transition of movement is one which guides or directs the audience from one part of the argument to the next part while making clear the logical connection between the two parts. Consider the following: In the first example, the author is alerting us to the perils of information overload.

The most noticeable hallmark of this age is undoubtedly the Internet - a giant spiderweb, capable of seducing anyone. For instance, me. Now, I sit down to write my speech with the usual necessities - laptop, looseleaf, and one super cold, 64 oz., cherry-flavored Icree. First, I start out by finding some useful information concerning my speech topic on the Internet. But then I make the fatal mistake of gulping down the mighty shake. Convulsions, and Icree aches of the worst kind follow. Finally however I simmer down into a state of sugar saturation. And that’s when it happens -- www.Icree.com. I peer at the address on the bottom of the Icree cup and its campy lure is irresistible. I enter the hallowed site. I’m immediately awestruck with the endless bounds to which I can increase my knowledge of the Icree kingdom. How does the mysterious Icree machine work? Is it possible to fully clothe myself in its red, white, and blue paraphernalia? All answers are contained within. Awwwwwesooo...Hey, Steve, how’s the speech coming? - oh it’s not. And that’s the problem. Today with e-mail, junk mail, and Internet ads, information is literally thrown in our paths, making it easier to be drawn away from our purposes.

Icree aches and unfinished oratories are one thing, but unfortunately this problem has grown up and moved into the real world of migrants and unforeclosed business deals. For many men and women, competing in the workplace means having to deal with statistics, taxes, reports and other such paperwork. Today, with the amount of information, both useful and useless, constantly growing their jobs are becoming increasingly hectic, and quite understandably they often feel overwhelmed. Many times the data they compare, though conflicting, seem equally reliable, and this sense of being overwhelmed turns into mental gridlock what British psychologist David Lewis calls “analysis paralysis.” A study conducted by Reuters Business Information shows that half of senior managers believe that vital decisions are delayed due to “analyses paralysis."

— from Furnishing the Future by Stephen Buettler

The underlined transition has the effect of moving the speech from a section which expresses and clarifies the problem in a highly personal, semi-fictitious and humorous way to the next section which applies the problem in practical terms to the real world in which actual harm results.

In the next example, the author is describing the dangers of a world in which no one accepts responsibility for his or her actions. The transition moves the speech from the section which summarizes these effects to a consideration of some of the causes of the problem.

Passing the buck inhibits progress, it prevents us from evaluating ourselves, identifying problems, and looking for answers. Quite simply, passing the buck is a solution saboteur.

So why do we blame others? Perhaps it would be better to ask, why not? I mean let’s face it, there are definite benefits to passing the buck. It’s easy. It’s usually less expensive. It’s non-threatening. If someone else is at fault, then I’m not. It’s convenient.

From Passing the Buck by Graham Baird

Both of these transitions, to one degree or another, accomplish purposes #1, #2, #3 and #4 in the following list.

A Transition is a Bridge

One way to think of a transition, and therefore to write a transition, is as a bridge between the opposite sides of a river. For a bridge to be able to bear the traffic from one side to the other, it is necessary for it to have legs on either side of the divide. Likewise, an effective way to write a transition is to plant one foot of the transition or bridge on each side of our metaphorical river. We can probably best see this in the transition underlined in Furnishing the Future.

“...Icree aches and unfinished oratories are one thing, but unfortunately this problem has grown up and moved into the real world of migrants and unforeclosed business deals.”

The previous paragraph consists of the humorous, somewhat hypothetical and completely personal example of the student’s discovery of the Icree web site and the resulting distraction from writing his speech. So we see that one leg of the “bridge” is on that side of the riverbank: “Icree aches and unfinished oratories are one thing…” Then we begin to cross the bridge: “but unfortunately this problem has grown (continued to page 31)
Name: Andy O'Connell
Now: University of Washington
Interests: Political Science & Economics
Alter Ego: Duo
Debate: Glenbrook Champion
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A CX "PERIOD" FOR EXTEMP

by

Adam A. Johnson

Since the earliest years of the NFL, Extempore has favored analytical skills and persuasion. Through the introduction of Boys and Girls Extemp and then the current US and Foreign split, this trend has dominated, but unfortunately "canned" analysis has taken hold of the event even at the highest levels of competition. Proponents of the current system argue that the system of cross-examination provides a critical check upon abuse by ensuring that those contestants with the greatest analytical skills will prevail. Unfortunately, such a conclusion is largely false and assumes that judges will favor in-depth analysis above "fluff" and jokes.

In analyzing recent final rounds at both the NFL Nationals and at major national tournaments, it is easy to see that the current system of 1-minute question followed by a 2-minute response has failed to ensure that the best analysis prevails. Fortunately, other forensic events offer us the opportunity to see how a better system of rules can advance topic discussion and in-depth analysis. By using the cross-examination format of Lincoln-Douglas Debate instead of the extemp cross-ex format, one may expand the educational value of the activity and broaden the base of skills that extemp develops.

At Montgomery Bell Academy's Southern Bell Forum Round Robin, the alternative cross-ex style was used in the final round with great success. From an educational perspective, this format allows the questioner to probe deeper into the analysis of the speaker. Under the previous format of allowing only one question, the questioner was forced to ask a very broad and general question that could be avoided during the following two minutes by the original speaker. A series of questions more effectively develops the line of analysis of the questioner as well. Such a format allows the questioner to be an active participant in the process by examining every aspect of the speech instead of only the general themes. Another educational advantage of this change is that it forces the questioner to demonstrate that he/she truly understands the topic area and has the ability to dissect the speech at every level. If the goal of this event is to expand the analytical skills of its participants, then the rules of the event must be adapted so as to test and demonstrate the speaker's understanding of an enhanced number of issues.

A new factor in all debate events is the overwhelming volume of materials currently available. At the founding of the NFL, information was not readily available. Only a few newspapers and magazines were available to students in the 1920s. So, students often could access information only from teachers and historical data. Today, the Internet allows students access to almost every newspaper, journal, and law review. As a result, students can discover and carry a much larger library of knowledge. With such instant access to the events of the world, one must now assume that skilled extempers will have much broader and deeper bases of knowledge. With such knowledge, they should be able to engage another student easily in a series of questions about their speeches.

