THE CONGRESS OF POLICY DEBATE

Purposes, Operations, And Future

John Barth, jr.

INST EVERY FORM OF TYRANN

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to those who reform democracy to continue to serve the noble purposes for which it is begun.

Acknowledgments

Many lives contribute the fruits to be drawn from a work so long in the making, the works and experiences of many minds and hearts, which live on in all works of public benefit. Many wonderful people have contributed their views, and the beauty of their benevolence is long remembered. Special credit is due to the staffs of our wonderful libraries, and to the producers and contributors of websites of history, news, and politics.

Foreword

This volume introduces and describes in detail the purposes, operations, and future of the Congress of Policy Debate, the first of three volumes prepared in the founding process. The second and third volumes *Administration Manual* and *Operating Procedures* are primarily for internal use.

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INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSES

General Functions

The Congress of Policy Debate (CPD) is mandated and structured to serve the following purposes:

1. To collect and perform many thousands of studies for each region and functional area, studying the regions as they are, how present circumstances arose, the problems and ultimate causes, historical parallels and precedents, and the alternatives for change;

2. To protect and carefully study divergent, unpopular, and even "enemy" viewpoints;

3. To rigorously study and analyze the effects of every kind of change, proposal, and policy alternative in every region and functional area, as well as general viewpoints and ideologies, and to conduct moderated text debates among advocates of each major divergent view of each problem, and produce debate summaries commented by all sides, and make these available to the public;

4. To initiate studies and debates of specific problems and proposals of the executive and legislative branches;

5. To provide public internet access to articles, analyses, and debates; and to support automated quizzes and moderated commentary by registered users.

6. To conduct dramatized in-person debates of the issues already debated in text form, to educate those unable or unwilling to read textual debates, but without the defects of posturing and rhetorical battles common to in-person debates, and without winners.

The CDP is necessarily a large institution with experts at universities and disinterested organizations, informed by analysts in executive agencies. Its operations are conducted largely by internet, with data centers at universities, local administrative and training centers, and an administrative headquarters. See www.CongressOfDebate.com.

The Need For A Principal Institution Of Policy Debate

Policy Errors to be Avoided

As with many foreign policies, in the tragic development of the US wars in Vietnam and Afghanistan, the questions upon which policy depended were too remote and complex for a small executive group pressed for fast decisions on many critical problems. Then-serving defense secretary McNamara later observed of the US entry to the Vietnam war[5] that "Underlying many of these errors lay our failure to organize the top echelons of the executive branch to deal effectively with the extraordinarily complex range of political and military issues…We thus failed to analyze and debate our actions in Southeast Asia – our objectives, the risks and costs of alternative ways of dealing with them, and the necessity of changing course when failure was clear" and "We failed to draw Congress and the people into a full and frank discussion and debate …before we initiated the action" and "we should force the debate within our own nation and within international forums."

Federal decision making was not informed by the deepest and fullest exploration of the issues, because private, public, and Congressional debate were distorted by the fear of nuclear war and communist expansionism, fear of the political divisions of the McCarthy and Vietnam eras, and mass media bias and conformism. Underlying these influences of fear and factions were institutional limitations of political demagoguery, executive groupthink, the dominance of mass media by interest groups with their own agenda, and the resulting public misinformation and careless thinking.

Similar distortions occurred in the US decision to invade Afghanistan and Iraq forty years later after 9/11, causing hundreds of times as many civilian casualties as the US had suffered, and with little if any positive effect: even the capture of bin Laden was made possible by intelligence operations, rather than the invasions. Once again, federal decision making was not informed by the deepest and fullest exploration of issues, and was directed by distortions of information known only to the Executive branch.

General Problems Addressed

Policy determination by organizations controlled from the top level, like the Executive branch, business, or military organizations and their limited groups of advisers, has a tendency to "group-think" or dynamics that force a consensus in which discordant, inconvenient, minority, or "enemy" views are excluded. This can result in major policy errors by excluding the premonition of disasters in the making, the alternative views that are the antidote to group-think, and the seed of reconciliation of factional differences. It can also exclude significant public interests from consideration, emphasizing benefits or opinions of industry, military, and politicians, or interests that they may represent.

Robert Kennedy describes in his book *Thirteen Days* [6] the decision making process of the JFK administration during the 1962 Cuba Missile Crisis. Initially efforts were seen to exclude advisors from meetings "because they had a different point of view" and many advisors "adapted" opinions to what they believed the president had said. Eventually JFK set up a debate process representing the available viewpoints for resolution of the crisis, and caused proponents to criticize and respond to opposing views. Groups formed to exchange position papers and dissect those of others; all spoke as equals, everyone was heard, and expression was unrestricted. "It was a tremendously advantageous procedure that does not frequently occur within the Executive Branch." "The final lesson… is the importance of placing ourselves in the other country's shoes."

In Congressional debate, similar processes of selecting among opposing views without full consideration or even recognition of the basis of alternative or variant views, often motivated by political expediency, result in the same exclusion of alternatives to achieve consensus, and the selection of policies that preclude reconciliation of factional differences and ignore well-founded premonitions of disasters in the making.

The premature foreclosure of consideration of policy alternatives and implications by processes within the executive and the legislature, has led to mistaken policy directions with enormous cost in US lives, resources, credibility, and effectiveness of policy. In complex situations, the policy that best serves everyone may not be satisfactory to anyone, and in the absence of thorough study and public debate, many politicians may seek optimistic, popular, or simplistic alternatives. The executive and Congress must

therefore be advised and perhaps restrained by an institution constituted and mandated to cultivate and explore the basis of opposing views, and even the most complex and unhappy views in opposition, and to present these bravely and eloquently to elected officials without fear of suppression, so that policy decisions do not proceed from shortsightedness or optimism, and do not narrow debate to options such as blind escalation versus defeat.

The final judgment of history upon our decisions shall be not only of our motives and energy, but also a judgment of our imagination and willingness to explore the alternatives which eventually will become obvious.

There is presently no federal institution that reflects the expert knowledge and analysis of every region and discipline and conducts unbiased debates to resolve the effects of every policy option. The Congressional Research Service provides summaries of studies done elsewhere, without consideration of bias and influences. The CIA and NSA compile information relevant to security and foreign policy issues, but without consideration of non-coercive policy alternatives. Specific federal agencies study related policy matters. All of these groups may contribute related analytical studies and participate in debate of policy issues. But broad policy issues, matters not within the domain of an agency, and foreign policy matters, are not studied by any institution not directly supported or influenced by interested parties or ideologues, and the analysis done by these agencies is not in the form of commented debates of all viewpoints, referencing all sources, entirely available to the public.

To avoid the policy errors caused by limited analysis and debate, the US needs a new institution under the Constitution, a Congress of Policy Debate, to rigorously investigate every culture and region and explore what policies can really bring public benefit. The divergent or minority opinion, the overlooked perspective, the inconvenient solution, the unpopular alternative, and especially the "enemy" philosophy must be rigorously protected in its expression and studied, for therein is the seed of reconciliation of differences, the premonition of disasters in the making, and the antidote to group-think processes that have led to policy disasters.

The Congress of Policy Debate considers the thoughts of all on policy and other issues, implementing the mind of humanity, to ensure that policy errors are minimized.

The Limitations of the Legislative Branch In Policy Debate

The Limitations of Legislatures

The Nature of Legislatures Limits Policy Debate

Policy debate should sincerely and accurately represent all specific viewpoints on each policy issue. Congress represents regions of the nation, not policy viewpoints. Efforts in Congress to debate policy viewpoints are thus confused with regional interests, most of which combine and balance multiple policy viewpoints. Representatives and Senators are properly concerned with negotiating policies advantageous for the regions they represent, and cannot be expected to become familiar also with the full details of all

potential policies in all world regions and disciplines. Congressional debate may best illuminate regional interests, but often confuses and over-simplifies policy issues.

Congress members cannot have the staffing and breadth of expertise for such a scale of debate, nor can they be expected to conduct wide-ranging debates in which each properly represents only one viewpoint on a policy issue, rather than representing their constituencies. Even when divided into committees, and with the assistance of the Congressional Research Service, representatives and their staff cannot examine all policy viewpoints themselves. That is not the primary purpose of Congress, and such massive efforts would obstruct its purposes. Members of Congress require an independent institution of policy debate, so that they may duly represent their regions.

At present, Congress also has placed no significant controls upon the influence of factions and economic power upon election campaigns, policymaking, and mass media, an influence hidden from the public. Efforts by members to present policy viewpoints may be sincere, but cannot be distinguished by the public from the statements of factions and economic powers.

Bias Due to Faction Commitments

Debate among demagogues, or persons committed to factions or interest groups and their rationales for acts of self-interest, does not lead to sympathy with other groups or reconsideration of arguments. The debates of Congress for generations before the Civil War, and for the decade before and during the Vietnam War, did not reflect mature consideration of the interests of all concerned, or the breadth of arguments available. When the disasters of war resulted, politicians of each faction blamed others, and little effort was made to reform the process of policy making. Congress proved the inability of elected representatives to properly debate public policy, so as to serve all persons affected. Representatives may be forced to represent the "mindset" of their regions or factions, and often cannot learn from each other. Representatives should instead make their policy commitments and promises on the basis of what they have learned from a controlled debate process by an independent institution.

Bias Due To Policy Commitments

Because most Congress members have campaigned for office as advocates of specific policies, they are unlikely to change viewpoints and policies in the course of debate, even where policy they prefer has been proven ineffective or counterproductive. A change of viewpoint after political statements is difficult for most political leaders, and alienates supporters of the policy and the Congress member, causing political losses.

Actions of policy makers that cause great injury, such as war, are irreversible commitments to the arguments used to support them, forcing the legislator to suppress reconsideration and expression of alternatives. Where a policy proves to be wrong, those commitments cause suppression of the truth that later emerges. Admission of a major policy error is difficult or impractical for most leaders, and such admissions are very rare.

To avoid error, legislator commitments to policy arguments must be avoided until thorough debate and fair consideration of all viewpoints is completed, by an independent institution of policy debate.

A Detailed Example: The Failure of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Branches to Prevent Civil War

Slavery existed long before the U.S. revolutionary war, of course, and was an issue before the Constitution was ratified. The Territorial or Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in states formed of the territory north of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, later the states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Later the constitutional convention resolved the controversy over apportionment of state representatives in the House, by allowing each state a number of representatives in proportion to its free population, plus three fifths of the slave population. This was the first of several political compromises between the states which allowed slavery and those which did not.

These compromises failed to address the underlying issue of slavery, neither legitimizing it nor providing equitably for its abolition. Because no proposal was made to end slavery without potentially ruining the slave-based plantation economy, the South was forced to obstruct abolition by trying to control the Senate, where an equal number of slaveholding states might maintain a balance of sectional power. This could be done only by ensuring that at least half of the states admitted to the union were slave states.

The Compromise of 1820 (Missouri Compromise) split the state of Massachusetts to create a new free state, Maine, to balance the admission of Missouri as a slave state; in the future states north of Missouri's southern boundary (36°30' N latitude) were to be admitted only as free states. This assured the South that Florida and Louisiana would be future slave states. The compromise of 1850 admitted California as a free state, allowing Arizona and New Mexico to enter without a slavery stipulation, but that was balanced by the Fugitive Slave Act requiring free states to return escaped slaves, a very unpleasant compromise in the North. Finally, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 carelessly upset the balance by permitting "popular sovereignty" of those states to decide the slavery question, although both were in the free state zone established by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. This caused indignation in the North and repudiation of the Fugitive Slave Act, and led to violence in Kansas as each side attempted to pack the state with its own settlers and interfere with settlers of the other side. The massacre at Pottawotamie led by John Brown, and the severe beating of Senator Charles Sumner in the Senate chambers by a southerner, showed the perilous waters into which these increasingly disagreeable compromises led.

