

Green Book for Public Forum Debate

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- [Optional] Subscription to *Green Membership*, additional materials released throughout the competitive season to help prepare students for academic competitions and tournaments.

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Introduction



Welcome to *Green Book!* You're in for an awesome journey of public forum (PF) debate. *Green Book* supports PF debaters by providing them with the educational resources necessary to have them succeed at public forum debating.

What Is Public Forum?

Simply put, public forum debate is the exciting educational opportunity where you and a partner get to develop cases to advocate for and against a particular topic. You will also scrimmage against other teams who are doing the same, whereas you get to oppose their cases. Judges and teachers rank how well you debated and they declare a winner of your debate round.

Public forum debate started in 2002 in the largest speech and debate league in the United States, the National Speech and Debate Association (NSDA).¹ Today thousands of students participate in

¹ NSDA was, for decades, known as the National Forensic League (NFL), but the Association changed its name to NSDA in 2013. Since 2002, other leagues and organizations have adopted public forum as a competitive format, like the National Catholic Forensic League. Most organizations rely on the NSDA resolutions in competition, so *Green Book* references NSDA as the main organization behind the development of public forum debate.

classrooms and competitions all over the country in this most invigorating activity. While it may appear complicated to those not familiar with the activity, we believe there is a *structure* and *strategy* to public forum debate that is actually quite simple.

Green Book teaches you this structure and strategy to PF debating, plus gives you model cases from real resolutions to help you grow as a successful PF debater. There is also a digital addendum that releases in the summer that will bring you more up-to-date lessons for your learning. The print copy and the digital addendum together lead you through four units of study to fully prepare you for PF debate.

Units and Lesson Plans

Green Book consists of four units, with three lessons for each unit, totaling twelve lessons in all. The content of the units will bring you through a learning sequence of *understanding*, *learning*, *modeling*, and *debating*. More specifically, the four units will consist of:

UNDERSTANDING	LEARNING	MODELING	DEBATING
<p style="text-align: center;">Unit I: Structure</p> <p>This unit helps you gain an understanding of the essentials of the PF debate round, as well as your responsibilities for the speeches in the round.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Unit II: Strategy</p> <p>This unit walks you through case development and how to conduct a debate round with strategies on both the PRO and CON sides of the resolution.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Unit III: Model Resolutions</p> <p>This unit consists of three lessons, each exploring important issues that constitute a strong debate. This is when you will conduct your first practices with other debaters.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Unit IV: Competition</p> <p>The majority of the content in this unit is part of your digital download. You will explore the initial resolution of the year, released by the NSDA in the summer. This will prepare you for your first competition.</p>

Consider Units I and II your educational venture through the complexities of PF debate. Get ready to do a lot of studying through new vocabulary and ideas that may seem cumbersome at first, but they are necessary foundations for debating. You do the actual debating in Units III and IV.

We'd like to make an important note about Unit III. By the time you are studying *Green Book* and depending on how old this edition is, the case material in Unit III may or may not still be valid. It is useful for practice debates or in-class exercises, but understand that websites may have been changed

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or been totally removed since this material was originally published in *Green Book*. The world continues to change, too, so perhaps the case ideas that we suggest in this unit have been adopted, at least partially. Do not rely on any of the past year's material in a formal debate without first going online and verifying it for yourself.

The source material in Unit IV is digital, released in time for the September-October resolution in NSDA competition. This allows Monument Publishing authors to write cases and briefs that are much more current. But still, do not rely on the material too much. You will quickly learn that debaters must always be attentive to the latest developments in the news, especially developments concerning the topic the league is debating.

Scope and Sequence

The chart below helps give you an idea of the logical order of the learning material.

Lesson	Title	Objective
Unit I	Structure of Public Forum Debate	
Lesson 1	Basic Preparation	<i>Learn the structure of PF debate.</i>
Lesson 2	Speaker Responsibilities	<i>Learn the responsibilities of each speech in the round, paying special attention to the speeches assigned to you.</i>
Lesson 3	Flowing	<i>Learn why flowing is so important and how to effectively flow and pre-flow constructive, rebuttal, and summary speeches.</i>
Unit II	Strategy of Debate Cases	
Lesson 4	Case Writing	<i>Know how to write strong cases.</i>
Lesson 5	Research	<i>Learn how to research qualified and persuasive evidence that supports the positions being advocated during a debate.</i>
Lesson 6	Crossfire	<i>Learn how to ask and answer questions during crossfire.</i>
Unit III	Model Resolutions for Your Debates	
Lesson 7	Cuba	<i>“Resolved: The United States should lift its embargo against Cuba.”</i>
Lesson 8	Military Spending	<i>“Resolved: In order to better respond to international conflicts, the United States should significantly increase its military spending.”</i>
Lesson 9	Electoral College	<i>“Resolved: The United States ought to replace the Electoral College with a direct national popular vote.”</i>
Unit IV	Ready for Competition	
Lesson 10	Competition	<i>Learn about the opportunities offered by the NSDA and how to prepare for your first tournament.</i>
Lesson 11	Topic Release	<i>Study your Green Addendum and master the details of the year's first topic.</i>
Lesson 12	Write Your Own Cases	<i>Write your own cases from the research you gather.</i>

We created each lesson to be completed within one week of study. This will vary with class size, the number of teachers or coaches available for practice, and how much discussion will fill your activities. But, generally, each lesson comes with a suggested schedule that follows:

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1. Day 1: A lesson reading plus a worksheet to test comprehension.
2. Days 2-3: Discussion or an activity that helps reinforce the lesson's objective.
3. Day 4-5: Units I and II will continue with discussion or activity, and Units III and IV will conduct debate rounds.

Adapting the Schedule

If you are either a more experienced debater or would rather dive headfirst into the resolution, you may do so with the digital addendum that releases before the competitive season. Unit III covers resolutions that have been run in previous years of competition, but Unit IV brings in the spotlight cases of the beginning of the year.

After September-October, NSDA releases a new resolution every month until their National Tournament in June. This is where the subscription to Monument Members' *Public Forum Membership* is extremely valuable (see MonumentMembers.com). You will be able to further extend your units to include many more *Public Forum Membership* cases. This print copy of *Green Book* comes with free access to the year's initial cases, but Monument Members' *Public Forum Memberships* release new material every Monday throughout your tournament season. We do this for several competitive events with what we call "Monument Mondays." If you subscribe, you will grow to have great expectations for the new releases, especially if you are preparing for an upcoming tournament.

You can see how adaptable a schedule can be when you incorporate the various topics released by NSDA. You can either continue the Scope and Sequence throughout the year, or skip Unit III altogether to focus solely on the new resolution. As resolutions release through the year, you can turn to new source material from Monument Members' *Public Forum Membership*:

Lesson	Title	Objective
Unit III	Topic Study	
Lesson 7	Understanding the Resolution (Taken from Unit IV, Lesson 11)	To study the resolutorial article provided in the Summer Release and master the current status of the topic.
Lesson 8	Debate Release #1-2	Master more of the topic and the model cases.
Lesson 9	Debate Release #3-4	Master more of the topic and the model cases.
Lesson 10	Debate Release #5-6	Master more of the topic and the model cases.
Lesson 11	Debate Release #7-8	Master more of the topic and the model cases.
Lesson 12	Debate Release #9-10	Master more of the topic and the model cases.
Lesson 13, etc.	Debate Release #11-12	Master more of the topic and the model cases.

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For noncompetitive classes, *Green Book* provides an extensive amount of source text for you to plug into Unit III. The digital downloads in Unit IV cover the September-October resolution, allowing for a whole new lesson for the class. Following the educational lessons of Units I and II, consider this extension for Unit III:

Lesson	Title	Objective
Unit III	Case Releases	
Lesson 7	NSDA Topic (Taken from the digital download in Unit IV)	Study the resolutorial article provided in the NSDA download and master the current status of the topic.
Lesson 8	Debate Release #1	Master more of the topic and the model cases.
Lesson 9	Debate Release #2	Master more of the topic and the model cases.
Lesson 10	Debate Release #3	Master more of the topic and the model cases.
Lesson 11	Debate Release #4	Master more of the topic and the model cases.

Depending on your school, club, squad or class size, your teacher or coach will most likely adapt this Scope and Sequence as he or she sees fit. For competitors, we strongly encourage Monument Members' *Public Forum Membership*. Additional study helps, as well as PRO and CON cases and Answers-to-briefs (you will learn about these pieces of preparation later), will be released throughout the competitive season to help prepare you for tournaments.

What's Legal, What's Not

The Summer Release will have material specific to the September-October resolution along with some PRO and CON briefing materials. These materials are stored in the cloud on Monument Publishing's web servers. You may download these materials by following the instructions at "Accessing Your Downloads" page at the beginning of this book.

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We allow some flexibility when debaters partner up for competition. If you own *Green Book* and your partner does not, you will need to be the "owner" responsible for the use of the content. You may not share the book itself, but you can print the cases and briefs as if both of you own *Green Book*. If you are a Monument Member at MonumentMembers.com, but your partner isn't, you will have to be the one responsible to log in and print all the materials for the two of you.

Unit I



Structure of Public Forum Debate

There is little more exciting than being able to stand for your beliefs, communicate them with conviction, and advocate for a better world. This is what PF debate does for you.

But before you begin, you need to understand the basic structure to the game. Unit I gives you the essentials to help you become a great PF debater.

LESSON 1: BASIC PREPARATION



Objective of Lesson 1:

Learn the structure of PF debate.

Public forum debate is an academic and competitive exercise that has a common framework and follows a specific format in every debate round. Not knowing the framework and format may give you some anxiety. Like any sport or classroom exercise, most anxiety has to do with a lack of understanding. Not knowing what to expect, the idea of standing in front of a judge or teacher, and debating an opponent is the most terrifying thing in the world.

Relax. Every debater starts out wondering where to start. This unit walks you through four expectations you can have that will form the framework and structure of public forum debate.

Expect the Kick Off

Debaters find the subject of discussion in the “proposition,” also called the “resolution.” The proposition is what all debate competitors will be debating. It is a statement that one side will support as the “proposition” or “PRO” team, and the other team (the “CON”) will oppose. All teams (consisting of two students) must prepare to support (PRO) and negate (CON) the resolution, since

they may choose either position right before a debate round starts. The entire stage is set around the resolution.

When you begin a public forum debate round, two directives need to be determined: (1) the side of the resolution you will be arguing, and (2) the speaker order you will be taking. NSDA rules require each round to begin with a coin toss to determine which of each of these you will take. You will enter the room prepared to win the toss (and make the best choice for you) or lose the toss (and get the worst choice for you). The winning team of the coin toss will get to choose first—which side of the resolution (PRO or CON) *or* which speaker order (first or second). The losing team gets to choose the one the winning team *didn't* pick.

We have three sample resolutions to practice with, all three of which were adapted from previous years of competition:

1. Resolved: The United States should lift its embargo against Cuba.
2. Resolved: In order to better respond to international conflicts, the United States should significantly increase its military spending.
3. Resolved: The United States ought to replace the Electoral College with a direct national popular vote.

So, for example's sake, take the first resolution on the Cuban embargo. You will be prepared to argue both PRO and CON, but let's say you are more confident on the PRO side. If you win the coin toss, you can choose the PRO position over the CON. The other team, therefore, will be forced to take the CON position, but they will then choose to be the first speaker because (they theorize) they are stronger on that structure of speaking.²

Preparing for competition, you will analyze for and against the resolution and be prepared to go both ways. A typical tournament will have 4-6 rounds and perhaps some out rounds. To learn how to do this, we have the three resolutions above for which you will analyze and argue for and against the issue at hand.

This brings us to one of the most interesting elements of debate: *understanding both sides*. We believe this is an educational element missing in much of modern education, but it is perhaps the most crucial in learning how to function in the real world. It isn't possible to find real solutions to world problems if we only listen to advocates for one side of important issues without ever considering opposing views.

² These are the NSDA rules. Some states (like the Florida Forensic League, for example) lock sides so you will debate both sides an equal number of rounds. You will only flip for speaking order. Inquire to see if you have a regional nuance different from NSDA rules.

The teams try to convince the judge that the change *they* propose is the better change for the good of our country and the world.

Expect Rules of Engagement

Envision four debaters—two on the PRO and two on the CON—sitting at two tables, each on the side of a lectern. The lectern faces the judge, typically a teacher, an alumni graduate debater, a parent, or a community member who has been asked to participate. The judge has a ballot and a flowsheet to take notes during the debate. The round will last 35-45 minutes, of which each speaker will speak only for 6 minutes, plus 6 minutes of crossfire (where speakers ask each other questions). Total speaking time: 12 minutes.

One encouraging feature of PF debate is that, unlike many other speech events, you can take to the lectern all the notes and briefing materials you need and you can read from them all you want. You never have to memorize anything in PF debate.

Here are the speeches and the time they are allotted. You and your partner must decide before you start debating who will be in the first or second position. For now, understand the four speaker positions: A1, A2, B1 and B2.

Team A, 1st Speaker (A1) – “Constructive Speech” – 4 minutes

Team B, 1st Speaker (B1) – “Constructive Speech” – 4 minutes

Crossfire: A1 and B1 ask questions of one another – 3 minutes

Team A, 2nd Speaker (A2) – “Rebuttal Speech” – 4 minutes

Team B, 2nd Speaker (B2) – “Rebuttal Speech” – 4 minutes

Crossfire: A2 and B2 ask questions of one another – 3 minutes

Team A, 1st Speaker (A1) – “Summary” – 2 minutes

Team B, 1st Speaker (B1) – “Summary” – 2 minutes

Grand Crossfire: All four speakers ask questions of each other – 3 minutes

Team A, 2nd Speaker (A2) – “Final Focus” – 2 minutes

Team B, 2nd Speaker (B2) – “Final Focus” – 2 minutes

There is also an allotment of two minutes for each team that is measured throughout the round that can be used in between speeches for preparation (“prep time”).³ During the time between the end of the previous speech and the beginning of prep time, the debater can ask to see any evidence read in the previous speeches. While waiting for the team to produce this evidence, debaters do not prep. After evidence is exchanged, prep time begins. The two minutes can be budgeted in any fashion by each

³ Some tournaments allow for a different amount of prep time, sometimes allowing 4 minutes.

team—they can use a little bit of it before each speech, or they could use it all before one speech and none before any of the others.

You will be one of four speakers. This doesn't seem so bad, does it?

Expect to Flow

Before you can answer someone's arguments and get yours across, you must first have a full comprehension of the other side's arguments. "Flowing" a round is the note-taking process throughout the debate. It is probably the most crucial initial skill for the beginning debater to learn. Flowing is where we seek first to understand and document the arguments being made by the other side before we begin answering them. We will have an entire lesson later in Unit I devoted to the subject of flowing.

A flowsheet tells you a lot about the round. There are strategies that make a lot of sense once you get your mind around the flow. Remember your job as a debater and a debate team: convince the one grading you. It's either your teacher in the classroom or the judge at a tournament. Some of the strategies you learn as you become good at flowing will help you convince the teacher/judge. You'll be a better persuader, a more strategic debater, and a more successful advocate for your position.

Flowing a debate round can be challenging, but it is absolutely essential and there is no substitute for it. One good way to get started is by seeing what a good completed flow should look like. Speeches flow from column to column, recording the arguments as they are presented in the debate round. We'll go into more detail later, but for now, take a look at what a completed flowsheet looks like:

Lesson 1: Basic Preparation

First Speaker (A1)	Rebuttal (B2)	Summary (A1)	Final Focus (B2)
<p>PRO - CIV</p> <p>C1- Terrorism 1/2 drone strikes civilians killed Yemen - Drones create terrorism</p> <p>C2- Forces Disband 1.9 million people displaced a) Ethnic conflict b) Disrupts U.S.</p> <p>C3- Escalating Arms Trade 3.5% increase in spending Shows: US spending 9 countries</p>	<p>CON</p> <p>Rebuttal: 1) Drone/missile program 2) Drones: no need for intrusion 3) Drones: no inside attacks</p> <p>Speculation: - no examples of ethnic groups - \$ not spending on bases - expected: force the bases</p> <p>Arms sales: - Countries depend on us - See: Economic interdependence</p>	<p>False! Drones 97% effective Logical: flow to individualization</p> <p>Objection: Other countries it's better to let other bases</p> <p>Can't link bases & arms trade</p>	<p>VI- Peace hasn't Strength - No response to US Drones - Conceded in the world - Disrupt DPT - Drones kill in world</p> <p>Terrorism - Terrorism continues - Their evil is heard, and specific.</p>
Second Speaker (B1)	Rebuttal (A2)	Summary (B1)	Final Focus (A2)
<p>CON - CIV</p> <p>Pro Responding to terrorism peace</p> <p>C1- Peace hasn't Strength - China/Russia inc. in US - other countries Region 15 - US continues world System will erupt</p> <p>C2- Democrat's peace treaty - Communism dead, lost democracy, etc + will Banking - other countries spending Region - North America</p> <p>Dems need never go to war with other democracies</p>	<p>US is extremely prepared now #700 bil/yr</p> <p>But big gap to close Influence goes to other #1 New 16 - spending suggestion Global - Russia, China</p> <p>When it's conflict threat 25% - 15% of spending is institutions that's democracy</p>	<p>Agree! But becoming less prepared</p> <p>Lagging behind on cyberwar Act - US sentiment not bad</p> <p>Commun could be democratic it we had more military presence</p>	<p>Legislation to work Pro ∴ vote can</p> <p>Problem is with intelligence Pro not solving anything</p> <p>VI- Terrorism 1) Civil liberties 2) Drones create anti-US sentiment "More logical sense"</p>

In this example, debaters are tasked with doing three things simultaneously:

1. Debaters need to listen to whoever is presenting. The first two speeches (A1 and B1) are very important, as they are presented from material prepared ahead of time. A1 will present, and both B debaters will be listening to the key points of the outline of the A1. In the next speech, B1 will be speaking, and both A debaters will be busy listening carefully.
2. Debaters need to record the arguments. Debaters are not only listening, but they are also writing the arguments down (flowing) in the appropriate columns. This takes practice, but it becomes easier the more you do it. By the time the rebuttal speeches begin, every debaters' flow should have the A1 and B1 columns filled out; by the time the rebuttals finish, every debater should have the B2 and A2 columns filled out; and so on. Note: This does *not* mean trying to write down word for word everything the speaker is saying. It *does* mean writing a very short summary (3 or 4 words) of each major point in the speech.
3. Debaters need to prepare for their next speech. This means that, if you are the second speaker, you are not only *listening* and *recording* on the flow during the A1 and B1, you are also "pre-

flowing” for the next speech. Each team is allowed 2 minutes of prep time to use as they wish to apply before one of the team speaks. As you get to know your speaking responsibilities, you’ll try to use as little of this time as possible and save it for later in the round when you or your partner may need it. Throughout the entire round, the next speaker is always pre-flowing his or her upcoming speech before it happens. The rest of the debaters and the judge are flowing it in real time as speeches are given.

When you begin learning debate, it is most important that you do #1 and #2 first, before this #3 step. Get your opponents’ arguments written down before you begin writing your responses. If not, you may well miss important points your opponent is making, and then find yourself in trouble later in the round when it’s pointed out that you didn’t answer some key issues. Step #3 is always necessary, but you may need to do it during prep time and while your partner is conducting crossfire to fill in what you may have missed.

There are many skills you’ll learn from debate, and flowing is one that will stick with you throughout college and life. Not much gets by a debater. This is because they are trained to listen, record, and prepare their thoughts—all simultaneously.

Expect to Learn

Debate teaches you four major things that go beyond the proposition and even beyond the activity itself.

First, you will learn to communicate. At timed moments in your debates, you will be expected to walk to the lectern and give reasonable arguments and responses to your opponent’s arguments. If you doubt yourself in your speaking ability, that doubt will go away with the practice that debate allows. You will be a more confident, more influential, and more disciplined communicator because of the activity of public forum debate.

Second, you’ll learn about cooperation. We don’t believe competition and cooperation are mutually exclusive. Sure, you and your partner will go up against an opposing team, but you still need to cooperate with each other. Cooperating with your partner is much more important than beating your opponent. In fact, you won’t win many debate rounds if there is discord between the two of you. Cooperation precedes competition.

You’ll also cooperate with other members of your class or team. As you work together to build winning debate strategies, you will find that dividing the labor among the group is an effective way to accomplish more than trying to do everything yourself.

Third, you’ll learn to appreciate and adhere to moral and ethical behavior. Playing fair at any game makes sense, and it keeps the game healthy, fun, and rewarding.

Lesson 1: Basic Preparation

Aren't we all disappointed when a few (and it only takes a few) display poor behavior in any activity? In debate, some competitors knowingly choose to run fraudulent evidence, an offense that is clearly cheating but not easily identified. Other behavior—abusive tactics, derogatory style, sophist arguing—is more blatant. Such things are not fun, and they can ruin healthy debating.

But this doesn't invalidate the activity; in fact, it validates it even more. Debate sharpens you and your character. The choice to behave unethically is always available next to the choice to behave ethically. Great students and champion debaters consistently choose the latter, and they become the leaders that the activity trains them to be.

Fourth, you'll learn about competition. Whether you register for a tournament or not, debate is incredibly competitive. Even in a classroom setting, you will feel the adrenaline when you take the podium for the first time, and you'll want to *win*. We believe this is healthy. Ride that competitive urge and have fun!

Worksheet for Lesson 1

Name: _____ Date: _____

Read Lesson 1. Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1. List the four expectations of PF debaters:

Expect the _____.

Expect _____.

Expect to _____.

Expect to _____.

2. What topics do each of the resolutions in this *Green Book* cover?

Topic #1: _____

Topic #2: _____

Topic #3: _____

3. Do you have any strong opinions on one of these topics? Pick one and write a sentence or two about your current opinion. "I believe that..." and briefly why:

Note: there is no wrong answer for #3. As a debater, you will be required to argue both sides of the resolution.

Lesson 1: Basic Preparation

4. Mark “T” for true, and “F” for false on the following *Rules of Engagement* for public forum debate.

- _____ a) The PRO advocates for the resolution and the CON argues against it.
- _____ b) The PRO gets the first word in the round, and the CON gets the last.
- _____ c) Each debater gets a total of 16 minutes of speaking time during the 33-minute debate.
- _____ d) Every speech in the round must be memorized in advance.
- _____ e) Each debate team (not individual student) splits 2 minutes of prep time for the round.

5. What three things do debaters need to do to properly flow a round?

- Debaters need to _____.
- Debaters need to _____.
- Debaters need to _____.

6. What four things will you learn about as a PF debater?

- First, you’ll learn to _____.
- Second, you’ll learn about _____.
- Third, you’ll learn to appreciate and adhere to _____.
- Fourth, you’ll learn about _____.

Extension for Lesson 1

To help understand what goes on in a debate round, it helps to see one in action. Follow this link to watch some debate rounds in action: MonumentPublishing.com/greenbook-lesson1. You should be able to identify the following from one of the videos we chose on this page. As a class, choose one video to discuss in class or club with your peers, and use the following worksheet for your notes.

1. The resolution being debated is:

2. In your own words, give a short explanation of your impression of each of the speeches.

First Speaker (A1)	Rebuttal (B2)	Summary (A1)	Final Focus (B2)
Second Speaker (B1)	Rebuttal (A2)	Summary (B1)	Final Focus (A2)

3. Which side (PRO or CON) do you believe won this round? Give a reason for your decision.

LESSON 2: SPEAKER RESPONSIBILITIES



Objective of Lesson 2:

Learn the responsibilities of each speech in the round, paying special attention to the speeches assigned to you.

Each of the four speakers has a different role to play in the public forum debate round. In this lesson, you will learn what is expected of each.

Long before any debate round starts, you and your partner will decide who will be the A1 and A2, and who will be the B1 and B2 speakers. The choices depend on how you and your partner work together, your strengths and weaknesses, which side of the resolution you will be arguing, etc. Sometimes, after considering the responsibilities of each speaker, you may discover that you and your partner are really

not a good fit, or that perhaps someone else in your class would be a better fit. This is something you and your teacher (or coach) should work out, and sometimes it's best for your teacher to make the assignment, and then wait to see how things work out.

Let's go through each of the responsibilities you and your partner will have in your speeches.

Team A, Speaker 1 (A1)

The first speaker (A1) will read the first prepared speech in the round. His or her responsibilities include:

1. Deliver the A Team's case, either the PRO or the CON, which establishes the A team's position on the resolution. This is considered the first "constructive" case, meaning the speech constructs arguments. Unit III provides model cases for you, specifically designed to give you models for a practice round. Your A1 speech is normally pre-written and scripted, unlike most of the other speeches in the round, which are completely impromptu. But you have class and homework time to prepare your A1. Use it. Don't show up for your first round without first reading, studying, and *knowing* the A1 case you'll be running.

2. Ask and answer questions in the first crossfire. When you are finished giving the A1 speech, you will take notes on (or "flow") the B1 speech from your opponent. This will follow with the first "crossfire," a question-and-answer time between you and the B1 speaker. You will ask the first question, after which either speaker may ask the other a question. Your job is to ask good questions and answer honestly the questions proposed to you, trying to seek admissions harmful to your opponent's case without giving up admissions that could be harmful to yours.

3. Deliver the A Team's summary speech. After flowing the exchange between your partner and the other B speaker, you will attempt to "summarize" the elements of the debate round. This is where the debate changes from line-by-line argumentation to a big picture. Take all of the arguments presented in the constructive and rebuttal speeches and present them as a part of a whole. Demonstrate why your whole outweighs the opposing team's position.

4. Grand crossfire. The last time you will speak is during the Grand Crossfire, a time when all four speakers exchange questions and answers concerning the round. Debaters typically remain seated during this 3-minute exchange. The first question is asked by the first speaker. A healthy exchange is expected to follow with no debater exemplifying rudeness or dominance in the round.

Team B, Speaker 1 (B1)

Like the first speaker, the B1 kicks off the round on the other side of the debate, either affirming (PRO) or negating (CON) the resolution.

1. Deliver the B Team's case. This speech establishes the B team's position on the resolution. Like the A1 speech, Unit III has model cases for you, pre-written for the round, designed to take your position on the resolution. You have pre-tournament time to prepare your B1, so you should know it as well as the A1.

2. Ask and answer questions in the first crossfire. When you are finished giving the B1 speech, you will be asked the first question in the following crossfire with the A1 speaker. Answer honestly, then follow with a question of your own. The three minutes continues with a fair exchange of Q&A.

3. Deliver the B Team's summary speech. After flowing the exchange between the other A speaker, your partner, and the A Team's first summary, you will attempt to "summarize" the elements of the debate round and explain why your side is winning. Like the A's summary, you, too, will avoid line-by-line argumentation and try to pull together the entire debate as a whole, explaining why your position outweighs the opposing position. This speech is two minutes.

4. Grand crossfire. All four speakers exchange questions and answers concerning the round. Debaters typically remain seated during this 3-minute exchange. The A Team's first speaker will ask the first question. A healthy exchange is expected to follow.

Team A, Speaker 2 (A2)

Now the debate enters the rebuttal stage where the second speakers present arguments against the constructive speeches. The A2 speaker in the round has the following responsibilities.

1. Deliver the A Team's rebuttal. The A2 will flow the B1's speech very carefully, as the first rebuttal speech will be attacking the B1's column on the flow. Counter evidence is usually used in this speech to attack the B1 speech.

2. Ask and answer questions in the second crossfire. When you are finished giving the A2 speech, you will listen carefully and flow the B2 speech from your opponent. This will follow with the second crossfire between you and the previous speaker. You will ask the first question, then allow your opponent to ask the next, and so on.

3. Grand crossfire. All four speakers exchange questions and answers concerning the round. Debaters typically remain seated during this 3-minute exchange. Your partner (the First Speaker) will ask the first question. A healthy exchange is expected to follow.

4. Deliver the A Team's Final Focus. Just as your partner did in the Summary, your job in the Final Focus is to explain to the judge why you are winning the debate. This is different than winning an argument or two, as it is not uncommon to win an argument but lose the debate round. Frame the debate holistically, then use arguments for support of that holistic position. Compare the two positions

and explain why the judge should favor your position over your opponent’s position. This speech is two minutes.

Team B, Speaker 2 (B2)

The B2 speaker is the last speaker to speak. He or she has the ability to give the last impression in the round.

1. Deliver the B Team’s rebuttal. The B2 will flow the first speech (A1) very carefully, as that is the speech the B2 will address. The B Team essentially splits the rebuttal responsibility, the B2 speaker taking on the A1. Counter evidence is usually used in this speech.

2. Ask and answer questions in the second crossfire. The A2 speaker will begin crossfire immediately following your rebuttal by asking you a question. You will follow with another question, and the crossfire will continue from there for three minutes.

3. Grand crossfire. The A Team’s First Speaker will give the first question in the grand crossfire to start the exchange involving all the speakers. Debaters typically remain seated during this 3-minute exchange. A healthy exchange is expected to follow your first question.

4. Deliver the B Team’s Final Focus. This is the final word in the round. You will give a short 2-minute speech bringing the debate into “final focus,” often focusing on key arguments of contention reflected in the debate round. Frame the debate holistically, then use arguments for support of that holistic position. Compare the two positions and explain why the judge should favor your position over your opponent’s position. This speech is two minutes and concludes the entire debate round.

All the speeches are strategically placed to give everyone equal time to make their arguments and conduct a robust debate. The table below summarizes the responsibilities of the speakers.

A1	B1	A2	B2
1. Deliver the A Team’s case	1. Deliver the B Team’s case	1. Deliver the A Team’s rebuttal	1. Deliver the B Team’s rebuttal
2. Ask and answer questions in the first crossfire	2. Ask and answer questions in the first crossfire	2. Ask and answer questions in the second crossfire	2. Ask and answer questions in the second crossfire
3. Deliver the A Team’s summary speech	3. Deliver the B Team’s summary speech	3. Grand crossfire	3. Grand crossfire
4. Grand crossfire	4. Grand crossfire	4. Deliver the A Team’s Final Focus	4. Deliver the B Team’s Final Focus

Worksheet for Lesson 2

Name: _____ Date: _____

Read Lesson 2. Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1. Match the following duties with one of the following speakers: A1, B1, A2, B2.

- a) The _____ delivers the first speech in the round.
- b) The _____ delivers the second speech in the round.
- c) The _____ participates with the B1 during crossfire.
- d) The _____ participates with the A1 during crossfire.
- e) The _____ delivers the first rebuttal in the round.
- f) The _____ delivers the second rebuttal in the round.
- g) The _____ participates with the B2 during crossfire.
- h) The _____ participates with the A2 during crossfire.
- i) The _____ delivers the 1st summary.
- j) The _____ delivers the 2nd summary.
- k) The _____ asks the first question during the grand crossfire.
- l) The _____ delivers the 1st final focus.
- m) The _____ delivers the 2nd final focus.