While enhancing the analytical nature of extemp, the new cross-examination format will force students to answer the questions asked also. The nature of the current format ensures that a well-placed joke at the beginning of the cross-ex answer will remove the focus from the actual question. Even the most skilled individuals in a judging pool can be swayed and be diverted from the focus and seriousness of the questioner. A series of questions does not remove the potential for humor or entertainment, but it does allow the questioner to refocus the discussion and ensure that any and all flaws within the speech are exposed and then developed over the 3-minute questioning period. In recent years, such a format could have drastically advanced the event by allowing questioners to actually expose their broad based knowledge of topic areas while still allowing the speaker to defend himself/herself.

In many ways, this alternative view provides the questioner with a partial rebuttal of sorts. Under the current format, the questioner magically disappears after asking the initial question. Without an ability to refocus the cross-examination period, the questioner can do nothing if a question is misinterpreted or ignored. His/Her pointed analysis is lost and never truly exposed. A series of questions ensures that the questioner can force the speaker to be more accountable by requiring the speaker to answer the actual question being asked.

More significant to the development of analysis within the round, the current system forces the speaker to give a 2-minute mini-extemp speech during the cross-ex period in which he or she attempts to fill the entire 2 minutes. Much of the 2 minutes, as a result, becomes a meaningless period of extending analysis from the speech or re-statement of his/her original speech. While opponents of this amended system will inevitably argue that these individuals are merely poor performers rather than victims of a flawed system, consider the following evidence. During the recent NFL finals, the majority of extempers have fallen into this trap of repetition and restatement. Consequently they have taught later extempers, by example. Other competitors see such success as an indication of a successful style and thus replicate the flawed style. In essence, such a system becomes a virus by teaching the next generation to repeat the failings of their predecessors.

In discussing this format of cross-examination with other coaches, I most frequently hear the concern that extemp is a speech communication event and not a debate event. I believe that this alternative format, however, actually expands the communication aspect of the event rather than decreasing it. It is important to remember that there is nothing communicative about one person standing on stage for 2 minutes with a stupid look on their face while someone else talks about their 1 minute question. An open cross-ex system forces the students to interact and develop a series of ideas over a 3-minute interchange. In LD and Policy Debate, open cross-ex forces all students to demonstrate that they can both successfully communicate with their opponents while developing their own ideas as they go through the cross-ex period. It is incon (continued to page 30)
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As coaches, we focus most of our efforts and attention on preparing for tournaments. To our students, we hold out the potential glories of plaques, trophies and NFL degrees as incentives. We take pride in winning, and because of the nature of both our profession and of American society (sports/competition/materialism oriented as it is), we see little reason to think further about the possibilities for our speech programs that may exist just over the horizon.

I suggest that we in fact should look a little further, beyond the tournaments, contests, and competitions. Some of the most rewarding experiences for our talented students may exist outside of this conventional realm, yet within their own school and community. Why not consider offering your students opportunities to perform their best work for real audiences, in settings far more natural than the pressure cooker atmosphere of weekend tournaments?

In addition, we as coaches ought to consider the big picture. Face it: winning prizes and championships is all very fine, and certainly your school gives at least lip service to such achievements, since they make the school look good, as do athletic championships and the awards won by musical and thespian groups in their competitions. But let us never forget that our primary mission is education, not winning.

"We should not neglect the non-competitive opportunities that are literally at our doorstep. We owe our communities that much"

Furthermore, one of the truly desirable trends in today's schools is an increased concern about literacy at all grade levels, and how to increase it. Having taught for thirty years, I applaud this trend. I cannot prove that illiteracy and aliteracy (a new term to describe students who can read, but don't) have increased over recent decades, but I do know that they are chronic problems, and as both coaches and educators, we have not only the opportunity but the capability to do something positive to promote literacy in our school communities.

Hence my proposal: let's get our forensics out of our own classrooms and practice rooms, and into the rooms of our colleagues in both our own school as well as neighboring schools, especially elementary schools.

Almost by accident, our team started doing just that in 1997. In an after-practice conversation with a member of our team, I mentioned that my wife, a former high school drama teacher, used to have her students perform children's plays for the local elementary schools. My student wistfully expressed her desire to perform her children's literature piece for her first grade teacher, who was in fact still teaching that grade at Wyngate Elementary School, only two miles away. On the spot we agreed that she and three of her teammates would like to take a field trip to perform at her old school, and I got on the phone and started making the necessary arrangements. From that chance moment, a tradition was born. Over the past five years, we have made annual visits to Wyngate Elementary and two other elementary schools in our county. We keep going back because the whole arrangement is a win-win situation; my students get valuable experience, and the grade school students enjoy being entertained. In addition, book talks seem to arise spontaneously following my students' formal readings, with two fortuitous results. My students get ideas for new books to try out in future competitions, and the elementary kids enjoy sharing titles of books they like to read.

At Fairland Elementary School last January, my students presented *Tikki Tikki Tembo* and two other pieces in less than a half an hour, and then spent an hour discussing other book titles volunteered by the third graders, and answering questions about what it is like to be on a forensic and debate team at the high school level. The visit to that elementary school was one of the high points of the year for the high schoolers, the third graders, and their respective teachers.

Beyond these educational benefits are the intangibles. To quote Sarah Gowayed, an alumna of our forensics team (now a junior at the University of Maryland) when she was a senior here: "I love it when their faces light up as they gather around me almost like little puppies. It's as if they are caught by surprise when I use exotic voices in my pieces and they didn't expect it. I certainly enjoy performing in front of children much better than in front of judges at competitions because the reaction of the children and the expression of enjoyment on their faces is more rewarding than earning forensic points." Her friend Jessica Meyers (a junior at Goshen College, Indiana) said much the same thing after her final trip senior year to the fourth grade at Clearspring Elementary School.

"I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to take forensics outside the classroom."

"I never expected to get such joy out of reading to little kids, but there is something about the way their eyes look up at you when you're reading."