Solutions Were Possible, But The Underlying Problems Were Not Analyzed

If war is the shipwreck of diplomacy, the question of how statesmanship led the democratic institutions of the United States into the treacherous waters of internal conflict, is central in American history. Was it a decline in quality of statesmanship since the early federal era? Inadequate democratic institutions? It appears that the Constitution provided a mechanism to compensate the South for the taking of property inherent in the

emancipation of slaves, which the North and South failed to exploit, and that solution of the conflict required comprehensive federal programs of a size unprecedented in peacetime, which was never seriously considered by nineteenth-century statesmen who preferred a small federal government, in part because the goals were not fully analyzed.

Like their northern opponents, the southern advocates of slavery had both reasonable and unreasonable motives, which might have been addressed by an acceptable solution. The plantation economy was then believed to be dependent upon slavery, so that careless abolition would have taken not only the value of the slaves from their owners, but also potentially the value of the plantations. The Constitution (Amendment 5) prohibits the taking of private property for public use without just compensation. Abolition therefore required compensation of slaveholders, not merely for the slaves but for any loss of value of all industries based on slavery. The fact that slavery was wrong did not release government from the requirement of paying for its abolition, because it had not previously been a crime. Compensation, by some analysis, would have been a fair demand by the southern states, and would be so great that workable compromises would have been explored.

Emerson, the sage of Concord, suggested that the slaveholders be paid for their slaves, using proceeds from the sale of public lands. There was then no federal income tax, and most federal revenue came from the sale of western lands acquired unethically from native American tribes, or from import tariffs which were themselves hotly controversial, because they primarily protected northern manufacturers at some expense to the South. But in Congress no mechanism of resolving inequitable sectional burdens prior to legislation was seriously proposed, and the South continued to fear an unlawful taking of all they had worked for. Why was there no equitable plan of abolition?

Several methods could have been proposed to prevent such a taking of private wealth. The simplest was Emerson's plan. But as the southern economy was believed to be unworkable with paid labor, more than just payment for the slaves was needed. Of course, if all cotton plantations could use only paid labor, the price of cotton would have risen to cover the cost, as long as a protective tariff could have prevented cheaper imports. The South nearly monopolized cotton production in the prewar decades, and almost all of this was bought by cotton mills in the North and in England, the centers of abolitionism: so the cost of abolition would have been borne by the abolitionists with nothing more than a protective tariff and a workable transition plan. But such economic reasoning was not then credible in policymaking, so the South needed better guarantees.

In 1833 England emancipated all slaves in the West Indies over the protests of planters there, using a system of apprenticeship of former slaves to their former masters for 4 to 6 years. Although a bloodbath was feared, nothing happened except in Jamaica, where full emancipation was demanded after only four years, and most other colonies followed suit. The system was declared a success in 1835: the plantations continued to be productive and profitable. Emerson spoke on this in 1844 at Concord, but concluded that "the planter is the spoiled child of his unnatural habits, and has contracted in his indolent and luxurious climate the need of excitement by irritating and tormenting his slave." Abolitionists did not recognize the imperative need of the South for economic stability.

Also, the abolitionists felt that because slavery was morally wrong, they should not have to pay for its abolition. In fact they would pay anyway via a higher price for cotton, but in that form the price might have been quite palatable to the abolitionists, as money bound for the benefit of former slaves. And the cost would have been far less than the cost of war, which would result in the same or greater cotton price increase anyway.

The abolitionists might have proposed a federally guaranteed producer price for cotton during the transition to a free labor economy in the South, with a corresponding wholesale tax on all cotton produced, to build villages and schools for freed slaves and pay their free labor wages, and thus requiring the cotton consumer to pay the wages of former slaves. This would have allowed a transition period of years or even generations, in which slaveholders could see that profits were adequate with paid labor. Abolition would then have been a small step, prepaid by the abolitionists. But a fairly large federal agency would have been required, and no peacetime federal agency had been so large or comprehensive. Small government preferences may have obscured a regulatory solution.

If an equitable transition to a southern economy based upon paid labor had been agreed upon, implemented, and commenced, it might have failed to win approval of a majority in the South, without a period of unhappy social adaptations. The poor southern white in some cases, although not a slave owner, wanted slavery for two unreasonable purposes: it was the basis of his American dream of elevating himself above the drudgery of labor, and it was the basis of his self respect: he could never be among the lowest class of society, so long as slaves made up a yet lower class. Both of these concepts are futile and unreasonable, if not immoral, but they were the hope and pride of some poor southern whites, not to be surrendered without a fight. Abolition seemed to require that they live among and compete with the former slaves, perhaps an indignity in their way of thinking. They would get nothing in compensation for this, from any equitable abolition plan. What would show them that this thinking was in error?

In the aftermath of the civil war, the poor southern white went on believing that the former slaves were beneath him, and avoided labor competition with them by defining categories of work which he believed should be done only by African Americans. The same uneasy situation might have prevailed if the southern slaveholders had transitioned to paid labor under an equitable plan of abolition. The transition may still have required several generations to change the dreams and self image of the non-slaveholding poor southern whites. But a disastrous war would have been avoided.

A solution to the problem of slavery, then, required a long term transition to a paid labor economy in the southern states. This had to be based upon a federal tax of products of the industries in transition, and subsidy to new communities and services for former slaves. That required a large federal agency to track products and revenue, and another large agency for social services to former slaves. Both agencies might have been phased out as abolition was phased in, when the market price of cotton had risen to cover the higher costs of paid labor. The lack of such a proposal was due in part to small-government thinking, but also in part to the desire to preserve states' rights against the federal government.

Failure of the Judicial Branch to Consider The Underlying Problems

Although the South controlled the Supreme Court, the court made no ruling on this point to notify abolitionists that anti-slavery policy had a cost. It could have done this to resolve the issue of the 1837 Tariff of Abominations, believed inequitable by the South and later much reduced. Both slavery and the tariff were issues of inequitable distribution of the costs and benefits of federal policy among sections of the union, against which constitutional law provided some protection, if it had been used imaginatively.

Had the North or the South been able to use the Supreme Court to establish the price of abolition, and proposed a tariff or price supports to make the cotton mills and consumers pay for abolition, the South might have turned the federal government to its advantage in removing inequitable sectional burdens of federal legislation, and the question of slavery in new states would have been moot.

Had the judicial branch been properly designed, the Supreme Court might readily have ruled that both North and South were right in the Dred Scott decision: by declaring the slave Dred Scott a free man (as he claimed for having visited a northern state where all men were free under its constitution), and simultaneously declaring that his emancipation effected a seizure of private property which must be justly compensated by the free state. Such a decision might have required Congress to resolve the issue by paying for some less disruptive policy of abolition. But in designing the Judicial branch, the Constitutional Convention failed to apply the checks and balances which regulate the other branches. The delegates assumed carelessly [4] that judges would be gentlemen like themselves, able to uphold the ethical standards and principles of "natural law" as well as the founders. But no process was established to ensure the selection of such people, and the assumption has often proven false throughout our history. The Judicial branch failed to avert war because it had already become a sinecure for political insiders, and could not collegially apply constitutional theory to changing circumstances. The Supreme Court at the time was controlled by the South, and simply declared slaves to be slaves forever, without bothering to use that last pre-war opportunity to suggest a rational transition.

Failure of the Legislative Branch to Consider The Underlying Problems

Had the same constitutional assumption of probity proved true of congressmen, the legislative branch might readily have averted the Civil War themselves without the failed oversight of the Supreme Court, by a transitional plan such as those outlined above.

Congress or even the executive branch could have proposed solutions and did not. The federal government failed to avert the war because it was composed of regional factions no longer willing or able to understand and recognize the rights and interests of other factions. As we shall see, it was no longer a government of gentlemen but of circus of factional demagogues, no longer a government of reconciliation but of self-interest.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debate

In their 1858 campaigns to become Senator from Illinois just prior to the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln and incumbent Stephen Douglas held seven contentious debates of the slavery issue, which attracted crowds and were reported nationally.

Lincoln contended that slaves were entitled to the constitutional rights of citizens including "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Douglas opposed that the founders intended to exclude slaves, which is arguable but ambiguous in the Constitution. The ideal was simply opposed to the historical compromise in the Constitution.

Douglas favored "popular sovereignty" noting that the founders "left each state perfectly free to do as it pleased on the subject." This had allowed new states to change the key balance of power on slavery in the Senate, leading to militant factions in Kansas and Nebraska. Lincoln stated that the slavery issue must be decided by the federal government, for "a house divided against itself cannot stand." But neither proposed a solution to meet the needs of all sides. The conflicting provisions of the Constitution on states rights and human rights were not a guide to resolution of the worsening conflict.

Those viewpoints are only preliminary statements. Neither had analyzed underlying goals and problems to the point of proposing a workable transition plan. Both sought only to recruit angry factions for election, and the debate made no progress.

Douglas was accused of seeking to nationalize slavery; Lincoln of being an abolitionist. Douglas was combative in sophistry and clouding the issue,[7] but his points merely confront the desire for justice with the status quo of unhappy compromises. Lincoln was forced to back away from the ideals of equality and citizenship for slaves. Douglas was returned to the Senate by the state legislature (prior to direct elections under the 17th Amendment of 1913), but Lincoln became widely known as an abolitionist. After Lincoln's 1860 election victory over Douglas as President, and before his inauguration, the Civil War began. The prior debate between legislators failed to do more than state preliminary viewpoints and demands.

Final Efforts of Compromise in Congress

After the election of Lincoln, the Crittenden Plan proposed constitutional amendments debated by a special committee, including the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean. This opposed the 1860 Republican Platform of Lincoln, was rejected by the committee, and then rejected as a referendum proposal to the Senate. A modified proposal by a committee of lower North and upper South congressmen was rejected by the House.

A House committee with one member per state agreed on the Corwin amendment to protect slavery where it existed, but its bill to admit New Mexico as a slave state was tabled, leaving future developments undecided.

None of the congressional committees considered the fundamental problems of the slave state economy, ways to protect that economy following liberation of slaves, or workable transition plans. Thus the Legislative branch found no mechanism to resolve the slavery issue beyond the series of compromises that had become increasingly unacceptable to both sides, even in the face of imminent secession and major war. Its debates consisted of viewpoint statements and demands without consideration of the underlying goals and issues, showing a clear gap in the original structure of democracy.

The Peace Conference of 1861

Upon the secession of seven of the fifteen slave states prior to the Lincoln inauguration, a peace conference sponsored by Virginia and chaired by former President Tyler was convened at the Willard Hotel in D.C. to prevent secession of the eight more northerly states of the South. It was not attended by the states that had seceded.

The conference proposed an amendment like the Crittenden plan, extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, with no provision for newly acquired territory. It prohibited foreign slave trade, prohibited any federal law affecting slavery where it existed, prohibited state law restricting the return of fugitive slaves, and provided compensation for fugitive slaves who might be freed despite the Fugitive Slave Act.