3. Circle the speaker position and, in the space following, explain why this position is best for you.

A1 or A2:

B1 or B2:

Extension for Lesson 2

You now have a deeper understanding of what you will need to prepare for in your upcoming debates. Come up with a simple resolution that you and your friends could debate (or your teacher may provide one for you). For example, “*Resolved: Our school’s lunch hour should be significantly longer.*” Assume the PRO team speaks first.

Fill out a brief explanation of what *you* would be doing if you were any of the four speakers. The first has been done for you, but feel free to add to what has been entered.

Speaker	Constructive	Summary
A1	<p><i>I would approach the lectern with a copy of my PRO case. My flowsheet would be pre-flowed with the A1 column already filled out. After reading my entire case, I would listen to and flow the B1 speech. I would then stand and ask the first question during the 1st crossfire.</i></p>	
B1		
	Rebuttal	Final Focus
A2		
B2		

LESSON 3: FLOWING



Objective of Lesson 3:

Learn why flowing is so important and how to effectively flow and pre-flow constructive, rebuttal and summary speeches.

We've observed already that "good flowing" is essential to winning a debate. Unfortunately, there is no magic set of instructions about flowing that can make someone good at it. We can explain what it is, but success at it requires lots of practice, so you will have to be willing to put in the effort if you want to become good at flowing. Rest assured it will pay off: It is not a coincidence that winning debaters are always good at flowing.

Flowing is the process of writing down a well-organized, legible summary of all the arguments made by all the debaters in the eight speeches of the round, including their own. It is essential to effective debating and you should not bother competing in debate nor taking a debate class if you are not willing

to do it. **Improved flowing is the single biggest thing most beginning debaters can do to improve their chances of winning debate rounds.**⁴

Why Flowing Is So Important

Why is flowing so important? Because, *if you don't flow it, you don't know it*. This is why we have a saying:

You have to flow every time. That, my friend, is the bottom line.

You will not be able to remember all the arguments the speakers made five minutes after they made them. You will then not be able to remember all the arguments in response, and the problem keeps snowballing as the debate progresses. When the summary speaker gets up and says, “Remember what my partner’s card said in A1 about economic harms?” you will have no idea what the debater is talking about if you didn’t flow it.

Judges will be able to identify debaters who aren’t flowing well. They will hear a statement like this: “Now in the last speech, my opponent said something about the economy.” This tells the judge that the current speaker is trying to recall something off the top of his head, but he really doesn’t have an accurate summary of it written down and he probably doesn’t know what he’s talking about. “Something about the economy”—that could be anything.

If his flow had been complete, he would have said it more like this: “Now in the last speech, his third contention was that it would cause a recession and loss of a million jobs.” See how much better that is? Notice how much more persuasive this guy sounds already? He’s on the right track because he’s flowing better.

In the last two lessons, you observed debate rounds and understand the four columns of the flowsheet. Now let’s dig deeper into how to utilize that flowsheet in order to make you an excellent debater.

Flowing the Speakers

We provided you some templates for a flowsheet, but the idea could be just as easily mapped out on a standard piece of paper. Turn it sideways and divide it into four columns, labeling each column with the four sections of the round (Speakers, Rebuttals, Summaries, Final Focus). Crossfire does not have to be flowed because issues raised are questions the debaters ask of one another, not arguments, and they don’t become arguments until someone says them in a subsequent speech. Then draw a line through the middle of your paper to signify the first and second speakers on each side of the debate. At

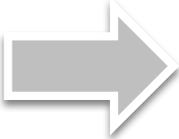
⁴ Much of this chapter’s influence came from Vance Trefethen, coach of policy debate for Monument Publishing. His emphasis on “flow every time” is taken from *Blue Book for Policy Debate*.

Lesson 3: Flowing

the top of each section, include the abbreviations for each speaker position in its proper place, the positions you learned in the last lesson.

It is helpful to understand how the debate round will unfold, or “flow.” It will not go across the top then across the bottom. Instead, it will weave through the speeches from top to bottom in coordination with the timed speeches listed in Lesson 1. A flowsheet will look something like the chart below, and the speeches will commence accordingly.

You should have something that looks like this:

<p>First Speaker (A1)</p> <p>Start</p> 	<p>Rebuttal (B2)</p> 	<p>Summary (A1)</p> 	<p>Final Focus (B2)</p> <p>Finish</p>
<p>Second Speaker (B1)</p> 	<p>Rebuttal (A2)</p> 	<p>Summary (B1)</p> 	<p>Final Focus (A2)</p> 

Once we know where all the speeches will go, we then focus on writing brief summaries of each argument, plus any additional information that might be needed to help us respond intelligently to the points made in the round. The A1 is the first speech in the round, so let’s consider an example of how it would be flowed.

For the rest of this lesson, we will run through a simplified public forum debate round. Assume the First Speaker is for (PRO) the resolution, “Resolved: The United States should significantly change its foreign aid policies.” Below is a greatly simplified sample of a made-up A1, followed by a sample flow that all the other debaters in the round — as well as the judge — would make while listening to the speech. This isn’t a perfect model, is incomplete in some ways, and refers to evidence that could

very well exist but is fabricated for the sake of example. It is offered only for the purpose of illustrating flowing.

“My partner and I affirm: The United States should significantly change its foreign aid policies.

Contention 1: The United States gives aid to governments in need. Prof. Alf Landon, UCLA Policy Review, December 2015: “The US government donates around \$10 billion per year for assistance programs in Africa. Most of this money goes to the governments in the region.”

Contention 2: Corrupt governments steal aid intended for the poor. Wes Woozy, The New York Times, June 2011: “US aid officials estimate that around 50% of the poverty relief aid money donated to African governments last year was stolen by corrupt elites.”

Contention 3: All US foreign aid should be donated to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) from now on. Barney Rubble, Stonehenge Times, 2016: “Directing US relief programs in Africa to relief organizations rather than the African governments would bypass the corrupt elites and significantly reduce the theft of aid that robs the world’s poorest people of the help they desperately need.”

What should appear on the four flowsheets (five, if you count the judge) in the room now? Remember that the PRO team must flow its own arguments too, and a smart A1 Speaker will pre-flow the outline of his A1 speech onto his flow before he even gets to the tournament. Everyone should have the top half of their flow looking something like the one below:

First Speaker (A1)	Rebuttal (B2)	Summary (A1)	Final Focus (B2)
C1: US gives aid to gov'ts in need Landon '15: \$10bln to gov'ts C2: Corrupt gov'ts steal Woozy '11: 50% aid stolen C3: Foreign aid s/b to NGOs Rubble '16: NGOs w/reduce theft			

Before continuing, let’s look at what is flowed, how it’s flowed, and what isn’t flowed. First, notice the widespread use of abbreviations: “C1” for first contention; “gov’ts” for governments; “s/b” for should be. You and your partner will develop a consistent set of abbreviations that the two of you can both understand, and you will use these over and over again to save space on the flow. This goes for the topic you debate, too. Figure out the popular organizations, government agencies, etc. that have abbreviations that you will record quickly on your flow. “NGOs,” in this example, stands for Non-Governmental Organizations. You see that you read the entire name into the round, but you abbreviate it on the flow. Everything that can be abbreviated should be.

Lesson 3: Flowing

Next, notice what's NOT on the flow. Many details of the evidence are not recorded. All that was recorded was the last name of the source, the date, and a summary of what the evidence said. New debaters will find this very difficult to do at first, but it comes with consistent listening and practice taking notes. As with the definitions, you may write down more information based on whether or not something crazy was presented. If, for example, the CON team thought the Stonehenge Times was a crazy source, they may flow it to remind them later to challenge the validity of that source.

Notice what *is* on the flow: the entire outline of the A1. Anyone looking at this column can quickly figure out that they had three contentions to their case. It is also easy to figure out what the PRO team is advocating: Shift aid from donations to governments in Africa to donations to NGOs in Africa. If your flow doesn't get these basic points across, your flow isn't good enough and you need more practice flowing.

Next comes the B1. Much like her opponent, she, too, will give her and her partner's case arguing against (CON) the resolution. The resolution is a policy resolution, meaning the PRO is advocating for a change to the status quo. The CON position can go one of two routes: argue to keep the status quo as-is, or argue that the PRO position will create harms that are worse than the status quo. The first opposes the resolution, the second opposes the PRO team's plan. Let's see which way the B1 goes:

"The PRO team would like you to believe that aid to other countries ends up in the hands of corrupt governments, but that is simply not true. While the world is not perfect and some aid is stolen, the majority of aid goes to feeding the poor. This is why my partner and I negate the resolution and argue that the United States should NOT significantly change its foreign aid policies.

To convince you, I offer you three contentions.

Contention 1: The United States is the leading contributor to aid in foreign countries. Prof. Takei Lot, Wall Street Journal, January 2017: "Without the aid of the United States of America coming into impoverished countries of Africa, many of the poor would go without food. No other country gives as much to impoverished countries than America."

Contention 2: 97% of aid reaches the poor today. Delilah Moony, CNN, September 2016: "The poor in the world are greatly nourished by the donations of generous Americans. In fact, 97% of all donations are received by the poor people."

Contention 3: Corrupt governments are behaving more responsibly. Dr. Richard Potato, Cornell University, August 2, 2010: "In the past two decades, dictatorships of corrupt governments have not manipulated American foreign aid nearly as much as they did in decades previous. It is safe to assume that they have been behaving more responsibly toward their people."

As you can see, the CON position argued against the resolution, not the PRO team's case. In other words, the CON position is that *The United States should NOT significantly changes its foreign aid*

policies. Now everyone in the room will have filled out both the top and the bottom halves of the first column, everyone having a resemblance of the following flowsheet:

<p>First Speaker (A1)</p> <p>C1: US gives aid to gov'ts in need Landon '15: \$10bln to gov'ts</p> <p>C2: Corrupt gov'ts steal Woozy '11: 50% aid stolen</p> <p>C3: Foreign aid s/b to NGOs Rubble '16: NGOs w/reduce theft</p>	<p>Rebuttal (B2)</p>	<p>Summary (A1)</p>	<p>Final Focus (B2)</p>
<p>Second Speaker (B1)</p> <p>C1: US leading contributor to foreign aid Prof Lot '17: US is leading w/ aid to countries</p> <p>C2: 97% aid reaches poor Moony '16: world nourished</p> <p>C3: Afr gov'ts responsible Dick Tater '10: assume gov'ts resp toward people</p>	<p>Rebuttal (A2)</p>	<p>Summary (B1)</p>	<p>Final Focus (A2)</p>

Now that both speakers have given their speeches, we know a few things. We know the position each side is taking concerning their side of the resolution: the PRO wants to divert aid to NGOs, and the CON wants to keep aid the way it is in the status quo. Now the two teams get to ask questions of one another.

The First Speaker will ask a question of the Second Speaker, after which either speaker may ask the other a question. The crossfire is not typically flowed, though debaters sometimes will write down admissions from the crossfire as part of “pre-flowing,” which is exactly what the next two speakers will be doing during this 3-minute exchange. Students should use the entire time in the crossfire, as their partners consider the crossfire to be time spent for them to prepare their speeches.

Flowing the Rebuttals

As mentioned, *everyone* flows the first two speeches. You may notice that the teams should have half of the first column “pre-flowed,” meaning they know what they are running and are able to write out their own outline ahead of the round. Only the judge starts the round with a completely empty flow: the A team has the top half pre-flowed, the B team has the bottom half pre-flowed.

“Pre-flowing” is a technique used by winning debaters that often separates them from the novices. It means that the speaker up next is going to write down short summaries of what her arguments will be in her next speech. Sometimes she will use prep time, but most of the time she will use the same time

Lesson 3: Flowing

as her flowing or crossfire of her partner and opponent. Either way, every single moment is used to prepare for the next speech.

Pre-flowing accomplishes two goals: First, it gives the next speaker an outline of what she is going to say so that she can remember all the arguments she wants to make and can give an accurate summary at the start of the speech. Second, it means she has her own speech on the flow for the rest of the round. Since you cannot flow and speak at the same time, this is the best and sometimes only way to have a flow of your own speeches. This is essential because in later speeches you will need to refer back to what you said in earlier speeches, and if you haven't flowed your own speech, you will not be able to do that.

Never, ever go to the lectern in a public forum debate with an empty column under your name on the flow. If you are the B2, your B2 flow should be filled out before you get up there. If it isn't, go back and sit down, because you are not ready to give your speech. The same goes for all the other speeches.

Rebuttals are what the term suggests: these speakers *rebut* (or refute) the arguments given in the constructive speeches. The third speaker in this round will be the second PRO speaker. He will focus on the bottom part of the flow, one he just heard and flowed in the first column. His job will be to attack the arguments given by the B1 speaker. Since A2 has just heard the B1 speaker, he will likely take prep time to pre-flow the arguments he plans to make.

The A2 speaker gives the following rebuttals:

C1: The B1 evidence was not specific to Africa

C2: The B1 evidence claims 97% success, but that includes the entire world, not just Africa

C3: Dictatorships still steal (along with a piece of evidence from the Washington Post)

This would be pre-flowed on the A2's flowsheet, and the rest of the debaters would flow this as the A2 delivers his rebuttal (and the same for the judge). Everyone's flowsheet would resemble this:

Unit I: Structure of Public Forum Debate

First Speaker (A1)	Rebuttal (B2)	Summary (A1)	Final Focus (B2)
C1: US gives aid to gov'ts in need Landon '15: \$10bln to gov'ts C2: Corrupt gov'ts steal Woozy '11: 50% aid stolen C3: Foreign aid s/b to NGOs Rubble '16: NGOs w/reduce theft			
Second Speaker (B1)	Rebuttal (A2)	Summary (B1)	Final Focus (A2)
C1: US leading contributor to foreign aid Prof Lot '17: US is leading w/ aid to countries C2: 97% aid reaches poor Moony '16: world nourished C3: Afr gov'ts responsible Dick Tater '10: assume gov'ts resp toward people	→ Ev not specific to Afr → 97% is world, not Afr → Dictatorships all steal WaPo '17: dictatorships worst they have ever been		

The last speaker to get to the lectern is the B2. She will most likely have all her material very well prepped as she has had the most time to prepare. The B2 speaker gives the following rebuttal:

C1: The \$10bln amount given is good for the poor (with evidence from the BBC).

C2: Corruption exists, so what? (with evidence from LA Times).

(C3 was pre-flowed, but the debater ran out of time and was not able to read it into the round.)

For example's sake, we purposely allowed the B2 to "drop" the third contention. We'll get to the impact of such a mistake later, but suffice it to say that this is sometimes common, especially with new debaters. You will need to learn to pace yourself and utilize the few minutes you have to make your arguments and read your evidence. If you go long, or your evidence isn't cut well, you may run out of time and fail to fulfill your responsibility.

By the time the B2 finishes, the first half of everyone's flow should look like this:

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First Speaker (A1)	Rebuttal (B2)	Summary (A1)	Final Focus (B2)
C1: US gives aid to gov'ts in need Landon '15: \$10bln to gov'ts C2: Corrupt gov'ts steal Woozy '11: 50% aid stolen C3: Foreign aid s/b to NGOs Rubble '16: NGOs w/reduce theft	A good thing! BBC '16: Foreign aid feeds poor So what? No impact LA Times '14		
Second Speaker (B1)	Rebuttal (A2)	Summary (B1)	Final Focus (A2)
C1: US leading contributor to foreign aid Prof Lot '17: US is leading w/ aid to countries C2: 97% aid reaches poor Moony '16: world nourished C3: Afr gov'ts responsible Dick Tater '10: assume gov'ts resp toward people	Ev not specific to Afr 97% is world, not Afr Dictatorships all steal WaPo '17: dictatorships worst they have ever been		

Just as with the first speakers, the rebuttal speakers conduct their three-minute crossfire following their speeches. Questions should reflect that which the A2 and B2 just revealed in their speeches. After the crossfire finishes, everyone moves into the second half of the flow.

Flowing the Summaries

Technically, most of the round is over, but we still have half the flow to go. These are the shortest speeches in the round (two minutes each) and contain the longer Grand Crossfire in between. The first of the short speeches are the “summaries,” so named as they attempt to summarize the key issues of the debate.

You have only two minutes, not much time to go through in detail the previous 16 minutes of speaking. Debaters may decide to summarize in one of two ways: (1) direct refutation or (2) big story summary. Direct refutation would be much like the rebuttals, responding line-by-line to each of the arguments. It’s difficult, but a thorough debater can accomplish this in two minutes. Big story summary would be listing voting issues, which we will explain in the Final Focus next.

Let’s say for this example that both debaters decide to go with direct refutation. In “summary,” they respond to the rebuttals this way:

A1:

C1 Response: Cross-apply evidence of the corruption, and this is a bad thing, not a good thing.

C2 Response: So what that governments steal? Not good, obviously.

C3 Response: Dropped by the B2. NGO solution will reduce theft.

Unit I: Structure of Public Forum Debate

B1:

C1 Response: So what? Evidence specific to ALL aid is what resolution is about.

C2 Response: But most aid goes to Africa, as A1 admits in last speech.

C3 Response: Not a solution. PRO gives solution, CON just accepts theft.

Again, note the “dropped” argument in the C3 Response of A1. Debaters need to listen for these, because they will typically claim “agreement through omission,” meaning an argument that goes unaddressed is agreed by the team that should have addressed it. The judge may not have picked up on the dropped argument. When the A1 reminds the judge of the drop, the flow is recorded with an X in the previous column where it should have been addressed. The flow for this round is looking something like this:

First Speaker (A1)	Rebuttal (B2)	Summary (A1)	Final Focus (B2)
C1: US gives aid to gov'ts in need Landon '15: \$10bln to gov'ts	→ A good thing! BBC '16: Foreign aid feeds poor	→ X-apply corruption evidence	
C2: Corrupt gov'ts steal Woozy '11: 50% aid stolen	→ So what? No impact LA Times '14	→ No, stealing is bad	
C3: Foreign aid s/b to NGOs Rubble '16: NGOs w/reduce theft	→ X	→ Dropped!	
Second Speaker (B1)	Rebuttal (A2)	Summary (B1)	Final Focus (A2)
C1: US leading contributor to foreign aid Prof Lot '17: US is leading w/ aid to countries	→ Ev not specific to Afr	→ Res about ALL aid	
C2: 97% aid reaches poor Moony '16: world nourished	→ 97% is world, not Afr	→ A1 admits; most aid goes to Africa	
C3: Afr gov'ts responsible Dick Tater '10: assume gov'ts resp toward people	→ Dictatorships all steal WaPo '17: dictatorships worst they have ever been	→ Not a solution. Pro=solution; Con=theft	

Now for the Grand Crossfire, a time when all four speakers exchange questions of one another. The first question is given by the A team, typically asking a question of the one who just finished speaking (B1). The questioning and answering continues from there for three minutes. Nothing is flowed, but any admission should be recorded by the second speakers for use in the last two speeches, the “Final Focus.”

Flowing the Final Focus

We’re almost done! All the debaters have (or should have) a flow like the one above. We move into two 2-minute speeches to wrap up the round, given by the second speakers of each team. The speakers definitely adopt the “big story” method of responding, the other summary strategy mentioned above. Final Focus debaters develop two or three “voting issues,” directives they give the judge on how to

Lesson 3: Flowing

vote. These issues usually gather strong arguments the debaters are winning on to hopefully gain a winning ballot. In this example, the debaters give the following voting issues:

A2:

Voting Issue 1: Corrupt governments waste money. Cross-apply C1 and C2 arguments.

Voting Issue 2: NGOs are the solution, left unrefuted by the B team.

B2:

Voting Issue 1: All country aid must be considered, not just Africa. Cross-apply C1 and C2 arguments.

Voting Issue 2: 97% aid gets to poor, so keep the status quo. Therefore, vote CON.

These voting issues are meant to bring all the arguments of the round *together*, as opposed to ignoring arguments that debaters may be losing. Judges will be looking for arguments to be sealed up by the end of this flow, and they will make their decision based on these last “final focus” speeches.

Here’s how the flow should look on all five flowsheets (the four debaters and judge):

First Speaker (A1)	Rebuttal (B2)	Summary (A1)	Final Focus (B2)
C1: US gives aid to gov'ts in need Landon '15: \$10bln to gov'ts C2: Corrupt gov'ts steal Woozy '11: 50% aid stolen C3: Foreign aid s/b to NGOs Rubble '16: NGOs w/reduce theft	A good thing! BBC '16: Foreign aid feeds poor So what? No impact LA Times '14 X	X-apply corruption evidence No, stealing is bad Dropped!	V1: All countries, not just Afr V2: 97%...keep SQ
Second Speaker (B1)	Rebuttal (A2)	Summary (B1)	Final Focus (A2)
C1: US leading contributor to foreign aid Prof Lot '17: US is leading w/ aid to countries C2: 97% aid reaches poor Moony '16: world nourished C3: Afr gov'ts responsible Dick Tater '10: assume gov'ts resp toward people	Ev not specific to Afr 97% is world, not Afr Dictatorships all steal WaPo '17: dictatorships worst they have ever been	Res about ALL aid A1 admits; most aid goes to Africa Not a solution. Pro=solution; Con=theft	V1: Corrupt wastes \$ V2: NGOs are solution, dropped by OPP

You may notice that the last column seems to have messed up our nice, neat arrows on the flow. That’s okay. This last speech should meet up to its name, “Final Focus,” and draw from arguments throughout the round. Some judges don’t even draw the arrows, instead just writing down the voting issues. Debaters, however, should draw the arrows to remind themselves of the arguments they are addressing from earlier in the round.

The flow is a useful tool during the round, but its usefulness does not end at that point. Some debaters fail to flow the Final Focus because they don’t realize that a flow’s benefits are not confined to the

immediate round. In the competitive season when you're going from tournament to tournament, you will use these flows to prepare for the next tournament.

Both teams can take the outline of the first speeches (the prepared speeches) and prepare rebuttal briefs from them. Use the evidence summaries as a starting point to do research on the claims the first speakers made and develop more evidence to defeat this case if you encounter it again. Remember that there may be other teams using the same cases, so don't assume that it only applies to the one team you heard in this one round.

You may share your flows with your friends back at school in your debate squad. They, too, can start preparing for those tough speeches you came up against in competition. Squads that review flows together can often think of powerful arguments that didn't come up during the round. One activity that squads can do is do a "redo" of rebuttals, summaries and final focuses. Squads can also create an online folder in case any of the school's teams meet the same team, collecting a bit of "intel" in the game of public forum debate. Everyone can be better prepared next time they go against the same team or the same plan.

Your flow becomes the snapshot of the debate, an incredible piece of information that will continue to help you well beyond the actual debate round.

Worksheet for Lesson 3A

Name: _____ Date: _____

Read Lesson 3 through the first half of the flowsheet. Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1. Fill out and take note of the following, taken from the introduction of Lesson 3:

Flowing is the process of _____ a well-organized, legible
_____ of all the _____ made by all the debaters in the
_____ of the round, including
_____.

2. In the first two lessons, do you feel you have grasped the importance of flowing? Explain.

3. When the A1 is finished with his speech, who in the room should have the first column filled out?

Circle all that apply: A1 B1 A2 B2 The judge

4. Explain why debaters typically do not write down every detail of the evidence.

5. When evidence is read into the round, what elements should you listen for and record on your flow?

6. Explain the concept of pre-flowing. Is it ever appropriate to approach the lectern without your speech pre-flowed?

7. The crossfires do not need to be flowed on a debater's flowsheet. Why is this the case?

8. In the example above, which side dropped an argument? How is a dropped argument shown on the flow?

9. Which of the following does *not* need to pre-flow their upcoming speech?

Circle: A1 B1 A2 B2 The judge

Worksheet for Lesson 3B

Name: _____ Date: _____

Read Lesson 3 through the second half of the flowsheet. Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1. Fill out and take note of the following, taken from the introduction of the rebuttal speeches from Lesson 3:

Technically, most of the round is _____, but we still have

_____ the flow to go. These are the _____ speeches in the

round, but contains the _____ in

between.

2. What does it mean to “cross-apply” an argument? What is the abbreviation that debaters use to show this on the flow?

3. Explain why a flow should be completed to the very end and why debaters should hold onto their flowsheets after the round.

Extension for Lesson 3

Once again, return to the video debate at MonumentPublishing.com/greenbook-lesson1, or if your teacher provides another video, return to that. Watch the video and flow the debate round using a flowsheet. Be sure to follow the format provided in this chapter.

Unit II



Strategy of Debate Cases

The first two speeches (A1 and B1) kick off the debate round. You will need to understand how to develop strong cases both for and against the resolution. Unit II helps you put the fundamentals of case construction together, keep your stand on these cases in your crossfire, and keep your research moving through your month of competition. Once finished, you and your partner will enjoy successful public forum debates.

LESSON 4: CASE WRITING



Objective of Lesson 4:

Know how to write strong cases.

Though speaking in front of a teacher or a tournament judge is where the debate is won, the preparation beforehand—in your schoolwork—is where you will be most effective. Great debaters will be so well-prepared and researched that they will be ready for anything in the round. You do this by creating strong cases.

A guiding principle to successful PF debating is winning “with your case.” You and your partner need to know more than just the words in your case; you need to understand each argument you press, their likely refutations, and responses to those refutations. This is the beginning of the *strategy* of debate, as opposed to *structure* in the previous unit, as you will know each piece of evidence as well as your total, big-picture argument. Your case will link to the resolution which is, after all, what you should be asking the judge to vote on in the end.

Unit II: Strategy of Debate Cases

Every month throughout the school year, a new resolution will release one month before you need to be ready to compete. This month gives teams, coaches and publishing companies like Monument Publishing time to come up with material for competition. Tournaments running in a particular month are encouraged to adopt the resolution as stated by the NSDA. According to the NSDA website, the release schedule for the year follows:⁵

Public Forum Topic	Release Date
September/October	August 8
November	October 1
December	November 1
January	December 1
February	January 1
March	February 1
April	March 1
National Tournament	May 1

You will be tasked with developing a case for (PRO) and against (CON) the resolution. Though there is only one A1 and one B1, the development of the case should be a collaborative project. The A2 and B2 will still need to defend their cases, so they need to know them as well as their partners. Just because one will be reading their case does not let their partner off the hook.

If you know anything about Plato's Republic, you know that a persuasive speech has a basic structure to it that has been utilized for millennia. This lesson will do the same for you. We will map out the basic, most persuasive structure for a PRO and CON case, then explain the strategic elements of each, giving you a full understanding of what you need to accomplish to prepare for your first tournament.

There are four elements: (1) introduction, (2) contentions, (3) support, and (4) conclusion. Master each of these and you will master public forum case writing.

Introduction

Your case is only four minutes, roughly 700 words of steady reading. Some can read faster, others should read slower, but this is a good target to aim for. With only two pages of text, your introduction

⁵ Sometimes work dates affect the exact release times, so check with the National Speech and Debate Association (NSDA) website for the announced release dates: <https://www.speechanddebate.org/topics/#h2-3>

may be as quick as stating the side of the resolution you and your partner are on, word-for-word, either affirming (PRO) or negating (CON) the resolution. You may consider this much like stating a thesis in a written paper.

An optional addition to your introduction is a “framework.” This is where you explain to the judge how you see the resolution and what burdens you believe you have to fulfill to win or lose.

Abbreviated FW on your flow, a framework explains your view on the meaning behind the resolution as a whole.

The first case in Unit III tackles a popular issue on the trade embargo against Cuba. The PRO author takes the time to establish the claim that climate change is a big deal. She does this with a framework limiting the debate to climate change:

“Climate change has been described as the biggest threat to the United States. Lifting the embargo against Cuba will allow us to combat climate change.”

Do you see how this sets the stage for the debate? The PRO team wants to debate how the Cuban embargo adds to climate change, which is assumed from the beginning to be “the biggest threat to the United States.” The CON could debate this framework, of course, but suffice it to say that a case writer can establish her team’s framework early in the debate.

Frameworks must always link to your case. Whatever you want your judge to evaluate your debate position, make this your framework. If you want the judge to evaluate the debate on, say, *life*, then your impacts should be *lives saved* or *lost*.

Contentions

Contentions are the arguments presented in your case that (hopefully) bring the judge to give you the win. The contentions are the “meat” of your case, and they should be the persuasive elements that bring your judge to vote for your side of the resolution. This is easier than it sounds, especially when you understand the logical equation.⁶

Logic is defined a number of different ways, though it is easy to view it as “mathematical thinking.” As math brings order to the physical world, so logic brings order to our thoughts, our beliefs, and our behaviors.

A basic mathematical equation can be written out as: $1 + 2 = 3$. We can substitute letters, as in algebra, and these letters can signify values other than numerical values, such as:

⁶ The concepts of this section were developed in part from Travis Herche, a contributor of many of the cases to *Red Book for Lincoln-Douglas Debate*.

$$a + b = c$$

Let's try plugging in some values:

$$\text{black} + \text{white} = \text{gray}$$

Simple enough, right? This mathematical equation becomes a logical equation when we plug in statements of fact to lead to a conclusion. Taking from the same Cuban resolution cited above (that the United States should lift its embargo against Cuba), a PRO team could consider this equation:

$$\text{Open trade is good} + \text{The Cuban embargo closes trade} = \text{The embargo should be lifted}$$

The first statement in this equation is called the “minor premise.” We came up with this ourselves as a value from which to affirm the resolution. A number of different premises could have been thought up (relations are good, travel is good, world authority is good, etc.), but we settled with trade. The second statement is called the “major premise,” tying the subject of the resolution (Cuban embargo) to the minor premise (open trade). The last statement is called the “conclusion,” which is, essentially, the resolution itself.

We have been using “equation” to define this logical reasoning, but a more accurate term is “syllogism.” Like with Plato, the syllogism stems back to one of his pupils, Aristotle. The syllogism has been the rhetorical “equation” of persuasion for most of Western civilization. It's framework is simple:

$$\text{Minor Premise} + \text{Major Premise} = \text{Conclusion}$$

Debaters who write their contentions like this will be easily understood and persuasive. The PRO team could take the three statements they derived from their syllogism and walk the judge into affirming the resolution with them. Thus, they created the outline of their PRO speech:

PRO Outline:

Contention 1: Open trade is good.

Contention 2: The Cuban embargo closes trade.

Contention 3: The Cuban embargo should be lifted.