Veteran Clearspring teacher Virginia Hillegas spoke of how her fourth graders have benefited from the visits by the high school students. "The Walter Johnson [High School] Forensic students have visited my fourth grade class for five years. My students learn firsthand how you can make a character in a story come alive just by changing your voice and attitude. The students make the characters real." She went on to note, "Any time high school students interact with young students, it becomes a real life lesson."

Finally, the forensic coach need not go far afield to discover places where students will be welcome to perform. In my school, these opportunities have been in the English classrooms of my colleagues. For example, English teacher Terri Crain (continued to page 30)
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DEBATING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

by David M. Cheshier

Concern among American policymakers over the proliferation and potential use of so-called "weapons of mass destruction" (hereafter, WMD) is growing despite the end of the Cold War and a relatively peaceful international scene. To some extent the spread of mega-weapons is being emphasized, maybe even hyped, by advocates for national missile defense — the argument that "states of concern" like North Korea and Iraq are seeking WMD capability for potential use against the United States and our allies is regularly used to justify enormous investments in intercept technologies. But the arguments over WMD are not merely hype, and even hardcore missile defense opponents will often admit the growing seriousness of the global WMD scene.

Ironically, the growing global hegemony of the United States has reactivated WMD threats worldwide. Consider this fact: so-called OECD countries, most of which are locked into negotiated security alliances with the United States, account for eighty percent of the world’s economic output. Potential adversaries — Algeria, China, Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Russia, and Syria — together produce only five percent of the world’s economic output. And America’s lead in military technology for the moment dwarfs potential adversaries. Indeed, America’s technical sophistication is often cited as having sparked a "revolution in military affairs," where precision-guided planes and rockets promise the power to carry out devastating strikes on opponents without any risk of American casualties. Given
these overwhelming indications of United States "soft" and "hard" power, what are America's ideological opponents to do? To some, investments in relatively inexpensive WMD technologies makes sense. As Stephen Biddle put it in a book chapter on future warfare, expressing a view with which he finally disagrees but admits dominates the strategic landscape, some "say that American supremacy in mechanized warfare will be the end of war, with opponents turning to terrorism, low-intensity conflict, or the use of weapons of mass destruction in the face of such overpowering U. S. strength."

When I mentioned to a colleague, a former debater I bumped into right after the topic was announced, that foreign policy regarding weapons of mass destruction was to be the next annual policy debate topic, she laughed and asked, "when were weapons of mass destruction not the policy topic?," and of course she had a point. For that very reason, our constant immersion in arguments over apocalypse, I do not intend to review in major detail arguments obviously central to the topic but presumably familiar to anyone debating in the past several years. American policy regarding national missile defense will be hotly debated, but it should also be familiar territory for those who have debated the political consequences positions (and who hasn't?) — thus all I propose to cover regarding NMD are some recent developments and their implications. Although less debated recently, debates over the proposed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty may also be familiar. For these and other topics I intend to simply offer some suggestions regarding the more recent WMD literatures, to offer a basic briefing on the state of the literature.

What follows presumes a fairly conservative reading of the topic wording, not because I intend to endorse a narrow range of cases, but simply because I want this essay to stay reasonably focused. Certainly in some regions, and probably on the national circuit, judges will accept interpretations ranging far beyond those covered here. These might include everything from cleaning up landmines (they might be described as "slow motion weapons of mass destruction"), to cleaning up after uranium bullet use (an issue in the aftermath of American involvement in Kosovo and Kuwait), to ending our sanctions policy against Iraq, to rigging the outcome of the Rumsfeld review of Pentagon policy in one way or another, to stabilizing precarious nation-states with perhaps tenuous connections to WMD, to implementing global warming policy, to encouraging early monitoring to avert genocide and ethnic extremism. None of what follows goes into any depth on these issues, although there are some very interesting uranium bullet articles by Scott Peterson in the last two years of the Middle East Report. Nor does space permit me to explore the critical literatures here, although I hope to do that more fully in some future essays.

The notes at the end of the essay are not offered as a comprehensive literature review (for one thing, I make no attempt there to list important web resources), but simply to provide additional citations connected to the topics explored here.

The Status of the Major Arms Control Initiatives

Although the end of the Cold War sharply reduced the risk that a superpower would intentionally carry out nuclear strikes against an adversary, nuclear threats remain. This is so for several reasons. Because Russia continues to experience profoundly difficult economic times, the continuing danger lingers that nuclear weapons and materials will be sold or smuggled out of Russia to other nuclear threshold states. And despite the end of official Cold War hostilities, American and Russian missiles remain on high states of alert, which heightens the risk of accidental or miscalculated nuclear launches. In calculating present nuclear dangers, some also point with alarm to the ready ease with which military planners today envision the actual battlefield use of nuclear weapons. Weapons miniaturization makes it possible to contemplate small-scale battlefield deployment.

Despite these catastrophic possibilities, much progress has been made in reducing strategic stockpiles. Almost all tactical nuclear weapons have been put into storage. The major American and Russian production lines for new nuclear systems are mainly shut down. And although START II permits Russia to retain 3,500 deployed warheads, financial constraints make it unlikely Russia will be able to deploy any more than 600 by the year 2010 (the total number of Russian tactical nuclear warheads is falling even faster). Although it may seem a bit counterintuitive, these facts actually strengthen affirmative cases calling for deeper cuts; after all, given cuts, it may be hard to detail the unique risks of cutting some more.

One might think the obvious objection to any of these proposals would be the likely negative reaction of the conservative Bush administration. While flat it possible to force such cuts even in the face of presidential concern, it may come as a surprise to know that George W. Bush has actually proposed deep unilateral American cuts of his own. Within three weeks of his inauguration, Bush ordered a comprehensive review of the nation's nuclear forces which is widely expected to lead to a recommendation to unilaterally reduce nuclear warheads even below the target levels for proposed START III negotiations. But the picture is muddled, and it is too early to know the president's true commitment to arms control cuts — critics of President Bush were recently alarmed by his appointment of John Bolton to serve as undersecretary of state for arms control and international security, since Bolton has expressed his philosophical opposition to many of the international treaties relating to WMD. It gave no comfort to the friends of arms control to hear his mentor, Senator Jesse Helms, describe Bolton as the "kind of man with whom I would want to stand at Armageddon."