The absence of slavery prohibition in new territories did not satisfy Republicans, and the absence of slavery permission there did not satisfy Southern Democrats. The Senate rejected the proposal near the end of its session. [8]

The remaining slave states in the union proposed another convention, but this was never held due to the outbreak of war.

The Displacement of Creative Statesmanship

Was there a deterioration of statesmanship between the early federal era and the period prior to the Civil War? It may be that the early federal statesmen better achieved reconciliation because they wanted the new government to work: they labored in a embarrassment of political innovation. The succeeding generations of statesmen (after the War of 1812) were confident that the United States no longer needed the unity of reconciled regions to defend against the threat of foreign invasion, confident that the government would work, and did not bring the spirit of reconciliation to Congress. Legislators did not create the institutions needed to explore the underlying causes of conflicts, nor the more complex policy options often needed to prevent war. As a result Congress could find no fundamentally new solutions to the slavery issue, and its compromises became increasingly unsatisfactory to all, with the result of sectional war.

Toynbee's [9] concept of the petrification of creative minorities into ruling minorities suggests that the process of government formation determines its responsiveness and flexibility. Governments formed by a powerful group make that group the government. Nations formed by a slow process of federation make compromise and conciliation the ruling process. But the process of government set up by the Constitution, a congress of compromise, was by 1815 – 1855 not a process of collegial design of optimal public policy. The people elected representatives who told them that a policy of self interest for their region was sufficient, that understanding and justice for all social or sectional groups was impossible or unnecessary, and that the goal of interaction was simply to gain sectional advantages. So Congress could only invent the simple compromises which led to the Civil War; it could not collegially discuss and resolve problems, because its members refused to recognize other sectional interests as valid apart from their political power. In this view, the creative statesmanship of the early federal era was displaced by statesmanship expedient to each region, and the founding ideal became hollow cant to politicians of factional self-interest, so that conflicts of interest between social and regional groups could be accommodated only by simple

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compromises, not by the creation of new institutions or concepts of reconciliation, even those facilitated and envisioned by the founding ideals. By the passing of both Thomas Jefferson and John Adams on July 4, 1828, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the most creative minority was largely displaced.

This process of displacement of the founding creative minority has broader implications. The transition from the creative ideal of the founders to the hollow cant of factional demagogues, follows the historical trend of decay of human institutions.

A creative minority that founds a new order must impress the majority it seeks to lead that it upholds an ideal nobler than that of the old order. It may be so at first, but those ideals may soon be appropriated by a new ruling minority. Even if the minority is sincere, the majority is seldom willing to make the major personal sacrifices necessary to establish and maintain a lofty ideal, or a social contract based on ideals higher than those it has seen pay off. Those willing to make sacrifices are sacrificed, and unless their suffering is great, most others willing to work for a better future find a cost effective substitute when the struggle for justice begins to hurt, and do not acheive reforms.

The more plausible, the more just, the more beautiful the ideals of the new order, the better they work for the hypocrite as well as the idealist. Indeed, the broad sweeping strokes of the Constitution were explicitly renounced as being mere guidelines for a hypothetical future generation, having no force of law in the present, by the US judiciary after the early federal period. Without a Civil Rights Act it refused to enforce constitutional rights, and apart from a period of reforms with the 1964 CRA, it has done everything possible to circumvent civil rights, so that today civil actions for constitutional rights must thread a complex path through a minefield of rigged precedents providing escape clauses for most cases. Constitutional rights are in fact almost never enforced without massive demonstrations.

After the founding generation of a new political order, succeeding generations of citizens and politicians view pretenses of the ideals of the new order as the cost of doing business as usual. In many cases the creative minority was never in power, its ideals were merely a marketing ploy adopted by a new ruling class, and no regression is necessary. But even where the founding minority is sincere, and propounds a practical and idealistic new order, they are usually succeeded by those who best exploit the new rules to gain power for themselves, and the creative minority is then no more in power than it was before the new order was established. The creative minority may remain influential or may be discredited, but within three generations the founders have passed into the national pantheon, and their ideals are no more than window dressing for the new ruling class, which governs only in self-interest. It is this transition which best explains the failure of that generous and just 18th century vision of the founders to provide a forum for the resolution of sectional differences, which led to the Civil War.

Thomas Jefferson is often quoted on the issues of government reform:

> As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, to keep pace with the times. *Letter to S. Kercheval*, 1816

> The generation which commences a revolution rarely completes it.

Letter to Adams 1823

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time, with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is their natural manure." "God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion. *Letter to Col. Wm. Smith* 1787

And on the issues of policy debate:

Bigotry is the disease of ignorance, or morbid minds; enthusiasm of the free and buoyant. Education and free discussion are the antidotes of both.
Letter to Adams, 8/1/1816

For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is free to combat it. *Letter to prospective teachers, U of VA*

Legislatures Best In Policy Negotiation Not Debate

Legislators represent regions, not necessarily the viewpoints in a conflict. Despite individual representatives of good character, they must seek factional gains, and seldom explore opposing evidence or argument with the ability to revise viewpoints. Truth can be an obstacle, the wider public interest a secondary concern, justice disregarded, and much time must be spent in posturing for reelection among factions scheming to prevail. These factors preclude sufficient preparation or conduct of productive debate of complex issues.

Representatives dependent upon policy factions have limited ability to revise faction viewpoints, or even explore policy options distinct from factional demands. They often must make commitments to specific policies, which are risky to reverse without wide voter familiarity with the contrary evidence and argument.

The size of legislatures limits their exploration of the details of potential policies in the many disciplines and world regions. They cannot be expected to conduct wide-ranging background debates far from immediate policy issues. Because they represent regions, their debates of policy viewpoints can be clouded by regional interests.

Legislatures therefore do best in negotiating policy compromises, with the assistance of a CPD in exploring the underlying options, evidence, and arguments.

The Limitations of the Executive Branch in Policy Debate

In the United States, the State Department, intelligence agencies, and academic community have been available to every administration, as well as to the members of Congress in supporting their own deliberations on foreign policy. But these institutions have their own factions and bias in policy viewpoints, and have been intimidated, purged, or ignored whenever controversies become heated, when security fears grip society, and when a particular viewpoint becomes very popular or unpopular. Such times of fear, anger, and over-confidence are the very times when we need to listen and understand those who disagree with us, because when we do not, we become involved in disastrous conflict, only to reach the same understandings belatedly.

It must be presumed that advice dissonant with opinion will often be ignored, but if it informs public debate, the widest range of alternatives may be argued, preserved and revisited when implemented policies fail.

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The Robert Kennedy Argument

Robert Kennedy describes in his book *Thirteen Days*[6] the decision making process of the JFK administration during the Cuba Missile Crisis (10/16/1962 to 10/28/1962). While he does not argue directly for any new mechanism of policy analysis or debate, he shows that JFK set up a debate process representing the range of available viewpoints for resolution of the crisis, caused the proponents to criticize and respond to criticism from those of other views, and that the unwelcome views solved the problem.

RFK noted that debate is the proper means to resolve conflicts, that all viewpoints must be represented, and that direct access to expertise is required:

> Opinion, even fact itself, can best be judged by conflict, by debate.

> Our deliberations proved conclusively how important it is that the President have the recommendations and opinions of more than one individual, of more than one department, and of more than one point of view.

> It is essential for a President to have personal access to those… who have the expertise and knowledge.

He noted the dangers of groupthink, and gives an example of an advisor who completely reversed his opinion when JFK looked at the alternatives:

> I frequently observed efforts being made to exclude certain individuals… from participating in a meeting with the President because they had a different point of view.

> Frequently I saw advisors adapt their opinion to what they believed President Kennedy said.

RFK noted the need to consider the interests and dignity of other groups involved:

> The final lesson… is the importance of placing ourselves in the other country's shoes [and making] an effort not to disgrace Kruschev, not to humiliate the Soviet Union.

Four recent intelligence estimates in 1962 had given the US confidence that the USSR would not make Cuba a strategic base, had not done so with any of its satellites in the past, and would feel that the risk of retaliation was too great. There had been false reports of missile installations in September; one report was correct but insubstantial. But aerial photos in mid-October showed that missile installation was underway.

RFK describes the changes of viewpoint and concensus during initial meetings. The initial feeling was that action must be taken, and debate was limited to the options of a strike against Cuba versus a blockade. The decision to blockade was made, but the next day extreme viewpoints returned, because "no obvious or simple solution" had appeared.

At this point groups formed to exchange position papers and dissect those of others. Members spoke as equals, which was rare in the executive branch. Everyone was heard, and expression was unrestricted.

> It was a tremendously advantageous procedure that does not frequently occur within the Executive Branch.

JFK had read Tuchman's *Guns of August* which describes how Europe had "tumbled into war" by carelessness, idiosyncrasies, misunderstandings, and feelings of grandeur or inferiority. But he feared that he would be impeached if he did not blockade Cuba. He announced a quarantine (embargo) of Cuba, which the OAS approved unanimously: the whole hemisphere seemed to agree, if only to save JFK's Alliance for Progress there. The UK, France, and West Germany also agreed: the US & Europe must not be separated. The first reaction of Congress was militant, and JFK had to state that the US would react if necessary, and was prepared for the risks. Plans and preparations were made to enforce the blockade by disabling and towing any vessel that resisted.

Two USSR ships approached the designated 500 mile line with a submarine between them. Eventually 21 USSR ships had stopped dead in the water; most turned around, but tankers proceeded. An East German passenger ship was allowed through, due to risk of injury. U-2 photos showed work on missile sites in Cuba had speeded up; and bombers were being assembled. In exchanges between JFK and Kruschev, the USSR refused to accept the blockade.

A letter from Kruschev to JFK arrived via unusual channels, addressing the effects of a major war: the USSR would defend, but would not be the aggressor. The USSR sought to deter the US from attacking Cuba again, as it had at the Bay of Pigs. The US countered that if the USSR removed the missiles, the US would end the blockade, and agree to not invade Cuba.

The US had placed nuclear missiles in Turkey on the border of the USSR some years earlier, and after the US attempted invasion of Cuba, the USSR had responded by preparing to place nuclear missiles in Cuba, on the border of the US. So removing both now seems an easy and obvious solution. Adlai Stevenson first suggested a sensible compromise of interests:

"We would withdraw our missiles from Turkey and give up… Guantanamo Bay."

This caused a strong reaction with sharp exchanges, and JFK rejected the suggestion, saying "now was not the time" although he had "reservations about missiles in Turkey."

RFK claims that JFK had actually requested that the missiles be removed from Turkey several times, on the grounds that they were obsolete liquid fuel missiles (like those destined for Cuba) and that submarine-launched missiles in the Mediterranean already provided far better protection. The critical factor of prior US forward missile bases was not mentioned in US mass media, to create the false impression that the US acted in defense and had made no concessions, or made them very grudgingly.

Krushchev had responded publicly to a 1957 letter of Bertrand Russell requesting that nuclear states confer on disarmament. When Russell now cabled JFK to call the blockade unjustified, JFK responded that he should focus on "the burglars" rather than those who caught them. Russell cabled Krushchev urging caution and "condemnation to be sought through the United Nations" and Krushchev responded publicly "We shall do everything in our power to prevent war from breaking out." Averill Harriman told Arthur Schlesinger that this signaled desire for a summit meeting.

Russell noted to Krushchev the Stevenson proposal of removing missiles from Cuban bases and US bases in Turkey. Khrushchev cabled the US that the USSR would

remove its bases from Cuba and make a non-aggression pledge to Turkey if the US would remove its missiles from Turkey, and make a non-aggression pledge to Cuba. The proposal was considered "not unreasonable." It is unknown whether the Russell cables were incidental or instrumental in that proposal.