Now, what about the CON side? The exact same steps can be walked. First, come up with a minor premise, relate that minor premise to the major subject of the resolution, then conclude *against* the resolution. Take the following as an example:

CON Outline:

Contention 1: Communism is bad.

Contention 2: Trade with Cuba would encourage communism.

Contention 3: The Cuban embargo should not be lifted.

As debaters, the better you are to deconstruct a resolution into a syllogism, the better you are to develop persuasive arguments and win debate rounds. There is something missing, however. That's support.

Support

The contentions above are statements that may or may not be convincing to the judge. This is where support comes in. You will want to validate your contentions with evidence to make sure your judge agrees with you and your case.

The Toulmin Model for argumentation is a great reference to discuss how to build support for your contentions. This is a philosophical model commonly referenced as a method for determining the validity of a contention. Understanding the basic structure of the Toulmin Model will help you build support for your case.

First, a claim is made. This is what the contentions are. All claims need to be warranted, meaning an explanation needs to be given why the claim is true. Debaters use sources to support these warranted claims—data, backing, and qualifications—showing the judge that they aren't the only people who believe such claims (that experts do, too). Warranted claims are your contentions; evidence support your claims.

We will develop more of this in the next lesson on research. For now, know that you will be tasked with building logical, reasonable support for the claims in your case, all meant to convince your judge for your position in the round.

Conclusion

Conclusions have power, often providing a strong case with the necessary impact to persuade the judge. A well-rounded conclusion will restate the resolution, reference the logical flow of the contentions, and remind the judge to vote for the “correct” side of the resolution—*your* side.

You will see there is a predictable outline of a solid public forum case. It resembles the outline of a basic term paper you may write for one of your school classes. Consider this simple outline:

- Introduction
- Body
 - Contention 1
 - Contention 2
 - Contention 3

- Conclusion

The conclusion will attempt to wrap up the entire speech. A great way to wrap it up is to return to the introduction. Emphasize your position on the resolution, perhaps reference your framework (if you gave one), and conclude on a strong note for your judge.

As the saying goes, an artist's work is never finished. Public forum debaters are, in a way, artists who are constantly working on their cases. As you study the resolution and all the different viewpoints of the PRO and CON positions, you will return to your case and modify it. The more you research and the more you learn of the topic, the more tempting it will be to go back to your case and improve it to be more persuasive. This is a great pattern for you to keep at, as it will make you a better debater and a better thinker.

Extension for Lesson 4

Using the syllogism process explained in Lesson 4, quickly write contention outlines for possible debate cases in the spaces provided. The first one is done for you.

Resolution	A1	B1
The US should significantly increase its military spending.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Dominance in wartime is helpful.</i> 2. <i>Increased military spending helps dominance.</i> 3. <i>Therefore, the US should increase military spending.</i> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
The US federal government should adopt a carbon tax.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
The US Federal Government ought to pay reparations to African Americans.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
In the US, students should be guaranteed two years of free tuition to a community or technical college.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.

LESSON 5: RESEARCH



Objective of Lesson 5:

Learn how to research qualified and persuasive evidence that supports the positions being advocated during a debate.

A recent national champion was asked for an explanation for his success. He responded, “My partner and I simply knew more about the topic than anyone else.” This is sage advice for every public forum debater, which is the focus of this lesson on research.

Debaters soon realize that gathering research is crucial to winning. The best public forum debaters are able to scour the news, pull data into briefs, and organize the briefs in a way that dramatically increases their chances of winning in the next tournament. Don’t underestimate it: research is key to successful debating. Many debate rounds are won during the few weeks before the tournament at the library or on the internet doing research.

Some debate formats don't rely as much on evidence. They may allow the debater to merely assert things that he has heard or believes, or things he thinks everyone knows, or to merely summarize things he has learned about the subject. Not so in public forum debate. Here, pretty much every fact introduced into the round should be demonstrated from a piece of evidence either paraphrased by the debaters or often quoted word for word in the round.

Research is essential in public forum debate because it is the foundation of your credibility. High school students don't know nearly as much as experts do, and neither do old debate coaches or teachers. We may claim with all sincerity that the resolution should be upheld or not, but unless we show that we have some credible backing to our claims, judges won't believe us.

In addition, research is a skill that will empower you throughout life. You'll know how to scour the internet before making a career choice, forming a political view, or searching for advice on a big decision. You will not be a disagreeable person when challenged, nor will you be a gullible person when not. Careful research gives you factual basis for your beliefs, rather than merely acting on emotional impulse, offering a greater likelihood of better outcomes.

Elements of Evidence

Evidence consists of direct quotations from a properly cited published source (book, magazine, newspaper, or website). Evidence is what you cite to back up the factual claims you make in your speeches, both PRO and CON. Elements that each piece of evidence traditionally must have to be considered valid in a public forum debate round are:

1. *Source.* A piece of evidence has to have something indicating who said the quote that is being offered. This should be obvious to the casual observer. Along with the source, evidence quotes often (and should whenever possible) provide qualifications for the source. If the author is a professor, journalist, economist, well-known political writer, etc., it is helpful to know that. Quotes that lack a qualification for the source can still be used in many cases, but the judge will have to weigh that against whatever the other team brings up in their evidence. If the other team's evidence is better qualified, then they will have a strong argument to make that they deserve to win on that basis.
2. *Publication.* You need more than just "Joe Schmoe says..." You need the publication where he said it and the name of the article.
3. *Date.* Except for citations from timeless reference sources like ancient philosophers, the Constitution or dictionaries (and even then, quoting from a really old dictionary might be a problem due to changes in word usage over time), dates are a critical element in evaluating the quality and evidential value of any quote introduced in a debate round. Evidence quotes need to

Lesson 5: Research

show at least the year in which they were published, and if more precise dates are available (month, day), then those should be provided too.

4. *Hyperlink*. Include the entire web address at the end of the citation. Hyperlinks sometimes break over time, but don't let this be an excuse for not including it. You may be called on to validate a piece of evidence during a debate tournament, so having the web address in your card may end up being very helpful. You never read the web address into the round, but it's there in your case or on your cards.

Here is the citation from the first piece of evidence in the Cuban embargo PRO case in Lesson 7.

Notice the Source, Publication, and Date all laid out for the debaters:

Specht 2013 (Jonathan Specht, BA from University of California Davis). "Raising Cane: Cuban Sugarcane Ethanol's Economic and Environmental Effects on the United States," August 24, 2013.
<https://environs.law.ucdavis.edu/volumes/36/2/specht.pdf> (brackets in original)

Additionally, because Cuba's ethanol industry is currently almost nonexistent, it will need a great deal of foreign expertise and investment to get started. However, such investments are unlikely to be made unless Cuba makes fundamental changes in its business climate. In the words of Gonzalez and McCarthy, "[C]apital investment, which Cuba's economy desperately needs and which is most likely to be supplied by foreign investors, will be difficult to attract without enforceable contracts, access to neutral adjudication of disputes, and a degree of predictability that has heretofore been lacking." Any post- Castro government will likely begin to make such changes to increase the appeal of the island nation to foreign investment. However, implementing these changes will take time and trial and error, which will slow the creation of a sugarcane-based ethanol industry.

The citation (the italicized paragraph) has a simple underlined introduction; this is what is read in the debate round, but it also has available all the information needed to validate that this is a direct quote from a qualified source. Same with the quoted section of the evidence. The underlined part is what is read, but the rest is kept in the evidence to make sure the context of the evidence is intact or to provide more details should they be needed later in the debate round.

A general point in citing your sources: try to be as honest and transparent as possible. Never try to cover up a weak point or manipulate the citation to make it sound better than it is. When you research, you will find the best pieces of evidence possible, but you will never fabricate, as that is an offense that will get you into trouble in tournaments (we'll get to that later).

Notice, for example, "brackets in original" is added to the end of the citation. This is to show that you did not add the brackets in the evidence; that, in fact, it was already in the original piece. This is something you should do to show that you are being honest and transparent in your presentation of this evidence.

Credibility

There are several factors that contribute to the credibility (believability, persuasive value) of evidence introduced into a debate round. The first is the source. The best evidence comes from the best-qualified sources. Good sources include:

- Professors, doctors, or other researchers writing papers or studies about their area of expertise.
- Experts at “think tanks,” like Heritage Foundation, Brookings Institution, Cato Institute, Brennan Center for Justice, Center for American Progress, etc. Always be sure to cite the name and credentials of the specific expert, not just the name of the organization.
- Politicians describing the state of the law or the state of political conditions they are trying to change. Quoting a politician’s opinion that a new law would solve some problem is less persuasive, though it can be useful to show that it is not just the debater advocating the plan but actual officials who know something about the situation.
- Journalists reporting on facts in existence in the world. Sometimes journalists venture into opinion (e.g., the editorial columns of newspapers like *The New York Times*); these are not so credible, since journalists have no more qualifications than anyone else to express opinions about the way things “should be.”
- Journalists reporting the statements and opinions of experts. In this case, the credibility derives from the expert being quoted.
- Judges’ statements in court decisions.
- Law Review articles. These are written by professors as well as students. While the students may not be qualified as an expert on the topic, their articles are always well cited. The footnotes of a law review article can be priceless.
- Subject matter experts, even if they are not professors or PhDs, when writing about subjects they have worked with extensively. For example, the leader of a food aid program who has spent years working among the poor in Africa: he may not have a PhD in foreign policy, but a judge would find him credible if he makes statements about hunger in Africa.
- Encyclopedias and dictionaries.

On the other hand, there are also sources that are less than credible:

- Blogs written by anonymous individuals or random members of the public. However, there are blogs written by some high-powered experts, so this is not a rejection of all blogs, just those for

whom we do not know the qualifications of the author or if the author appears to have no actual expertise.

- Websites with no author's name listed. There are various articles posted on the web that do not list who wrote them or where they came from. Stay away from these. However, websites that belong to credible organizations may have an article that is acceptable. An article about a recent disaster at RedCross.org, for example, may be a credible article to build support in your case.
- Wikipedia. This is an excellent first source for reading on a topic, but do not rely on it being factual. The links it offers can be very helpful in your research, but understand that anyone can add to it. You must validate any claim in a Wikipedia source, and be sure to quote the source, not Wikipedia itself.
- Emails. If you get an email from a subject matter expert, that does not qualify as a published source. If you are emailing someone with expert opinions, you should ask him for citations to some of his published works or websites you could go to for the information you need.
- Many debaters, and some coaches, mistakenly believe that evidence must be “unbiased” to be credible. Other than basic facts about the universe, there is likely no such thing as “unbiased” evidence. And why should there be? Remember that public forum debate is a debate about what we “should” do to create a better world. The current state of facts certainly plays in to that calculus, but you should expect to hear lots of clash between various credible sources who each claim that they know what we “should” (or “should not”) do.

You will hear one well-qualified expert state that the US can raise more money by modifying some existing policy. You will then hear another well-qualified source say that idea will lead to economic ruin. The quotes from these experts are the necessary support for the claims you make in your contentions. If one debater or the other merely asserted one of those positions, the debate would be essentially over for lack of evidence. But with the evidential foundation laid, both debaters can now build on the foundation laid by their expert quotes and can now persuade the judge why their expert's position should be accepted.

Adding Support to Your Contentions

Let's look at the example in the last lesson where we built contentions that either affirmed or negated the resolution. Research will help in two ways: (1) It will help support these contentions, and (2) it may correct your contentions because you researched and found an alternative, more persuasive contention.

Consider the PRO outline. You support each contention with a piece of evidence:

Unit II: Strategy of Debate Cases

PRO: The United States should lift its embargo against Cuba.

Contention 1: Open trade is good.

Donald J. Boudreaux (Senior Fellow, F. A. Hayek Program for Advanced Study in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics) and Nita Ghei (Senior Policy Research Editor) January 2017. "The Benefits of Free Trade: Addressing Key Myths." Mercatus Center, George Mason University, January 31, 2017.
<https://www.mercatus.org/publication/benefits-free-trade-addressing-key-myths>

Restrictions on foreign trade all too often harm the very people they aim to protect: American consumers and producers. Trade restrictions limit the choices of what Americans can buy; they also drive up the prices of everything from clothing and groceries to the materials manufacturers use to make everyday products. Moreover, lower-income Americans generally bear a disproportionate share of these costs. Trade treaties increase freedom to trade and do not result in loss of sovereignty; they are part and parcel of wider international relations and they are not new.

Contention 2: The Cuban embargo closes trade, hurting Americans and Cubans alike.

Daniel Griswold 2002 (former director of the Herbert A. Stiefel Center for Trade Policy Studies at the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C, and the author of the new Cato book, Mad about Trade: Why Main Street America Should Embrace Globalization). "No: The Embargo Harms Cubans and Gives Castro an Excuse for the Policy Failures of His Regime." Cato Institute, May 27, 2002.
<https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/no-embargo-harms-cubans-gives-castro-excuse-policy-failures-regime>

Since 1960, Americans have been barred from trading with, investing in or traveling to Cuba. The embargo had a national-security rationale before 1991, when Castro served as the Soviet Union's proxy in the Western Hemisphere. But all that changed with the fall of Soviet communism. Today, a decade after losing billions in annual economic aid from its former sponsor, Cuba is only a poor, dysfunctional nation of 11 million people that poses no threat to U.S. or regional security.

Contention 3: The Cuban embargo should be lifted.

U.S. Representative Charles Rangel (Member of the US Congress since 1971, currently representing NY's 13th District). "Free Trade With Cuba Now." The Huffington Post, January 15, 2015.
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rep-charles-rangel/free-trade-with-cuba-now_b_6482078.html

Lifting the embargo has made sense for a very long time, and with each passing year, this folly of continuing our estrangement becomes even more so. Our antiquated policy has made it easier for Americans to travel to North Korea than to Cuba. The Congress should follow the administration's lead toward modernizing our foreign policy decisions deeply rooted in Cold War disputes.

Do you see how this is done? Depending on how much room you have in your four minutes, you will utilize evidence to back up your claims, always trying your best to seek credibility for every claim you make.

However, there is one, crucial test you must constantly avail yourself to: *always remain adaptable*. Your research may—in fact, it *will*—challenge your preconceived notions and opinions. This is one of the great things about debate. You will be shaped by that which you study, always going back to your case to make it more credible and persuasive, and you very likely will go to your first tournament with

a case very different from that which you started with when you first learned of the resolution and its topic.

Building Blocks

Your evidence gathering will never be in vain. Even if you scrap a case for a new one, you can tuck away that which you gather to use in the heat of the debates. You will grow used to assembling your research for use in rebuttals, summaries and perhaps even final focus.

We call such study “building blocks.” Blocks are organized by the arguments that you perceive you will come up against at your upcoming tournament. Your research will help guide you in developing blocks. As you read what experts say both for (PRO) and against (CON) the resolution, you will cut cards and structure entire arguments that you can run during the speeches of the round.

“Cutting cards” is an old way of referring to the method debaters used to apply in the old days. We don’t physically cut out quotes from newspaper or magazine articles. Today, we organize evidence within a Word Document in formats that are easy to reference in a debate round. We cut-n-paste (which is also a term from old physical cutting and using paste to affix the cut-outs onto note cards) the evidence together to make a “block” that makes arguments and backs them up with support.

As you research, you will produce three different block files. Each of these files are meant to be a repository of arguments that you can use in any debate round, no matter what side or speaking position you are in. The block files include:

1. OFFENSE. This is the PRO and CON contentions on the topic. As you research, you will come up with several claims, and these claims will include blocks that you put together. Your offense file will be accessed to build cases.
2. PRO AT. This is an abbreviation for “PRO answers to CON.” This will be your extension folder that will be most utilized in rebuttal speeches during your round.
3. CON AT. This, of course, stands for “CON answers to PRO.” No matter what position you speak, you will be able to access research that answers the PRO side of the resolution.

By the end of the month of research—from the time of the release of the resolution to the first debate tournament arguing it—you should have a binder full of debate briefs ready to go up against any team and any case.

Paraphrasing

You may be conscientious of the time limitations. This is, indeed, an issue for every public forum debater. One way debaters respond to time constraints is by paraphrasing their research. Paraphrasing

is the process of summarizing what a piece of evidence says rather than reading the piece into the round. Rather than citing the source and listing the credentials and editing by underlining the words from the evidence that you would read into the round, you would simply link to the source and read your own paraphrasing of what the evidence says.

For the beginning debater, we do not recommend this method. Stick with researching and blocking your evidence. It is much too easy to change the meaning or intent of an author when you are preparing your files for debate. When you have the actual piece of evidence word-for-word, there is no dispute over the possibility of changing or modifying the original piece.

If you encounter paraphrasing from your opponent, you may ask for the original piece. If they do not have it, you could legitimately make the argument that your opponent is misreading the research. This is especially strong when you know the research well enough to explain to the judge how your opponent is misusing or misunderstanding the original.

You can see why we don't recommend paraphrasing your research. When a debater paraphrases, the opponent is at a disadvantage because there is no basis for what the author of the evidence has actually written, other than the debater's interpretation. Stick with the traditional cutting and blocking method and you won't be the one needing to explain yourself in the round.

Win with Your Case

So, there is still the common failure of debaters failing to cover their arguments in the limited time they have in the debate round. They present contentions, respond to their opponents, but then get hung up with explaining a chain of internal links. Their rebuttal or final focus spends too much time explaining, defending and weighing the arguments. This costs debaters the round because they do not fit it into the few minutes they have.

A good way to address this is to “win with your case”—an idea we shared with you in the beginning of the last lesson. It's one thing to win certain arguments, but the really good debaters know how to choose simple, easily understood arguments that bring it all back to their side of the resolution and why they deserve the judge's ballot. Here are some ideas to help you do that:

1. Do your arguments have bigger impacts or results?
2. Do your arguments have to precede your opponents' arguments (in time or causation)?
3. Do your arguments usurp or take the place of your opponents' arguments?
4. Are your arguments easy to understand and quickly explained?

If you answer these questions during the debate round, relating your answers back to the resolution, you will most likely earn the judge’s ballot. Knowing how to present and explain your arguments, not in isolation, but within the context of the entire debate is how the great teams win debates.

Evidence Integrity Is Your Integrity

The evidence in *Green Book*—and several times more evidence in Monument Members’ *Public Forum Membership*—is only the start, not the end, of your research. It is designed to give you a model and an example to show you the way. This is what you do and how you do it. Now go forth and do much more!

We⁷ hope that all debaters try their hardest to win. But don’t let the will to win become a temptation to compromise basic standards of integrity. Since the academic demands are great, there is often a temptation to “fudge” evidence: change a date here, tamper with a quote there, add a few words to make the evidence say what you need it to say, or just make up quotations. What seems so easy and innocent can lead to an ethics charge that can ruin your debate experience.

Evidence tampering degrades the activity of debate and, when exposed, strips a student of honor. Worse yet is that there is an opponent on the other side who has been personally violated by the cheater’s actions. Students taking awards from others—knowing full well of the fraudulent evidence that helped put them there—is completely dishonorable.

Evidence fraud is similar to steroids in professional sports. A runner will pump himself with artificial steroid drugs to give him a competitive edge, and a debater could tamper with his or her evidence to make it more persuasive in a debate round. Allowing steroid use in sports would turn the participants into drugged-up monsters, essentially making the sport into something of an *All-star Wrestling* show, a mockery of the real thing rather than a test of skill. We want the best debaters to win, not “the ones who can tamper their evidence best.”

Debaters who play by the rules—those who avoid the temptation to fudge the evidence in their favor and instead build arguments based on valid research—should never have to compete against another who is falling to the temptation. When it happens, it should be identified and the offenders should be immediately sanctioned. NSDA has a section on evidence ethics in its rule book. You should consult that section.

⁷ Vance Trefethen helped explain the importance of this section on evidence integrity.

Worksheet for Lesson 5

Name: _____

Date: _____

Read Lesson 5. Answer the following in the spaces provided.

1. Of the following scenarios, list as (A) fraudulent, (B) legitimate, or (C) questionable.

- _____ a) You find a piece of evidence that is rather old (1998), but you are certain a piece of evidence exists somewhere that is more recent that says the same thing. You read it when searching last week, but now you are not able to find it. Rather than waste any more time, you simply change the card you have from 1998 to 2017.
- _____ b) You write a case with a resolutorial analysis of “Financial Viability.” A case that is financially viable is a case worth passing, you argue. You have a piece of evidence that comes very close to making this conclusion. Inserting the prepositional phrase “with financial viability” would make it perfect, but you know that would be fraudulent. Instead, you place the phrase with brackets around it: [with financial viability].
- _____ c) You pull together a piece of evidence from a chapter of a book. The parts you would like to read in a round are from the beginning of the chapter and the end, with a lot of needless data in between. Rather than type out the entire chapter and underline the beginning and the end, you merge the two parts with an ellipsis (...).
- _____ d) You find a piece of evidence from a website that has no date affixed to it. You place the day you accessed it on the citation of the card.
- _____ e) You need a card that shows the US is behind the times when compared to Europe. You find a website that shows this in a chart that compares US policies with other countries, and on the same site (different page) shows the cost of the policy is, in fact, higher than most other countries. You combine the data from the two charts with a tag line, “US policies cost more than most other countries.” Everything is fully cited and links to both web pages are in the citation.
- _____ f) You use a card from a brief that you received online from another debater. The opposing team makes the claim that it is a fraudulent piece of evidence and turns it in to tournament adjudication. It turns out the evidence is fraudulent. Since you didn’t write it, which would it be?

2. Is it possible to *unintentionally* run fraudulent evidence? Can you be penalized in a tournament even though your fraudulent evidence was not intentional? Whose responsibility is it to make sure your evidence is legitimate?

Extension for Lesson 5

The following is an article used to write one of the cases in Unit II. Read the article. Without looking ahead to the affirmative case in Lesson 6, cut three pieces from the evidence in the space provided below.

We did one of them below and highlighted where we got it from within the article. Notice the elements of the cutting and how it makes the point with a credible piece of evidence. Come up with two more, then compare it to the case to see how close you came to the model brief.

Card 1: The Cuban embargo can cause oil blowouts

Coral Davenport (National Journal). "Drill, Bebe, Drill," Cuba Study Group, August 2, 2011.

http://www.cubastudygroup.org/index.cfm/newsroom?ContentRecord_id=bc416841-8f8c-4bf8-9afe-4dc1f468fa7b&ContentType_id=8c81d17c-7ffe-48d6-81e7-cd93fe3120eb&Group_id=0b3ad3ec-d24e-4d2a-b425-a97ae7617c16

But the potential of a closer relationship with Cuba comes with a terrifying specter: An oil blowout in Cuban waters could reprise the nightmare that was last year's Gulf of Mexico oil spill, and send crude spewing to the beaches of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. And the likelihood for such a disaster is very real, say oil industry experts, thanks in part to Washington's 49-year-old embargo on Cuba.

Card 2:

Card 3:

“Drill, Bebé, Drill”

By Coral Davenport, National Journal

Sometime over the next three months, if all goes according to plan, Cuban workers on a Chinese-built, Spanish-owned rig will start drilling for oil in the mile-deep waters just off the north coast of Cuba, 70 miles from the Florida Keys.

If the drill hits a major oil deposit—and all geologic signs indicate it will—the discovery will unleash a cascade of developments with profound political, environmental, and economic consequences.

The Cuban government has long wanted to extract the rich reserves of oil and natural gas believed to lie off its shores. Estimates for oil range from 5 billion to 20 billion barrels, while the estimate for natural gas is 8.6 billion cubic feet. Unlocking that oil could jump-start a nascent Cuban offshore-oil industry—and free the island nation from its energy and political dependence on Venezuela, from which it imports 60 percent of its oil today. A newfound independence from its socialist neighbor and its mercurial president, Hugo Chavez—coming at a time when the Cuban leadership is facing change with the eventual demise of Fidel Castro—is an appealing prospect to the United States.

But the potential of a closer relationship with Cuba comes with a terrifying specter: An oil blowout in Cuban waters could reprise the nightmare that was last year’s Gulf of Mexico oil spill, and send crude spewing to the beaches of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. And the likelihood for such a disaster is very real, say oil industry experts, thanks in part to Washington’s 49-year-old embargo on Cuba.

Because of the embargo, U.S. companies cannot drill in Cuba, supply equipment to Cuba, have any say over safety regulations in Cuba, or even take part in helping control a blowout and spill in Cuba. As the island prepares to begin offshore drilling, it has signed contracts with oil companies from Brazil, India, Italy, Russia, and Spain—and is in talks to lease major portions of its coastal water to Chinese companies (continuing China’s pattern of pursuing oil exploration in countries where U.S. drillers aren’t welcome).

Under the embargo’s terms, the oil drilling and safety equipment used by those companies must be less than 10 percent U.S.-made. But all of the most technologically advanced equipment for drilling and preventing or stopping oil spills is made in the United States or by U.S. companies.

“There are not international suppliers of this level of equipment. They will have to buy copycat or second-tier parts,” Lee Hunter, president of the Houston-based International Association of Drilling Contractors, told *National Journal*. Hunter and other experts say that, to date, it appears that the Cuban government, fearful of the devastation an oil spill could wreak on its economy, wants to use the lessons learned from the BP oil disaster to develop a rigorous safety and oversight program. But it will be nearly impossible for drillers in Cuba’s waters to legally use the safest equipment. “The Cubans want to use good technology; they want to drill safely,” Hunter said. “But ... their ability to drill safely is extremely compromised.”

Also deeply compromised is their ability to respond to a disaster should it occur. Even if oil from a Cuban spill laps at Florida’s shores, the U.S. agencies and oil companies that have all-too-hard-won expertise in wrestling a spill—the Coast Guard, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and the Interior Department—would be banned from crossing into Cuban waters to help. And experts say that

the Cuban oil industry and government don't yet have a fraction of the resources and expertise they would need to deal with such an event on their own.

State Department officials are well aware of the problem, and they are working with Hunter's group, along with others, to find a way for U.S. companies to get into Cuban waters—if not to drill, at least to help out in case of a spill. One way this could happen is if the Treasury Department issues special advance licenses granting U.S. companies the ability to travel to Cuban waters to give aid in a disaster. Cuban officials are also cautiously indicating interest in cooperating with the U.S. on the plan, despite the embargo.

“This is something that could get Cuba and the U.S. sitting down and talking, finding points of agreement and cooperation,” said Jorge Piñón, a former president of Amoco Oil Latin America and a current visiting research fellow with Florida International University's Cuban Research Institute.

It is also something that is likely to further ignite the fight over opening up more U.S. waters for drilling, pointed out Piñón and many others. Currently, most of the eastern portion of the U.S. Gulf of Mexico—which borders the water where the Chinese, Indians, and Russians would be operating off Cuba—is closed to drilling. But defenders of the U.S. drilling ban will be hard-pressed to keep it in place, no matter the risks, if two things happen: if oil-producing rigs pop up in Cuban waters, and, in the coming years, in the surrounding waters of Mexico and even the Bahamas, which is now looking into starting offshore drilling.

LESSON 6: CROSSFIRE



Objective of Lesson 6:

Learn how to ask and answer questions during crossfire.

Traditionally, academic debate allows one side of the debate to give a “cross-examination.” This is where one side asks questions of the other, hoping to gain understanding of the opponent’s position as well as win some admissions. Equal time is allowed for each side to get their time to ask questions of their opponent.

Public forum introduces a unique kind of cross-examination called “crossfire.” Crossfire resembles a small group of people questioning one another, like a panel discussion you would view on television. It is not a cross-examination as you would see in a court of law where a witness is being interrogated by a trained lawyer. In crossfire, one side starts the questioning, but then reverts to the other side asking the next question.

In each public forum debate round you participate, you will be a part of two kinds of crossfire. First, you will crossfire following the constructive or the rebuttal speeches. Whether you are the first or second speaker for your team will determine the crossfire you are in. Second, you will participate in the Grand Crossfire where all four debaters will participate in a very large exchange. By rule, the first speaking team asks the first question, then questions alternate between the two sides.

You will soon realize that debates can be won and lost in the crossfires of the round. In this lesson, we will first cover some basic principles of crossfire. Next, we will explore how to ask and answer questions appropriately and effectively. We will conclude listing the unique strategies of the Grand Crossfire.

Crossfire Purpose, Protocol and Preparation

The primary purpose of crossfire is not what most people think. If you were to ask a novice, you would think it would be a friendly exchange of questions and answers. Not true. It is the single, best opportunity to set up subsequent speeches for you and your partner. You ask questions, it allows your partner to prepare for his or her next speech, and you can gain admissions about your opponent's case. The purpose is structural and strategic, not casual.

There are three structural steps to crossfire questions. First step: clarification. Get clarity on your opponent's arguments. If you don't understand them, you cannot attack them. Next, expose weaknesses in your opponent's arguments. These weaknesses become damaging arguments for later speeches, and these can be just as damaging as a piece of evidence. Lastly, find out how ignorant your opponent might be on the topic. Once you know what they *don't* know, you can control the crossfire and even the entire debate.

There is proper protocol to crossfire, that the time must be shared with your opponent, but this protocol is often abused. In a perfect world, both debaters (or all four in the grand crossfire) take turns asking questions. Debaters sometimes try to control all of the time. Don't be that debater, but also don't play along with debaters who do this. If an opponent tries to dominate crossfire, you could push back: "Since you have asked questions for the first half of crossfire, I will ask questions for the second," or "I will answer your second question after you answer my first." These are not considered rude interruption if your opponent is the one initiating the rudeness.

Strategically, there are two ways to prepare for crossfire. The first way is during your research. Write three questions for every contention you expect your opponent to make. Include these questions in your offense block file. These questions should zero in on bad examples, bad statistics, bad studies and weak warrants. If the argument's substance fails, the arguments themselves fail. Your dominance on the details can make big claims go away.

The second strategy is to make sure your flowsheet is legible and complete. You may not have prepared questions ready, so you will reference your flow to ask good questions. Share a notepad with your partner to write down questions. Sticky notes are helpful, too, to write down a question and then affix the note to your flow, sometimes with an arrow pointing to the flowed argument that you want your partner to address.

It is important to know that crossfire is usually not flowed. It is your responsibility to pull arguments from the crossfire into your later speeches. Forgetting to address a crossfire idea is much like dropping it from the flow. You instead need to draw the issues raised in crossfire into later speeches. This is how debaters win the rounds, and you will become good at it over time.⁸

Asking Questions

There is not a magic list of questions to ask during a crossfire. Such a practice of asking generic questions often leads to inefficient use of crossfire time by debaters. Instead, focus on the *types* of questions to ask. You will find that such practice will easily fill your time with a robust and exciting exchange during crossfire. Consider the following seven strategies.