Nuclear Disarmament. The continuing risks of nuclear conflict have re-ignited calls in some quarters for complete nuclear abolition, but since that is not politically likely proposals have recently been offered to sequence deep cuts in nuclear arsenals with the eventual goal of total disarmament somewhere down the road. For example, some call for the dismantlement of tactical (battlefield) nuclear weapons now in storage. The argument is that holding tactical nuclear weapons in reserve for fast deployment in a conventional war is especially dangerous and destabilizing; after all, in the heat of a conventional battle, were satellites to suddenly discover evidence that hundreds of nuclear weapons were being rushed onto the battlefield, field commanders might think they had no choice but to "use or lose" their available nuclear forces.

While some have always defended the possession of a massive retaliatory nuclear force (the bigger the force, the bigger the deterrent), and while some have always argued for total abolition, the difficulty is in designing a stable transition path to zero. All agree that unless carried out carefully, smaller nuclear forces do not necessarily produce a safer world. A nuclear force of 200 missiles may be more risky than one of 2000, since an adversary might be...
able to preemptively neutralize all of a smaller force, which in turn heightens the rationale for dangerous "use or lose" decision making. And while it is less difficult to imagine deep cuts in a world of only two nuclear powers, it is much more complicated to implement them in a multi-nuclear world (for example, why should Russia agree with the U.S. to cut its missiles to 200 when that would bring it into parity with China, a possible adversary?). A recent Brookings Institution program brought together international arms control experts to devise a plan that sidesteps these dangers, and in 1999 they published a major proposal for deep nuclear cuts (cite listed below in full, edited by Feiveson).

Another difficulty in implementing cuts centers on the finances of national security. Russia is broke, and cannot sustain massive conventional forces. Some in Russia's military leadership argue that Russia must therefore become more, not less, dependent on nuclear weapons — although nuclear bombs require technical sophistication and modernization very expensive (a fact which explains the Russian interest in arms control despite a reluctance to get rid of them altogether), they are cheaper to deploy than hundreds of thousands of soldiers. These admittedly unusual incentive systems will complicate talks designed to scale back nuclear deployments.

Missile De-Alerting. Many thousands of American and Russian nuclear ballistic missiles are at high alert, which is to say they are ready to launch simply on warning of an incoming attack. Even when START II is fully implemented, the U.S. will still possess the power to launch more than 1,600 warheads within minutes of first warning, and Russia several hundred. More unnerving, the current strategies for deployment require commanders to make retaliation decisions within three or four minutes of when the first launch indications are received, in part because so many targets are considered time sensitive. Critics of this force posture are concerned that having missiles on such a hair trigger only heightens the risk of accidental war (where, for example, a nervous field commander misinterprets radar signals and fires off his weapons, mistakenly thinking he is under attack).

Bruce Blair of the Brookings Institution has long advocated taking missiles off high alert status, and is the most articulate advocate of "de-alerting." De-alerting measures would involve mechanical changes designed to stretch out to several hours or days the time needed to launch weapons in the active arsenal. Blair argues, among other things, that de-alerting would reduce accidental war risks, since military planners could have confidence missiles were not being launched when radar signals imply otherwise, since the scenario of an itchy trigger finger going off in a lonely silo would have been made much less likely. He has noted that under current alert postures, the nuclear superpowers are able to launch roughly 5,000 nuclear weapons within only twenty minutes, many of which are aimed at major population centers.

The case for nuclear de-alerting appears to grow stronger with each passing year. Britain de-alerted its small missile force in 1998. The Russian command-and-control system is widely thought to be in a state of fast deterioration, making miscalculation more likely the longer we wait. And recently the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, seemed to endorse de-alerting. New de-alerting measures would resume progress made early in the 1990's, when, for example, the United States took 450 Minuteman II missiles off alert by taking out launch keys and installing pins that physically block motor ignition (strategic bombers were also taken off alert, their bombs taken off, the planes and put into storage).

Opponents of de-alerting turn the logic of miscalculation around. They argue that the strategic picture would only escalate if a president put missiles back on alert in a crisis, the likely response to a situation of heightened nervousness.

STARTing Over. The process of negotiating cuts in the American and Russian arsenals culminated in the January 1993 signing of the START II treaty by Presidents Bush and Yeltsin. The American Senate ratified START II in January 1996, but it was only recently that the Russian Duma did the same. START II requires a nearly two-thirds reduction in overall force levels, including a warhead cut to 3,500 and a sea-based warhead limit of 1,750. At a March 1997 summit, Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin began talks on a potential START III treaty, and agreed that by December 31, 2007, a total ceiling of 2,000-2,500 weapons would be implemented for each country. Although transparency talks were then in limbo, Clinton and Yeltsin also agreed that START III would implement transparency measures. They also agreed to extend the time limits on START II implementation. A growing literature recommends active resumption of the START III process.

Containing Nuclear Proliferation

"Nuclear proliferation" is a term which refers to the spread of nuclear weapons worldwide. Some authors distinguish between "horizontal proliferation," which refers to the spread of nuclear technology to new countries, and "vertical proliferation," which refers to increases in nuclear stockpiles within a given country. Both forms of proliferation are technically outlawed by the international Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (the NPT), which was indefinitely extended in 1995.

The NPT regime has achieved some success, despite the spread of nuclear weapons in the last quarter century to Israel, India, Pakistan, and South Africa — even those nations felt the need to proliferate in secret, presumably to avoid the international sanctions which would have followed public deployment. As a Brookings report recently noted, the 1990's saw further progress, as Iraq, North Korea, South Africa, Brazil, Argentina, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus were impelled, induced, or volunteered to forsake nuclear weapons. And today only Cuba, India, Israel, and Pakistan have refused to sign the NPT.

The slow pace of superpower disarmament has always been cited as evidence of hypocrisy by critics of the NPT regime — after all, we demand that other countries forswear nuclear development even as we pour billions into upgrading our own stockpiles. This criticism reached a fever pitch during the 1995 NPT-extension talks, and to address it the nuclear weapons states made assurances to jumpstart disarmament talks and to refrain from using their nuclear weapons against NPT signatories.