The US ballistic missiles in Turkey were obsolete, and JFK knew that Turkey was better protected by submarine-launched SLBMs in the Mediterranean. He had already tried to persuade Turkey to agree to removal of the missiles. Was he angered by the proposal as reported, or must he seem angry to persuade Turkey or the US military?

The US military proposed a pre-emptive strike on Cuba; but JFK foresaw a USSR counterstrike on Turkey. At this point a US U-2 spy plane over Cuba was allegedly shot down by a SAM missile, and the pilot killed. JFK sought verification of the cause. Now U-2s could not observe missiles in Cuba unless all SAM sites there were attacked.

Soon afterward the US administration agreed to the USSR proposal to remove its missiles from Turkey in exchange for removal of USSR missiles from Cuba. But the removal of US missiles was strictly unreported in US news, which portrayed the agreement as a capitulation of the USSR.

The issues, evidence, and solution in this conflict were quite simple, as in many cases of conflict, but were inconceivable or unacceptable to factions in the US, especially during a crisis, until calm reflection on the opposing interests and alternatives prevailed. In the absence of prior debate, only calm and well-informed persons, coupled with the restraint of the MAD nuclear balance, could prevail over proud militants.

The creation of an ad hoc system of policy debate enabled the administration to consider opposing interests and motives, and that debate system put before them the proposals of Adlai Stevenson and the USSR for a balanced reduction of provocative and destabilizing forward locations of nuclear weapons. Had the issues been more complex, or the crisis already violent, prior debate of the issues would have been necessary to avert a major war. RFK's advocacy of broader debate is the voice of experience.

The reliance upon the Executive branch to create a sufficient ad hoc mechanism for debate during a major emergency, assisted by private communications, was excessively risky, and establishes that the issues should have been debated and made widely known before the emergency arose. The full breadth of issues must be debated in advance, to permit executive officials to express and analyze evidence, arguments, and potential policies and actions, and to review these during emergencies.

The MacNamara Argument

Robert McNamara, US Secretary of Defense 1961-1967 during the Vietnam War, admitted in later life many errors made then and earlier, and argued well for changes in policy making institutions in his book *Argument Without End*.[5] While he did not suggest a specific institution, his recommendations strongly support the creation of a federal Congress of Policy Debate to analyze and textually debate policy issues in all regions among numerous and diverse experts, protecting all viewpoints and providing public records and summaries at all levels, commented by all sides.

Long after the war ended in 1975, McNamara organized several conferences in the late 1990s in Vietnam between himself, US scholars, and the very wartime leaders and scholars of North Vietnam he had opposed, to explore the errors of reasoning made by both sides before and during the war. McNamara had published *In Retrospect* in 1995 admitting many errors, and wished to further explore whether "US and NV decisions might have been different if each side had judged the other's intentions and capabilities more accurately." [5.1] Brown University supported the effort although "political pressure was applied" to drop the project.

McNamara had realized that that the underlying problems were far advanced before his appointment as SecDef under JFK in 1961. Each side had perceived the other through a "thick fog of simplistic Cold War rhetoric" and the US had gone "much farther down the path to military conflict" than he had then known. [5.2] As Montaigne is quoted [5.3] "We must be clear-sighted in beginnings, for as in their budding we discern not the danger, so in their full growth we perceive not the remedy."

Vietnam had fought domination by China over a very long history, and had long opposed later exploitation as a colony of France. At age 28, Ho Chi Minh was denied hearing at the post-WWI Versailles Convention of 1919, arguing for its independence under point five of Wilson's Fourteen Points. Vietnam successfully fought Japanese occupation in WWII, and was again denied independence from France by Truman in 1945-1946, despite Ho having read the US Declaration of Independence to his people and having written personal letters to Truman. When the French colonial government was revived, this denial of Western support for independence led to an entrenched nationalist insurgency, later aided by the communist revolutionaries in China. Ho later said, "I was a nationalist first, and a communist second."

The US, made fearful of Stalinist influence in Western Europe, the communist revolution in China in 1947-1949, the USSR test of a hydrogen bomb in 1949, China's endorsement of Ho Chi Minh in 1950, and the invasion of South Korea in 1950, declared a national emergency in late 1950 (NSC-68) envisioning a communist threat of "destruction of not only this republic but of civilization itself." On June 27, 1950 Truman approved aid to France for its war in Indochina, coupled with authorization of US military force on the Korean peninsula.

The McNamara conference participants from the US concluded that "Truman's decision to underwrite the French war effort in Indochina was a mistake" made "on the basis of insufficient reflection and utterly mistaken beliefs" because "leaders did not reexamine their fundamental beliefs" [5.4] about opposing groups and their own roles and options.

After the 1953 French defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the 1954 Geneva peace conference agreed to separate north and south Vietnam along the 17th parallel, and hold all-Vietnam elections in 1956 followed by reunification of Vietnam. But the US refused to sign the treaty, installed the dictator Diem in the south, and funded his war against south Vietnamese communists, unable and unwilling to moderate Diem's conduct.

Eisenhower spoke of the Vietnam situation as "a mess," but upon inauguration in 1961 JFK announced unlimited support for "freedom" [5.5] and one week later approved a counterinsurgency plan for SVN. [5.6] On the same day Hanoi announced formation of the

National Liberation Front of SVN. Two days later, JFK announced that "Chinese communists menace" the region [5.7], and the next day North Vietnam announced a policy of armed revolution in the South [5.8]. This remote dialogue in the language of war rather than the language of diplomacy, made the fatal presumptions that communication could not succeed, and that essential US interests were at stake. "Washington and Hanoi had taken actions based upon misconceptions" and neither had "troubled to recheck the accuracy of its assumptions." [5.6]

The 1961 JFK appointment of General Taylor and advisor Rostow to make recommendations on South Vietnam reflected the "assumption that Vietnam was primarily a military rather than a political problem," [5.9] resulting in the 11/22/1961 NSAM 111 military assistance package and decision not to seek a negotiated settlement. By 1963 "the conventional wisdom among top US civilian and military officials" was that "if the US supported a neutral government" in South Vietnam, then Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Burma, and perhaps India would "accommodate completely to communism," but this was "not criticized by the US State Dept nor the CIA" and "the NSC never even scheduled the subject for debate." [5.10] No further attempt at a negotiated settlement was made. When by 1967 McNamara suggested "actively seeking a political settlement" his memo "unleashed a storm of controversy, the result being that the possibility of a neutral govt in Vietnam was not properly debated in the upper levels of our government…the issue was not debated in the National Security Council." [5.10] This was "a basic mistake – failure of imagination, a failure to explore possibilities… from whatever source." [5.11] McNamara himself was moved from SecDef to the World Bank.

McNamara's conclusion was that the central problem was failure to understand the "thoughts, perspectives, and emotions of those on the other side" [5.12] due to ignorance (failure to have or motivate experts to advise officials, or to provide "institutional memory" of regional history, culture, and politics), and failure to communicate and debate the full range of views and policy options before making commitments to action.

The first real "enemy" was "mutual ignorance [of] the outlook of the other side. When facts are lacking, fears and fantasies often rush in." [5.14]

A common thread linking all the failures to communicate is each side's failure to understand the recent history of the other – *as the other side understood it* – and the implications of that history for their attempts to communicate. [5.15]

With each side "focused on its own problems" the level of ignorance was "astounding." [5.13] This "encouraged each side to project onto the other motivations and objectives that had little, if any, resemblance to reality." [5.14] A small number of administration officials made assumptions or selected advisors likely to recommend a military solution that seemed simple, temporary, or forced by presumptions about the other side. This problem is often called "groupthink."

The Vietnam tragedy demonstrated that the necessary understanding or "empathy" is "not a luxury, but a necessity in the conduct of foreign affairs, if one is to avoid the risk of disaster fueled by misunderstanding, misjudgment, and misattribution." Empathy requires "a higher level of understanding and comprehension" than provided by the sources of one side, which enforce consensus or accepted views and assumptions. [16]

This necessary understanding was blocked by the underlying problem, which was unsuitable structures of decisionmaking, resulting in a lack of timely expert debate of the full range of views and policy options before making commitments to action.

> In the United States, decisionmaking was not organized to deal effectively with the extraordinarily complex range of political and military issues involved. Policy makers did not raise fundamental questions, did not address basic issues about policy choices, and did not recognize their failure to do so. [5.17]

> This lack of reflection among US policymakers stems from three sources. First, unless special arrangements are made, there is rarely enough time for considered reflection and debate in foreign policymaking. Second, there is a lack of institutional memory within the government and a recurring tendency for new officeholders to reject the insights of the past in favor of new ventures and initiatives. Third, the incremental nature of decision-making about intervention in Vietnam never allowed policymakers an opportunity to step back and evaluate the significance of what appeared at the time to be small, almost inconsequential decisions. Policymakers today need to learn from the past and find the time to identify and debate fundamental issues involved in regional conflicts, which are likely to be as plentiful as in the past and at least as dangerous. [5.17]

Policy errors could be avoided only by "institutionalizing opposition within decision making processes" so that perspectives could be "discussed openly by both parties." [5.18]

> McNamara further suggested that US administrations must not fail to "practice what they preach" of democratic principles because "consultation and checks and balances are absolutely necessary to avoiding the mistakes." [5.19] This requires the use of "power, particularly military power, only in a multilateral [decision making] context." He cautions that "Leaders need to question whether each … problem… has any solution that can be brought about by US action" and whether a "solution" may "lead to problems that may be more intractable." [5.19]

> Policymakers must beware of problems "left unattended at the highest levels for long periods" such as "crises in slow motion" that may "have the potential for spiraling out of control." Finally,

> The US government must develop better procedures for conveying its institutional memory from one administration to the next, for… many problems…are inherited. [5.20]

In summary, the Vietnam-era US Defense Secretary McNamara and his bilateral conference members concluded that major foreign policy errors such as the Vietnam war can be avoided *only by creating new decision-making structures in the US government* able to:

1. Generally provide arrangements for reflection and debate in policymaking; [5.17]
2. Institutionalize opposition and debate within decision making processes; [5.18]
3. Ensure that all perspectives can be discussed openly by all concerned; [5.18]
4. Timely raise fundamental questions, and debate basic issues of policy options; [5.17]
5. Recognize any failure to do so; [5.17]

6. Provide institutional memory to allow new officeholders to share past insights into inherited problems, to reexamine beliefs, and to evaluate new initiatives; [5.17]
7. Provide policymakers opportunities to evaluate seemingly small decisions; [5.17]
8. Prevent problems remaining unrecognized or unattended for long periods; [5.21]
9. Provide consultation for, and checks and balances upon policymakers; [5.22]
10. Determine whether a problem has any solution involving US action that does not lead to more intractable problems. [5.23]

These conclusions strongly support the formation of a Congress of Policy Debate within the federal government, mandated to timely analyze and debate issues and policy options in all regions, with open discussion of all perspectives, identifying gaps and providing an easily-studied public record of policy debate summaries. The Congress must permit policymakers to consult past insights into inherited problems, identify unattended problems, evaluate new initiatives and the effects of seemingly small decisions, and to determine whether a problem has any solution that does not lead to worse problems. The Congress should be made a branch of federal government with checks and balances among the other branches.