1. Ask about inconsistencies between contentions and quotes

Listen carefully for speakers to make claims in their contentions that don't measure up in the actual evidence. If, for example, your opponent claims that millions will die from some harm, listen carefully to see if the evidence actually says such a thing. If not, ask the question, "Did your 'millions will die' card actually say that millions will die?"

Additionally, you could pin your opponent down on other aspects of impact, like the timeline. When will we start to see these millions die? Will the dying start anytime soon? Could anything be done to start interfering with all this death?

2. Ask questions that challenge implicit assumptions

Don't allow your opponents to make assumptions from the evidence that help their case. Borrowing from the "millions will die" card above, even if millions will die, is it because of the side your opponent is arguing? Perhaps millions will die anyway, or for some other reason than the debater is assuming. Assumptions are one of the biggest faults debaters make when running evidence, and you can expose that fault during the crossfire.

In both of these types of questions, you force your opponent to speculate beyond what the evidence says. This is one of the most effective ways to turn a judge to your side in a round. This is most often

⁸ Much of this lesson references one of Vance Trefethen's camp sessions of cross-examination, adapted to strategies for crossfire in public forum.

done with a very simple, very direct follow-up question, “Did the evidence say *that*?” Oftentimes your opponent will have to confess that no, the evidence did not say what the debater was saying or assuming. This kind of assumption becomes very indicting in later speeches.

3. Ask for missing impacts

We have discussed how claims need to be warranted (giving credibility is very important), but not about impacts. Warranted claims can fall short to being persuasive if they do not bring about a harm or disadvantage of some sort. Debaters sometimes overlook the impact of their contentions. “Millions will die” is rather bleak, but what about “global warming will increase”? Is there an impact to the latter? No, there is not. So what if “global warming will increase”? Debaters should always make sure their claims are impacted to show there are disadvantages that will come about. In other words, people will be hurt or killed. All harms must be impacted.

4. Ask questions that set up arguments for your partner to make

During your crossfire, your partner is preparing for his or her next speech. You may take this opportunity to ask a question that your partner wants you to ask. In fact, it is not uncommon for a debater to quickly write down a question on a sticky note for you to ask during the crossfire. Ask it! Your partner likely has a plan to turn whatever your opponent says into an admission that will hurt their position.

Let’s say your opponent is calling for lifting the Cuban embargo. Your partner has a card that shows Cuban trade would threaten American commodity markets. So your partner has you ask, “Would Cuban commodity markets benefit from lifting the embargo?” Your opponent will optimistically respond, “Why, yes!” This allows your partner to take that admission, run the counter piece of evidence that shows that this would be bad for America, and win that argument. The judge may even make that argument a key voting issue in your favor.

Clever tactic, wouldn’t you say? This emphasizes the importance of *knowing your evidence*. You often will be able to link counter evidence against your opponents’ evidence and win the round.

5. Ask for specifics or examples

If claims measure up with warrants and impacts, you can pry even further by asking for specifics. Consider examples from your opponent. You will be surprised that sometimes the most confident claims cannot produce specifics. “Has this impact ever happened?” “How many times has this occurred?” and “Can you give me one specific instance when your plan worked?” You may catch your opponent off guard and catch them promoting something without examples.

6. Ask “why?”

This is much like asking for specifics or examples. *Why* does your plan work or *why* does the status quo need to be changed? Be careful that you don’t ask “why” to allow your opponent to ramble on and explain his or her position better. But sometimes asking “why” will get your opponent to stumble and admit that the “why” isn’t well known.

7. Ask questions that get to a single point of failure

Again, know *your* evidence, because you may have a card that shows a “single point of failure.” This is something that is the *only* thing that needs to be solved or the *only* thing that is causing some drastic harm. Note the word “only.” If you can ask a question that gets your opponent to admit that the “only” thing that can cause something bad to happen, you have an admission that can turn the round to your advantage. Here are some examples:

1. Is that the *only* reason your evidence shows...?
2. Is that the *only* disadvantage to your claim...?
3. Is that the *only* result that comes from your position...?

Apply these tactics and you will find asking questions easier and easier in crossfire. Your three minutes will go by very quickly.

Answering Questions

Crossfire is an interesting time to show the judge how incredibly confident you are in your position...even when you’re not. The key to doing this is to answer questions with two goals in mind: *defend your position* and *deny any benefits* your opponent will try to gain during crossfire. This is done by answering questions in the following ways.

1. Remember which side you’re on

You need to be 100% committed to your position in the debate round. Your job is not to concede or work things out or find common ground. Of course, be respectful and courteous in your disagreement, but stand up for yourself and your evidence. It is sometimes said that the key to success is sincerity, and if you can fake that you’ve got it made. Same for public forum debate. You are on the side you are on, so remember that and stick to it.

Take the example given for asking questions, the card about “millions will die.” A sharp debater will push back on the questioner’s attempt to show the card—albeit faulty and weak—as being a bad card.

Q: Did the card actually say “millions”?

A: Of course it did...it said world hunger would go up.

Q: But did it say specifically, “millions will die”?

A: Millions die every year from world hunger, so of course it is millions.

Stick up for your side and don't allow the question to invalidate your card, even if it is a bad card.

2. Turn the tables

Let's say the questioner follows up and keeps pressing you on “millions will die.” A good turn of the tables would be, “Would you like us to read evidence on how world hunger causes millions to die?” or “Do you really think world hunger isn't an issue?” Same with the global warming question above. “Do you really think global warming isn't an issue?” You may still have to impact the claim in a later speech, but at least you aren't letting your opponent gain an admission from your answer.

3. Answer only the question that was asked

This is particularly handy in crossfire as it is customary to allow the next question to go to you. Debaters sometimes mistakenly ask yes or no questions when they really should ask deeper questions that require an explanation. For example, “Does your evidence say hunger will go up?” to which you may reply, “Yes.” And stop there. This forces your opponent to follow up with the deeper question that will attempt to get an admission.

4. Offer to re-read evidence

Your opponent may continue to try to get the admission out of you, and a good solution is to offer to re-read your evidence. Don't use this as a stalling technique, but as a fair response to the question for specifics to avoid speculation, guessing and mistakes. Re-reading may give you a few seconds to think of a good response or come up with the question you want to ask next. Besides, if your opponent is questioning what your evidence says, there is no more powerful response than reading straight from the card.

5. As often as possible, respond with, “Our specific evidence says...”

This shifts the debate from “you versus your opponent” to “your opponent versus your evidence.” This often shuts down lines of questioning when your opponent doesn't want to challenge the evidence. When asked a question about your position, you most likely will be able to fall back on the support that you gave in your speech by adding, “Well, our Smith evidence says...” and then explaining what the Smith card says (or whatever name is in your source). It is best to refer to the author or the source of the evidence, not the evidence generally.

6. Sometimes “I don't know” is the right answer

Debaters often get into trouble when they try to answer questions that speculate beyond that which they don't need to defend. You are called only to defend your position in the round, not more than that. Your opponent may ask a question linked to a card he or she has back at the table. So, when asked,

“Would Cuban commodity markets benefit from lifting the embargo?” an acceptable answer may be, “I don’t know.” This forces your opponent to *prove* that the Cuban commodity market will benefit from the lifted embargo, rather than just having your admission to use.

7. Reject demands for more explanation or evidence

If you apply the tactics above, you will likely stump your opponents by not giving them the answer the team wants. A common follow up question they will slip in is a request for you to explain more in a later speech. Do not give them this privilege. You might decide to use that time in a future speech for something more important. Instead, explain the argument in the crossfire and resist any demand for more of anything; you be the one to decide.

Q: Can you or your partner bring up more evidence on your contention?

A: I’d like to first hear your response to the evidence we did bring up, then we we will consider bringing up more evidence in response.

Many of these tactics may seem manipulative. They certainly could be interpreted as such, but we have three reasons why we don’t believe this to be so. First, everyone knows that “debate” is the game we are playing. You and your opponent are not expected to agree with one another. In fact, you are expected to disagree!

Secondly, you are not required to give your opponent more than you would expect of your opponent. You don’t need to supply more evidence than what you read in the round, you don’t have to allow your opponent to speculate on things you didn’t say, you don’t need to know more than what your position requires, etc. These aren’t tricks to manipulate a win; these are strategies to persuading the judge.

Thirdly, as we stated at the beginning of this lesson, this is *crossfire*, not *cross-examination*. In crossfire both speakers ask and answer, alternating questions. Sometimes one of the debaters will try to monopolize the time. When that happens the other debater must take control.

A good crossfire usually makes a good debate round. And if you are particularly talented in the skill of asking and answering crossfire questions, you will likely win more debates.

The Grand Crossfire

Unique to public forum debate is the “grand” crossfire, the dedicated three minutes where all four debaters ask questions of one another. Speakers sit at their places, no one taking the podium, and the A1 speaker asks the first question.

Note that all constructives and summaries are finished. The goals you and your partner should have in the grand crossfire include:

Unit II: Strategy of Debate Cases

1. Remind the judge of the arguments you're winning. Refer to your flow. Ask a question about an argument your opponent dropped, or one that didn't have evidence to validate the claim.
2. Defuse the arguments you're losing. Avoid answering questions that give too much to your opponents. Stick to your position and insist that your evidence, your case and your arguments are solid.
3. Set up the Final Focus. The "2" speaker should be working double-time during grand crossfire, asking and answering questions while pre-flowing the next speech. Try to get your best admissions during the grand crossfire in order to use them in your speech.

Judges enjoy witnessing a grand crossfire where *everyone* participates. This reflects the preparation of both you and your partner. The debater who is more prepared than his or her partner will typically dominate the grand crossfire. Do your best to be just as prepared as your partner, even if your partner wrote the case you are running.

Extension for Lesson 6

Return to one of the video rounds suggested in earlier lessons, or one that your teacher provides. Watch the first two speeches, pause the video, and then come up with questions you can ask in crossfire. If in a class, divide into groups that will deliver both questions and responses for the hypothetical crossfire.

Unit III



Model Resolutions for Your Debates

Now you know what it takes to advocate for and against a public forum resolution. Do you feel ready to give debating a try? The following lessons in Unit III lead you through cases and answers-to for three specific resolutions, each case a strong model for public forum debate. You're in for a great time debating the Cuban embargo, military spending, and the electoral college.

LESSON 7: CUBAN EMBARGO



The Debate of Lesson 7:

“Resolved: The United States should lift its embargo against Cuba.”

This resolution was released to NSDA debaters on January 1, 2017, and was debated by thousands of students in February. Our teams had one month to prepare our folders of contentions and come up with cases to run. To best prepare for this, we first needed to understand the history of the topic, then the status quo.

Cuba sits alone in the beautiful Caribbean Sea, a mere 90 miles off the coast of Florida. American planes fly past it to get to Puerto Rico and other Caribbean islands. Cuba’s population consists of 11 million people (Florida is twice the population, Puerto Rico at 3 million). Cuba used to be property of the United States, a result of the Treaty of Paris following the end of the Spanish-American War in

1898. America consulted the Cuban people to its formal independence in 1902, birthing its own country independent of both Spain and America with its own constitution and free government.

What followed were decades of political turbulence including attempted overthrows and changes to its constitution. The turmoil came to a climax in 1958 with the rise of Fidel Castro who took over Cuba and declared it a communist country. Attempts to overthrow the Castro government failed, and Cuba quickly became a strong ally to the USSR. The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 brought the Cold War showdown between the United States and USSR over Castro's willingness to let Russia settle nuclear bombs in Cuba. Russia eventually withdrew its missiles.

The result of the Castro government was the United States embargo against Cuba, what you'll be debating in this lesson. It started in 1958 with a ban on weapons sales, a ban on food and medicine in 1960, and then a ban on essentially everything in 1962. There have been modifications to the embargo since then, but it has not been removed. To this day, it remains the longest economic embargo of any country in modern history.

Much of America and the rest of the world does not view the embargo favorably. Polls have shown Americans are largely doubtful of its help. The United Nations has condemned the embargo, but the United States has been voting against yearly resolutions since 1992. Human rights groups, while originally condemning of Castro's violent revolution, are now condemning of the affects the embargo has on the Cuban people.

The Obama Administration made some significant concessions regarding the Cuban embargo. In summary, Barack Obama made the following changes:

1. April 13, 2009. Eased travel restrictions for Cuban-Americans, allowing them to travel freely to and from Havana.
2. January 11, 2011. Further eased travel restrictions for students and missionaries to Cuba.
3. July 16, 2012. Allowed ships to sale to Havana with approved food and medical supplies, sent to Cuba from Cuban-American families.
4. December 2014. Obama officially announces the Cuban embargo a "failure" and intends to remove trade and travel restrictions.
5. April 11, 2015. Obama and Raul Castro (Fidel's son and current president of Cuba) meet, the first meeting between the presidents in over 50 years. Travel restrictions loosened following the meeting, allowing ferries and flights to Cuba.

6. August 31, 2016. The first commercial flight lands in Havana, breaking a 58-year-old travel ban.
7. January 12, 2017. Obama removes America's "wet feet, dry feet" policy, restricting political refugees of Cuba from automatic citizenship in America.

Despite this progress, the Cuban embargo still exists today. The resolution calls for the complete lift of the embargo. You and your partner will prepare arguments both for and against the proposal.

PRO: Cuban Embargo Should Be Lifted

A PRO case could go a number of different directions. For this resolution, we give a framework at the beginning that helps set the stage for this debate:

Climate change has been described as the biggest threat to the United States. Lifting the embargo against Cuba will allow us to combat climate change.

The contentions that follow explain (with evidence) that a lifted embargo would open up ethanol using Cuba's rich sugar cane commodity. The argument is made that if the embargo were lifted, dependence on oil would reduce as ethanol from sugar cane would increase. This would help free Cuba from dependence on Venezuela as well as reduce the risks associated with oil production, such as oil spills.

CON: Cuban Embargo Should Stay

The CON does not carry a framework. Instead, this debater jumps right into its case with three contentions:

1. Sanctioning Socialism
2. Structural Adjustment Programs
3. Public-Private Partnerships

PRO-AT: Answers to Cuban Embargo Should Stay

The "answers to" the CON case are as follows:

- AT: Sanctioning Socialism
 1. Turn: 50 years of evidence suggest that the embargo hasn't created political change, and instead the recent reforms that have occurred are because of trade with the US.
 2. Comprehensive sanctions become more difficult for Cuban leaders to enact the type of reforms the embargo demands.

3. The economic embargo only diminishes the United States' ability to influence change in Cuba.
 4. Democratization more difficult to achieve.
- AT: Structural Adjustment Programs
 1. Non-unique: The Castro regime is already taking measures in line with structural adjustment programs.
 2. Turn: Structural Adjustment Programs actually reduce poverty annually by 5.3 percentage points.
 - AT: Public-Private Partnerships
 1. Turn: Public-Private Partnerships projects have provided access to water for more than 24 million people in the last three decades.
 2. Turn: Public-Private Partnerships lead to market liberalization/reform, which they say in their first contention is important.

CON-AT: Answers to Cuban Embargo Should Be Lifted

By “AT” we mean “answers to.” The second CON speaker will use this folder to prepare his or her speech countering the PRO case. The answers to lifting the embargo directly refute each of the two PRO contentions. The taglines are bolded for easy reference to pull into the CON’s speech:

- AT: Ethanol from sugar cane
 1. Ethanol has negative economic effect on US.
 2. Sugar cane ethanol cannot solve. In fact, it solves close to 0%.
 3. Cuba won’t develop sugar cane ethanol. Ending the embargo doesn’t solve. We’ve removed some barriers with no Cuban action.
 4. Cuba won’t develop sugarcane ethanol. Cuba fears US backed programs and has no domestic need for the program.
 5. Massive environmental (climate) harms due to sugar based ethanol.
 6. Cuban sugarcane won’t be able to meet demand. Can’t harvest enough cane. Yield problems.

Lesson 7: Cuban Embargo

7. Too expensive, no one will make investment in sugar cane ethanol in Cuba.
8. Ethanol causes air pollution.

- AT: Oil Spill Risks

1. Their oil spill claims are false—the president has the capacity and authority to respond now.
2. The U.S. and Cuba are already laying plans to respond to a spill.
3. Public pressure would do nothing to prevent a U.S. response to a spill.
4. Environmentalists and oil companies support drilling cooperation and are working together.
5. There is likely no oil and it would not come online for years—there is no reason to change current policy.
6. U.S. embargo prevents oil spills by deterring companies from drilling near Cuba.
7. No Cuban rigs drilling in the status quo.

Extension for Lesson 7

You know the structure of a public forum debate round, you know about the first topic you'll be debating, and your teacher has you scheduled for your first round. Now is the time to debate!

The following four sections consist of:

1. A PRO Case. This is one of many cases that could be run that affirm the resolution, "Resolved: The United States should lift its embargo against Cuba." You and your partner, depending on who is that first speaker, will read this case against a CON team in one of the two rounds you will be running.
2. A CON Case. This is the negative position to the resolution, that the US should *not* lift its embargo against Cuba. The first CON speaker will read this case.
3. PRO-AT Evidence. The contentions in the CON case have rebuttal evidence. The second PRO speaker will pick this folder to read against the CON case.
4. CON-AT Evidence. For every contention in the PRO case, you have "CON answers to PRO" evidence that speak against the contentions. This will be the folder the second CON speaker will use to counter the PRO case.

Don't forget to pull out a flowsheet and flow the rounds. All four speakers should pre-flow the A1 and B1 speeches before the debate begins. Everyone in the round should take proper notes throughout the debate in order to convince the judge that their side is the winning side.

Good luck debating! And may the best team win.

PRO: CUBAN EMBARGO SHOULD BE LIFTED

Resolved: The United States should lift its embargo against Cuba. We affirm.

Climate change has been described as the biggest threat to the United States. Lifting the embargo against Cuba will allow us to combat climate change. We offer the following contentions.

Contention 1: Sugarcane Ethanol.

Jonathan Specht of UC Davis posits,

Specht 2013 (Jonathan Specht, BA from University of California Davis). “Raising Cane: Cuban Sugarcane Ethanol’s Economic and Environmental Effects on the United States,” August 24, 2013. <https://environs.law.ucdavis.edu/volumes/36/2/specht.pdf> (brackets in original)

Additionally, because Cuba’s ethanol industry is currently almost nonexistent, it will need a great deal of foreign expertise and investment to get started. However, such investments are unlikely to be made unless Cuba makes fundamental changes in its business climate. In the words of Gonzalez and McCarthy, “[C]apital investment, which Cuba’s economy desperately needs and which is most likely to be supplied by foreign investors, will be difficult to attract without enforceable contracts, access to neutral adjudication of disputes, and a degree of predictability that has heretofore been lacking.” Any post- Castro government will likely begin to make such changes to increase the appeal of the island nation to foreign investment. However, implementing these changes will take time and trial and error, which will slow the creation of a sugarcane-based ethanol industry.

That’s crucial, because Cuba has a huge incentive for American investment, as *The Wall Street Journal* reports,

Joe Light (writes about housing and mortgages for the *Wall Street Journal* in New York). “Investing in Cuba: Good Luck With That,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 26, 2012. <https://blogs.wsj.com/totalreturn/2012/03/26/investing-in-cuba-good-luck-with-that/>

This weekend, we wrote a story about a closed-end mutual-fund manager who has been waiting nearly 20 years for the opportunity to invest directly in Cuba. Indeed, the business opportunity seems tempting: 90 miles south of Key West, Florida is an island of more than 11 million people with infrastructure that’s seen little update since the 1960s. That’s led many a businessman to dream of the day when he or she could get exposure to that market.

And Joe Conason of Salon finds the benefit is unique:

Joe Conason (journalist-writer for Salon). “One more good reason to lift the Embargo on Cuba,” *Salon*, 6/18/08. http://www.salon.com/2008/07/18/cuba_6/

Now there is at least one more incentive to change course. With its huge potential for producing clean, renewable, sugar-based ethanol, Cuba represents a significant source of energy that will remain unavailable to American consumers unless we undo the embargo. Agricultural experts have estimated that Cuba could eventually provide more than 3 billion gallons of fuel annually, perhaps even more when new technologies for extracting energy from sugar cane waste (known as “bagasse”) come online — placing the island third in world ethanol production, behind the U.S. and Brazil. Given the relatively small demand for auto fuel in Cuba, nearly all of that ethanol would be available for export to its nearest neighbor.

Using sugarcane ethanol would do wonders for the environment, as Robert Letovsky of St. Michael's College notes,

Valerie S. Banschbach & Robert Letovsky (St. Michael's College). "The Use of Corn and Sugarcane to Produce Biofuel", 2011. <http://www.ableweb.org/volumes/vol-32/v32reprint.php?ch=1>

At first glance, sugarcane-based ethanol production has considerable advantages over corn in terms of greenhouse gas emissions. The world leader in sugarcane-based ethanol production, Brazil, has successfully translated a massive investment into the process into independence from oil imports. Not only does land devoted to sugarcane produce much more ethanol than land devoted to corn, but Brazilian ethanol refineries derive most of their energy from burning sugarcane residue, thus avoiding fossil fuel burning and further cutting the greenhouse gas emissions associated with the production process. Some estimates claim that sugarcane ethanol produced on established plantations offers an 80% reduction of greenhouse gas emissions compared to traditional gasoline.

Contention 2: Preventing Oil Spills.

William Reilly of the Washington Post explains Cuba is deep-water drilling:

William Reilly & Megan Reilly Cayten (journalists). "Why the U.S. should work with Cuba on oil drilling," Washington Post, February 2012. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/why-the-us-should-work-with-cuba-on-oil-drilling/2012/02/14/gIOAGLFiKR_story.html?utm_term=.540c4088d99c

The Cuban government is overseeing drilling deeper than BP's Deepwater Horizon well and almost as close to U.S. shores, but without access to most of the resources, technology, equipment and expertise essential to prevent and, if needed, to respond to spills. We are deeply familiar with the two largest oil spills in U.S. history, from the Exxon Valdez in 1989 and following the BP Deepwater Horizon explosion in 2010. In each case, containing and remediating the spill required the mobilization of vast resources from the federal government, the private sector and local communities.

Reuters offers specifics:

Jaime Hamre (journalist). "Cuba says to drill for oil in deep water despite low prices," Reuters, October 21, 2015. <http://www.reuters.com/article/cuba-oil-idUSL1N12J1OE20151022>

Cuba plans to drill exploratory deepwater wells in the Gulf of Mexico by the end of 2016 or beginning of 2017 despite current low oil prices, officials from the state oil monopoly said. Cuba-Petroleo (Cupet) will drill exploratory wells as deep as 7,000 meters (223,000 ft) in waters of up to 3,000 meters in production sharing contracts with Venezuelan state oil company PDVSA and Angola's Sonangol. "We will initiate a drilling campaign at the end of 2016 or the start of 2017," Osvaldo Lopez, Cupet's head of exploration, told Reuters on Wednesday. "The essential goal of the new drilling campaign is at least two deep wells. There could be three. If there is a discovery there certainly will be more than two," Lopez said on a tour of oil wells with international industry representatives.

Lifting the embargo helps by providing Cuba specialized equipment needed to make those deep drills. Jeff Franks says the embargo prevents that from happening.

Jeff Franks (writer for the Huffington Post). "Cuba Offshore Drilling: Another Well Declared A Failure," Huffington Post, 10/2/2012. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/08/06/cuba-offshore-drilling-failure_n_1746576.html

"The bottom line is that Cuba is not going to get any economic benefit from an oil find any time soon. This is a long-term exercise - it's going to take a long time to get results," he said. One problem facing Cuba is that its potential fields are mostly in what the oil industry calls "ultra-deep water," which requires specialized drilling rigs not readily available to the island because of technology limitations imposed by the longstanding U.S. trade embargo. Repsol spent years finding and waiting for the newly-built Scarabeo 9 rig as it was constructed in China. It is owned by Italian oil service company Saipem.

Coral Davenport of the National Journal corroborates the lack of access is due to the embargo:

Coral Davenport (National Journal). "Drill, Bebe, Drill," Cuba Study Group, August 2, 2011.

http://www.cubastudygroup.org/index.cfm/newsroom?ContentRecord_id=bc416841-8f8c-4bf8-9afe-4dc1f468fa7b&ContentType_id=8c81d17c-7ffe-48d6-81e7-cd93fe3120eb&Group_id=0b3ad3ec-d24e-4d2a-b425-a97ae7617c16

Because of the embargo, U.S. companies cannot drill in Cuba, supply equipment to Cuba, have any say over safety regulations in Cuba, or even take part in helping control a blowout and spill in Cuba. As the island prepares to begin offshore drilling, it has signed contracts with oil companies from Brazil, India, Italy, Russia, and Spain—and is in talks to lease major portions of its coastal water to Chinese companies (continuing China’s pattern of pursuing oil exploration in countries where U.S. drillers aren’t welcome).

Continuing...

William Reilly & Megan Reilly Cayten (journalists). "Why the U.S. should work with Cuba on oil drilling,"

Washington Post, February 2012. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/why-the-us-should-work-with-cuba-on-oil-drilling/2012/02/14/gIQAGLFiKR_story.html?utm_term=.540c4088d99c

The Deepwater Horizon spill, 5,000 feet below the ocean’s surface, occurred under the watch of experienced U.S. regulators, at a well drilled by one of the world’s largest, most experienced oil companies on one of the world’s most sophisticated drilling rigs. The response effort involved more than 5,000 vessels and is estimated by BP to have cost \$42 billion. The International Association of Drilling Contractors estimates that Cuba has access to less than 5 percent of the resources used in combating the Deepwater Horizon disaster.

Oil spills are disastrous to efforts against climate change, as numerous federal agencies announced the planet’s temperature was higher than any six-month period observed. Bill McKibben of the Daily Beast indicates:

Bill McKibben (writer). "BP Oil Spill, Global Warming, and Environmental Action," Daily Beast, July 9, 2010.

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2010/07/20/bp-oil-spill-global-warming-and-environmental-action>

A host of federal agencies announced that the planet’s temperature was higher than in any six-month period we’ve yet observed. April, May, and June—the spill months—were the warmest April, May, and June on record, all over the world. Last month in Pakistan, they measured an all-time Asia temperature record: 129 degrees. (I can set my oven for 129 degrees).

Lifting the embargo would dramatically cut response time. Cuba is obviously unprepared to handle an oil spill and as Voss writes for the BBC:

Michael Voss (writer). "Cuban Oil Project fuels US Anxieties," BBC News, November 15, 2011.

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-latin-america-15737573>

The Spanish company Repsol will be the first to drill, with an exploratory well in extremely deep water just 50 miles (80km) off the coast of Florida. It has sent alarm bells ringing in the United States because if there were an accident, the ocean currents would push any oil spill onto Florida’s beaches and the Everglades. Yet under the US trade embargo, neither American firms nor the Coast Guard could come to Cuba’s assistance or provide much needed equipment such as booms, pumps, skimmers and oil dispersant systems. The Cubans would need to turn to the Norwegians, British or Brazilians for help. “In the event of a disaster we are talking a response time in terms of equipment of four to six weeks as opposed to 36 or 48 hours. This is a serious impediment,” warned Lee Hunt, president of the Texas-based International Association of Drilling Contractors.

Lesson 7: Cuban Embargo

Oil spills are disastrous to efforts against climate change, as Bill McKibben of the Daily Beast indicates, during the BP oil spill, numerous federal agencies announced the planet's temperature was higher than any six-month period observed, and scientists all around the globe reported higher ocean temperatures.

Progress on climate change is critical, as Jason Koebler of US News:

Jason Koebler (contributor). "Report: 100 Million Could Die From Climate Change By 2030," US News & World Report, September 2012, <http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2012/09/27/report-100-million-could-die-from-climate-change-by-2030>

A report commissioned by the governments of more than 20 countries found that more than 100 million people will die as a result of climate change by 2030 if the world stays on its current path. According to the second edition of the Climate Vulnerability Monitor, climate change and fossil fuel use already causes nearly 4.5 million deaths each year, and could increase to about 6 million deaths per year by 2030.

Thus, we affirm.

CON: CUBAN EMBARGO SHOULD STAY

By Anoosh Kumar

Because one step forward doesn't justify two steps back, my partner and I negate that the United States should lift the embargo against Cuba.

Contention I: Sanctioning Socialism

The primary purpose of sanctions is to provide a platform for negotiation between President Raúl Castro and the State Department. Currie of NPR explains in 2009 that the embargo:

*Duncan Currie. "National Review Online: Cuba Without Illusions," NPR, May 21, 2009.
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=104377767&from=mobile>*

When it comes to unraveling the embargo, Obama seems committed to a piecemeal strategy. "A progressive approach puts the potential reformists in the position of arguing internally for responses that might bring further favorable moves from the U.S.," says Orr. "But if the U.S. throws all its leverage away in one move" — that is, if it terminates the entire embargo unilaterally without requiring any concessions from Havana — "this is not an argument that reformists can use."

Already, Deutsche Welle reports:

*Rafael Plaisant Roldão. "Cuba: A look back at five years of Raul Castro." Deutsche Welle, April 5, 2017.
<http://www.dw.com/en/cuba-a-look-back-at-five-years-of-raul-castro/a-16572632>*

Raul Castro had suggested over 300 reform projects, including a campaign to tackle state corruption as well as entering into a dialogue with the Catholic Church. He also set term limits for elected representatives to a maximum of two legislative periods of five years each. Permission for Cubans to travel abroad recently also grabbed media attention around the world.

While Renwick of the Council on Foreign Relations expands in 2016:

*Publicado Por, Renwick, Council on Foreign Relations. "U.S.-Cuba Relations." Opinion Global, April 8, 2015.
<http://www.opinioglobal.cl/u-s-cuba-relations>*

Since taking office in 2008, Raul Castro has spoken of the need to reform Cuba's economic system. Facing an aging population, heavy foreign debt, and economic hardship amid the global economic downturn, Castro began to liberalize parts of Cuba's largely state-controlled economy and loosen restrictions on personal freedoms, including ownership of certain consumer goods and travel outside the country. Some of Castro's reforms included: Decentralizing the agricultural sector; Relaxing restrictions on small businesses; Liberalizing real estate markets; Making it easier for Cubans to obtain government permission to travel abroad; and Expanding access to consumer goods. Cuba's private sector has swelled as a direct result of these reforms, and in 2014 was reported to be about 20 percent of the country's workforce. Cuban figures estimate that the number of self-employed workers nearly tripled between 2009 and 2013.