Despite this progress, concerns remain. Reflecting the changing risk environment, in March CIA Director George Tenet created a special unit with 500 analysts and scientists to focus on arms control and non-proliferation issues. The unit was thought necessary because of the way emerging global proliferation threats had spread agency experts too thinly.

Several proposals are designed to further strengthen the international non-proliferation system. These include calls for the United States to disavow the first use of nuclear weapons (an idea long opposed by American military planners, who feel the nuclear threat in needed to deter attack in theaters like Korea where we could be overwhelmed by rapidly deployed ground forces); specific ideas to enhance international inspection systems which
have been discredited by their withdrawal from Iraq; and the enhancement of confidence building measures designed to make weapons development more transparent (and thus less alarming to regional adversaries).

**Reducing the Threat of Ballistic Missile Proliferation.** Roughly twenty-five nations now have the technology to launch short-range theater ballistic missiles against American troops deployed within a 300-kilometer range, though only five are adversaries of the United States (North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Libya). The Soviet Union sold Scud missiles to all five countries, although most of Iraq's were destroyed during the Gulf War. Some also point with concern to China's ability to launch short-range rockets aimed at Taiwan. North Korea has apparently extended the range on its Scud missiles to 600 kilometers, and is at work on a 1000-km missile that could reach Japan.

How substantial a threat these missiles pose to America is a source of real controversy. In November 1995 a national intelligence estimate found it unlikely that a third-world intercontinental missile threat to the contiguous 48 United States would develop within fifteen years (that is, by 2010). Congressional critics accused the Clinton administration of weakening the study projections to torpedo the case for national missile defense. But a congressionally mandated review panel confirmed the original findings. On the other hand, the congressionally mandated Rumsfeld Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat released a July 1998 report emphasizing the major threat posed by new missile systems. In particular the Rumsfeld Commission argued that North Korea or Iran could deploy threatening systems able to reach the United States in as quickly as five years from a decision to proceed. The intelligence community reacted by reiterating support for its earlier "little threat" finding, but President Bush explicitly applauded Rumsfeld's work when he named Rumsfeld to be Secretary of Defense.

Several international treaties exist to slow the spread of missile technology, although it seems clear that both Russia and China are flaunting regime constraints in order to produce export revenue. Some therefore propose that American foreign policy more explicitly center on enforcement of the Missile Technology Control Regime. Others emphasize the necessity of bilateral (country-to-country) negotiations aimed at halting missile development, such as the talks presently underway with North Korea.

**Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Ratification.** In 1996, work was completed on an international treaty which would outlaw all future nuclear weapons tests (previous treaties had outlawed all but limited underground testing). President Clinton signed the treaty on behalf of the United States, as did representatives from all the other nuclear powers and most of the other nations of the world. But the treaty is not yet in force (a specified but not yet reached number of nations must ratify it before it becomes active), and the Bush Administration is unlikely to seek its ratification by the United States Congress, although Bush intends to continue the current U.S. testing moratorium. Advocates of a test ban believe it is an essential component of a program to slow weapons proliferation (the logic is, if you can't even test your bomb you're unlikely to have enough confidence to deploy or use it).

The India/Pakistan nuclear tests in 1998 dispelled any sense of complacency on the issue by making the risks of nuclear war in Asia suddenly easy to imagine. And some have argued that given these risks, President Bush should reconsider his likely opposition to CTBT ratification. Perhaps Colin Powell's earlier support for the CTBT will sway the President and bring him on board.

**National Missile Defense.** The major conservative proposal for dealing with emerging proliferation threats has, since originally proposed by Ronald Reagan in the 1980's, been to build a national missile defense system. Work on such a program continued through the 1990's, with research support from President Clinton, and George W. Bush is committed to deploy an NMD system at the earliest available opportunity. For now, the nation remains committed to the Clinton 3 + 3 framework. The idea was to prepare a thin defense system which could then be deployed within three years if a go-ahead decision was reached. President Clinton put off this critical threshold decision late last fall, but testing and development continues. The 3 + 3 plan defended by President Clinton called for the eventual deployment of about twenty very high speed ground-based interceptors in Alaska or North Dakota, a number that could prospectively jump to a hundred or more over time. While a single-site system might work to intercept a distant launch, only multiple interceptor sites could handle the short flight times of missiles launched from submarines right off our shores, but of course the more sites are constructed the more flagrant is the arms control treaty violation.

Despite it's apparent lack of enthusiasm for a continental defense system, the Clinton Administration enthusiastically endorsed and strongly supported development work on so-called "theater defenses." These include proposals to upgrade the Patriot intercept systems used to mixed effect in the Gulf War, systems to upgrade the Aegis air defense systems currently in use on Navy ships (so it can handle short-range missile attacks), and area defense systems such as THAAD (contemplated for territorial defense in the Asian Pacific; THAAD stands for Theater High Altitude Area Defense) and the Navy Theater Wide initiative (for use at sea). Although THAAD has received a great deal of support, it has so far failed miserably in testing.

The principle argument for missile defenses, one long championed by Donald Rumsfeld, now Secretary of Defense, is that we need defenses to counter likely missile deployments underway in states of concern like Iran, North Korea, and Iraq. Although a country like Iran might only be able to launch a handful of missiles, the potential devastation would nevertheless be substantial, and for NMD advocates, worth considerable investments in intercept technology. Opponents of NMD find missile proliferation risks exaggerated, argue that the threat of massive retaliation is more than sufficient to deter a country like Iraq from attacking us, and point out that defenses are easily and inexpensively circumvented by smuggled suitcase bombs and terrorist attacks. Or, were a hostile nation truly committed to attacking the mainland United States or one of our allies, they might choose to deploy weapons of mass destruction (including chemical and biological agents) on cruise missiles, which are by all accounts virtually impossible to shoot down (they fly very close to the ground, use a very low flight trajectory which makes them hard to detect and track, can change course in-flight, and if launched within a couple hundred miles of the target would be almost impossible to intercept in time).