Prophetically, McNamara asked in 1999 "Do we understand the mindset of Islamic fundamentalists… to the extent necessary to head off crises before they become catastrophic events? I think not. We remain ignorant at our peril."

In the events of 9/11/2001 and the U.S. wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Sytria that followed, and the numerous and spreading wars that have resulted from those wars, we may have seen many of the same errors of policymaking that were made in the development of the US Civil War, and in Vietnam. It is time to create the Congress of Policy Debate to stop potential errors and the millions of deaths that have resulted.

GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE CONGRESS

Introduction

The Congress of Policy Debate is organized to conduct textual debates between university experts, of all policy issues in all regions, protecting all points of view, permitting all viewpoints to be supported, argued, and challenged with responses, and producing commented debate summaries for public access, with tests and evaluation for members. The Congress is organized into several branches that handle major distinct activities, while participating in all activities of the Congress.

Forum of Policy Debate	Hosts dramatized in-person debates for the public
Center of Policy Debate	Hosts member discussion groups and education
Institute of Policy Debate	Hosts advanced member discussions and education
University of Policy Debate	Hosts expert discussion groups
College of Policy Debate	Hosts debates and specialized discussion groups
School of Administration	Provides internal education for administration

The Congress is structured to prevent major efforts of improper influence, infiltration, or takeovers by ideologues, as well as government and economic influences that might affect available viewpoints or debate terms, direction, and presentations. Impartiality is achieved by debate procedure controls, administration checks and balances, disclosures, and internal review. These are problems throughout democratic government, and the Congress is intended to serve as a model useful in the improvement of democratic government.

Discussions and Debates   **Participants**

Debate Summary	Planning Committee	**Debate Layer**
Debate Planning	Debate Moderators	
Debate Process	Debate Viewpoint Reps	
In-Person Debates	Debate Viewpoint Groups	

DVG Member Evaluation → Mutual Evaluations and Election or Admin Choice

DVG Nominations
Future Debate Topics and Status → Viewpoint Groups / Experts in Region or Discipline — **Specialized Discussion Layer** Evaluation of concepts and debate position representatives
Discussions of Diverse Topics

Process Exams
Subject Exams

Discussions of Diverse Topics — Experts in Any and All Areas / Advanced Commenters — **Diversity of Experts Layer** Cross-fertilization of diverse concepts

Subject Exams
Credential Checks

Colleges and Universities

In-Person Debates
Debate Summaries — Discussion Moderators

Process Exams

Advanced Commentary — Advanced Commenters — **Public Access Layer**

Subject Exams

Discussions — The Public

Layers of Discussion and Debate

The Forum

The Forum of Policy Debate conducts the dramatized debates of the Public Access Layer, to interest the broadest segment of the public in the issues, and introduce them to the public discussions of the Center, and the debate summaries of the College.

Dramatized debate is necessary to hold public interest in educational presentation, with entertaining performances in a dramatic forum, possible heroes and villains, possible winners and losers, developing risks, etc. although the result is always neutral. Viewers are provided convenient links to evidence and related debates for further study.

The Forum of Policy Debate is part of the Forum of Debate, which also handles non-political issues, both informally known as "the Forum."

The Center

The Center of Policy Debate implements the broadest Public Access Layer of the Congress, hosting on-line discussion groups in many subject areas. Members have access to view all debate summaries and discussions within the other layers.

All persons are welcome to become members. Members participate to learn, not to teach or lead, and must exercise self-discipline to respect and explore all other viewpoints, and observe the rules of diplomatic interaction to continue in good standing. Members are evaluated for moderation, and may take subject examinations to qualify as Advanced Members, and thereby become members of the Institute of Policy Debate. Future operations will be conducted in multiple languages.

The Center of Policy Debate is part of the Center of Debate, which also handles non-political issues, both informally known as "the Center."
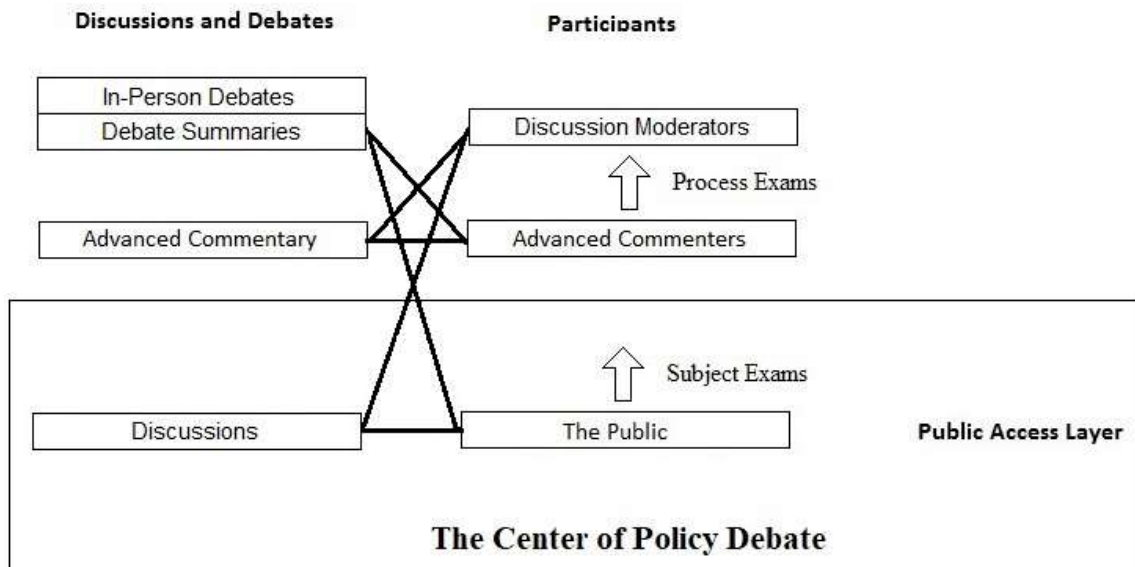
The Institute

The Institute of Policy Debate implements the Educational Layer of the Congress of Policy Debate. The Institute provides educational services to all who wish to become advanced members. It conducts virtual classes, seminars, conferences, and workshops concerning public policy issues, and provides educational information, training materials, instruction, and tests on the evidence, arguments, and viewpoints of public policy.

Members may become qualified as Advanced Members by examination in a subject area, and are expected to exercise self-discipline, to respect and explore all other viewpoints, and to observe the rules of diplomatic interaction to continue in good standing. Advanced Members may become Moderators by training and examination.

The Institute of Policy Debate is part of the Institute of Debate, which also handles non-political issues, both informally known as "the Institute."
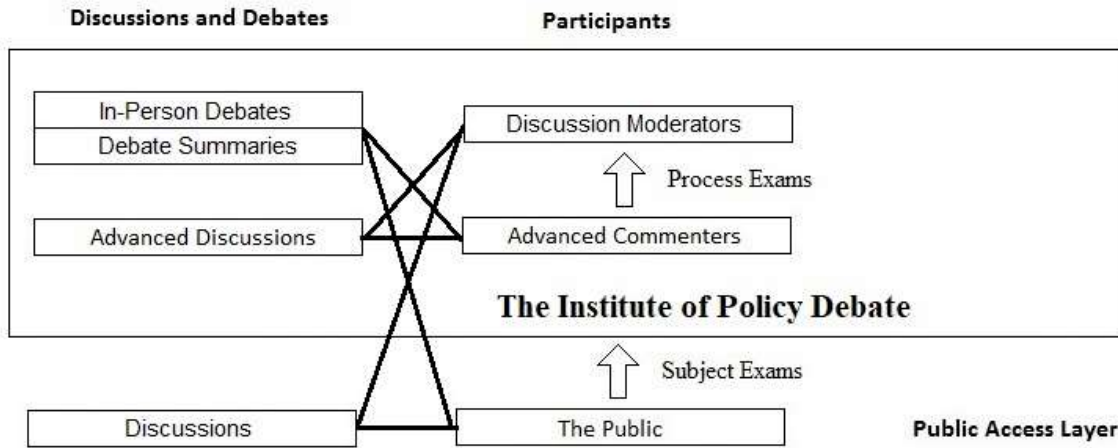
The University

The University of Policy Debate implements the Diversity of Experts Layer of the Congress.

To bring the assembled knowledge of humanity to bear upon each policy problem, and inform the discussion and debate of experts, a great diversity of concepts and viewpoints must be considered by experts, including concepts quite far from the principal matters under their consideration, in which they prepare for and conduct debate.

The University is a large set of forums of textual comment, in which intelligent and knowledgeable persons specialized in areas surrounding each debate subject may offer observations, new ideas, and criticism from their own thoughts and experience, and choose the comments to which they will respond. The primary purpose is inspiration and cross-fertilization from a broad range of knowledge. In responding to viewpoints, suggestions, analogies, reminders, and criticisms, the experts in the debate area must reconsider the foundations of their views, alternative representations of the problems, and potentially relevant but distant considerations that may not otherwise emerge in specialized debate preparations.

The University of Policy Debate is part of the University of Debate, which also handles non-political issues, both informally known as "the University."

Discussions and Debates

| Debate Summary |
| Debate Planning |
| Debate Process |
| In-Person Debates |
| DVG Member Evaluation |
| DVG Nominations |
| Future Debate Topics and Status |
| Discussions of Diverse Topics |

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| Debate Viewpoint Groups |

Mutual Evaluations and
Election or Admin Choice

| Viewpoint Groups |
| Experts in Region or Discipline |

Process Exams
Subject Exams

Debate Layer

Specialized Discussion Layer
Evaluation of concepts
and debate position
representatives

| Discussions of Diverse Topics |

| Experts in Any and All Areas
Advanced Commenters |

Subject Exams
Credential Checks

| Colleges and Universities |

Diversity of Experts Layer
Cross-fertilization of
diverse concepts

The University of Policy Debate

The College

 The College of Policy Debate forms the Debate Layer and the Specialized Discussion Layer of the Congress. The College of Policy Debate is part of the College of Debate, which also handles non-political issues, both informally known as "the College,"

Specialized Discussion Layer

 The process of debate preparation in each policy area includes the discussion of concepts and potential viewpoints, presentation and criticism of viewpoints, in a manner free of the formalities and evidence demands of formal debate. During such discussion experts may study and reflect upon related and opposing views, consider weaknesses of their views, perhaps changing viewpoints, and decide the views they consider most valid.

 Groups favoring a viewpoint may form to conduct their own discussions and debate the issues more abstractly than in formal debate. They may also evaluate each other's ability to represent a viewpoint, and decide which viewpoints they wish to represent.

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Debate Layer

The Debate Layer plans and conducts the debate discussion groups, preliminary processes, and debates of each debate process, in which groups of experts representing a viewpoint may submit statements, source materials, questions, requests, and challenges to those of opposing viewpoints, with moderators in the source and destination group of each exchange. Moderators ensure that each statement contains no insult or ad hominem argument, and is not vague or expressed in private terminology, but is reasonably clear, based upon evidence, and logically argued.

Debates are held when the issues are felt to be necessary and well enough understood that debate will produce better understandings, without need for consensus. Side issues may arise requiring further debate, upon which the main issue may depend, and debates may be tabled, new debates planned, viewpoint representatives changed, and new viewpoints introduced.

Debate planners participate in the processes of planning debate summaries, planning new debates, and tabling or resuming debates, as well as handling moderation issues, and evaluating position representatives.