However, Carbonell of the Foreign Policy Journal writes in 2009:

Nestor Carbonell. "Think Again: Engaging Cuba." Foreign Policy Journal, April 2009.
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/04/10/think-again-engaging-cuba>

The embargo is the only leverage the United States has to ensure a democratic transition, if not under the Castro brothers, then with their successors. Why give up something for nothing? The European Union did that by unilaterally lifting its diplomatic sanctions against the Cuban regime, but Europe's hopes for human rights improvements have so far been in vain. Despite striking out yet again during his trip to Havana last month, European commissioner for development and humanitarian aid, Louis Michel, said that "Cuba-EU relations may go very far." He also hailed the importance of boosting collaboration between both sides. All this while more than 300 Cuban political prisoners remain behind bars under brutal conditions.

Gershman of the National Endowment for Democracy concludes in 2016:

Carl Gershman. "The New Fight: Cuba and the Movement for Democracy." National Endowment for Democracy, February 10, 2016. <http://www.ned.org/the-new-fight-cuba-and-the-movement-for-democracy>

Since the opening, the US has been reluctant to use its leverage to try to pry open political space in Cuba, and the Castro regime has aggressively sought to secure greater legitimacy and economic advantages for Cuba without liberalizing politically or reducing its repression of Cuban dissidents. What needs to be emphasized at the outset, therefore, is that Cuba has not entered a period of democratic transition, and the current Cuban regime is nothing like the authoritarian military dictatorships in Chile, Brazil, and other Latin American countries that underwent a democratic transition during the 1980s.

Contention II: Structural Adjustment Programs

Structural adjustment programs, or SAPs, consist of loans provided by the IMF and the World Bank to countries that experienced economic crises. From Amnesty International:

Amnesty International. "The US Embargo Against Cuba." 2009.
<https://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/amr250072009eng.pdf>

The Helms-Burton Act is divided into four titles. Title I: "Strengthening international sanctions against the Castro government" aims, among other things, at cutting Cuba's economic assistance and trading relationships with third countries, and opposing Cuba's membership in international financial institutions by instructing US executive directors in each institution to oppose the admission of Cuba as a member. In fact, Cuba is barred from membership of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Development Association, the International Finance Corporation, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency and the Inter-American Development Bank. Any loan or assistance provided by any of these institutions to the government of Cuba will result in the withholding of the same amount by the US Secretary of Treasury from payment to that institution.

Carmen Gonzales continues:

Carmen Gonzales. "Trade Liberalization, Food Security and the Environment: The Neoliberal Threat to Sustainable Rural Development." Seattle University, 2004.

<http://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1385&context=faculty>

One of the most significant decisions that Cuba will face after the lifting of the U.S. economic embargo is whether to join the World Bank, the IMF, and the Inter-American Development Bank. With an external debt of approximately \$12 billion as well as an additional \$15 billion to \$20 billion debt to Russia, Cuba might be tempted to avail itself of concessional loans and debt restructuring assistance from the IMF and the World Bank in order to normalize relations with external creditors and to obtain badly needed infusions of capital. Debt relief, however, will come at a very high price. Cuba, like other developing countries, will be compelled to implement neoliberal reforms pursuant to structural adjustment programs overseen by the World Bank and the IMF. These programs will require Cuba to maximize the revenues available for debt service by slashing social spending and vigorously promoting exports. In light of Cuba's "comparative advantage" in agricultural production, it is likely that structural adjustment will result in renewed emphasis on sugar production or on the cultivation of non-traditional agricultural exports (such as flowers, fruits, and vegetables).

That's detrimental, because Berrebi of the London School of Economics writes that:

Dario Berrebi. "Extreme Poverty in Cuba." London School of Economics, February 28, 2012.

<https://www.poverties.org/blog/poverty-in-cuba>

As a result, Cubans have seen their revenues decrease steadily over time. However, the Cuban experience has shown that an active social policy can be a great tool to fight exclusion and poverty. It's true that compared to other developing countries this particular government has had decades of experience in social policy under its belt. Cuba made it through numerous blockades and embargoes, including the fall of the USSR and massive reforms and integration into the world economy. Nonetheless, it now looks like the island might not survive the global crisis as unscathed as it did in the past.

In the big picture, the International Forum on Globalization reports:

John Cavanagh, Carol Welch and Simon Retallack. "The IMF Formula: Prescription for Poverty." International Forum on Globalization, 2001. http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/IMF_WB/IMF_Formula_PrescripPover.html

When the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank announced at their 1999 annual meeting that poverty reduction would henceforth be their overarching goal, this sudden "conversion" provoked justifiable skepticism. The history of the IMF shows that it has consistently elevated the need for financial and monetary "stability" above any other concern. Through its notorious structural adjustment programs (SAPs), it has imposed harsh economic reforms in over 100 countries in the developing and former communist worlds, throwing hundreds of millions of people deeper into poverty.

Contention III: Public-Private Partnerships

A public-private partnership, or P3, is an agreement between the government and a private company in order to build, finance, or sustain infrastructure projects. Lifting the embargo would allow such partnerships to take control of critical infrastructure in Cuba, as it would lift restrictions on foreign investment all around the world. Miroff of the Washington Post writes:

Nick Miroff (Correspondent — Latin America). "How Cuba is and isn't changing a year after the that with the United States." Washington Post, December 15, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/how-cuba-is-and-isnt-changing-one-year-after-the-thaw-with-the-us/2015/12/14/941ad178-9dcd-11e5-9ad2-568d814bbf3b_story.html?utm_term=.a4a2b86a5adf

But the initial Cuba excitement among U.S. companies has been replaced by something more "sober" a year later, said James Williams, president of Engage Cuba, a group lobbying to lift the embargo. Williams said he knew of at least two dozen U.S. companies that had submitted formal business proposals to the Castro government, aimed at taking advantage of more flexible rules. "I would imagine it's probably in the hundreds," he said.

That's why Napoleon of the LNC finds:

Napoleon LNC. "Growing Potential For P3 Infrastructure Development In Cuba." Law360, January 30, 2015. <https://www.law360.com/articles/617129/growing-potential-for-p3-infrastructure-development-in-cuba>

Indeed, as Cuba embarks on its transformation, the use of PPPs may play a significant role in bringing Cuba's infrastructure into the 21st century, prompting significant opportunity for U.S. businesses. With Cuba's dire need for a modernized railway and ground transportation system, roadways, wastewater infrastructure, water distribution system, and an entire energy infrastructure including refineries, power-generating plants, electrical grids and local wiring, PPPs may serve to infuse greater American capital and investment that could prove to be a win-win for both U.S. business and the Cuban economy.

The impact is eliminating access to the poor. Because a P3 has a much higher interest rate to pay back to its investors, they raise the cost for the consumers. Indeed, Romero of the European Network Institute quantifies:

María José Romero. "What lies beneath?" European Network Institute, April 30 2015. <http://www.eurodad.org/files/pdf/55cb59060d9d4.pdf>

PPPs are, in most cases, the most expensive method of financing, significantly increasing the cost to the public purse. A 2015 review by the UK's National Audit Office (NAO) finds "that the effective interest rate of all private finance deals (7%–8%) is double that of all government borrowing (3%–4%)." This means that the cost of financing of PPP projects are twice as expensive for the public purse than if the government had borrowed from private banks or issued bonds directly. In addition, private sector companies can be expected to make a profit on their investment, which in the case of 'government pays' PPPs has to be added to the overall cost of the investment, while in the case of 'user pays' PPPs this is going to increase the cost for users. In the case of developing countries, the returns required by investors are higher than in developed countries, due to higher perceived risks.

That's why Anaba of the Guardian observes in 2015 that empirically:

Bernard Anaba and Sarah-Jayne Clifton. "Proof is piling up that private sector finance is not an easy development fix." The Guardian, November 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/nov/11/private-sector-finance-not-easy-development-fix-public-private-partnerships>

In addition to being pushed strongly by donor countries through aid and the conditions attached to grants, loans and debt relief, PPPs have become popular because they enable debt payments to be hidden from the public view. But there is also growing evidence of how PPPs increase the costs of public services, while reducing quality of and access to services. These issues, and the associated fiscal risks, are not being monitored by the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. A recent study by the World Bank's independent evaluation group found that, of 442 PPPs supported by the World Bank, assessments of the impact on poverty were conducted for just nine (2%), while only 12 were assessed for fiscal impact.

All in all, McDonald of Queen's University concludes:

Karen Cocq and David McDonald. "Minding the Undertow: Assessing Water 'Privatization' in Cuba." Queens University, 2010. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2009.00730.x/abstract>

Water reforms are therefore one piece of a much larger puzzle, but the implications of Havana's joint venture are important. In a society in which social equality is unparalleled, and rights to basic services guaranteed, the risks of commodification and social stratification are high.

Thus, we negate.

PRO-AT: ANSWERS TO CUBAN EMBARGO SHOULD STAY

By Anoosh Kumar

AT: Sanctioning Socialism

1. Turn: 50 years of evidence suggest that the embargo hasn't created political change, and instead the recent reforms that have occurred are because of trade with the US.

Taylor Francis (Clemson University), Thomas K. Duncan (Radford University, Department of Economics). "The Cuban Experiment: A 50+ Year Embargo as a Failed Means of Promoting Economic and Political Development." May 2, 2016.

<https://poseidon01.ssrn.com/delivery.php?ID=41512508311609506809911507208312709006201100404100007802307008909207308111912206611201002300604111200604808800210309410008300105503903200906710407801909211510600007106508008008612410408808603101009209300>

While there is an abundance of research to suggest that sanctions in general do not tend to work (Griswold 2005; Napier 2010; Pape 1997), there is also over 50 years of evidence to suggest that sanctions do not work in the individual case of Cuba. If the stated goal of the policy is to create an environment of political change, it may be worth looking at other solutions for achieving this goal. As Acemoglu and Robinson (2012: 84) argue “[economic] growth and technological change are accompanied by what the great economist Joseph Schumpeter called creative destruction... The process of economic growth and the inclusive institutions upon which it is based create winners as well as losers in the political arena and in the economic marketplace. Fear of creative destruction is often at the root of the opposition to inclusive economic and political institutions”. Research by Barro (1996a, 1996b) indicates that increases in democratic and political freedoms are the result of economic freedoms, rather than the opposite. This direction of causality would indicate that increasing trade, and thus increasing the opportunity for beneficial economic activity, may begin to destabilize existing oppressive institutional regimes through the process of political creative destruction (see also Acemoglu and Robinson 2012; Acemoglu, Laibson, and List 2015: 178-184). The marginal incremental improvements of Cuba’s political institutions that have already occurred as a result of liberalization of the economy suggest that trading with the country is the optimal method towards achieving the stated ends of the US. In particular, the increase in property rights and access to online communication empower the Cuban people at the expense of the Castro regime.

2. Comprehensive sanctions become more difficult for Cuban leaders to enact the type of reforms the embargo demands.

James McGrath Morris (New American Media). "Will the U.S. Be Last in Line in Building a New Cuba?" April 21, 2011. <http://newamericamedia.org/2011/04/is-the-us-embargoing-cuba-or-itself.php>

It is in the interest of both the United States and Cuba that the Cuban economic reforms toward a more market-oriented economy succeed, according to a new report from the conservative Cuban Study Group in Washington D.C. “For this reason it is crucial that U.S. policymakers consider the implications of U.S. restrictions on the economic reform process. Through its own comprehensive sanctions, and by denying Cuba access to multilateral institutions, U.S. policies make it even more difficult for Cuban leaders to enact the type of economic reforms that the U.S. has urged for decades.” according to the report.

3. The economic embargo only diminishes the United States' ability to influence change in Cuba.

Klaas Hinderdael. "Breaking the Logjam." SAIS Journal, April 9, 2011. <http://www.saisjournal.org/posts/breaking-the-logjam>

Ending the embargo would also help Cubans, lowering the cost of consumer goods and raising the standards of living, while simultaneously challenging Raúl's assertions of American imperialism. In realizing that the embargo is too insignificant to have a fatal impact on the Cuban government, and that the usage of sanctions and practice of isolation are no way to be seen as a credible advocate of democratic reform, American policymakers should realize that the economic embargo only diminishes the United States' ability to influence change in Cuba. Furthermore, over time, increased economic ties can provide the leverage needed to push for political reforms.

4. Democratization more difficult to achieve.

Milica Delevic. "Economic Sanctions as a Foreign Policy Tool." International Peace Journal, January 1998. http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol3_1/Delvic.htm

Nevertheless, the number of disputes in which they were employed during the first half of the 1990-s contributes to the conclusion about the ever-growing popularity of sanctions. It also demonstrates clear differences from previous decades. While the majority of the sanctions employed previously were unilateral and originated by the United States, today they are predominantly multilateral and imposed by the United Nations. This reflects a belief that a new, inexpensive and potentially potent weapon against small and medium size troublemakers has been found (Mueller 1994, p. 363). This study will argue against this view. To this end, basic concepts of sanctions will be defined, the post-Cold War environment will be discussed in view of changes that led to the recent proliferation of multilateral economic sanctions, and finally, the case of Yugoslavia will be analyzed. It will be argued that the sanctions, helped to a great extent by pre-existing economic difficulties and macroeconomic mismanagement, had a devastating effect on the Yugoslav economy, thus helping make Serbian President Milosevic more cooperative, but were of no decisive importance for stopping the war in Bosnia. Moreover, poverty, which increased as a result of the sanctions, made people more receptive to authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, making democratization ever more difficult to achieve.

AT: Structural Adjustment Programs

1. Non-unique: The Castro regime is already taking measures in line with structural adjustment programs

Ramón C. Barquín. "Comparison of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Conditionalities and Cuba's Economic Reforms of the 1990s." ASCE, 1996. http://www.ascecuba.org/c/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/v06-33barquin_fm...pdf

In line with structural adjustment programs similar to the ones recommended by the IMF and WB to third world countries like Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Peru and Ghana, the Castro regime has decreased government subsidies, stimulated exports, indirectly pushed import substitution, increased taxes on cigarettes and rum, increased admission fees to sports and cultural events and established currency exchange houses (for the first time in thirty six years), presumably in an attempt to control inflation and advance economic growth by curtailing the money supply and increasing the government's revenue. The bulk of these changes, however, seem to be directed towards the goal of gaining admission into the IMF and WB. Admission into these international monetary institutions would provide the Cuban government with economic financing and aid, thus, extending the life of the Castro regime.

2. Turn: Structural Adjustment Programs actually reduce poverty annually by 5.3 percentage points

IMF. "The IMF's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF): Is It Working?" September 20, 1999. <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/esaf/exr>

Finally, while data on poverty rates are limited, in seven SAF/ESAF countries for which data are available, poverty rates declined by an average of 20 percent under IMF- supported programs, implying an average annual reduction of 5.3 percent (Chart 4).

AT: Public-Private Partnerships

1. Turn: Public-Private Partnerships have provided access to water for more than 24 million people in the last three decades

World Bank. "The Economic Impact of Infrastructure and Public-Private Partnerships: Literature Review." June 2015. <https://library.pppknowledgelab.org/documents/2384/download>

In terms of access, Marin et al (2009) finds that water PPP projects have provided access to piped water for more than 24 million people in developing countries since 1990. The authors assess the performance of concessions to be mixed as many of those concessions failed to invest the amount of private funding they had originally committed and did not always meet their original contractual target for coverage. The good performers in the pool of 30 concessions studies are the ones where private financing was complemented by public funding (Colombia, Guayaquil in Ecuador and Cordoba in Argentina). On the other hand, the authors mention lease-affermage cases that were successful in expanding access (for instance in Senegal and Cote d' Ivoire).

2. Turn: Public-Private Partnerships lead to market liberalization/reform, which they say in their first contention is important

World Bank. "The Economic Impact of Infrastructure and Public-Private Partnerships: Literature Review." June 2015. <https://library.pppknowledgelab.org/documents/2384/download>

Despite this, it should be noted that according to Andres et al (2008), these negative short term employment effects may be offset in the longer term by increased employment among subcontractors to the utility (as services are contracted out), or because of faster sectoral growth triggered by the reforms (particularly in sectors such as telecommunications, in which liberalization often triggers rapid market expansion).

CON-AT: ANSWERS TO CUBAN EMBARGO SHOULD BE LIFTED

AT: Ethanol from sugar cane

1. Ethanol has negative economic effect on US

Jonathan Specht (legal adviser, Pearlmaker Holsteins). "Raising Cane: Cuban Sugarcane Ethanol's Economic and Environmental Effects on the United States." UC Davis, April 24, 2013.
<https://environs.law.ucdavis.edu/volumes/36/2/specht.pdf>

Absent a scenario in which the Renewable Fuel Standard was raised at the same time as U.S. consumption of ethanol from Cuban sugarcane increased, it is likely that encouraging the importing of Cuban sugarcane ethanol would have a negative economic effect on the Midwestern United States. The worst case economic scenario for the United States that could possibly arise out of policy and law changes that successfully encourage the development of a Cuban sugarcane ethanol industry would be that such ethanol largely supplants rather than supplements the domestic ethanol industry. This could lead to ethanol plant closures, job losses, and a regionalized economic slowdown across the Midwestern United States. This regionalized economic slowdown would be made worse if a drop in demand for corn-based ethanol led to a significant decline in corn prices and a resulting loss of purchasing power by corn farmers (whose spending in times of high commodity prices boosts small-town economies).

2. Sugar cane ethanol cannot solve. In fact it solves close to 0%

Jonathan Specht (legal adviser, Pearlmaker Holsteins). "Raising Cane: Cuban Sugarcane Ethanol's Economic and Environmental Effects on the United States." UC Davis, April 24, 2013.
<https://environs.law.ucdavis.edu/volumes/36/2/specht.pdf>

It must be stressed that sugarcane-based ethanol, from Cuba or anywhere else, is not the solution to the energy and climate change problems faced by the United States, as replacing just 10% of global gasoline usage with sugarcane-based ethanol would require a tenfold increase in global sugarcane production. To address the problems of both peak oil and climate change, the United States must do much more to reduce its fossil fuel consumption. It should primarily do this by using the strategies highlighted in the introduction to this Article: higher fuel efficiency standards, electric cars (powered with electricity from renewable energy sources, not coal), more public transportation, more walkable neighborhoods, and shorter commutes. To the extent to which there will inevitably still be high demand for liquid fuels for automobiles, however, ethanol from Cuban-grown sugarcane can, and should, be part of the solution to both problems.

3. Cuba won't develop sugar cane ethanol. Ending the embargo doesn't solve. We've removed some barriers with no Cuban action

Jonathan Specht (legal adviser, Pearlmaker Holsteins). "Raising Cane: Cuban Sugarcane Ethanol's Economic and Environmental Effects on the United States." UC Davis, April 24, 2013.
<https://environs.law.ucdavis.edu/volumes/36/2/specht.pdf>

The ideal domestic policy scenario for the creation of a robust Cuban sugarcane ethanol industry would be a situation in which the U.S. trade embargo on Cuba is ended, U.S. tariff barriers have been removed (in the case of sugar) or not revived (in the case of ethanol), and the Renewable Fuel Standard requiring that a certain percentage of U.S. fuel come from ethanol remain in place. Of course, changes in United States policy alone, even those that ensure a steady source of demand for Cuban sugarcane-based ethanol, would not be enough to create an ethanol industry from scratch. The country will need to decide that fostering the industry is to be a key goal of the post-Castro era, and will need to shape its domestic policies to encourage the growth of such an industry.

4. Cuba won't develop sugarcane ethanol. Cuba fears US backed programs and has no domestic need for the program

Jonathan Specht (legal adviser, Pearlmaker Holsteins). "Raising Cane: Cuban Sugarcane Ethanol's Economic and Environmental Effects on the United States." UC Davis, April 24, 2013.

<https://environs.law.ucdavis.edu/volumes/36/2/specht.pdf>

Given that the Cuban sugar industry lived and died by its ties with specific foreign powers for most of the Twentieth Century, Cuba will likely be quite wary of investing too much in the creation of a sugarcane ethanol industry that it perceives as being largely a creature of U.S. energy and agricultural policy. Therefore, the creation of a significant sugarcane ethanol industry in Cuba will require a large increase in domestic demand for ethanol. One way that Cuba could encourage domestic demand for ethanol would be to follow the Brazilian model of encouraging the purchase of Flex Fuel vehicles, which can run on any blend of fuel between 100% gasoline and 100% ethanol. Because Cuba has so many old automobiles, expecting new vehicles to provide a source of demand for ethanol may be an extremely unrealistic prospect. On the other hand, the fact that there is so much pent-up demand for new automobiles in Cuba could mean that, with sufficient and well-directed government incentives, Flex Fuel vehicles could be adopted in Cuba at faster rates than in other countries.

5. Massive environmental (climate) harms due to sugar based ethanol

Sergio Schlesinger (economist with Friends of the Earth). "Sugar cane and land use change in Brazil: Biofuel crops, indirect land use change and emissions." Friends of the Earth Europe, August 2010.

http://www.foe.co.uk/resource/briefings/sugar_cane_and_land_use_ch.pdf

There is much controversy about the level of greenhouse gas emissions from ethanol, even when only direct land use changes are taken into account. The emissions caused by pesticide use, cane straw burning, and by soil degradation, for example, mean that emissions can increase. When farmers move to the Amazon, trees and other vegetation are burned or cleared to make way for pasture, reducing the capacity to store and sequester carbon. As land is cleared, soil starts oxidizing, releasing massive amounts of stored carbon. While precise calculations are difficult, emissions from indirect land use change are significant. The use of ethanol instead of petrol is clearly leading to economic, social and environmental problems, which seriously undermine the supposed benefits of sugar cane. Indirect land use change as a result of expanding sugar cane plantations is leading to a substantial increase in greenhouse gas emissions, perhaps causing even more emissions than fossil fuels.

6. Cuban sugarcane won't be able to meet demand. Can't harvest enough cane. Yield problems

Ronald Soligo (Rice Scholar, Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University) and Amy Myers Jaffe (Wilson Fellow in Energy Studies, Rice). "Cuba's Energy Future Strategic Approaches to Cooperation" p. 102-103, accessed at <https://books.google.com/books?id=7jNs2P2Z9NYC&q=102#v=snippet&q=102&f=false>.

Three and a half billion gallons seems unrealistic for the foreseeable future. There is some question as to whether Cuba could ever again attain the 1.5 million hectares of sugarcane harvested in 1970, let alone 2 million. According to Brian Pollitt, the 1970 harvest was achieved only by cutting cane that would normally be left to mature for another season in order to produce a higher sugar yield in the following year. 48 Obviously this is not a sustainable practice if optimal yields are to be achieved. Two billion gallons can be produced with a harvested area of 1.33 million hectares and a yield of seventy-five tons per hectare. That area of cultivation is not too far from the average harvest of 1.28 million hectares that Cuba was able to maintain during the 1970s and 1980s. Yet reaching 1.33 million hectares will require time and substantial investment in farm machinery and restoration of the land, which has been neglected and compacted by the use of heavy Soviet-built harvesting machinery. The land will also have to be tilled and newly planted with sugarcane. Achieving higher sugarcane yields will also require time and investments to acquire or develop higher-yielding sugarcane varieties. Cuban yields averaged only fifty-eight tons per hectare during the 1970s and 1980s, substantially below the seventy-five tons per hectare needed to produce 2 billion gallons of ethanol. Yet other countries, as noted, have achieved or exceeded that yield, and some private Cuban farmers are reported to have achieved even higher yields of 100 tons per acre. 49 Yields, of course, are a function of other factors besides cane variety. The condition of the land, access to water and fertilizer, and other inputs would all need to be considered.

7. Too expensive, no one will make investment in sugar cane ethanol in Cuba

Ronald Soligo (*Rice Scholar, Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University*) and Amy Myers Jaffe (*Wilson Fellow in Energy Studies, Rice*). "Cuba's Energy Future Strategic Approaches to Cooperation" p. 102-103. <https://books.google.com/books?id=7jNs2P2Z9NYC&q=102#v=snippet&q=102&f=false>

Finally, Cuba will have to undertake significant investments in distilleries, transport, storage, and distribution infrastructure if it wants to produce the levels of ethanol that the authors believe are achievable. Investment costs for the biorefineries alone will come to billions of dollars. For example, in 2006, corn-based ethanol plants in the United States cost roughly \$1.88 per gallon for a capacity of 48 million gallons per year, and \$1.50 per gallon for capacity of 120 million gallons per year (reflecting significant economies of scale). So even if all new plants in Cuba were built with the larger capacity, it would require \$3 billion dollars (at 2006 prices) to build sufficient capacity to produce 2 billion gallons.

8. Ethanol causes air pollution

Chi-Chung Tsao (*UC Merced*). "Study shows Sugarcane Ethanol Production causes pollution." December 11, 2015. <http://www.ucmerced.edu/news/2011/study-shows-sugarcane-ethanol-production-causes-air-pollution>

Ethanol is seen as an alternative to fossil fuels, which emit greenhouse gasses when used and are a major contributor to air pollution and climate change. But despite some governments encouraging farmers to reduce field burning — which is done in part to protect farmworkers by removing sharp leaves and harmful animals — more than half of sugarcane croplands in Brazil continue to be burned. That leads to a reduction in air quality that can offset the benefits of ethanol over petroleum fuels that emit more greenhouse gases during their use, something Campbell said the U.S. should consider when determining whether to import inexpensive ethanol from Brazil or continuing to invest in domestic corn ethanol production.

AT: Oil Spill Risks

1. Their oil spill claims are false—the president has the capacity and authority to respond now

Jose R. Cardenas (*former Acting Assistant Administrator for Latin America, U.S. Agency for International Development*). "The Phony Cuba Embargo Debate." *FOREIGN POLICY*, March 21, 2012. http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/21/the_phony_cuba_embargo_debate

In recent weeks, an unholy alliance of political activists and economic opportunists have been trying to convince anyone who will listen that the U.S. embargo of Cuba is inviting "catastrophic" damage to Florida by preventing the U.S. from responding to a potential oil spill from a newly launched Cuban rig just outside U.S. waters. The claim is without merit. The impetus for this contrived argument is that in late January, the Spanish oil company Repsol began exploratory drilling in Cuban waters -- 80 nautical miles from the Florida Keys -- using a Chinese-made rig owned by an Italian company. The fact is, under current U.S. policy, any U.S. President has broad authorities to ensure all U.S. resources and expertise can be deployed in case of a disaster off the southeastern U.S. coast. And all indications are the administration has moved expeditiously -- with lessons learned from the Deepwater Horizon blowout in the Gulf of Mexico -- to plan a U.S. response -- with no changes needed in U.S. law.

2. The U.S. and Cuba are already laying plans to respond to a spill

Jose R. Cardenas (*former Acting Assistant Administrator for Latin America, U.S. Agency for International Development*). "The Phony Cuba Embargo Debate." *FOREIGN POLICY*, March 21, 2012. http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/21/the_phony_cuba_embargo_debate

The arguments, frankly, are a hash of half-truths and erroneous and contradictory statements about the U.S. embargo. For example, we are told the U.S. embargo prevents interaction between the U.S. and Cuban officials to discuss response scenarios, only to learn that they already are interacting. Meetings between U.S. and Cuban officials (and those from Bahamas, Jamaica, and Mexico) have already taken place under the auspices of the U.N. International Maritime Organization. Then there is the ludicrous scenario posited of vintage Cuban crop dusters being forced into action because the embargo allegedly would prevent U.S. aircraft from dropping oil dispersants. Nonsense.

3. Public pressure would do nothing to prevent a U.S. response to a spill

Jose R. Cardenas (former Acting Assistant Administrator for Latin America, U.S. Agency for International Development). "The Phony Cuba Embargo Debate." FOREIGN POLICY, March 21, 2012.
http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/21/the_phony_cuba_embargo_debate

In addition, there is the de rigueur clumsy caricature of pro-embargo Cuban Americans, who "might protest any decision allowing U.S. federal agencies to assist Cuba or letting U.S. companies operate in Cuban territory." This seems not to be aware that most Cuban Americans live in South Florida and would have a decided interest in any despoiling of the state's environment. They would hardly be averse to any U.S. mobilization to counter a spill. What they do justifiably object to is any exploitation of the situation for political ends.

4. Environmentalists and oil companies support drilling cooperation and are working together

Jose R. Cardenas (former Acting Assistant Administrator for Latin America, U.S. Agency for International Development). "The Phony Cuba Embargo Debate." FOREIGN POLICY, March 21, 2012.
http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/21/the_phony_cuba_embargo_debate

Indeed, a particularly egregious example of the politicization of the issue has been the involvement of the Environmental Defense Fund, which has been positively sanguine about Cuban oil drilling. A powerful lobby able to mobilize hundreds of activists to oppose U.S. offshore drilling, they have been leading advocates of across-the-board U.S. cooperation with Cuba on offshore oil drilling, despite the latter's woeful inexperience and dearth of capabilities in offshore oil drilling. In this, they have been aided and abetted by assorted U.S. oil services companies who have been misrepresenting U.S. policy in a misguided attempt to create economic opportunity.

5. There is likely no oil and it would not come online for years—there is no reason to change current policy

Jose R. Cardenas (former Acting Assistant Administrator for Latin America, U.S. Agency for International Development). "The Phony Cuba Embargo Debate." FOREIGN POLICY, March 21, 2012.
http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/21/the_phony_cuba_embargo_debate

In the end, the likelihood that Cuba possesses any commercially viable oil reserves off its shores is dubious. And, in the unlikely event that it does discover any, it's probable that they will be exploitable only after the Castro regime passes into the dustbin of history. In the meantime, however, allowing Cuba anywhere near a deepwater platform is akin to handing a hand-grenade to a monkey. The Obama administration could have done better by strong-arming foreign companies from partnering with the Castro brothers on this project. But they appear to have a handle on cleaning up any attendant mess -- without any superfluous changes to U.S. policy towards the Castro dictatorship.

6. U.S. embargo prevents oil spills by deterring companies from drilling near Cuba

Clifford Krauss and Damien Cave (energy correspondents). "Cuba's Prospects for an Oil-Fueled Economic Jolt Falter With Departure of Rig." The New York Times, November 9, 2012,
<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/10/world/americas/rigs-departure-to-hamper-cubas-oil-prospects.html>

The best-case scenario for production, according to some oil experts, would be for Cuba to eventually become a medium-size producer like Ecuador. But as the three dry holes showed, far more exploration effort would be needed, and that presents a challenge for a country with limited resources and the hurdle of American sanctions. There are many offshore areas that are competing with Cuba for the attention of oil companies, particularly off the coasts of South America and East and West Africa. In Cuba's case, the American embargo makes it far more difficult for companies seeking to explore Cuban waters. The Scarabeo 9, the rig set to depart, is the only one available that is capable of drilling in deep waters and complies with the embargo. To get it built, Repsol, the Spanish oil giant, was forced to contract an Italian operator to build a rig in China to drill exploration wells.