The likelihood of NMD deployment is opposed by many of our European allies, and has been vigorously opposed by Russia as well, given the potential setback it would represent for the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, a cornerstone of the mod-
ern-day arms control regime. Fifty American Nobel laureates recently warned that NMD would do "grave harm" to essential American security interests. But NMD advocates argue that in their likeliest configuration, defenses will not jeopardize strategic security. Rather, defenses are likely to have limited utility, able mainly to intercept a single rogue missile or accidental launch. Because the United States is unlikely to implement a full-fledged continental defense system able to intercept a massive and full missile attack, pro-NMD advocates see deployment as posing no threat to the fundamental deterrence relationship. Opponents argue against any defensive deployments, since they would enable fast expansion (the literature refers to this as the problem of potential "breakout"), thereby fatally undermining the ABM Treaty and strategic security.

The extent to which such arms control concerns would interfere with the development of theater defenses is less clear, since the U.S. and Russia agreed in September 1997 to a TMD Demarcation Agreement which seems to clear the way for development of both THAAD and Navy Theater Wide. On the other hand, any deployment (theater or continental) is likely to alarm China, since its entire missile force is a small one and easier to neutralize even with a limited defense system.

Some recent developments suggest that international concerns regarding missile defense might be reduced if the technology were internationally developed. Russian President Vladimir Putin recently called for collaboration to produce a limited, Europe-wide missile defense system (although most saw his proposal as less a serious plan than a diplomatic effort to derail American deployment intentions). Boris Yeltsin embraced a global protection system in a United Nations speech given in 1992.

Regional Issues

While plan action may be constrained from taking generally stabilizing action to decrease nuclear use in particular regional theaters (which would arguably only decrease WMD use by effect), our debates will certainly be informed by occurrences in the world's hotspots. Even now, in a period of relative international calm, hotspots erupt with regularity. To take just one example, in mid-March Richard Holbrooke, former President Clinton's ambassador to the United Nations, was quoted as saying that Iraq's resurgence and the collapse of the Arab-Israeli peace talks could merge into one "gigantic fireball," "the most serious threat to peace since the Cuban missile crisis." At the same time, some of the most intractable nuclear issues concern American foreign policy toward the other nuclear powers (including Russia, China, India, and Pakistan) and their neighbors. Some of the areas posing grave diplomatic challenges include:

Russia and the former Soviet Republics. Although the dangers of nuclear material diversion are well understood in Moscow, cooperative efforts between the United States and Russia to dismantle nuclear systems have slowed as tensions in the bilateral relationship have increased. Nonetheless substantial progress has been made in the safety and dismantlement area. Tactical warheads, which were once spread over several hundred sites, are now consolidated into about eighty. Significant government to government support, authorized by the U.S. Cooperative Threat Reduction (Nunn-Lugar) program, includes an initiative that converts weapons-grade uranium into a blended lower enrichment fuel suitable for use in U.S. nuclear power plants.

Part of the reason efforts in the Nunn-Lugar area have stalled related to a Clinton initiative, proposed in late 1994, that would have committed both sides to a very rigorous "transparency" regime, where detailed information on nuclear stockpiles and fuel would be shared. A joint U.S.-Russian working group established to negotiate the deal broke down when Russia cut off the talks in November 1995. Efforts to resuscitate these transparency efforts are widely discussed in the literature. More recently, President Bush's Office of Management and Budget called for a $200 million cut in Clinton-level funding for dismantlement; the announcement produced such public opposition that National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice ordered an interagency review. And former Senator Howard Baker, just named U.S. ambassador to Japan, co-chairs a bipartisan commission that reviewed Russian aid programs and recommended a $30 billion funding increase over the next ten years.

The START I treaty was signed in July 1991 and limits the United States and Russia to 1,600 strategic delivery systems each and eaps total warheads at 6,000; in May 1992 the so-called Lisbon Protocol committed Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine to eliminate strategic weapons within their borders given the breakup of the Soviet Union. Still, major affirmative work will center this year on proposals to reinvigorate deeper disarmament.

All of this occurs within the context of growing tension between President Putin of Russia and the American Administration, which appears to have downgraded Russia as a priority area of emphasis, especially in the aftermath of the Robert Hanssen spy scandal. In the meantime, Putin appears to be energetically promoting Russia's agenda worldwide — in addition to promoting a European missile defense proposal, Putin is also seeking a higher visibility presence in Middle Eastern affairs (he will soon meet with Egyptian President Mubarak and is leading the opposition against UN-sanctions on Iraq), and is negotiating closer ties to Japan. At this point, although the Bush Administration has not yet settled on our next ambassador to Russia, there are signs President Putin may be prepared to deal. Among them was his recent firing of Igor Sergeyev as his defense minister; Sergeyev had lobbied for a continued massive Russian nuclear force, and his dismissal was seen as evidence that Putin may be ready to resume serious arms reductions talks with the West.

China/Taiwan. The diplomatic tension between the United States and China arising from the recent spy plane crash and emergency landing is longstanding, and was only accentuated by recent developments. As China gains ascendant power in the international system by virtue of its huge population and explosive economic growth rates, its leadership is plainly interested in matching economic growth with military power. China recently announced its intention to increase defense spending by twenty percent in a single year, a major jump. While Chinese missiles are not on high alert (most are de-alerted and as of two years ago China only had twenty capable of reaching the United States), nuclear tests carried out from 1994-1996 may enable a force transition to smaller, more accurate counterforce weapons.

Compared to Russia and the United States, China has relatively few nuclear weapons, but observers do not expect that situation to stay constant, especially if the United States deploys a missile defense system (Chinese planners might respond to NMD by accelerating nuclear deployments, to assure a continuing ability to overwhelm low-level defenses). China is also concerned over American efforts to integrate Taiwan into a theater defense system. Indeed, the situation in the South China sea.
and in the Taiwan Straits is widely seen as perilous. The Chinese leadership has bluntly warned the Bush Administration not to send new Aegis technology to Taiwan, which the PRC views as a renegade breakaway republic.