Debate evaluations permit commentary from debate teams to evaluate the quality of representation by members of the same or adverse teams. Similar processes permit evaluation of external debates, and ratings of external debate organizations.
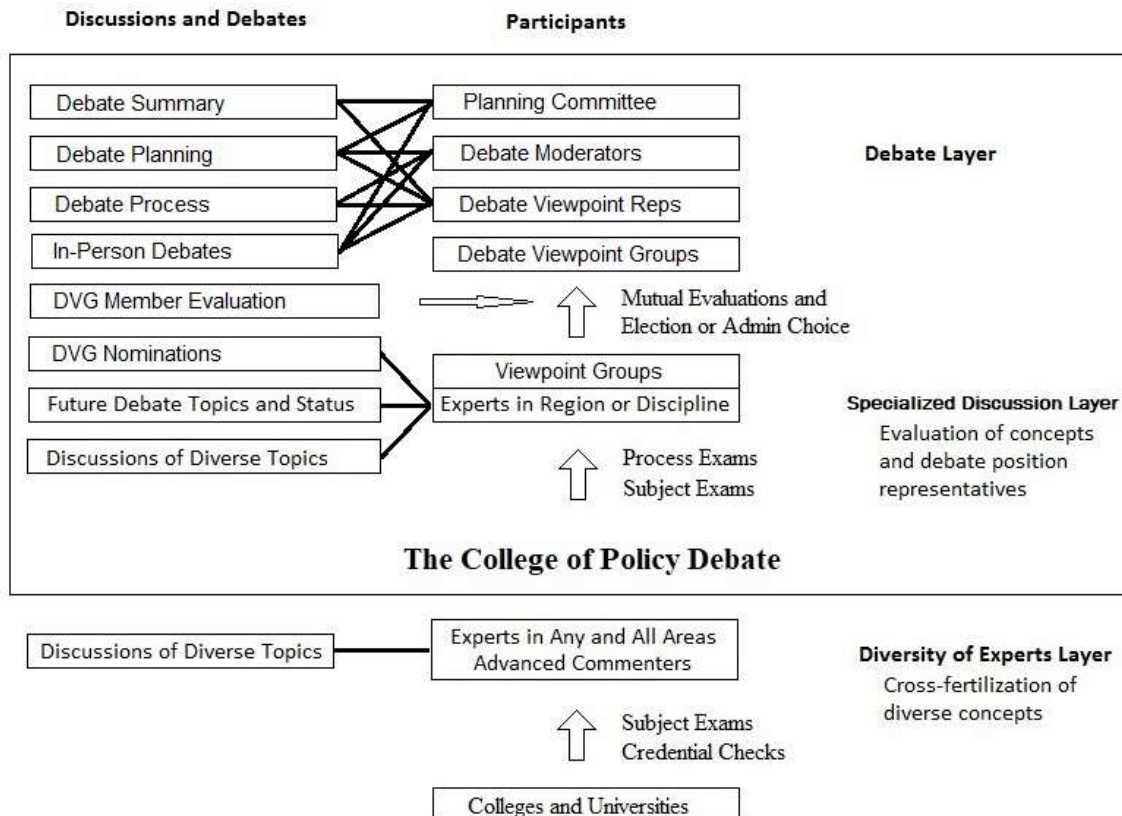
PUBLIC ACCESS LAYER

The Congress provides public internet access to its many studies, factual analyses, debate summaries, and in-person debates, and permits moderated public commentary by registered users. The public-access layer is a large operation, providing opportunity for education, training of moderators, and evaluation of viewpoint-group members.

Automated quizzes on each debate are available to registered users, with per-user summaries, subject-area scores, and moderation notes. Quizzes permit users to record credentials of policy familiarity in each subject area, useful in academics, public office, and political campaigns. Candidates may quickly summarize their knowledge in policy areas by reference to their CPD scores.

The Forum: Dramatized Debates for Broad Appeal

The educational effectiveness of the CPD structure is limited by the crowded schedules of the majority of citizens, who cannot make the time-consuming studies of innumerable issues that lead to the truth, even with readily available debate summaries. Most simply do not have the time and patience for a great number of faraway issues, even over a period of several years. Many prefer the simple adoption of viewpoints advanced by people like themselves, suggested by dramatized in-person debates.

Dramatized In-Person Debates

Large public audiences prefer to be entertained in their spare time by sports or performances in which there are developing risks, heroes and villains, winners and losers, etc. The dramatized debate layer necessary for public education, requires in-person debates based upon the actual debate results, with entertaining performances in a dramatic forum like a sports event. Without winners, viewers take away more nuanced and detailed knowledge than they expected, eventually reducing viewpoint prejudice.

That requires new methods of dramatic performance, with many variations, plots, and intercessions of greater knowledge, carefully preserving plot risks, suspense, and viewer interest all the while. Careful planning and evaluation of performance plans are necessary for fairness and interest. Awareness of policy implications, and potential risks to real populations, must be maintained.

In-Person Debaters or Viewpoint Performers (VPs)

The in-person debaters are viewpoint performers or protagonists (VPs) selected by debate viewpoint groups (VGs) for performance ability. They must be:

1. Familiar with all details of the debate VG and its experts on-call during debate;
2. Familiar with all details of the textual debate underlying the debate;
3. Diplomatic: trained and moderated;
4. Expressive: of involvement in the VG and personal concern for the dramatic situation and challenges, risks, hopes and triumphs in the course of debate;
5. Engaging to the audience, but not photogenic or socially manipulative.

Skilled in-person debaters work from commented summaries of textual debate, but must master the topics and viewpoints to represent them well, hence the best are likely to be well-educated, and may volunteer to win VG support or public service recognition.

Conductors

The course of a spirited in-person debate requires moderation and direction by a neutral Conductor, who poses initial questions, raises skipped issues, asks questions regarding prior issues or statements, asks new questions to direct debate, requests clarifications, etc. Generally the viewpoint performers (VPs) have been coached to make sufficient definitions and arguments to avoid interruption for clarification to the audience.

The Conductor may appear to be learning by inquiry with audience sympathy, requesting clarifications, or pointing out conflicting fact or argument in posing questions.

Modes of In-Person Debate

Within the Forum of Policy Debate, dramatized in-person debates may take any of the traditional forms, with their common flaws carefully precluded. Typical in-person debate modes include Parliamentary Debate, Cross-Examination Debate, Lincoln Douglas Debate, and Academic Debate. The Cross-Examination and Lincoln-Douglas modes provide compact presentations focused on the evidence and argument.

Traditional in-person debate modes allow several extended presentations of several minutes, and do not change course or break for debate of related issues, which is suitable to present short debate segments or general viewpoints in preliminary debates. Traditional formats decide winners and losers, which is not an objective of the CPD.

Parliamentary Debate consists of a two parties of two debaters, the affirmative team (the Proposition) and the negative team (Opposition), using roles related to the British Parliament discussion of motions; a debate judge is the Speaker. Starting with the Proposition team speech in support of the motion, the teams make alternating presentations and defenses of several minutes, followed by each making a summary "rebuttal" speech. A satire of the parliamentary rebuttal speech is made in *Noodle's Oration*, (Sydney Smith's *Fallacies Of Anti-Reformers*, 1824) in which the debater makes every possible objection without any statement that even reveals the subject.

Cross-Examination Debate consists of two teams of two, the affirmative supporting the policy "proposition," and the negative refuting the affirmative by various strategies. Debaters research both sides of the topic with assistance, but not during the debate, and cited materials are documented. Each of two affirmative and negative presentations of several minutes is followed by an opposing cross-examination of a few minutes. Then two pairs of affirmative and negative rebuttals of several minutes. This mode makes intensive use of evidence rather than presentation.

Lincoln-Douglas Debate consists of two parties of one, debating a resolution involving competing values. Each presents speeches of a few minutes alternating with questions, with preparation time between. The original form was used in election debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas, to reconcile popular sovereignty with constitutional rights of slaves. That debate went little further than position statements.

Academic Debate at an institution allows evenly matched opponents to present balanced arguments and evidence on an issue, for educational purposes. Individuals consider the issue, analyze evidence, prepare arguments, write speeches, and then repeat the process as teams. Competition motivates students to review evidence and argument quickly. Strategies of disadvantages, counterplans, and critiques are used.

Debate And Discussion Formats

Virtual in-person debates may be relied upon initially, and wherever there is no co-located set of qualified debaters, to bring together specialists who live far apart. The public view may focus upon the remote expert, switch to full screen, etc.

If virtual in-person debates are not sufficiently dramatic, a roundtable or circle of VG tables with debaters delivering challenges and responses, may be better. In the latter format, screens behind the debate tables may show remote experts able to argue details. Multiple debate formats and settings may improve the sense of variety and interest.

Dramatized Discussions Following In-Person Debates

A post-debate Discussion enacted by VP performers or protagonists, each previously of one viewpoint, may jointly explore the debate issues, perhaps changing their views or at least seeing the importance of opposing viewpoints.

Protagonists may begin with strong ideas but some uncertainty, consider facts and views, and moderate or change views. Protagonists should review new knowledge carefully to select better actions. A Protagonist might "win" by better meeting his/her original purposes, through exploration of viewpoints, learning, careful thinking, and correction of conclusions. Viewers should be able to see where protagonists felt that they had erred before debate. Dramatized learning by protagonists, can show how well-intentioned but misinformed or careless persons can err, and how this causes injustices.

Thus the audience may feel the successes and setbacks of VP protagonists as a drama more personal than the debate, holding their attention, but must not be prejudiced to agree or disagree by the appearance or behavior of protagonists. It can be helpful to have male/female or minority protagonists of some viewpoints. Where regional conflict debates place visibly-distinct groups in opposition, protagonists should resemble neutral or opposed groups to reduce prejudice, or be interchangeable as to apparent affiliations.

The Center and The Institute: Layers of Public Discussion

The Public Layer provides public access not only for viewing dramatized debates and discussions, and reading and reflection upon the underlying studies and debates of the College, but also for comments and moderated discussion by members, so that those learning may compare and criticize observations to sharpen their thinking.

The Center: Member Education and Comment Layer

Comment logs for specific debates and subjects permit members to share ideas, see and correct each other's errors, or make suggestions for further studies, useful in the

learning process among other students. As members study the issues, improve in discussion ability, and pass tests in specific knowledge areas, they may qualify as Advanced Members and participate at the Institute. New members may graduate in any knowledge area to participate in advanced discussion.

Moderators at the Center correct improper comments, score members, and recommend training of members in the essentials of useful commentary. This requires a great deal of moderation effort, assisted by volunteer members seeking accreditation as moderators and advanced moderators.

The Institute: Advanced Member Education & Comment

Upon passage of tests of more advanced knowledge gained in studies and reading of debate summaries, and qualification in comment essentials, members may become Advanced Members and interact in advanced discussions at the Institute. Advanced members are very well informed and intelligent citizens.

The Advanced Comment level of the public access layer provides strong recognition of participants' efforts to learn, by serving them with tools, support, and evaluations that recognize the required values and efforts. This is a significant distinction for political aspirants and politicians, as well as journalists, who can acquire credentials in all policy areas by taking Institute examinations.

Advanced commentary requires far less effort in moderation, when comments are flagged for an apparent violation. Advanced members are encouraged to participate in some efforts of moderation or education at the Center.

Discussion Group Types and Processes

Discussion Groups at all levels permit the sharing of ideas, exploration, trial of ideas, sharing of facts and opinion, and informal debate in advance of any formal debate procedure. Most of these processes are essential to learning more of the issues and potential solutions of public policy problems.