7. No Cuban rigs drilling in the status quo

David LaGeese. "Cuba's Oil Quest to Continue, Despite Deepwater Disappointment." National Geographic, November 19, 2012. <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/energy/2012/11/121119-cuba-oil-quest>

An unusual high-tech oil-drilling rig that's been at work off the coast of Cuba departed last week, headed for either Africa or Brazil. With it went the island nation's best hope, at least in the short term, for reaping a share of the energy treasure beneath the sea that separates it from its longtime ideological foe. For many Floridians, especially in the Cuban-American community, it was welcome news this month that Cuba had drilled its third unsuccessful well this year and was suspending deepwater oil exploration. (Related Pictures: "Four Offshore Drilling Frontiers") While some feared an oil spill in the Straits of Florida, some 70 miles (113 kilometers) from the U.S. coast, others were concerned that drilling success would extend the reviled reign of the Castros, long-time dictator Fidel and his brother and hand-picked successor, Raúl.

Unit III: Model Resolutions for Your Debates

LESSON 8: MILITARY SPENDING



The Debate of Lesson 8:

“Resolved: In order to better respond to international conflicts, the United States should significantly increase its military spending.”

The United States has a long history of responding to international conflicts. Arguably so, as the US is the strongest military in the world. We have had a dominating influence in the world since World War II. The following are areas of our dominance, coupled with areas of contention:

- NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed in 1949 as a way to “keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down,” as its first Secretary General Lord Ismay explained. The goal was to prevent the forces of Communism and Fascism to take hold

in Europe. Today, America is the leading funder of NATO, comprising 28 countries with its own military. NATO countries are sworn to come to the defense of one another. The Trump administration has complained that the US is paying more than its fair share of the NATO alliance.

- Korea. At the end of World War II, the Korean Peninsula was divided between the North (communist) and South (non-communist). The North tried to invade and take over the South in a surprise invasion in 1950, but the UN and the US came to the South's defense and successfully pushed back the North Koreans. At the writing of this Green Book edition, the grandson of the North's leader, Kim Jung Un, threatens the US with nuclear missile tests and verbal threats.
- The Carter Doctrine. In 1980, then-President Jimmy Carter announced, "An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." This has held true ever since and is arguably the reason we stay so inclined in the Middle East.
- Syria. The civil war in Syria has led to the greatest refugee crisis since World War II. Nine million Syrian men, women and children—half the population—are displaced from their homeland. This has led to a humanitarian crisis all over the world. At the writing of this Green Book edition, the war continues and the crisis is straining much of the world's resources.

There are other areas of contention in the world, and it never seems to end. What should the US do? That's the debatable part of this resolution. You must take the PRO position that argues that we should increase our military spending in order to respond to international conflicts. The CON will argue against this.

PRO: Increase Military Spending

We give a framework of "national security" at the beginning of the debate to help set a benchmark for the debate. We explain:

The Budget Control Act of 2011 imposed limits on military spending. The Sequester has dangerously weakened our ability to respond to current international conflicts. A significant increase in military spending is needed. We observe that there is no other federal government function as important as protecting national security.

We then follow with two strong contentions, each with sub-points to prove them. The first contention essentially gives justification to the first half of the resolution, saying, "The US faces many threats

from international conflicts.” The second gives the solution to the problem, the second half of the resolution, calling for a significant increase in military spending.

CON: Do Not Increase Military Spending

The CON jumps right in with providing its own contentions, a direct refutation of the resolution. The two contentions are:

1. Military spending begets military intervention.
2. The level of threat from international conflict does not justify increased military spending.

PRO-AT: Answers to Do Not Increase Military Spending

The “answers to” the CON case are as follows:

- AT: Diplomacy is the solution
 1. Strategic military efforts maximize the effectiveness of diplomacy.
- AT: Funding not needed to fight terrorism
 1. Increased military spending is necessary to fight off terrorism groups such as ISIS.
 2. To keep Americans safe, continued spending is necessary.
 3. Increased military spending would directly aid in fighting terrorism.
- AT: Military Responses Worsen Conflict
 1. For genocides, nonintervention does not suffice.
 2. Intervention is empirically proven to succeed.
- AT: Military Spending Can Avoid Conflict
 1. Deterrence prevents conflict altogether.
 2. Spending is an important aspect of army preparedness and thus deterrence.
- AT: Tradeoff Argument
 1. Military spending stimulates job creation.
 2. Ambitious spending creates more jobs.

3. Increased spending is necessary because previous cuts to defense spending threatens millions of jobs.
4. More than 1 million jobs lost without spending.

CON-AT: Answers to Increase Military Spending

The second CON speaker will use this folder to prepare his or her speech countering the PRO case. The answers to lifting the embargo directly refute each of the PRO contentions.

- AT: Increased spending curtails Russian aggression.
 1. Sanctions diminish the Russian threat.
 2. NATO is the root cause of Russian aggression.
 3. Intervention starts an arms race.
- AT: Terrorism spending already high
 1. The US spends more on counter-terrorism than any other country in the world.
 2. ISIS is decimated.
- AT: Deters Chinese Aggression.
 1. China is economically dependent on the United States, can't afford being a threat.
 2. US has a defense budget of about \$600 billion, while China spends \$146 billion.
 3. Because of China's slowing economy, their military budget has increased at the lowest rate in years.

Worksheet for Lesson 8

Name: _____ Date: _____

Read Lesson 8. Answer the following in the spaces provided.

1. Write out the resolution you will be studying in this lesson. Underline the key words you need to understand.

2. What is NATO and its original intent?

3. Who is the current leader of North Korea? Why is he a threat to America?

4. Of the few conflicts raised in this lesson, what conflicts are missing? List a few that are debatable in the news today.

5. Briefly explain your opinion: What do you think of increasing our military spending to respond to international conflicts?

Extension for Lesson 8

We hope you enjoyed your first debate round. Are you ready for another try? With your background knowledge of the topic, your model cases ready, and one try at public forum debate in your belt, we're sure you are. And it's going to be better!

Understand that the following cases and AT folders do not necessarily reflect any political views held by any of us at Monument Publishing. The plans are offered because they are supported by certain experts in published literature. We may or may not agree with them, and it's never our goal to use *Green Book* to express our own political views. It is our goal to provide evidentially supported cases that would make for good educational debates, and that's all. We hope you understand the topic and how to use the cases in a debate round.

PRO: INCREASE MILITARY SPENDING

The United States Federal Government's primary duty is to protect the country's national security. Because we are dramatically deficient in our ability to respond to several international conflicts we affirm the resolution: In order to better respond to international conflicts, the United States should significantly increase its military spending.

The Budget Control Act of 2011 imposed limits on military spending. The Sequester has dangerously weakened our ability to respond to current international conflicts. A significant increase in military spending is needed.

We observe that there is no other federal government function as important as protecting national security. The director of the Institute for the Study of War, Kimberly Kagan, wrote a year ago:

Kimberly Kagan (Director of the Institute for the Study of War). "Al Qaeda and ISIS: Existential Threats to the U. S. and Europe." US Grand Strategy, January 2016.

<http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/PLANEX%20Report%201%20--%20FINALFINALFINAL.pdf>

Ensuring the safety of the American people and homeland is the first and most fundamental obligation of the American government. Current policies are not fulfilling that obligation and are unlikely to do so if continued.

We therefore offer the following two contentions.

Contention I. The US faces many threats from international conflicts.

We will explore three.

A. The current conflict with Russia is a threat.

According to the Washington Times in 2015, Top military brass labelled Russia as the top threat the US faces today. General Mark Milley says:

Jacqueline Kilmas (staff writer for The Washington Times). "Military Leaders name Russia as a Top Threat to the U.S." Washington Times, July 21, 2015. <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jul/21/military-leaders-name-russia-top-threat-us>

"Russia is the only country on earth that contains a nuclear capability that could destroy the United States," Gen. Milley told members of the Senate Armed Services Committee at a hearing to consider his nomination to serve as the next Army chief of staff. "It's an existential threat to the United States, so it has capability. Intent, I don't know; but the activity of Russia since 2008 has been very, very aggressive." Russia invaded the Crimean Peninsula in February 2014, annexing the Ukrainian territory as part of Russia, and have supported ethnic-Russian rebels in the eastern part of its neighbor. Other spheres in which Russians have acted aggressively include their jets approaching other nations' airspace and buzzing U.S. planes and ships in acts the Pentagon called "provocative and unprofessional."

The Senior Research fellow at the Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, Dakota Wood, noted:

Dakota Wood (Sr. Research Fellow, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, editor). "Assessing America's Ability to Provide for the Common Defense." Heritage Foundation, November 15, 2016. http://ims-2017.s3.amazonaws.com/2017_Index_of_Military_Strength_WEB.pdf

Russia possesses the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons among the nuclear powers (when short-range nuclear weapons are included). It is one of the few nations with the capability to destroy many targets in the U.S. homeland and in U.S.-allied nations and to threaten and prevent free access to the commons by other nations. Russia has both intercontinental-range and short-range ballistic missiles and a varied nuclear weapons arsenal that can be delivered by sea, land, and air. It also is investing significant resources in modernizing its arsenal and maintaining the skills of its workforce.

Later in the same article, Wood notes:

Dakota Wood (Sr. Research Fellow, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, editor). "Assessing America's Ability to Provide for the Common Defense." Heritage Foundation, November 15, 2016. http://ims-2017.s3.amazonaws.com/2017_Index_of_Military_Strength_WEB.pdf

Russia continues to violate the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, which bans the testing, production, and possession of intermediate-range missiles. According to Keith Payne and Mark Schneider, "These Russian actions demonstrate the importance the Kremlin attaches to its new nuclear-strike capabilities. They also show how little importance the Putin regime attaches to complying with agreements that interfere with those capabilities."

B. The current conflict with China is a threat.

China has grown its military spending and the International Institute for Strategic Studies predicts that:

Geoff Dyer (former Beijing Bureau Chief). The Contest of the Century. Knopf; 1st edition (February 4, 2014), Kindle edition

By some estimates, China will have a bigger fleet than the U.S. by the end of this decade, and it already has more submarines. Although it is always dangerous to make straight-line predictions based on existing reality, if China continues with its current rate of increase in military spending, it will have a bigger defense budget than the U.S. by 2025, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

C. Terrorism is a threat.

According to Kimberly Kagan:

Kimberly Kagan (Director of the Institute for the Study of War). "Al Qaeda and ISIS: Existential Threats to the U. S. and Europe." US Grand Strategy, January 2016. <http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/PLANEX%20Report%201%20--%20FINALFINALFINAL.pdf>

Salafi-jihadi military organizations, particularly ISIS and al Qaeda, are the greatest threat to the security and values of American and European citizens. ISIS and al Qaeda pose an existential threat because they accelerate the collapse of world order, provoke domestic and global trends that endanger American values and way of life, and plan direct attacks against the U.S. and its partners.

Contention II. It is essential that there be significant military spending increases.

A. Our military strength has been weakened by the Budget Control Act.

Wood writes that:

Dakota Wood (Sr. Research Fellow, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, editor). "Assessing America's Ability to Provide for the Common Defense." Heritage Foundation, November 15, 2016. http://ims-2017.s3.amazonaws.com/2017_Index_of_Military_Strength_WEB.pdf

The Army is currently undertaking several modernization programs to replace or improve its ground combat vehicles and current rotorcraft fleet. However, budget reductions levied in previous years have significantly affected modernization, with Research and Development, Acquisition, and Procurement accounts all experiencing 35 percent funding cuts between 2011 and 2015. In fact, "[s]ince 2011 the Army has ended 20 programs, delayed 125 and restructured 124."

B. Our readiness has been impacted.

Wood continues that the Secretary of the Army and the Army Chief of Staff saying:

Dakota Wood (Sr. Research Fellow, Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, editor). "Assessing America's Ability to Provide for the Common Defense." Heritage Foundation, November 15, 2016. http://ims-2017.s3.amazonaws.com/2017_Index_of_Military_Strength_WEB.pdf

As a result of sequestration in FY 2013, the Army experienced a shortage in readiness funding that resulted in "significantly and rapidly degraded Army readiness," which the Secretary of the Army and the Army Chief of Staff testified would "translate directly into FY 14 and beyond."

C. The impact is mission failure and lost lives.

Diem Nguyen Salmon is a senior policy analyst at the Center for Foreign and National Security Policy. He writes:

Diem Nguyen Salmon (senior policy analyst, Center for Foreign and National Security Policy). "A Proposal for the FY2016 Defense Budget." Heritage Foundation, January 30, 2015. <http://www.heritage.org/defense/report/proposal-the-fy-2016-defense-budget>

When the military is called upon to act, but constrained in its means, it runs greater risks in the endeavor. In conflict, greater risk can mean higher casualty rates or outright failure to complete the mission. If the military is ordered to war without a proper consideration of resources, that risk will be absorbed by the men and women in uniform.

In order to prevent those needless deaths and a loss at war we must significantly increase military spending to prevent and respond to international conflicts.

CON: DO NOT INCREASE MILITARY SPENDING

When you have something you are more than likely to use it, therefore we negate the resolution: In order to better respond to international conflicts, the United States should significantly increase its military spending.

Contention I: Military spending begets military intervention.

A. Intervention that serves no purpose

George Mason government professor Trevor Thrall writes:

Trevor Thrall (professor of government, George Mason University). "Primed against Primacy: The restraint constituency and U. S. Foreign Policy." Cato Institute, September 15, 2016.

<https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/primed-against-primacy-restraint-constituency-us-foreign-policy>

Looking ahead, the greatest danger to the case for restraint is the interventionist habit of America's political leaders. Under either a President Clinton or a President Trump, it seems extremely likely that the United States will continue to suffer from what Christopher Preble calls the "power problem." Thanks to the exceptional security and overwhelming power the United States possesses, it enjoys too great a temptation, to intervene abroad in pursuit of all kinds of foreign policy goals that have nothing to do with national security.

And Robert Borosage explains a growing list to include:

Robert Borosage (president of Campaign for America's Future). "Being the Indispensable Nation is Killing American Democracy." Reuters, October 20, 2014. <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2014/10/20/obama-tests-u-s-democracy-by-waging-an-empires-continuous-wars>

America — proudly dubbed the "indispensable nation" by its national-security managers — is now the entangled nation enmeshed in conflicts across the globe. President Barack Obama, scorned by his Republican critics as an "isolationist" who wants to "withdraw from the world," is waging the longest war in U.S. history in Afghanistan, boasts of toppling the Muammar Gaddafi regime in Libya, launches airstrikes in Iraq and Syria against Islamic State and picks targets for drones to attack in as many as eight countries, while dispatching planes to the Russian border in reaction to its machinations in Ukraine, and a fleet to the South China Sea as the conflict over control of islands and waters escalates between China and its neighbors. The indispensable nation is permanently engaged across the globe. But endless war undermines the Constitution. Democracy requires openness; war justifies secrecy. Democracy forces attention be paid to the common welfare; war demands attention and resources be spent on distant conflicts. Democracy involves forging coalitions to get action in the Congress; war is waged on executive order. The Constitution restrains the executive in times of peace; constitutional strictures are trampled in times of war.

B. This interventionist policy has 4 adverse impacts.

1. Turning world opinion against the US

David Mason notes there is a:

David Mason (professor of political science). The End of the American Century, 2009, p. 159, kindle edition.

What is even more extraordinary than this sharp dropoff in approval for the United States and its policies is a widespread belief in other countries that the United States is itself a major threat to world peace. Since the Iraq War began, this sentiment is particularly strong in Arab and Muslim countries. In a 2005 Pew study, in each of the five predominantly Muslim countries surveyed (Indonesia, Pakistan, Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon), large majorities expressed worry that the United States might become a military threat to their country. Even more startling was a large-scale Gallup poll in Europe in 2003 in which 53 percent of Europeans considered the United States "a threat to world peace."

Lesson 8: Military Spending

Global Studies professor Jan Pieterse from Cal-Santa Barbara offers:

Jan Pieterse (professor of Global Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara). Is there hope for Uncle Sam? Beyond the American Bubble. 2008, p. 39.

https://books.google.com/books/about/Is_There_Hope_for_Uncle_Sam.html?id=pPdiDgAAOBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=kp_read_button#v=onepage&q&f=false

Polls report that the American image in the world is steadily declining — even among its allies, Britain, Australia, Italy, the U.S. is not trusted and not ranked among the top ten nations. The UN is more trusted than the U.S.

2. Unnecessary death

Thrall adds up the carnage:

Trevor Thrall (professor of government, George Mason University). “Primed against Primacy: The restraint constituency and U. S. Foreign Policy.” Cato Institute, September 15, 2016.

<https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/primed-against-primacy-restraint-constituency-us-foreign-policy>

Large majorities remain convinced that both the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were mistakes. With over 7,000 U.S. military personnel killed and many thousands more wounded, and trillions of dollars spent killing terrorists and “exerting influence” in the Middle East and elsewhere, many Americans are simply convinced it is time to spend more time focusing on domestic concerns. A 2016 Pew survey found, along these lines, that 70 percent of the public wants the next president to focus on domestic issues compared to just 17 percent who want to see a focus on foreign policy.

In fact, Ivan Eland claims:

Ivan Eland (director of Center on Peace and Liberty, Independent Institute). “Lessons from Iraq: Avoiding the Next War.” 2008, p. 44-45, kindle edition.

Now that the cold war is over and the rival superpower is in the dustbin of history, the advantages of maintaining an outdated and expansive global military presence have been reduced. Indeed, the disadvantages of an interventionist foreign policy have mushroomed greatly: blowback at home and abroad, the erosion of the republic, and the use of guerrilla and terrorist tactics against U.S. forces abroad. In sum, empire does not equal security for the United States, its territory, and its citizens —the main function that the U.S. government is supposed to be providing. In fact, empire is undermining such security.

3. Mission failure

Ahmed Rashid notes:

Ahmed Rashid (journalist, best selling foreign policy author). Descent Into Chaos: The United States and the Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia, 2008, p. xxxviii, kindle edition.

Instead, seven years on, the U.S.-led war on terrorism has left in its wake a far more unstable world than existed on that momentous day in 2001. Rather than diminishing, the threat from al Qaeda and its affiliates has grown, engulfing new regions of Africa, Asia, and Europe and creating fear among peoples and governments from Australia to Zanzibar. The U.S. invasions of two Muslim countries, billions of dollars, armies of security guards, and new technology have so far failed to contain either the original organization or the threat that now comes from its copycats — unemployed young Muslim men in urban slums in British or French cities who have been mobilized through the Internet. The al Qaeda leader, Osama bin Laden — now a global inspirational figure — is still at large, despite the largest manhunt in history.

Professor Bridgett Nacos writes:

Brigitte Nacos (professor of journalism, Columbia). Debating Terrorism and Counter Terrorism: Conflicting Perspectives on Causes, Contexts and Responses. 2010, p. 218.

As the Iraq War has demonstrated, massive military force can result in a recruiting bonanza for terrorists. And as ground and air operations against al-Qaeda and Taliban figures in Pakistan's tribal region showed, such strikes can trigger further waves of terrorist attacks.

4. Diversion of funds from needed spending at home

Borosage notes:

Robert Borosage (president of Campaign for America's Future). "Being the Indispensable Nation is Killing American Democracy." Reuters, October 20, 2014. <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2014/10/20/obama-tests-u-s-democracy-by-waging-an-empires-continuous-wars>

But while Washington spends \$3 trillion on Iraq, there hasn't been a serious discussion about bringing America's aged infrastructure, including our roads, bridges and airports, up to standard — which would cost about the same. Instead of this funding, the United States and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies spend more on their militaries than the rest of the world combined. Washington maintains more than 1,000 bases, called "military sites," across the globe, plus 11 aircraft-carrier task forces that are essentially moveable bases. U.S. conventional and nuclear forces are unrivaled — yet Washington plans to spend another trillion dollars over the next 30 years modernizing nuclear weapons that the United States aims never to use. U.S. intelligence and covert forces are permanently engaged, often secretly creating the implicit commitments that will force the next intervention.

Balance these harms against our

Contention II: The level of threat from international conflict does not justify increased military spending.

A. The terror threat

Thrall suggests:

Trevor Thrall (professor of government, George Mason University). "Primed against Primacy: The restraint constituency and U. S. Foreign Policy." Cato Institute, September 15, 2016.

<https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/primed-against-primacy-restraint-constituency-us-foreign-policy>

One possible interpretation of this finding is that a growing number of Americans may see little connection between military intervention and American security, especially given how few terrorist attacks have occurred on American soil since 9/11. As a result, fewer may now believe such efforts are worth the high costs in lives, money, and in the lack of attention paid to domestic issues. Such poll findings establish a high burden of proof for future intervention. Those seeking to repeat a troop-intensive intervention in the Middle East not only will have to explain why the security risk justifies such an action but also must reassure the public that the next Islamic State will not emerge in its aftermath.

B. The Russian threat

The threat empirically is non-existent. Finian Cunningham says:

Finian Cunningham (Strategic Culture Foundation). "Peace, not Russia, is the Real Threat to US Power." Online Journal Strategic Culture Foundation, May 16, 2016. <http://www.strategic-culture.org/news/2016/05/16/peace-not-russia-is-real-threat-us-power.html>

The \$600 billion-a-year military spend by Washington is roughly tenfold what Russia spends. And yet, inverting reality, Russia is presented as the threat! The US military budget is greater than the combined budgets of the world's next nine big military spenders: China, Saudi Arabia, Russia, Britain, France, Germany, India, Japan and South Korea, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Lesson 8: Military Spending

And professor Jack Snyder notes:

Jack Snyder (professor of International Relations, Columbia University). Is There a New Cold War? 2010, p. 72-73

Russia is a weak, two-dimensional power, drawing on its superficial oil wealth and on the remnants of the Soviet military industrial complex.

Galeotti says:

Mark Galeotti (journalist). "Why Russia Is Not an Existential Threat for the West." Russia! Magazine, Aug. 18, 2015. <http://readrussia.com/2015/08/18/why-russia-is-not-an-existential-threat-for-thewest>

Russia has some 700,000 under arms in the military (there are also the Border Troops, Interior Troops and the like, but they really would only matter in defensive and security operations). The USA has more than 1.3 million active duty personnel and NATO as a whole over 3 million.

C. The Chinese threat

is an exaggeration promoted by the press according to:

Jinghao Zhou (professor of Political Science, Hobart College). Chinese vs. Western Perspectives: Understanding Contemporary China. 2014, p. 236-237, kindle edition.

Since a rising China poses no threat to the United States and the West, why is the "China threat" theory so popular in Western society? It is in part derived from the psychological impact of exaggerating China's rise. Thomas J Christensen, the Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, points out that the press has often exaggerated the influence of China's rise. The reality is that the U.S. remains the dominant power in the world.

Professor Liu Mingfu reminds us:

Liu Mingfu (professor of China's National Defense University). The China Dream: Great Power Thinking and Strategic Posture in the Post-American Era. 2015, p. 86, kindle edition.

The Chinese people are a loving, benevolent people who live by the principle of not harming unless harmed; a people who love peace and despise war, a kind and gentle people. As Sun Yat-sen put it: the Chinese people desire peace and order. Except in self-defense, the Chinese people rarely go to war.

Christensen says:

Thomas Christensen (former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and professor, World Politics, Princeton). The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power. 2015, p. 62, kindle edition.

While the rise of new powers has historically led to bloody and sustained conflicts, this time should be different. A rising China has more reasons to avoid military and economic conflict with the United States and its allies than any previous rising power.

D. The North Korean threat

Most talk about North Korea having nuclear weapons. Chinese Studies professor Tim Beal points out:

Tim Beal (professor of Chinese Studies, Victoria University). "The North Korean Threat: The Myth and its Makers." NK News, January 21, 2016. <https://www.nknews.org/2016/01/the-north-korean-threat-the-myth-and-its-makers>

What is certain, however, is that North Korea cannot use nuclear weapons in an offensive manner because the retaliation would be overwhelming. One cannot use a handful of nuclear weapons, of uncertain efficacy and with unproven delivery systems, against an adversary with thousands of nuclear weapons and well-tested delivery systems.

Because there is no threat that demands additional military spending and such spending is counter productive to our security, we ask you reject the resolution.

PRO-AT: ANSWERS TO DO NOT INCREASE MILITARY SPENDING

AT: Diplomacy is the solution

1. Strategic military efforts maximize the effectiveness of diplomacy

Major James Willard (United States Army). "Military Diplomacy: An Essential Tool of Foreign Policy at the Theater Strategic Level." *School of Advanced Military Studies, May 2006.*
<http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a450837.pdf>

The driving concept behind this monograph is the thesis that not only does the military conduct diplomacy, but military diplomacy, at the combatant command level, provides a theater strategic capability essential to the effective implementation of United States foreign policy. The monograph demonstrates that this capability arises from several organizational advantages. First, the authority vested in the combatant commander facilitates the development, resourcing and execution of military diplomacy programs within a unified chain of command. Second, the combatant command contains a highly capable staff founded on historically proven structures and doctrine. Third, an extensive network of personnel and organizations positioned to coordinate and liaise across multiple levels of authority facilitates the implementation of military diplomacy activities. Finally, an unmatched pool of resources, from which to execute military diplomacy, allows for great flexibility and responsiveness when adjusting to a complex environment. The intended end-state of the monograph is to elicit two primary responses from the reader. First, that indeed the military does conduct diplomacy as part of its day-to day mission set. Second, that military diplomacy is an essential tool in facilitating the achievement of United States strategic foreign policy aims and theater strategic objectives.

AT: Funding not needed to fight terrorism

1. Increased military spending is necessary to fight off terrorism groups such as ISIS

W.J. Hennigan (contact reporter). "Cuts to defense budget threatened by battle against Islamic State." *The Washington Post, September 13, 2014.* <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-defense-cuts1-20140914-story.html>

Members of Congress and the White House anticipated a peace dividend by winding down America's foreign wars, closing bases and shedding tens of thousands of troops. But President Obama's new, open-ended strategy to confront Islamic State fighters in Iraq and Syria is likely to eat into some of the nearly \$500 billion in Pentagon spending cuts that were planned over the next decade. The first five weeks of U.S. airstrikes in northern Iraq has cost \$262.5 million, according to the Pentagon, and Obama personally lobbied key members of Congress in recent days to appropriate \$500 million to help train and arm Syrian rebels at camps in Saudi Arabia. While that's still a pittance compared with the total \$496-billion Pentagon budget, or the \$1.2 trillion spent for the ground wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the costs of intervention are certain to increase under the plan to step up airstrikes, intensify surveillance and conduct counter-terrorism operations against the Sunni extremist force and its leaders.

2. To keep Americans safe, continued spending is necessary

W.J. Hennigan (contact reporter). "Cuts to defense budget threatened by battle against Islamic State." *The Washington Post, September 13, 2014.* <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-defense-cuts1-20140914-story.html>

"After the defense cuts and intelligence disclosures of the last few years, we are not as well positioned to prevent terrorist attacks as we were three to four years ago," he said. "To keep Americans safe and maintain global leadership, Congress and President Obama must work together to develop a long-term national security strategy and then stick with it."

3. Increased military spending would directly aid in fighting terrorism

Bruce Wright (writer). "US Military Spending Bill 2016: Amid Anti-ISIS Fight, Department of Defense Would Be Fully Funded To Target Islamic State." *International Business Times*, December 5, 2015.

<http://www.ibtimes.com/us-military-spending-bill-2016-amid-anti-isis-fight-department-defense-would-be-fully-2228428>

If approved, the \$572.8 billion spending bill would provide funding for ongoing military operations, including the war against the Islamic State militant group in Syria and Iraq, military personnel and pay, health and military family programs, operation and maintenance, research and development, procuring equipment and addressing the Guantanamo Bay detention center in Cuba. The House is expected to vote Friday to authorize the Omnibus spending bill. The money allocated would include \$58.6 billion in overseas contingency operations (OCO) — funds for the global war against terror — as well as for training, backing countries in opposition to Russia and for intelligence and surveillance efforts.

AT: Military Responses Worsen Conflict

1. For genocides, nonintervention does not suffice

Krain, Matthew Krain. "International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides and Politicides." *International Studies Quarterly*, Sept. 2005.

http://www.genocidewatch.org/images/AboutGen_International_Intervention_and_the_Severity_of_Genocides_and_Politicides.pdf

Which intervention option is likely to be most effective in slowing or stopping the killing during an ongoing genocide or politicide? Doing nothing, as in the initial reactions to Bosnia and Rwanda, merely allows the killing to continue unabated, and may even escalate it by signaling apathy or consent (Gourevitch, 1998; Des Forges, 1999; Power, 2002a). Neutral interventions do not appear to have much of an ameliorative effect, and might also exacerbate the killing, as the establishment of "safe areas" in Bosnia and Rwanda demonstrated (Power, 2002a). Merely signaling that the world is watching is likely to do little to stop a regime bent on eliminating a domestic group. Aiding the perpetrator does not seem to be a route to reducing the severity of the killing either. Cases such as Uganda, Cambodia, and Bangladesh in the 1970s, and Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s, point to what I expect is the optimal solution. Interventions that directly challenge the perpetrator (or that directly provide support to the targets of genocide or politicide) should be most likely to reduce the severity of genocide or politicide.

2. Intervention is empirically proven to succeed

Krain, Matthew Krain. "International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides and Politicides." *International Studies Quarterly*, Sept. 2005.

http://www.genocidewatch.org/images/AboutGen_International_Intervention_and_the_Severity_of_Genocides_and_Politicides.pdf

The first column indicates the probabilities predicted for the case if no actor challenges the perpetrator militarily. Given that this case has already experienced a magnitude of killing of about 2.0, absent such an intervention, it appears likely that the killings will escalate. The predicted probability of escalation is 0.6422, or the sum of the predicted probabilities of the case experiencing magnitudes above 2.0. The probability that it will taper off on its own is 0.2836, while the probability that the magnitude of the killing will remain about the same is 0.0743. Even a single intervention against the perpetrator has a measurable effect on the severity of genocide or politicide in the "typical" case. When a single international actor challenges the perpetrator, the predicted probability that the killings will escalate drops from 0.6422 to 0.5510, while the probability that the killings will decrease jumps from 0.2836 to 0.3664. If two actors challenge the perpetrator, the probability of escalation drops further to 0.4564, while the probability that the killings will abate increases to 0.4580. Three challenging interventions increase the probability of lives saved to 0.5527.