India/Pakistan. The round of Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests conducted in May 1998 highlighted again the nuclear risks emanating from the South Asian subcontinent, which are thought especially difficult given a history of mutual animosity and flashpoint geographical proximity. But the subcontinental issues transcend potential conflicts between India and Pakistan. For example, India has just announced a large increase in its own defense spending, both to deal with Pakistan but also to keep up with China, with whom it fought a major border war in the 1960’s. There may be a role for the American President to play in mediating conflict over the apparently explosive Kashmir province, although President Clinton declined the opportunity to play such a role.

North Korea. Beyond concerns centered on North Korea’s nuclear ambitions, which have been reduced by Kim Jong Il’s decision to drastically scale back nuclear development, North Korea is now the center of international attention because of its sales of missile technology to Iran, Pakistan, and Syria, and maybe others. At the urging of the European Union, President Putin of Russia recently met with the North Koreans to urge them to renounce missile development and sales, although he apparently met with little immediate success. Meanwhile, President Bush announced his skepticism about missile talks with North Korea, based he said on concerns about agreement verification; whether talks will actually be suspended is an issue under review (Bush’s announcement came after a meeting with the South Korean President, who favors more negotiation).

The evidence seems pretty clear that North Korea continues to abide by the so-called Agreed Framework, negotiated in 1994 to stop their nuclear program. So far North Korea has kept its pledge (made in 1999) not to test missiles while still negotiating the issue with Washington. Some argue for a comprehensive deal, the outlines of which were offered to President Clinton by Kim Jong Il: North Korea was ready to agree to give up all missiles with a range exceeding 300 miles and stop missile exports in exchange for a $1 billion commitment from the U.S. for fuel and food assistance.

**Chemical and Biological Weapons**

Because the United States has signed and ratified both the Chemical Weapons and Biological Weapons Conventions, which denies us the option of using chemical or biological agents even as a deterrence tactic, some argue for linking nuclear reprisals to CBW deterrence. In fact, many Pentagon planners believe it was only the threat of nuclear retaliation that prevented Saddam Hussein from using biological agents against Israel and the Desert Storm coalition ten years ago. There is controversy on this historical point: it is true that the Iraqi foreign minister, Tariq Aziz, told a UN official that Iraq refrained from using CBW because of feared American nuclear retaliation, but the UN official believed the statement was self-serving (since it reinforced Iraq’s status as a victim of American coercion).

Opponents of such a linkage have argued that chemical and biological weapons cannot be accurately considered weapons of mass destruction, or their potential equated with nuclear devastation. Among other facts, one might note that it is very difficult, perhaps impossible to defend against nuclear detonations, whereas defenses against chemical attack are effective and a regular part of battlefield training. The kinds of biological agents necessary to inflict truly horrific casualties are not yet known to be in any nation’s arsenal. Despite a January Pentagon report warning of the vulnerability of American agricultural assets to germ weapons, chemical and biological agents still do leave a country’s infrastructure (roads, water supply, hospitals, electricity) intact, making recovery easier to accomplish than in the aftermath of nuclear devastation. In fact, a Henry Stimson Center research report released last October argued the threat of chemical and germ weapons had been much exaggerated, and even recommended existing programs in emergency preparedness training be canceled.

Other proposals to deal with emerging chemical and biological weapons risks have been advanced. Since CBW production and use violates international law, some recommend the United Nations commit to a sanctions strategy that might include military action to destroy production and storage sites. And a strategy of explicit deterrence could be carried out conventionally: if a nation threatens chemical or biological weapons use, massive conventional attacks could cripple the relevant military infrastructure. A February meeting of scientists in San Francisco discussed other proposals, including the development of new gene-based techniques to detect biological attacks, and formation of international rules to enable the prosecution of terrorists using bioweapons. And a bipartisan commission headed by former Senators Warren Rudman and Gary Hart proposed the creation of a Cabinet-level agency to coordinate national policy regarding potential terrorist threats.

**Conclusion**

As this summary makes clear, the range of important issues raised by the WMD topic is truly vast, and obviously it will be important for negative teams to develop thoughtful negative strategies against potential affirmative proposals. We are likely to see a resurgence of procedural generic arguments, including counterplans to consult with Russia, China, Europe and Japan, and this season may see the return of some radical change counterplan proposals, including global disarmament and world government. But I suspect before too long the major counterplan ground will center more fully on detailed plan-inclusive alternatives that force debate onto narrower issues of strategic interest. In the event that building national missile defense proves a popular affirmative, for example (something I consider unlikely), a counterplan designed to implement deep nuclear cuts would be a powerful negative argument given the tradeoff seen by experts between defense development and offensive cuts. A counterplan arsenal including consultation might be productively supplemented by counterplans to use proposed affirmative unilateral cutbacks as leverage; that is, if the plan has the United States unilaterally cutback some deployment, a good counterplan strategy might be to use the plan as a bargaining chip designed to get Russia or China to make cuts of its own (bargaining chips and unilateral concessions are mutually exclusive, and the counterplan gets the net benefit of leveraging global support for the plan).

Perhaps debates on this year’s high school resolution will mirror how college debates evolved this past year, when the topic centered on increasing development assistance to countries in the greater horn of Africa. By the end of the season, especially at the major national tournaments (CEDA and NDT), the political disadvantages had dwindled in importance (as much for practical reasons as anything — it was hard to find a good Bush scenario), sur-
passed by carefully developed plan-inclusive or agent counterplans, detailed case debates, and fully elaborated critical positions. Such strategies, used by almost all of the top national college teams at year's end, place incredible pressure on the affirmative to defend very detailed advantage claims, and induce smart affirmatives to find "offense" on every page of their flow. But the resulting debates were specific and intense, all without endless debates over Bush Political Capital or Popularity — I wish for you the same!

For Additional Information

Some potential resources are listed here by major area; this list includes all the material referenced in producing this essay:

WMD & THE BUSH FOREIGN POLICY TEAM


SUPERPOWER NUCLEAR ISSUES / NUCLEAR DOCTRINAL ISSUES

Bemauer, Thomas and Dieter Ruloff, eds. The Politics of Positive Incentives in Arms Control (Columbus: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1999).