At each level, Subject Discussion Groups (SDGs) and Viewpoint Discussion Groups (VDGs) linked to the debates are useful. All levels may be read by the public.

Discussion of the Goals

All Discussion Groups consider subjects and viewpoints regarding goals and policies to achieve them. The policy goals must be stated and argued as well as the means, to ensure that alternative means are proposed both within a VG and by other VGs.

Concealment of underlying goals precludes debate of the policies as means to an end, often done by careless ideologues, or as a manipulation by demagogues. The refusal to consider alternative means may preclude participation in a discussion.

Subject Discussion Group (SDGs)

Subject Discussion Groups consider many threads in a Subject area, from technical issues, fact exploration and research, to specific policies. Subject discussions can expose the goals of groups, concepts in use, areas of differing views, available or missing fact, etc. SDGs are generally linked to a planned or proposed debate of the subject, and may be independent where no related debates have been conducted.

Subject discussions are conducted with multiple viewpoints, and are moderated, monitored, and cleansed of unproductive statements. Threads are started and linked where the debate considers technical sub-issues, current events, new concepts, new evidence, etc., and may be indexed for convenience.

Viewpoint Discussion Groups (VDGs)

Viewpoint Discussion Groups (VDGs) are set up for the primary viewpoints in each general subject area. Like SDGs they are linked to debates where that viewpoint is considered. The viewpoint is thus examined more deeply in fact and theory.

The danger of VDGs is that these become echo-chambers for tribal narratives or propaganda, producing intransigent partisans with social or economic dependencies upon their viewpoint groups. Viewpoints should be presented and debated relative to specific goals, so that alternative means are explored in discussions as well as debate.

Members are encouraged to seek alternative views, and split their time between opposing VDGs and the corresponding multi-viewpoint SDGs. Links to the opposing VDGs and debate VGs for the Subject are used on each VDG and VG page.

While extended historical/political narratives may be presented and separately discussed, reliance thereupon is discouraged so that the viewpoint group comes to accept readily communicated concepts and facts. Such narratives or concepts are explored in expert discussion, and debated separately from the policy issues.

To preserve the value of viewpoint discussions, immoderate and ad hominem statements are removed by moderators, as well as unsupported or irrational statements, and threads that lead to irrational confrontations.

Topics, Linkage, and Search of Discussion Groups

Discussions center on a debate or summary, and the topics, viewpoints, facts, and supporting research done or cited in the debate. Discussions may be attached to each statement, response, or citation of a debate, to focus and index the discussions. Because discussions drift onto adjacent topics, facts, and argument, substantial linkage and search capability is necessary to explore related materials and discussions. Comments may link to related materials or debate segments.

Discussions are separated by divisions of the Congress, and members of any division may see discussions by other divisions. Members may locate CPD debates, facts, and discussions using internal searches.

Means to compact the discussions include comment ratings for relevance and usefulness, versus diversions or mere opinions, with low-scoring comments deleted after some period.

Bias Among Moderators

The Congress requires moderator/critics for analytical articles and debate summaries, and for participant input. Moderators, like the members moderated, should be trained by e-courses, and acculturated, and should receive very friendly advice when reviewed. Reports note specific deficiencies of moderation (*ad hominem* arguments, insults or naughty words, etc.) and deficiencies of input or critical material (unacceptable premise, improper factual support, argument deficiency, etc.).

Moderators and critics may have personal motives, factional influence, ideology, hot buttons, bad moods, and other causes of error. Interested parties and biased organizations have large staffs able to seek influence by pretending to be fair moderators, long enough to be given some discretionary authority.

Organizations like online open encyclopedias may show substantial influence by ideologues or employees of interested parties in articles relevant to foreign policy, and doubtless many others relevant to vested interests in regulatory matters, political issues and underlying facts, etc. Internal critics may make false statements to reject input, and give false information or excuses to other critics to deceive them or recruit those of similar ideology. Online encyclopedias are open organizations dealing with broad issues, that struggle to prevent domination of input and staff by interest groups.

In such an organization, input submitted by the public is subject to review by an assigned critic. The submitter may object to the criticism, but the mechanism is obscure and objections may go to a general mailbox. If the critic decides to delete the input, other critics may or may not see the objections submitted, and may take the critic's statements without proof. The result is generally whatever the critic prefers. So there may be no consideration of criticism of the critic, and no way to correct a critic. This may be the result of a poor review process, the presence of biased staff, or an overworked staff deciding issues on the basis of convenience.

Review Process

In the CPD, moderators may have conflicting views and improper motives, and are subject to review by persons unconnected by appointment, proximity, or private communications. Each action opposed requires impartial review, and several corrections of a moderator may lead to personal review. Review is done by persons who have not previously reviewed input of the same source or subject area, and does not permit identification of the reviewer. Multiple appeals and levels of appeal of input or criticism are permitted. The highest appeal is to an administrator on a voting panel.

Abuse of office is often a primary motive for seeking public office, and some officials consider it a prerogative. In judicial corruption, appeal judges are appointed from among lower judges, who may share a self-serving ideology, such as attitudes equating money and power with virtue. Who will judge the judges?

Madison noted that "ambition must be made to counteract ambition," [2.1] in this case by rewarding the proper regulation of improper conduct of moderators. An appeal reviewer who does not regulate moderators as much as the average reviewer, or who receives an unusual number of higher appeals from his reviews, is himself reviewed. An appeal reviewer who makes many corrections of moderators that are upheld upon higher review, is likely to accord with their standard.

EXPERT DISCUSSION LAYER

The Congress of Policy Debate is to bring to bear upon each policy problem the assembled knowledge of humanity, so that all knowledge in each region, policy area, and discipline informs the moderated textual debates of the College.

Expert discussion groups at the University permit the sharing of ideas, exploration, trial of ideas, sharing of facts and opinion, and informal debate. During such discussion experts may study and reflect upon related and opposing views, consider the weaknesses of their views, perhaps changing viewpoints. These processes are essential to learning more of the issues even for experts.

Before debate at the College, the preliminary processes further advance the discussion of concepts and potential viewpoints, and presentation and criticism of viewpoints, in a manner free of the formalities and evidence demands of formal debate.

At each level of expert discussion, Subject Discussion Groups (SGs) and Viewpoint Discussion Groups (VGs) are useful.

Expert discussion groups consider specific issues of fact and science, which may divide along lines of similar viewpoint. Discussion between the viewpoint groups on an issue should explore the points of divergence to propose a basis of accepted goals, facts, concepts and terminology, and major points of concern and divergence, to ensure that subsequent debates cover useful challenges and responses.

Expert discussion groups permit evaluation of experts and exclusion of potential debaters who often use false or rhetorical arguments, or whose statements do not clearly or rationally advance essential interests to be represented, or who consistently respond inappropriately to challenges. The most knowledgeable, rational and eloquent proponents of good conduct may be selected as Debate Viewpoint Group (DVG) members or viewpoint representatives (VRs).

It is essential that demagogues and manipulators be excluded as Debate DVG members. This cannot be done if tyrants dominate or lead participants in VGs with social manipulation, economic dependency, or bullying to ensure conformity to their narratives or propaganda. Essential means to detect and remove demagogues, bullies, and manipulators from VGs include moderation, complaints, reviews, and member records. Comments in VGs and debate VGs that suggest social or economic manipulation are flagged and investigated, including signs of self-identification for private communications. Commenters are logged in and monitored by Commenter ID (CID) generating a profile of moderation actions per group and per person, a qualification for debate VG members and VRs.

Layers of Expert Discussion

The University: Diversity of Knowledge Layer

The Diversity of Knowledge Layer is a large set of forums of textual comment, involving debates proposed, in process, or completed, in which knowledgeable persons far from the debate area may offer observations. Because analogies and inspirations far from a subject area may be most relevant, and may inspire and structure new concepts and methods, this layer of interactions, inspiration, and reflection far from the specialized discussions that precede debate, allows cross-fertilization by a great diversity of concepts and viewpoints from a broad range of knowledge, and brings the assembled knowledge of humanity to bear upon each policy problem area. This is the society of intelligent discussion in which specialists may seek inspiration from afar, or measure their progress and reassess their directions and conclusions.

In responding to suggestions, analogies, reminders, and criticisms, the experts in the debate area reconsider the foundations of their views, alternative representations of the problems, alternative means to meet policy goals, and potentially relevant but distant considerations that may not emerge in specialized debate preparations.

The College: Specialized Discussion Layer

The Specialized Discussion Layer immediately surrounds the debate preparation process, permitting experts in the debate subjects to discuss the concepts and potential viewpoints in a manner free of the formalities and evidence demands of debate.

Discussions may cover subject areas, prior or ongoing debates, or specific viewpoints. During such discussion, experts may study and reflect upon related and opposing views, consider the weaknesses of their views, perhaps changing viewpoints, and decide which views they consider most valid.

Groups favoring a viewpoint may form VGs to conduct their own discussions and debate the issues with more specific concepts and detail. They may locate, conduct, and analyze studies to determine the facts for a debate, and may suggest to debate Planners the structure of exploration of the subjects. Members may decide which viewpoints they prefer to discuss or wish to represent. Reliance upon extended historical/political narratives is discouraged, so that viewpoint groups come to accept concepts and facts readily communicated in debate.

All participants are encouraged to seek alternative views, and split their time between opposing VGs and multi-viewpoint SDGs. Links to the opposing VGs and DVGs for the subject may be used on each VG page. Member profiles show participation in opposing VGs, and moderation actions there, a qualification for VRs.

VG Members may also evaluate each other's ability to represent their viewpoint, choosing representative experts (REs) and members of each Debate VG, which chooses viewpoint representatives (VRs) for the primary text debates, and viewpoint performers (VPs) for in-person debate.

DEBATES

Debates are held when the issues are felt to be necessary and well enough understood that debate will produce better understandings, without need for consensus. Side issues may arise requiring further debate, upon which the main issue may depend, and debates may be tabled, new debates planned, viewpoint representatives changed, and new viewpoints introduced. Textual debate reduces emotional involvement and social competition. The purpose is not to achieve consensus, but to explore the issues, goals, and policy options available, for use in a separate policymaking process of negotiation among the affected groups.

In the debate process, each debate VG represented by a VR may submit statements, questions, requests, and challenges to those of opposing viewpoints, with moderators in the source and destination group of each exchange. Moderators ensure that each statement contains no ad hominem argument, and is not vague or expressed in private terminology, but is reasonably clear, based upon evidence, and logically argued.

Debate planners participate in planning, preliminary processes, and the conduct of debates, including moderation, guidance, tabling or resuming debates, and the debate summary process, as well as handling appeals and evaluating REs and VRs.

Debate evaluations permit commentary from debate teams to evaluate the quality of planning and representation. Similar processes permit evaluation of external debates.

The Flaws of Traditional Debate

Traditional debates are stage-managed exchanges conducted with efforts to persuade careless thinkers rather than find the truth. The audience may be deceived that one side has won, by hiding presumptions and issues, rather than seeking truth or justice.

Traditional debate formats involve two teams presenting their narratives of analogies and terms that contain and encourage presumptions, and logic errors instead of fact and careful argument; these are challenged by the other side with new presumptuous narratives and fallacies to discredit the other's; this may proceed to final narratives that include rebuttals of the challenges. That often amounts to only preliminary engagement, although it can lead to resolution of terms and issues.