AT: Military Spending Can Avoid Conflict

1. Deterrence prevents conflict altogether

Richard K Betts. "The Lost Logic of Deterrence." Foreign Affairs, March/April 2013.
<http://www.cfr.org/world/lost-logic-deterrence/p30092>

Deterrence is a strategy for combining two competing goals: countering an enemy and avoiding war. Academics have explored countless variations on that theme, but the basic concept is quite simple: an enemy will not strike if it knows the defender can defeat the attack or can inflict unacceptable damage in retaliation.

2. Spending is an important aspect of army preparedness and thus deterrence

Tyrone C. Marshall, Jr. "Army Chief: Readiness Degraded to Historically Low Levels." Department of Defense News, Defense Media Activity, March 11, 2015. <http://www.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/604259/army-chief-readiness-degraded-to-historically-low-levels>

"Unrelenting budget constraints have degraded Army readiness and modernization to historically low levels, Army Chief of Staff Gen. Ray Odierno told a Senate panel here today. Testifying before the Senate Appropriations Committee's defense subcommittee alongside Army Secretary John M. McHugh, Odierno discussed the impact of sequestration on the Army's readiness and modernization, and the risks of miscalculation and underinvestment. Degraded Readiness "This is not the time to be divesting ... our military capabilities and capacities," Odierno said. "But over the last three years we have done just that, decreasing the active component end strength by 80,000, and our National Guard and reserves by 18,000." "We have deactivated 13 active duty brigade combat teams," he said, "and we are in the process of eliminating three active component combat aviation brigades." Citing the Aviation Restructure Initiative, Odierno said the Army is reducing its total aviation force by 800 aircraft, with almost 700 coming out of the active component. "We have slashed our investments in modernization by 25 percent," he said. "We've purged our most-needed infantry fighting vehicle modernization and scout helicopter developmental programs. "The unrelenting budget impasse has also compelled us to degrade readiness to historically low levels," Odierno continued. "Today, only 33 percent of our brigades are ready, when our sustained readiness rate should be closer to 70 percent."

AT: Tradeoff Argument

1. Military spending stimulates job creation

Jennifer Schultz (Minnesota politician and member of the Minnesota House of Representatives). "Military's Impact on State Economies." National Conference of State Legislatures, February 21, 2017.
<http://www.ncsl.org/research/military-and-veterans-affairs/military-s-impact-on-state-economies.aspx>

The DoD contributes billions of dollars each year to state economies through the operation of military installations. This spending helps sustain local communities by creating employment opportunities across a wide range of sectors, both directly and indirectly. Active duty and civilian employees spend their military wages on goods and services produced locally, while pensions and other benefits provide retirees and dependents a reliable source of income. States and communities also benefit from defense contracts with private companies for equipment, supplies, construction and various services such as health care and information technology.

2. Ambitious spending creates more jobs

Jeff Daniels (reporter). "Trump defense spending could spur private sector job creation." CNBC, September 17, 2016. <http://www.cnbc.com/2016/11/17/trump-defense-spending-could-spur-private-sector-job-creation.html>

Still, the ambitious plan could translate into more jobs in the private sector from coast to coast. It could include work not only in building new fighter jets and missiles, but in shipyards in Virginia and elsewhere.

3. Increased spending is necessary because previous cuts to defense spending threaten millions of jobs

National Association of Manufacturers. "Defense Cuts Would Cost More Than 1 Million Jobs." June 21, 2012. <http://www.nam.org/Newsroom/Press-Releases/2012/06/Defense-Cuts-Would-Cost-More-Than-1-Million-Jobs>

The report's findings paint a stark picture of the potential harm the BCA budget caps and across-the-board cuts under sequestration will have—a loss of 1,010,000 private sector jobs, including 130,000 manufacturing jobs, by 2014. This job loss will increase the unemployment rate by 0.7 percent and decrease GDP by almost 1 percent by 2014. The report shows that the long-lasting effects of these cuts will be felt by not just by the defense equipment supply chain, but also the everyday Americans who are protected by these products. These cuts and the subsequent job loss will be particularly harmful to a wide range of manufacturing industries that are direct and indirect suppliers of defense equipment and supplies. The largest losses will be in large nondurables and transport equipment, including the aerospace industry that will lose 3.4 percent of its jobs, the ships and boats industry that will lose 3.3 percent of its jobs and the search and navigation equipment industries that will lose 9.3 percent of its jobs. Business leaders are already taking steps to reduce payroll to prepare themselves for the cuts ahead.

4. More than 1 million jobs lost without spending

*Felicia Sonmez (political reporter). "Defense cuts would cost U.S. more than 1 million jobs, economist says." *The Washington Post*, October 26, 2011. https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/2chambers/post/defense-cuts-would-cost-us-more-than-1-million-jobs-economist-says/2011/10/26/gIQAjZccJM_blog.html?utm_term=.85fb0429644d (brackets added)*

George Mason University professor Stephen Fuller told the Armed Services Committee members that if the supercommittee pulls the "trigger" on hundreds of billions of dollars in cuts to Pentagon spending, the result will be the loss of more than 1 million jobs. Fuller, who this week authored an analysis for the Aerospace Industries Association on the impact of potential cuts in procurement and research and development funding, said at Wednesday's hearing that 10 states would suffer about 60 percent of those job losses, with California, Texas and Virginia the hardest-hit. Fuller's report echoes the projections of the Pentagon, which has previously estimated that the across-the-board spending cut slated to be enacted if the debt supercommittee fails in its task [It] would cost the United States as many as 1.5 million defense jobs and would lead to a one-percentage-point increase in the country's unemployment rate.

CON-AT: ANSWERS TO INCREASE MILITARY SPENDING

AT: Increased spending curtails Russian aggression

1. Sanctions diminish the Russian threat

Henry Pascoe. "Sanctions and Preventive War." August 17, 2015.

<http://www.henrypascoe.com/uploads/5/8/5/4/58549685/pascoemccormacksanctions.pdf> (brackets in original)

By October, 2 amidst decreased economic growth projections – from 6% to 0.5% – and concerns over the stability of the ruble, Russian finance minister Anton Siluanov announced that military spending would have to be cut, “reconsider[ing] the amount of resources that will be spent from the budget [on the military] in order to make it more realistic” (Kelly 2014). Sanctions not only forced a cut to Russian military spending, they also decreased Moscow’s ability to pay for occupying larger slices of Ukraine: even before the invasion Russia subsidized Ukrainian industry to the tune of \$5 to \$10 billion per year. Despite taking indirect control of several Ukrainian cities, Russia was forced by the sanctions regime to cut these subsidies, leading a Brookings report to conclude that “[w]hat Russia could not afford is to win Ukraine” (Gaddy and Ickes 2014). Sanctions worked in this instance not by forcing a Russian surrender of Crimea or Donbass, but by preventing a Russian seizure of Kiev.

2. NATO is the root cause of Russian aggression

Jordan Clifford. "Putin’s NATO: Reshaping the Political Space." World Policy Blog, May 29, 2015.

<http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2015/05/29/putin%E2%80%99s-nato-reshaping-political-space>

Therefore, in Putin’s eyes, NATO expansion is the root cause of Russian aggression, not his aspirations to reestablish the old Soviet sphere of influence (though that would be a plus too). Simultaneously, Putin is keenly aware that the establishment of NATO greatly tipped advantageous military capabilities away from Moscow, and would never launch an offensive, at least not outright. Recent actions taken by Moscow, however, along with the dangers of a deteriorating NATO, increasingly convey a Russian strategy aimed distinctly at breaking the alliance. As in Georgia and now Ukraine, Putin is merely testing the waters.

3. Intervention starts an arms race

If western escalation only creates a self-fulfilling prophecy where aggression begets intervention and makes the problem worse, there is no incentive to intervene as tensions will only rise.

Michael Klare. "The United States and NATO Are Preparing for a Major War With Russia." The Nation, July 7, 2016. <https://www.thenation.com/article/the-united-states-and-nato-are-preparing-for-a-major-war-with-russia>

Then there is the matter of self-fulfilling prophecies. By announcing the return of great-power competition and preparing for a war with Russia, the United States and NATO are setting in motion forces that could, in the end, achieve precisely that outcome. This is not to say that Moscow is guiltless regarding the troubled environment along the eastern front, but surely Vladimir Putin has reason to claim that the NATO initiatives pose a substantially heightened threat to Russian security and so justify a corresponding Russian buildup. Any such moves will, of course, invite yet additional NATO deployments, followed by complementary Russian moves, and so on—until we’re right back in a Cold War–like situation.

AT: Terrorism spending already high

1. The US spends more on counter-terrorism than any other country in the world

Jeanne Sahadi (correspondent for CNN). "The cost of fighting terrorism." CNN Money, November 16, 2015. <http://money.cnn.com/2015/11/16/news/economy/cost-of-fighting-terrorism>

How expensive? "The answer is a lot and very hard to break out," said Gordon Adams, a national security budget expert. Adams estimates that the U.S. spends at least \$100 billion a year on counter-terrorism efforts. But he and other defense experts caution that pinpointing a precise cost is impossible. Counter-terrorism activities go far beyond military activities and some costs are classified. Today, the United States spends far more on defense and counter-terrorism than any other country in the world. Its military expenditures alone top that of the next seven countries combined, which are China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, France, the United Kingdom, India and Germany, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

2. ISIS is decimated

Kevin Liptak (correspondant). "US says 75% of ISIS fighters killed." CNN, December 14, 2016. <http://www.cnn.com/2016/12/14/politics/white-house-isis-numbers>

At least 75% of ISIS fighters have been killed during the campaign of US-led airstrikes, according to US officials. The US anti-ISIS envoy said the campaign has winnowed ISIS' ranks to between 12,000 and 15,000 "battle ready" fighters, a top US official said on Tuesday. The figures mean the US and its coalition partners have taken out vastly more ISIS fighters in Iraq and Syria than currently remain on the battlefield, two years since the bombing campaign began. Last week a US official said the coalition had killed 50,000 militants since 2014. Speaking at the White House Tuesday, Brett McGurk, the US special envoy to the anti-ISIS coalition, said the terror group is no longer able to replenish its ranks, predicting the number of fighters would continue to dwindle. "The number of battle-ready fighters inside Iraq and Syria is now at its lowest point that it's ever been," McGurk said, describing the update he gave the President to reporters after the meeting. He noted that the flow of foreign fighters to ISIS had been stemmed by tighter surveillance and border controls.

AT: Deters Chinese Aggression

1. China is economically dependent on the United States, can't afford being a threat

Loren Thompson (contributor). "Five Reasons China Won't Be A Big Threat To America's Global Power." Forbes, June 6, 2014. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/lorenthompson/2014/06/06/five-reasons-china-wont-be-a-big-threat-to-americas-global-power/#3670aeb91b5c>

China has followed the same playbook as its Asian neighbors in using trade as a springboard to economic development. According to the CIA's 2014 World Factbook, exports of goods and services comprise over a quarter of China's gross domestic product. But even if the low-cost labor that made this possible wasn't drying up, the reliance of an export-driven economy on foreign markets makes China's prosperity — per capita GDP is below \$10,000 — much more vulnerable than America's. China has sold over \$100 billion more in goods to the U.S. so far this year than it has bought, but that longstanding boost to the Chinese economy won't persist if the labor cost differential between the two countries keeps narrowing or Washington decides Beijing is a real danger to its interests. China is so dependent on offshore resources, markets and investors to keep its economy growing that it can't run the risk of really scaring its trading partners.

2. US has a defense budget of about \$600 billion, while China spends \$146 billion

Mark Abadi (reporter). "The only chart you need to see to know that the US spends more on its military than the next 11 countries combined." Business Insider, May 3, 2016. <http://www.businessinsider.com/us-military-spending-dwarfs-rest-of-world-2016-5>

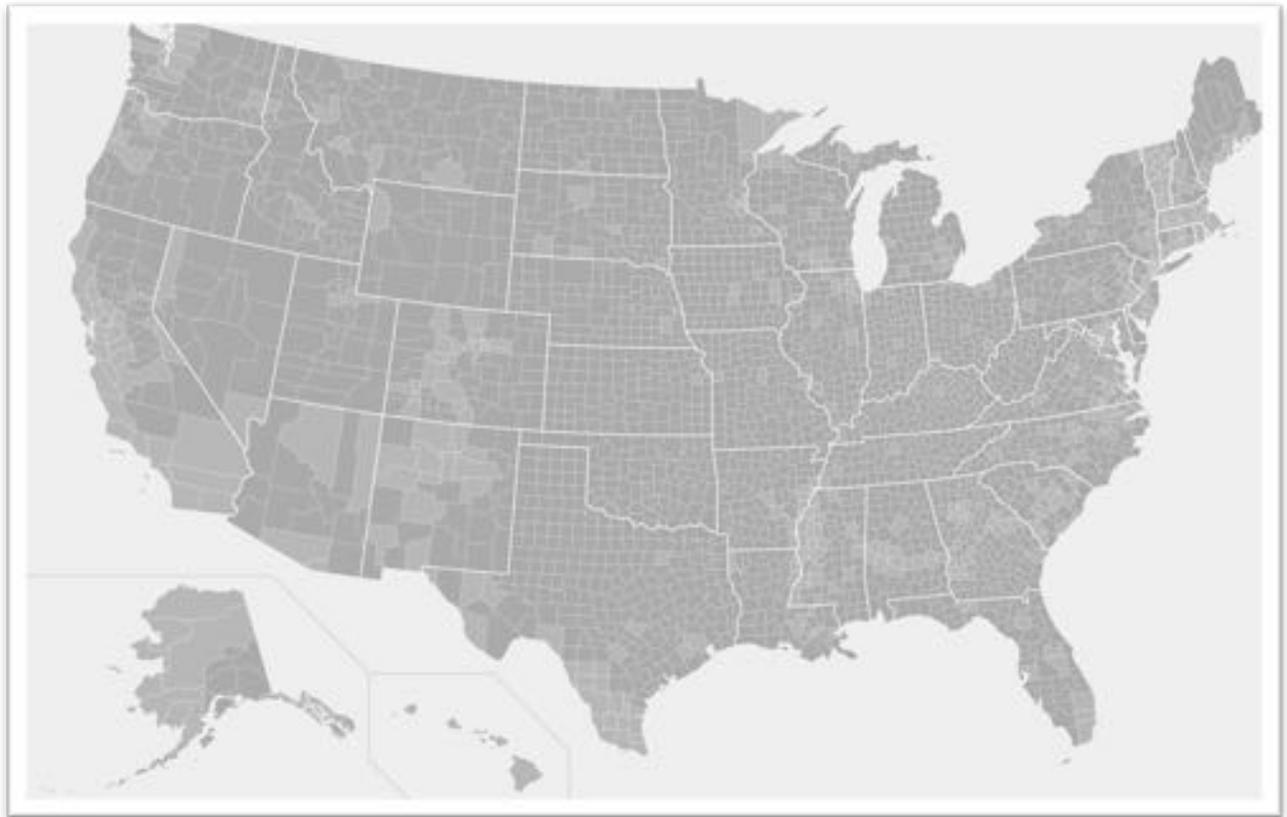
It's no surprise the United States pours more money into its military than any other country in the world. In 2015, the US had a defense budget of about \$597 billion, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies' most recent World Military Balance report, released earlier this year. In short, that's more than the next 11 countries combined. Even China's reported budget of \$146 billion — good for second-highest in the world — looks modest next to that of the US. It's safe to say the incredible funding the Pentagon receives is the driving force behind America's military strength.

3. Because of China's slowing economy, their military budget has increased at the lowest rate in years

Chris Buckley and Jane Perlez (reporters). "China Military Budget to Rise Less Than 8%, Slower Than Usual." The New York Times, March 4, 2016. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/05/world/asia/china-military-spending.html?_r=0

As China's economy slows, its military budget will rise by 7.6 percent this year, the lowest increase in six years and less than the double-digit increases that have been the norm for years, the government said Saturday at the opening of the country's annual legislative meeting. But in comments made ahead of the meeting, Fu Ying, a spokeswoman for China's legislature, the National People's Congress, gave no sign that Beijing would soften its stance on disputes in the South China Sea, and she renewed China's warnings to the United States not to intervene there. "This year, China's military budget will continue rising, but more slowly compared to the previous few years," Ms. Fu said at a news conference in Beijing on Friday. The rise of 7.6 percent was revealed in Prime Minister Li Keqiang's annual report to the legislature, and it would increase China's military spending to \$146 billion, Xinhua, the state news agency reported.

LESSON 9: ELECTORAL COLLEGE



The Debate of Lesson 9:

“Resolved: The United States ought to replace the Electoral College with a direct national popular vote.”

It appears somewhat frustrating when the President of the United States is elected in America with *fewer* votes than the opposing candidate. This has happened only five times in our 200+ year history, most notably twice in the past 20 years. President George W. Bush beat Al Gore by five electoral votes, but he lost the popular vote by half-a-million people. The election of 2016 had an even wider gap in popular vote: Hillary Clinton beat Donald Trump by nearly 3 million votes. The oddity? Donald Trump won what appeared to be an electoral landslide, taking 304 electoral votes.

Shouldn't the more popular candidate win?

Not according to our Founding Fathers. The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution lays out the plan:

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President... The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President.⁹

As you can see, there is no popular vote for the President of the United States. The Electors cast their vote. Each state is responsible for making sure the Electors pull in their votes fairly. Some states are close, some aren't. And some counties within those states are just as disparaged. This makes the final count sometimes different electorally than it is popularly.

As a PRO team, you have the ability to change our electoral process to a popular vote. To win the debate, you will have to show why a popular vote for President is a superior choice than the electoral vote. Proponents for a popular vote tend to show how a few swing states end up deciding elections, how the electoral college discourages voter turnout in many parts of the country, and how voters are either disenfranchised or just plain unenthused in the general election...all because of this outdated idea of the electoral college.

The CON will, of course, show the contrary. The Founding Fathers knew exactly what they were doing when setting up the electoral college. They feared that largely populated areas would get all the attention, leaving rural-living people disenfranchised. Minorities, too, are allowed a greater voice in the election as opposed to an election that would cater to only large populations. All-in-all, the electoral college has helped keep the two-party system of our popular vote stable. Changing could drastically change our elections.

PRO: Replace the Electoral College with a Popular Vote

The PRO team argues with the framework of equality, particularly that it is “the foundation of a fair and just society and it helps lead to social harmony and collaboration.” The PRO gives one contention, “The Electoral College is discriminatory,” and the rest of the speech provides the following sub-points:

1. Geographical Discrimination
2. Impact 1: Discrimination against racial minorities
3. Impact 2: Decreased voter turnout

⁹ *United States of America 1789 (rev. 1992).*
https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/United_States_of_America_1992

CON: Keep the Electoral College

The CON makes a noble attempt to defend the status quo and keep the Electoral College as-is. They, too, have one sole contention: “However adverse the the PRO world, a direct popular vote would magnify those harms.” They break this down into the following sub-points.

1. A direct popular vote would attract a lot more parties and candidates.
2. The Electoral College prevents this from happening.
3. In a Presidential election, when there is no majority winner, the election goes to the House of Representatives.

PRO-AT: Answers to Keeping the Electoral College

The “answers to” the CON case are as follows:

- AT: Two-party System Good
 1. Turn: PRO assumes two-party system good...not true.
- AT: Requiring a winner to gain a majority solves
- AT: Extreme Candidates
 1. Little risk of extreme candidates being elected under direct popular vote.
 2. Direct popular vote won't increase the amount of third party candidates running.
- AT: Instant runoff voting solves
 1. Weak candidates are eliminated.
 2. Instant runoff voting solves plurality candidates.

CON-AT: Answers to Replacing the Electoral College

The second B speaker will use this folder to prepare his or her speech countering the PRO case. The answers to replacing the Electoral College include:

- AT: Minority Representation
 1. Electoral College enhances status of minority groups.
 2. Minorities would be overwhelmed by the majority in a national popular vote.

3. A direct vote would make problem worse, decrease minority voting even more.
- AT: Electoral College discriminates against minorities
 1. Electoral College prevents tyranny of the majority.
 2. Tyranny of the Majority is worse than the status quo.
 - AT: Voter Disenfranchisement
 1. The Electoral College gives minority groups a bigger voice.
 - AT: Democracy
 1. We are not a pure democracy—the Electoral College is entirely appropriate for a democratic republic.
 2. The electors are chosen by democratic means.
 3. The people want the electoral college.
 - AT: Pandering
 1. Fears of political pandering to swing state interests are overblown.
 2. A direct election would not decrease candidate pandering, just move it to the national level.

Extension for Lesson 9

The following four extensions consist of:

1. A PRO Case. “Resolved: The United States ought to replace the Electoral College with a direct national popular vote.” You and your partner will deliver this case against a CON team.
2. A CON Case. This is the negative position to the resolution, that the US should *not* replace the Electoral College with a direct national popular vote. The first CON speaker will read this case as the constructive speaker in the round.
3. PRO-AT Evidence. For every contention in the CON case, you have evidence that speaks against the contentions. This will be the folder the second PRO speaker will use to counter the CON case.
4. CON-AT Evidence. The contentions in the PRO case have rebuttal evidence. The second CON speaker will pick this folder to read against the PRO case.

You also take out another flowsheet and pre-flow your speeches. You will want to take proper notes throughout the debate in order to convince the judge that your side is the winning side.

May the best team win!

PRO: REPLACE THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

We affirm: The US ought to replace the Electoral College with a direct national popular vote. We believe that equality is the foundation of a fair and just society and it helps lead to social harmony and collaboration. When it comes to electing a President each vote should have the same potential to influence the result of the election.

Our sole contention:

The Electoral College is discriminatory

Geographical Discrimination

The Electoral College's vote allocation system favors smaller states which effectively gives people who live rural areas more weight to their vote. David Eil, a professor of experimental and behavioral economics at George Mason University, explains why this happens:

David Eil (professor of Experimental and Behavioral Economics, George Mason University). "Electoral College Advantages Are Inherently Unstable." Medium.COM, November 18, 2016. <https://medium.com/@david.eil/electoral-college-advantages-are-inherently-unstable-8012f3596100#.q4fm3jcq1>

The difference between the Electoral College vote and the popular vote has two sources. The first is that the Electoral College over weights rural states. Each state gets a number of EC votes equal to the number of Senators they have plus the number of Representatives they have. The Representatives are allocated roughly proportional to population. But every state has two Senators, which gives lower population states more EC votes per individual vote than higher population states. For instance, Wyoming has about 3.6 times the EC votes per person that California has.

This skews the power of rural voters, compared to their urban counterparts, to determine the outcome of the election. Emily Dreyfuss, the news and opinion editor for Wired explained the problem this way:

Emily Dreyfuss (news and opinion editor). "The Electoral College is great for Whiter states, Lousy for Cities." Wired, December 8, 2016. <https://www.wired.com/2016/12/electoral-college-great-whiter-states-lousy-cities>

What's more, population growth tends to outpace Electoral College representation, because the system allocates votes based on the once-a-decade Census, and populations can change a lot in 10 years. Even then a state doesn't earn a new electoral vote these days until it's gained approximately 700,000 new residents. A state or metropolitan area can add hundreds of thousands of new votes without gaining any greater Electoral College representation. The number of voters effectively undercounted by that discrepancy in the five most populous states is 640,000; that's more than the total voting population of six small states.

There are two distinct impacts:

Impact 1: Discrimination against racial minorities

Due to geographical discrimination, the Electoral College decreases the power of large, urban states, home to racial minorities, primarily African Americans. The Electoral College increases the weight of votes in smaller, rural areas where the population is predominantly white. According to Josh Goodman, a doctoral student at the University of California, Santa Barbara:

Josh Goodman (doctoral student, University of California-Santa Barbara). "E-Race-ing the Vote: The Electoral College's Hidden Problem." Huffington Post, October 31, 2012. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/josh-a-goodman/electoral-college-hidden-problem_b_2046957.html

The answer, I realized: an above-average percentage of racial and ethnic minorities. The demographics mean that the Electoral College systematically waters down the power of big state, racial minority voters while bolstering the value of predominantly white, small-state voters. One-hundred-forty-two years after the 15th amendment first granted racial minorities the right to vote, the Electoral College system is still inadequate when it comes to racial justice. While about 37 percent of the U.S. population is a member of a racial or ethnic minority, that population is not evenly distributed. In the four biggest states — those in which each person's vote is worth less than in other states — 52 percent of the population is a racial or ethnic minority; in the 12 states plus D.C. with three or four electoral votes, only 25 percent of people are racial or ethnic minorities. Out of the 33 states and D.C. with 10 or fewer electoral votes — that is, the states that have the most voting power per person — 28 have a greater white population than the national average.

That amounts to over 90 million racially disenfranchised voters.

A direct popular vote ensures that everyone's vote would be counted equally. Texas A&M political science professor George Edwards explained: It allows for minorities to have their collective vote count.

George C. Edwards (Professor of Political Science, Texas A&M University). WHY THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE IS BAD FOR AMERICA. 2005, p. 99.

Under direct election of the president in which all votes are valuable, black voters in the South and in the urban Northeast, for example, could coalesce their votes and become an effective national bloc. The votes of southern blacks, in particular, might for the first time be important in determining the election outcome. One reason that Judith Best, perhaps the best known advocate of the electoral college, supports the status quo is precisely because it inhibits what she-calls "private minorities" from uniting votes across state lines. The evidence clearly shows, then, that the argument that the electoral college aids blacks is based on false premises. Although it may be possible to construct a principled argument that members of a disadvantaged race deserve more say in the election of the president than members of other races, such an argument is unlikely to win many adherents in the twenty-first century. It is difficult in a democracy to give people electoral weight based on the Tightness of their cause.

Impact 2: Decreased voter turnout

Jamin Raskin, a professor of Constitutional Law at American University explains why and goes on to provide statistics:

Jamin B. Raskin (Professor of Constitutional Law, American University and State Senator, Maryland). "Neither the Red States nor the Blue States by the United States: The National Popular Vote and American Political Democracy." ELECTION LAW JOURNAL v. 7 n. 3, 2008, p. 190.

Yet, even beyond its proven susceptibility to corruption, the most damning feature of the current regime is the way that it consistently marginalizes the majority of American voters and depresses turnout in the majority of states. More than two-thirds of us live in safely "blue" or "red" states where the competitive general election presidential campaign, for all practical purposes, has been reduced to a hollow formality. In the crucial final month of the 2004 race, the presidential campaigns spent 99% of their political advertising budgets in 17 states and only 1% in 33 states and the District of Columbia. This means that the campaigns spent 1% of their political advertising money in two-thirds of the states. Indeed, they spent no money at all in 23 states, a startling reflection of the current regime but a perfectly rational and strategic use of resources. Meantime, fully 72% of all presidential campaign money was spent in five familiar battleground states: Florida, Iowa, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. It is well-understood now that "most states are largely ignored even in close presidential races."

Journalist Lisa Scott looked at the 2012 statistics:

Lisa Elaine Scott (journalist). "It's Time to End the Electoral College." LA Progressive, October 23, 2016. www.laprogressive.com/end-electoral-college

6. Low Voter Turnout: Those who live in one of the 40 plus safe states have less incentive to go to the polls. Life is busy and some days are hard. It can be really tempting to forgo the opportunity to cast a vote for a pre-determined winner. In 2012, the battleground states had an average turnout of 64.2 percent while the rest of the country saw an average of 56.8 percent. While turnout in blue California was 55 percent, turnout in battleground Colorado was 71 percent. While red Texas had a 49 percent turnout, battleground Iowa had a 70 percent turnout. Common sense tells us that more are likely to participate when their vote will make a difference

A democracy should provide an incentive for people to exercise their right to vote, not discourage it. Switching to a national popular vote does just that.

Therefore, we affirm.

CON: KEEP THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

We negate, RESOLVED: The United States ought to replace the Electoral College with a direct national popular vote.

While we admit the Electoral College is not a perfect system, we will advocate that it is better than a direct national popular vote. We begin with two overviews.

1. The words “direct national popular vote” are not capitalized in the resolution and therefore do not refer to the National Compact known as National Popular Vote. Additionally, the two are not the same because the NPV doesn’t replace the Electoral College.
2. The Constitution requires a candidate gather a majority of the vote in order to be elected President else the election goes to the House of Representatives. In order to compare two systems, both need to have this feature.

Our sole contention:

However adverse the PRO world, a direct popular vote would magnify those harms.

1. A direct popular vote would attract a lot more parties and candidates.

Kimberling of the Federal Election Commission says parties would proliferate in an attempt to stop one candidate.

William C. Kimberling (Deputy Director of the FEC Office of Election Administration). “The Electoral College.” Federal Election Commission, 1992.

<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/eleccoll.pdf>

A direct popular election of the president would likely have the opposite effect. For in a direct popular election, there would be every incentive for a multitude of minor parties to form in an attempt to prevent whatever popular majority might be necessary to elect a president. The surviving candidates would thus be drawn to the regionalist or extremist views represented by these parties in hopes of winning the run-off election. The result of a direct popular election for president, then, would likely be a frayed and unstable political system characterized by a multitude of political parties and by more radical changes in policies from one administration to the next.

In addition, the larger pool of candidates means it would take a smaller percentage of the vote to be the front runner. While that third party candidate can’t get 50 percent of the vote he or she can get 15 to 20 percent.

Election law attorney Tara Ross argues that seldom would we have a candidate with the majority of the vote.

Tara Ross (election law attorney). “The Electoral College: Enlightened Democracy.” Heritage Foundation Legal Memorandum, November 1, 2004. <http://www.policyarchive.org/handle/10207/bitstreams/8402.pdf>

Direct popular election proponents sound plausible when they argue for election of the President by a “majority” of the people. In reality, however, a President elected by the majority of citizens will rarely be achievable. A majority, after all, will never agree on an ideal candidate. Given an open choice, individuals would fracture their votes across many candidates. Runoffs would proliferate, and Presidents would essentially be elected by the initial 20 or 25 percent of voters who got them into the runoff. Presidents would always know that at least 75 to 80 percent of the people originally voted for someone else.

2. The Electoral College prevents this from happening

Kimberling notes: “it is extremely difficult for a new or minor party to win enough popular votes in enough states to have a chance of winning the presidency.”