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REGIONAL WMD THREATS
Khaliilzad, Zalmay, et al. The United States and a Rising China: Strategic and Military Implications (Santa Monica, Cal.: RAND, 1999).
Wright, David C. "Will North Korea Negotiate Away Its Missiles?" Breakthrough (MIT Security Studies Program), vol. 7 (Spring 1998), 29-36.
(David M. Cheshier is Assistant Professor of Communications and Director of Debate at Georgia State University. This column originally appeared in the May Rostrum.)
National Center for Policy Analysis Has a Unique Approach to the Internet
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(Johnson continued from page 14)

sistent to assume that one cross-ex format is educational in one setting while arguing that it would never work in another event within our activity. This alternative format does not say what is good for debate is good for extemp, but rather argues that if goals were the same for developing argumentation in two events, then cross-examination styles should be the same as well.

The Montgomery Bell Academy (MBA) Round Robin serves as a crucial testing ground for this format. In the final round, the talented individuals demonstrated that this format could work. They exhibited a level of analysis and understanding that has been lost in many of the extemp rounds in previous years. Following the round, the majority of coaches within the room agreed that such a development has been needed for many years. The students extended their communication skills to a new level by engaging each other and delving deeper into the issues at hand. Rather than merely asking a single question about the topic, they formulated the question, asked it, and then dealt with the issues brought up by the response: 3 steps never possible under the previous structure. At MBA, this format is the ongoing standard in the final rounds and may be added to the prelim rounds as well. By using MBA as testing ground, the NFL should now take the step of using this style at both the District and Nationals levels as soon as possible. If expanding education is truly our primary goal, then we should aim to be consistent at every level and consequently advance the skills of our students to new heights.

(Adam A. Johnson extended from Montgomery Bell Academy (TN) and reached the National Semi-Finals in 2000. He currently is a student at Vanderbilt University (TN) and extemp coach at MBA.)

(McCready continued from page 17)

teaches units in humor, linguistics, argument, and satire in her "regular" and AP 11th and 12th (language and literature) classes. Over the past few years we have arranged to have students from the forensic team present persuasive oratory speeches, and individual humor pieces as well as group (readers' theater and duo) pieces in her classes. "The persuasive presentation was good for my 11th graders because they saw how important organization and the use of substantiation are in presenting an argument. There was a clear link to the 'inquiry' unit and the writing of the research paper in the English curriculum. Students are always impressed when they see their peers actually using the skills learned in English class." Terri went on to say that the students were both impressed as well as entertained by the humor presentations. "It was another way for them to see how satire is done by students who were well prepared. It was almost like seeing professionals."

On the other side of the coin, several years ago I was pleased to be able to invite a fellow coach, Bill Lernovitch of Einstein High School, and his county champion in poetry interpretation to my own English class. I did so because my students were not always the most enthusiastic fans of the written word. After seeing Roxanne (the poetry champion) perform, they were a good deal more enthusiastic about the study of poetry.

One of our goals for next year will be to visit other English classrooms, in addition to Ms. Crain's. Further afield, we are considering the idea of visiting a local assisted living (senior care) facility to do some readings of traditional poetry. Such visits will probably be more difficult to arrange than trips to area schools, but they are potentially just as rewarding, if not more so.

Winning a tournament, or even a round, will always be an unmatched thrill for our young forensic enthusiasts. There's no doubt that competition will always have its place. However, we should not neglect the non-competitive opportunities that are literally at our doorstep. We owe our communities that much.

(Adam A. Johnson is extended from Montgomery Bell Academy (TN) and reached the National Semi-Finals in 2000. He currently is a student at Vanderbilt University (TN) and extemp coach at MBA.)

Thank You!!

On behalf of the NFL staff, students, & coaches, a special "Thank You" to Mr. William Hicks who provides the Rostrum with National Tournament Photos. Capturing the Tournament in action is a special gift our readers appreciate!

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(Buettler continued from page 11) up and moved into ... " Finally we land on the other side, where we will encounter the problem in ways that are of "the real world of migraines and unforeclosed business deals," as the rest of the paragraph goes on to illustrate.

How Long Are Transitions?

The transitions which have been presented are single phrase or sentence transitions. Depending on the situation, however, transitions may be whole paragraphs. Consider the following:

"For me, computer work is like a drug, I can't do it up." The effects on the family do not go unseen, for the same.

A problem which can leave original orators speechless, business managers clueless, and poets emotionless deserves our immediate attention. Today, unlike any other age, we must be adept at handling and accessing information in our homes, schools, and jobs. Every time we allow our desks or rooms to be come stockpiled with clutter, our minds, too, become disorganized and confused. And when this happens we can no longer function effectively in these environments. Like cleaning our desks or rooms, then, we must sweep our minds free of any inhibiting factors.

I think a quote from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's novel A Study in Scarlet helps to better illustrate this point. In it, Doyle's eccentric sleuth, Sherlock Holmes, explains why he has no knowledge of the solar system: "I consider the man's brain to be originally like an empty attic and you have to stock it with the furniture as you choose. Now the skilful man is very careful as to what he takes into his brain-attic. He will have nothing but the tools which aid his work."

This full paragraph transition moves the listener from the ideas of the previous paragraph which summarizes the effects that information overload can have on people in the professional world as well as their families to the following paragraph which begins to present practical solutions to the problem, beginning with an idea from Sherlock Holmes.

The moral of the story, then, is that a transition can be as long or as short as you need it to be, but it must be. It is important for you as orators to keep in mind the fact that your listeners do not have a copy of the speech in front of them. They do not therefore, have the luxury of going back to find the material that they missed or to work their way through the line of thought that they are having difficulty following. You get to present the argument once and the audience must process it on the spot. Whether you are using a transition of order, relationship or movement, a good transition will help your audience to follow your line of thought by making them aware of your reasoning and will aid them in processing the information and arguments you are presenting. The best transitions are those which, like the ones cited in this article, relate clearly to the content of what has gone before and what will follow, and which keep the audience focused on the point of the speech. With the help of your careful attention to transitions, the audience can be reassured that, at least as far as your speech goes, they can get there from here.

(John Buettler coaches at Holy Ghost Preparatory School (PA). He has coached several NFL and NCFL finalists including his son Stephen who won National Oratory Runnerup in 1999)
THE THREE "QUEENS" OF LD

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