William C. Kimberling (Deputy Director FEC National Clearinghouse on Election Administration). “The Electoral College.” 2008. http://uselectionatlas.org/INFORMATION/INFORMATION/electcollege_procon.php

Proponents further argue that the Electoral College contributes to the political stability of the nation by encouraging a two-party system. This is true simply because it is extremely difficult for a new or minor party to win enough popular votes in enough states to have a chance of winning the presidency. Even if they won enough electoral votes to force the decision into the U.S. House of Representatives, they would still have to have a majority of over half the state delegations in order to elect their candidate — and in that case, they would hardly be considered a minor party.

3. In a Presidential election, when there is no majority winner, the election goes to the House of Representatives.

That’s the Constitution. The Twelfth Amendment reads:

United States of America 1789 (rev. 1992).
https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/United_States_of_America_1992

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; —The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice.... The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President to the United States.

D. The Impact

The power of those who live in populated states have been diminished to equal the power of the vote of those who live in the least populated state. That means minorities are never represented. It means rural states are more powerful than urban states. It means that every harm the PRO outlines with the Electoral College is now magnified.

With a virtual guarantee that every election will be decided by the House where the vote is one vote per state and there are 50 votes. DC is left out entirely. Wyoming, population 584,000 and California, population 38.8 million, each get one vote. So the dilution of California's population has just gone up compared to the Electoral College.

Kimberling calls the situation unstable. Ross says any President would know that he or she didn't have the support of 80 percent of the population.

Thus, we negate.

PRO-AT: ANSWERS TO KEEP THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Pro assumes 2 party system is good ... not true

AT: Two-party System Good

1. Turn: PRO assumes two-party system good...not true

Michael Coblenz (attorney in Lexington, Kentucky and Democratic candidate for Congress from Kentucky's 6th District). "The two-party system is destroying America." The Hill, January 28, 2016.

<http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/politics/267222-the-two-party-system-is-destroying-america>

The nation faces all sorts of serious problems, from growing inequality to spreading international terrorism, but the bitter fight between Democrats and Republicans has largely ground government to a halt. Partisans on both sides are so angry they can barely speak with the other, much less work together. The most extreme are convinced that members of the other party are treasonous and purposefully harming the nation. This isn't just a perception. A recent Pew Research survey found that 36 percent of Republicans thought that liberal policies are "a threat to the nation's well-being." 27 percent of Democrats feel the same way about conservatives. They don't just think they have better ideas or their opponents are misguided and honestly believe that the other side is more interested in partisan gain than the well-being of the nation. Many of the more extreme partisans simply refuse to work with the other side. The result is that the two parties have the nation's capital, and many state capitals, in a death grip. This level of hostility is a direct cause of gridlock. The same Pew Study found that over the last thirty years the nation has grown more partisan and Congress has become less effective. Each side is more extreme, and each bases their political agenda on demonizing the other side.

2. The current two-party political system encourages extreme candidates

Charles Wheelan (Professor of Public Policy at Dartmouth), quoted by Brooke Berger (staff writer). "Breaking the hold of two-party politics." US News & World Report, May 3, 2013.

<https://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2013/05/02/why-the-two-party-political-system-is-failing-the-united-states>

The current two-party political system has encouraged the rise of the most extreme candidates, taking rational moderates out of the national conversation, notes Charles Wheelan, a professor of public policy at Dartmouth College. In "The Centrist Manifesto," Wheelan offers a solution. He spoke to U.S. News about the failure of traditional two-party politics, his vision for a new party that champions the best of the Republican and Democratic parties, and how a centrist candidate could change the landscape of the Senate. Excerpts:

AT: Requiring a winner to gain a majority solves

Ky Fullerton (law student, Oregon). "Bush, Gore, and the 2000 Presidential Election: Time for the Electoral College to Go?" Oregon Law Review, Summer 2001.

https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1794/4589/80_Or_L_Rev_717.pdf?sequence=1

Other critics suggest that utilization of a direct vote plan will encourage multiple candidates and fail to guarantee victory to the candidate with the most support in a multi-candidate presidential race. For instance, in a crowded field, a candidate with far less than a majority of the popular vote might become President. One way to alleviate this problem is to utilize a runoff election when no candidate receives a suitable percentage of the popular vote. In 1992, Bill Clinton won the election with only forty-three percent of the popular vote. Similarly, both George W. Bush and Al Gore failed to win a majority of the popular vote in 2000. Given these percentages, a minimum popular vote threshold, such as the Durbin-LaHood forty percent requirement, should satisfy any concerns about a candidate becoming President with substantially less than a popular vote majority.

AT: Extreme Candidates

1. Little risk of extreme candidates being elected under direct popular vote

John R. Koza, PhD, Barry Fadem, attorney, Mark Grueskin, attorney, Michael S. Mandell, attorney, Robert Richie, Executive Director, FairVote, and Joseph F. Zimmerman, Professor, Political Science, SUNY-Albany, EVERY VOTE EQUAL: A STATE-BASED PLAN FOR ELECTING THE PRESIDENT BY NATIONAL POPULAR VOTE, Fourth Edition, 2013, p. 497. <http://www.every-vote-equal.com/sites/default/files/eve-4th-ed-ch9-web-v1.pdf>

MYTH: Extremist candidates will proliferate under a national popular vote. QUICK ANSWER: If an Electoral College type of arrangement were essential for avoiding extremist candidates, we should see evidence of the occurrence of this conjectured apocalyptic outcome in elections (such as gubernatorial elections) that do not employ an Electoral College type of arrangement. Actual experience is that extremist candidates are rarely elected in elections in which the winner is the candidate who receives the most votes.

2. Direct popular vote won't increase the amount of third party candidates running

John R. Koza, PhD, Barry Fadem, attorney, Mark Grueskin, attorney, Michael S. Mandell, attorney, Robert Richie, Executive Director, FairVote, and Joseph F. Zimmerman, Professor, Political Science, SUNY-Albany, EVERY VOTE EQUAL: A STATE-BASED PLAN FOR ELECTING THE PRESIDENT BY NATIONAL POPULAR VOTE, Third Edition, 2011, p. 482. <http://archive.nationalpopularvote.com/pages/answers/section.php?s=7>

The two-party system in the United States (which dominates the electoral landscape for the vast majority of elective offices in the country) is not sustained by the existence of the state-by-state winner-take-all rule for filling the single office of the Presidency. About three-quarters of the elections for Governor occur in non-presidential years—that is, they stand apart entirely from the presidential election cycle. Returning to the history of presidential elections, only three states had winner-take-all statutes in the nation's first presidential election in 1789. Only three states used the winner-take-all rule in 1792 and 1796. Given that political parties first emerged in the 1796 presidential election, it can hardly be argued that the existence of the state-by-state winner-take-all rule in just three states was the force that created the two-party system in the United States. Instead, the two-party system is the consequence of the plurality voting system in which the candidate who receives the most popular votes wins the office. There is no reason to expect the emergence of some unique, new political dynamic that would promote multiple candidacies if the President were elected in the same manner as virtually every other elected official in the United States.

AT: Instant runoff voting solves

1. Weak candidates are eliminated

Dewey M. Clayton. The Black Scholar. Fall 2007, p. 28, Wilson Web. <http://www.lmtd.org/site/handlers/filedownload.ashx?moduleinstanceid=1338&dataid=11353&FileName=nov2011PFD.doc>

A fourth electoral reform concept is the alternative vote which is called the instant-runoff voting or IRV. According to Amy (2001): In this system, voters mark their preferences on the ballot by putting a “1” next to their first choice, a “2” next to their second choice, and so on. A candidate who receives over 50 percent of the first preference votes is declared the winner. Otherwise, the weakest candidate is eliminated and his or her votes are reallocated to the voters' second choice candidates. This reallocation process continues until one candidate receives a majority of the votes. An advantage to this system is that it would eliminate the spoiler problem (Amy 2001, Shugart 2004). It was because of Ralph Nader's role as the spoiler candidate in the 2000 presidential election that there is increased interest in this system.

2. Instant runoff voting solves plurality candidates

Ky Fullerton [JD University of Oregon]. "Comment: BUSH, GORE, AND THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: TIME FOR THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE TO GO?" 80 Or. L. Rev. 717 (2001)

Ky Fullerton (law student, Oregon). "Bush, Gore, and the 2000 Presidential Election: Time for the Electoral College to Go?" Oregon Law Review, Summer 2001.

https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1794/4589/80_Or_L_Rev_717.pdf?sequence=1

Other critics suggest that utilization of a direct vote plan will encourage multiple candidates and fail to guarantee victory to the candidate with the most support in a multi-candidate presidential race. For instance, in a crowded field, a candidate with far less than a majority of the popular vote might become President. One way to alleviate this problem is to utilize a runoff election when no candidate receives a suitable percentage of the popular vote. In 1992, Bill Clinton won the election with only forty-three percent of the popular vote. Similarly, both George W. Bush and Al Gore failed to win a majority of the popular vote in 2000. Given these percentages, a minimum popular vote threshold, such as the Durbin-LaHood forty percent requirement, should satisfy any concerns about a candidate becoming President with substantially less than a popular vote majority.

CON-AT: ANSWERS TO REPLACE THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

AT: Minority Representation

1. Electoral College enhances status of minority groups

William C. Kimberling (Deputy Director of the FEC Office of Election Administration). "The Electoral College." Federal Election Commission, 1992.

<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/eleccoll.pdf>

Proponents also point out that, far from diminishing minority interests by depressing voter participation, the Electoral College actually enhances the status of minority groups. This is so because the votes of even small minorities in a State may make the difference between winning all of that State's electoral votes or none of that State's electoral votes. And since ethnic minority groups in the United States happen to concentrate in those States with the most electoral votes, they assume an importance to presidential candidates well out of proportion to their number. The same principle applies to other special interest groups such as labor unions, farmers, environmentalists, and so forth.

2. Minorities would be overwhelmed by the majority in a national popular vote

William C. Kimberling (Deputy Director of the FEC Office of Election Administration). "The Electoral College." Federal Election Commission, 1992.

<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/eleccoll.pdf>

It is because of this "leverage effect" that the presidency, as an institution, tends to be more sensitive to ethnic minority and other special interest groups than does the Congress as an institution. Changing to a direct election of the president would therefore actually damage minority interests since their votes would be overwhelmed by a national popular majority.

3. A direct vote would make problem worse, decrease minority voting even more

Mac McCann (freelance writer). "The electoral college and race in America." December 10, 2015.

<https://macmccanntx.com/2015/12/10/the-electoral-college-and-race-in-america>

It is true that the Electoral College can and, at times, does help minority groups (Kimberling). For example, in battleground states, where, because of the winner-take-all system, candidates spend a much greater amount of time, a small, concentrated minority can have its power increased because of their potential to swing the vote. In Florida, for example, Cuban-Americans and elderly Americans often get their concerns addressed more thoroughly because of the importance of their vote in presidential campaigns (Black). It's also true, given the inherent nature of democracy, that minorities will always necessarily be at a disadvantage. Indeed, Hoffman entertains the idea that "a direct vote could work to minimize minority voting strength almost as severely as the winner-take-all system" (Hoffman, 1020).

AT: Electoral College discriminates against minorities

1. Electoral College prevents tyranny of the majority

Walter Williams. "Getting Rid of Electoral College Would Mean a Tyrannical Rule of the Majority." The Daily Signal, December 7, 2016. <http://dailysignal.com/2016/12/07/getting-rid-of-electoral-college-would-mean-a-tyrannical-rule-of-the-majority/>.

Despite a public consensus on the issue—resulting from miseducation—there's nothing just or fair about majority rule. In fact, one of the primary dangers of majority rule is that it confers an aura of legitimacy and respectability to acts that would otherwise be deemed tyrannical. Think about it. How many decisions in your life would you like made through majority rule? What about what car we purchase, where we live, and whether we should have ham or turkey for Thanksgiving dinner? I am sure you would deem it tyranny if these decisions were made by a majority vote.

2. Tyranny of the Majority is worse than the status quo.

Joe Miller. “The Reason for the Electoral College.” *FactCheck*, February 11, 2008.
<http://www.factcheck.org/2008/02/the-reason-for-the-electoral-college>

The reason that the Constitution calls for this extra layer, rather than just providing for the direct election of the president, is that most of the nation’s founders were actually rather afraid of democracy. James Madison worried about what he called “factions,” which he defined as groups of citizens who have a common interest in some proposal that would either violate the rights of other citizens or would harm the nation as a whole. Madison’s fear – which Alexis de Tocqueville later dubbed “the tyranny of the majority” – was that a faction could grow to encompass more than 50 percent of the population, at which point it could “sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens.” Madison has a solution for tyranny of the majority: “A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking.”

AT: Voter Disenfranchisement

1. The Electoral College gives minority groups a bigger voice

William C. Kimberling (Deputy Director of the FEC Office of Election Administration). “The Electoral College.” *Federal Election Commission*, 1992.

<http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/eleccoll.pdf>

Proponents also point out that, far from diminishing minority interests by depressing voter participation, the Electoral College actually enhances the status of minority groups. This is so because the votes of even small minorities in a State may make the difference between winning all of that State’s electoral votes or none of that State’s electoral votes. And since ethnic minority groups in the United States happen to concentrate in those States with the most electoral votes, they assume an importance to presidential candidates well out of proportion to their number. The same principle applies to other special interest groups such as labor unions, farmers, environmentalists, and so forth.

AT: Democracy

1. We are not a pure democracy—the Electoral College is entirely appropriate for a democratic republic

Donna Carol Voss (staff). “The Electoral College Still Makes Sense Because We’re Not A Democracy.” *THE FEDERALIST*, September 16, 2016. <http://thefederalist.com/2016/09/16/the-electoral-college-still-makes-sense-because-were-not-a-democracy>

The sad lot of the Electoral College is that what you see isn’t what you get. Like the counter-intuitive fact that a tire blowout on the right requires a steering wheel correction to the left, the EC works backwards. What appears to deprive the populace of its power to decide a president is the very mechanism that preserves its power. It works that way because this isn’t a democracy; not a pure one. “Pure democracy” is just another phrase for “mob rule.”

Dictatorship of the majority means 51 percent of the citizenry rule the other 49 percent. That minority has no rights except those the condescending majority grants. It works well for those in the 51 percent, not so much for those in the 49. Plato knew it, and James Madison, who knew his Plato, did too. Plato and Madison both recognized that justice and liberty for the minority is possible only when power is shared between groups in society. Plato’s “Republic” heavily influenced Madison and the other framers to devise a Constitution that protected the minority. Plato held that the ideal, i.e., just, form of government was one in which power was shared correctly between workers, warriors, and rulers. Madison held that the ideal, i.e., American, form of government was one in which power was shared correctly between judges, lawmakers, and rulers. Inspired as it is, our Constitution protects the minority while preserving the best of democracy: we the people elect representatives to run the government (republic) and we do so by majority vote (democracy). Ergo, this is a democratic republic. Ergo, an Electoral College.

2. The electors are chosen by democratic means

Robert Weissberg (staff). "Defending the Electoral College." *AMERICAN THINKER*, December 19, 2016. www.americanthinker.com/articles/2016/12/defending_the_electoral_college.html

Moreover, in the context of the day, allowing state legislatures – not the voters acting directly – to choose electors was widely viewed as a democratic mechanism since state legislatures were dominated by farmers, tradesmen, small merchants, and other "ordinary" people. Nor is there anything undemocratic about legislatures' delegate power, including the power to choose a president. To further avoid "a dangerous tendency to aristocracy," the Constitution also authorized the directly elected House, not the Senate, to elect the president if no candidate secured a majority of the Electoral College vote. On balance, the Electoral College is a democratic element of the Constitution.

3. The people want the electoral college

Terrance P. Jeffery (editor in chief). "Support for abolishing Electoral College hits historic low in Gallup poll." *CNS News*, December 6, 2016. <http://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/terence-p-jeffrey/support-abolishing-electoral-college-hits-historic-low-gallup-poll>

In the wake of an election in which Hillary Clinton won the popular vote but Donald Trump was elected president by winning the Electoral College, a survey showed the lowest percentage of people ever in a Gallup poll saying they would support amending the Constitution to eliminate the Electoral College and decide presidential elections by the popular vote.

AT: Pandering

1. Fears of political pandering to swing state interests are overblown

Bradley A. Smith (Professor of Law at Capital University). "Vanity of Vanities: National Popular Vote and the Electoral College." *ELECTION LAW JOURNAL* v. 7 n. 3, 2008, p. 203.

Supporters of the popular vote sometimes raise a less ideological argument in favor of the popular vote, arguing that the mode of campaigning under the Electoral College distorts public debate. The need to win states may cause candidates to focus unduly on parochial concerns in close, "battleground" states. Sometimes these promises may represent bad policies for the nation, and presumably would not be made absent the desire to carry the particular state in the election. It is not clear that there is much merit to this argument. In fact, analysis of candidate speeches shows that very few make direct appeals to local interests. Thus, for the theory to have merit, it must assume that politicians will address not local, but national issues in ways that particularly benefit the residents of these "battleground" states. Is this true? We don't know, and supporters of National Popular Vote make no effort to find out. But suppose it is true? Pandering for votes is what politicians do, after all, and one man's pandering is another's scarcely sufficient succor addressing a pressing national need. Determining which policies to follow is one reason why we vote. Excessive pandering to some local interests may cause a loss of support elsewhere. The thesis seems to be, however, that the candidate will make promises to gain votes in a battleground state which might cost him votes in another, "safe" state. But since the safe state is not "in play," the candidate faces no true downside.

2. A direct election would not decrease candidate pandering, just move it to the national level

Bradley A. Smith (Professor of Law at Capital University). "Vanity of Vanities: National Popular Vote and the Electoral College." *ELECTION LAW JOURNAL* v. 7 n. 3, 2008, p. 204.

Second, to the extent that the pandering thesis might nonetheless remain true, it is not clear that things would be better with a national popular vote. When some states are safe for one candidate or another, neither candidate has a reason to pander to parochial concerns in that state. In other words, if it is true that the Electoral College encourages pandering in "battleground" states, it decreases the incentives to pander in non-competitive states. A national popular vote may just lead to nationwide pandering, as candidates can be expected to pander to the point where votes lost equal votes gained. Even if candidates don't pander and their solutions are not to distinctly local issues, however, the narrowing of the "battleground" may tend to dictate the national issues discussed. If this is true, it would be a point in favor of NPV here, but also a point in favor of the federalism argument for the Electoral College, an argument College opponents tend to dismiss. I will take up this topic further when discussing federalism

Unit IV



Ready for Competition

Each of the resolutions studied in Unit III was adapted from previous resolutions announced during the year of competition. Part of your ownership of *Green Book* includes the August release of introductory material, both PRO and CON cases, and PRO-AT and CON-AT responses. Unit IV gives you the framework for mastering the summer release along with further instruction on how to become a great competitive debater.

LESSON 10: COMPETITION



Objective of Lesson 10:

Learn about the opportunities offered by the NSDA and how to prepare for your first tournament.

Your ownership of *Green Book* includes digital downloads specifically tailored to the September-October resolution released by the National Speech and Debate Association. This book can be used to learn public forum debate, but preparing for the first tournament is an extension that you receive as a download every August. By the end of the summer, we upload a brand new lesson to correspond to the new resolution.

Websites to Watch

You should bookmark this web address into your preferred browser: Speechanddebate.org/topics. You will visit it often as the year progresses. There are three areas on this page that matter much to the public forum debater.

- **Current Topics.** There are several debate formats that the NSDA provides, but public forum is the one that changes the most often. The “current” topic is the one that is being debated at present tournaments.
- **Announced Topics.** Most of the topics are announced one month prior to debating. If you choose to become a Monument Member (see MonumentMembers.com), you will receive releases within this month to prepare for the upcoming resolutions.
- **Potential Topics.** The league announces potential topics that the coaches have decided to choose throughout the year. You won’t know exactly what topics will be announced, but you will have an idea of the topic areas that you can study.
- **Past Topics.** If interested, you can explore past topics dating all the way back to 2002 when public forum became an official NSDA event. The first PF resolution was, “Resolved: Commercial airline pilots should be armed in the cockpit.”

Another area of the NSDA website to be aware of, especially at the beginning of the year, are the event rules. This text edition may or may not line up with any future NSDA rule changes. For the most part, you can trust this book’s general teaching of public forum debate. We purposely stayed clear of nuanced specifics in this work for that reason. That said, it is wise to read through the rules before starting the season. See Speechanddebate.org/competition-events.

One last online area to explore is your local, state or regional websites. Some rules or best practices vary across the country. Tournaments, too, sometimes change things up depending on the tournament director’s wishes. You will want to visit the website of every organization you compete in, as well as read the entire announcement to every tournament you sign up for.

Worksheets and Extension Activities

In Units I, II and III, we had worksheets and extension activities to help measure your retention to the chapters. Unit IV is unique. We will not know what we’re debating till August 10 when the resolution is released, and you won’t know what we have to say about that until August 31 when we release our summer lessons.

Reference the beginning of this book to get your download. The next lesson breaks the release down for you.

LESSON 11: TOPIC RELEASE

Objective of Lesson 11:

Study your Green Addendum and master the details of the year's first topic.

The tricky part in being 100% prepared for your first tournament is getting the required source texts for your training. *Green Book* is a “sourcebook,” meaning we deliver to you the necessary sources for preparation. Unit III discussed topics from previous years. Unit IV models Unit III in this respect, but the Summer Release provides topic materials for the first resolution of the year.

Revisit the Introduction for an explanation on how to download your supplemental materials for your league. A wealth of information lies within these foundational documents:

- Background Lesson. This download is very similar to Unit III’s chapters explaining the resolutions.
- PRO and CON Cases. We will deliver two of each, a step up from what you studied in Unit III. These cases come in Word format for you to edit as you wish.
- PRO-AT and CON-AT Briefs. All our contentions in the cases we provide will have responses to them.
- Invitation to join *Green Membership*. The cases and briefs continue through the competitive season, should you choose to subscribe.

The background lesson should be what you study first. In the next lesson, you will delve into your cases.

LESSON 12: WRITE YOUR OWN CASES

Objective of Lesson 12:

Write your own case from the research you gather.

As you learned in previous lessons, *let the research guide you*. Once you know the topic, you will start reading articles online that talk about the topic in general. Narrow down your reading to specific articles that affirm and negate the resolutions. The more you know about the topic, the better debater you will be.

As resolutions come and go, you and your partner will choose cases to run. Beware this common mistake: “I have this really fantastic idea for a new case! I just don’t have any evidence for it yet.” Sorry to be blunt, but if you don’t have any evidence for it, then you don’t have a great case idea.

Such thinking puts the cart way in front of the horse. The debater who thinks that way will waste a lot of time looking for evidence that might not exist, when he could have spent his time working on a more realistic and winnable plan idea. Debaters who sit around trying to think up great case ideas and then run off to find evidence for them are doing it exactly backwards because they have failed to recognize one important fact: Few of us are qualified to propose great new public policies off the top of our heads (even though we may think we are). You will have to do a lot of background reading before you are ready to write a solid affirmative case of your own. The reason is simple: You have to find out what the experts on the topic are saying about what should be changed. Those are the people whom you are going to quote when you cite them as evidence in your PRO and CON cases, and for PRO-AT and CON-AT evidence later in the round.

Read as much as you can about the topic, and at some point something surprising will happen. You will come across an expert who says something like, “If only we had X, it would solve all these problems...” Take that expert’s article and use it as the basis for a new plan idea. You know it’s a “great plan idea” because there’s actually an expert who said it! Look for other articles by that expert and see what else he or she wrote about it. Look for other articles or experts cited in the article and see if there are others who back up the topic. These articles taken together will become the evidence from which you can write good cases.

MonumentMembers.com

Unit IV comes with digital access to lessons that help you with competition at the beginning of the year. We suspect you will do well at your first tournament. But we want you to keep applying the lessons modeled here, so we want you to become part of our online community at MonumentMembers.com called “*Public Forum Membership.*”

Become a *Public Forum Member* and learn how to extend its downloads throughout the competitive season.

Consider *Monument Membership* a membership for the serious competitor—the one who wants to bring home trophy after trophy. Monument Members receive cases, briefs and other resources that will help you in your competitive success.

As a debate student, each one of the cases can become a lesson itself. You essentially have an immense amount of source material that you can drop into the Unit III template. Every Monday we release a chunk of information to prepare you. These downloads include:

- Background articles to establish your understanding of the topic. Written by debate champions and expert coaches, these articles will be a foundation for the upcoming topic.
- PRO and CON cases for immediate use. You will be able to pace yourself throughout the season with new material to prepare you for your tournaments.
- AT files. Of course, you need to argue against the cases! PRO-AT and CON-AT briefs will keep you well-sourced for competition.
- More resources to come. The bottom line for us is this: *we will take best care of our members.* You are the ones who are *all in*, and being a member will get you access to everything having to do with public forum debate.

Visit MonumentMembers.com to order your membership today.

Glossary

The *Green Book* glossary covers basic debate terminology to serve public forum debaters with a quick reference to helpful terms.

A

A1 A common abbreviation for the first constructive speech signifying the “A” team giving the “1st” speech.

A2 A common abbreviation for the first rebuttal speech signifying the “A” team giving the “2nd” speech. This is the first rebuttal against the first constructive.

advantages The benefits of adopting the proposed plan.

affirmative The side of the academic debate that defends, argues for, and promotes the resolution.

argument Reasoning used in debate based on evidence or proof.

B

B1 A common abbreviation for the second constructive speech signifying the “B” team giving the “1st” speech.

B2 A common abbreviation for the second rebuttal speech signifying the “B” team giving the “2nd” speech. This is the second rebuttal during the round, but it is the first rebuttal against the second constructive.

block Process of preparing evidence in advance for a debate in a brief to be used against anticipated arguments.

brainstorm Process of generating ideas without restrictions.

C

citation The act or process of crediting another’s ideas. Usually includes author, title of work, name of publication, date, and web address from which the evidence was referenced.

classify To arrange evidence in an order which will allow the debater to retrieve easily.

CON The common abbreviation for the “contrary” position of the resolution, as opposed to the “PRO” position that agrees with the resolution. All teams must prepare a “CON” position that negates the resolution.

CON-AT The common abbreviation for “CON answers to,” which means the answers to the contentions and sub-points given by the CON side of the public forum debate. A CON-AT folder is created by public forum debate teams to address common CON positions in a particular debate resolution.

constructive speech Taking place at the beginning of the debate round, one of two four-minute speeches given by each side of the debate to introduce the arguments the debate will focus.

contentions Statement used as a heading for a major argument, sometimes also called “points” or just “sub-points.”

criterion A standard by which a value is measured.

crystallization The process at the end of a debate of grouping arguments to make a final point.

cross-examination A timed exchange during a formal debate where one side asks questions of the other side. Public forum practices crossfire, not cross-examination.

crossfire The timed exchange between public forum debaters where one side starts the questioning, but then reverts to the other side asking the next question. The exchange lasts three minutes. There are two crossfires between individual debaters (one following the constructives, the other following the rebuttals), and one “grand crossfire” that takes place after the summaries that involves all four debaters.

CF A common abbreviation for crossfire.

D

debate A process of inquiry and advocacy seeking reasoned judgment on a proposition. Debate allows for two or more sides advocating their positions on a given issue under some set of rules with some kind of judgment to follow from a judge or audience (*Basic Debate Terminology* by Steve Hunt, Lewis & Clark).

definitions An observation of some public forum debate cases that defines necessary terms of the resolution and any other pertinent terms the team deems necessary.

delivery The act or manner of giving a speech.

disadvantage A strategy showing unfavorable consequences of the opposing plan.

drop When a team fails to or chooses not to respond to an argument in the debate round. The consequences of dropping an argument depend on what other arguments have not been dropped and how vital the dropped argument is to the overall position of the team that dropped it. Dropping one argument may or may not cause loss of the round, depending on its impact on the stock issues or the net benefits of voting for or against the plan.

F

final focus The final speech of a public forum debate round lasting two minutes. This speech is meant to give the “final focus” on the issues that the debater believes will win the debate round.

flowing The system of note-taking used by debaters and judges that documents in writing how all the arguments of the round “flow” together.

flowsheet A template or sheet of paper with rows or columns used to keep track of the “flow” of arguments.

H

harms The observation of a traditional debate case that shows the problems and bad impacts occurring in the status quo.

I

impact The final part of a structured argument which shows the harm or disadvantage of the proposed plan or action. In general, “impact” answers questions like “So what? Who cares? Why does it matter?” to any argument.

L

link The first part of a structured argument that connects the claim to the specific impact.

N

negative The side of the academic debate that attacks and argues against the affirmative side of the resolution. The CON side of the public forum typically negates the resolution.

O

observations Contentions, broad argument outlines, goals or stock issues given in a case.

P

plan The section of the traditional debate case that provides the strategy for solving the harms.

policy “A definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions” (Merriam-Webster Online Dict. 2007, www.m-w.com/dictionary/policy)

prima facie A case that is considered to have covered the stock issues.

PRO The common abbreviation for agreement to the resolution, as opposed to the “CON” position that is contrary to the resolution. All teams must prepare a “PRO” position that affirms the resolution.

PRO-AT The common abbreviation for “PRO answers to,” which means the answers to the contentions and sub-points given by the PRO side of the public forum debate. A PRO-AT folder is created by public forum debate teams to address common PRO positions in a particular debate resolution.

R

reasoning The process by which we come to logical conclusions.

rebuttal The speeches taking place after the constructive speeches, two four-minute speeches given by both sides that address the cases presented in the constructives.

resolution The proposition adopted by a specific debate league giving the subject matter of which all debaters will debate in league tournaments.

S

significance One of the stock issues, significance is the claim that the magnitude of the problems with the status quo, or the size of the advantages, are big enough to justify the change called by the resolution and the time we will spend debating them.

solvency One of the stock issues, solvency is the claim that the problems will go away (or be “solved”) if the plan is adopted.

status quo The term used to represent the present state of affairs, the way things are now.

Glossary

stock issues The issues of a proposed position. Four stock issues are significance, inherency, solvency, and topicality.

substantial Considerable in quantity: significantly great (Merriam-Webster Online Dict., 2006, www.m-w.com/dictionary/substantial)

summary The speeches taking place after the rebuttal speeches, two two-minute speeches given by both sides that attempt to summarize the winning issues of the debate round.

T

tag The use of a word or phrase at the top of a piece of evidence to serve as a quick reference.

topicality A stock issue that argues the boundaries of the resolution. It usually involves a claim of a violation in interpretation of a word in the resolution.

turn The attempt of one team to use the argument of their opponent to their advantage by showing that the alleged bad impact is actually good, or that the argument actually causes more of what it is trying to prevent, for example.

V

voting issues Issues a judge typically votes on.

X

x-apply A common abbreviation for “cross-apply.”