Types of Debate

Binary vs. Multiparty Debate

Binary debates involve two opposing viewpoints on an issue, represented by viewpoint groups. This is best where the debate concerns acceptance or rejection of one proposal or approach, or the subject is a yes or no question, or there are only two conflicting factions or opposing doctrines at issue. Binary debates may be complex, but the outer structure is simple. They may be illusory in polarizing the issue around a single dimension, where alternative or intermediate views may be illuminating. For example, the debate of the slavery issue before the US Civil War was often binary, while the real potential solutions were more complex.

Multiparty debates between several distinct viewpoint groups are necessary where the doctrines or interests of several groups are in conflict, or there are multiple proposals or interpretations of an issue, evidence, argument, or context to be compared. Sub-debates should be split into many potential solutions or means to the declared ends, and new aspects and proposals actively sought.

Debate of Issues Affecting Groups In A Common Region

Where two or more groups debate issues to facilitate cooperation, they must identify the needs and interests of the groups, the problems and viewpoints to be reconciled, and the opportunities or proposals for cooperation. Typical issues to be resolved include incompatible concepts or models, unfair demands or circumstances, disproportionate effects of policies, problems of irrational tribalism, anger at historical injustices, leadership or government preferences, etc. The issues may include the ability of the groups represented, or their leadership, to accept reasonable compromises and proposals. To permit rational debate, all viewpoint groups must accept the equal rights of individuals, and resolve disparities resulting from historical and economic circumstances.

The groups involved in the issues are identified and characterized in location, proportion of population, relationship to other factions, and data relevant to the issues. The issues involve many interactions within a common cultural and government context. The viewpoints expressed are those of the groups. Where viewpoints are the primary issues, debate should represent viewpoints rather than groups. Where a group has multiple views on the issue, those are identified but may not be used to over-represent the group. A VG may change VRs as debate explores issues of concern to specific VRs.

Subjects of Debates

Generation of Initial Questions and Topics

The broad mandate of the College requires that a wide range of debate subjects be considered. The principal debates are those of policy options, between the VRs of concerned factions or interest groups. In the course of discussions, questions are generated on matters which appear to necessitate further debate, such as goals, premises, validity or limitations of studies, neglected aspects, questions raised in other areas by new models or analogies, and other matters. In addition, debates are needed as a result of changed conditions, natural or human-caused events, such as wars or legislation, natural disasters, new scientific studies, or proposed policies.

Questions may also be proposed by Congress or the executive, or by public input. Proposals of the executive and legislative branches will generally result in focused studies and debates useful in policy determination.

The subissues of initial topics are agreed, so that a reasonable series of questions and responses may explore them, and the debate may be held to the agreed structure.

Issues of Facts, Processes, and Changes in a Policy Area

Preliminary discussions and debates establish the factual background for debates of the goals and policy issues. The facts may include studies of processes and changes occurring in the policy area to be debated. Differing viewpoints on the facts should be resolved to avoid side issues during policy debates. Viewpoints on the facts may be identified with factions or interest groups.

As in preliminary debates, each debate VG evaluates the evidence presented by other DVGs, states any objections, and seeks resolution of the validity and meaning of each study, analysis, or source. The factual basis agreed clarifies the issues for debate and makes the debate summary comprehensible.

Debate of the Goals in a Policy Area

The goals of policies for debate are separately presented, discussed, and debated as needed, to avoid side issues during debate. The goals should not be policies themselves, unless inseparable to some DVGs, nor wide-ranging goal discussions. The purpose is to separate discussion of goals from policy, where the issues are distinct and distinct viewpoints exist.

All policy viewpoints debated must reference the goals to be accomplished, so that alternative means may be proposed and considered in discussion or debate. Detailed preliminary discussion of policies may reveal the goals served.

Debate of Policy Combinations

When all viewpoints have been properly represented and debated in a policy area, without winners or conclusions, the process of determining policy remains. Debates of policy combinations can determine which sets of policies best accomplish defined goals, to present debated policy alternatives to the legislative mechanism, for negotiations among representatives.

Modes Of Subject Exploration

Debate topics often appear simpler before debate. In the course of debate, side issues, assumptions, and questions of goals and fact arise, both minimized by preliminary discussion and debate. The exploration of complex issues leads to new sub-issues, as in human thought, which may require pausing debate until sub-debate is completed, or proceeding conditionally to the results of separate debate.

The debate planning process may handle requests to debate side issues, suspend a debate, or repeat a debate later when these issues have been explored.

Debate Planning and Control

The processes of debate planning and debate form a thought process that explores a set of related issues, guiding the debate to ensure overall completeness, and focus of debates, responding to emerging issues and areas of unexplored fact or argument.

The debate planning process moves from exploratory studies, discussions, and debates of related issues in a policy area, to planning of general debates and specific debates, and controls the extent of each debate, generates issues for further exploration, plans subdebates or related debates, and decides on re-debates at the broader level, etc.

Generally debates handle separately the facts and their immediate significance, the policy goals, and the policy options. A set of issues in some policy area is listed, and discussions are held of the viewpoints, potential solutions and problems, etc. Any concepts of viewpoint groups that are not accepted by others or not subject to rational analysis must be identified and discussed, to ensure that debate is possible.

The Debate Planning Committee

A debate Planning Committee (PC) for any debate is formed of DVG members and debate planners. For any debate, the PC:

1. Defines the initial debate(s); Goals and Subject; criteria of subject limitation
2. Guides preliminary processes and conducts the initial debates;
3. Defines sub-debates of side issues; and when to debate these;
4. Assists in resolving terminology;
5. Moderates the debates;
6. Guides debate course changes, interruption for sub-debates, and sub-debates;
7. Evaluates the debates and guides the production of commented summaries.

As the debate is conducted, the PC limits its extent, and records terms and side issues requiring separate debate. The PC decides upon those terms and side issues, plans and conducts the separate debates, and decides when its subject should be resumed or redebated with the results of subdebates, and when the subject has been completely debated and the goals met.

As the exploration of related policy issues moves from the general to the particular, new DVGs and PCs may be formed, and the more specific debates planned and conducted. Upon completion at the specific level, the debate process moves back to more general debates, which proceed or are redebated from those results. This process explores the networks of related knowledge as a series of tree-structures of recursive debates, at last backing out to the general debate of the related issues. The purpose is not to achieve consensus, but to explore the issues, goals, and policy options available, for use in a separate policymaking process of negotiation among the affected groups.

Actions of the Planning Committee (PC) must be monitored for bias, as to the definition of subjects, recognition of DVGs, selection of terms and concepts, and prejudice in debate operations by preferential treatment, exclusion, etc. This is facilitated by including members of the DVGs in the PC, monitoring their communications, and facilitating and reviewing reports of bias or improper actions by the PC.

The Debate Plan

Each debate is begun with a plan, revised during debate, which first defines the general subject, goals, preliminary processes, and possible sub-debates:

1. The initial debate subject(s), and subject limitations;
2. What is to be achieved, and how that will be measured;
3. Predictable preliminary processes; and
4. Predictable and possible sub-debates (modified as the debate proceeds).

Preliminary discussion and debate of the issues, concepts, and facts to be used reduces wandering during debate, but does not constrain the course of questions and answers.

Debate planners use the preliminary state of evidence, concepts, and viewpoints to plan exploration of the subject knowledge base. The course of any debate or its summary is a simple linear exchange of evidence, arguments, questions, and responses, with links to evidence and other debates, but it may explore a complex structure of knowledge and possibilities, guided by debate planners.

The path of exploration introduces background material, determines sub-issues visited, and may suggest new debate directions and related debates. The plan of debate must avoid jumping back and forth, and provide a comprehensible tour of the knowledge base involved, a linear presentation of a complex system of relationships.

The plan depends upon the type of debate, complexity of issues, the available evidence, and the ability of the parties to find common terms.

A debate may range over many issues, while its conduct and presentation may be divided into units of closely-related issues to facilitate comprehension and display. Each unit of debate should focus on a few points reviewing all major viewpoints, bounded by definite subject issues. By this means the viewpoints are minutely compared and none can be readily ignored. Each unit of debate may be linked to others as needed. Larger presentations can link to component fragments, either as summaries or in full detail.

While in some cases parallel debates might be held between subsets of debate parties, overlap of subjects and participation are likely to cause confusion. Exchanges should be heard and responded by all, most practical with a single series of exchanges.

Debate Structure and Levels of Debate Detail

Ideally debate summaries have linked levels of detail to permit a reading that matches the time and patience of the reader. At the general level, beginners get a general appreciation of the structure of the subject and the views held, the challenges to their own views for consideration, and the questions for them to explore. A middle level is a fairly full exploration of the subject, from which those curious to learn more may delve into particular issues.

The simple overview debate may be a starting point or a summary. It may lead to the more detailed debate, or the reader may have to jump to a new framework with distinct structures and abstractions. Ideally the levels of debate are coherent, and readers can stay at the higher level at any point or decide to dive into an issue for details.

The most general level of debate provides general education and reference sections: maps of all kinds (historical, regional, political, resources, etc), glossaries and theory in each discipline at several levels (with links in the most general debate

summaries and presentations), history by region, state, ethnicity/group and topic linked to maps, and self-quiz options.

Debate structure is determined by the logical structure of the issue, often tied to a chronological historical structure or technical knowledge, which the reader must explore first or in parallel. When debate ranges into the structure of a specialized knowledge area (e.g. agriculture, industry, or economics), it is often necessary to conduct specialized debates. But preliminary debates may start with the incompatible views and debate the actual subject between those views (e.g. farm economics in some region). Students may read the preliminary debates and study the particular disciplines separately as needed.

Even the most detailed debate must relegate to references many details such as scientific and historical studies, the careers and influence of particular persons, etc. In many debates it is necessary to explore an entire branch-and-rejoin segment in greater detail as a structure which itself has many branches which rejoin, and itself rejoins the broader debate, and then re-do the initial debate segment from which it branched, to make a better summary. The issues of rejoining the broader debate with unresolved differences remaining are handled by debate planners.
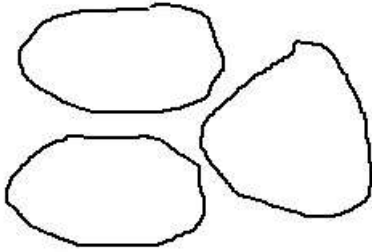
Topic Conceptualizations

- Decide how to handle conceptualizations
    Explore distinct conceptualizations
    Each debater learns them all
    Debate the limitations of each
    Subdebate analogies and terms
    Agree upon major terms
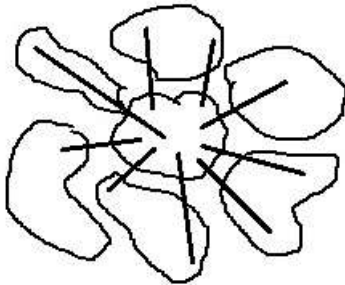
Prerequisite Related Topics

- Initial debates explore and list related
    topics for process definition
- Processes decide:
    Debate schedules
    When to stop & debate prerequisites
    When to resume or repeat debates
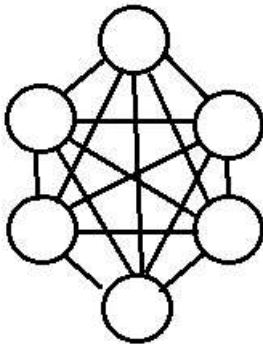
Interchanges Among Debate Parties

- Follow distinct issue explorations
- May explore or define subtopics
- Patterns:
    Multiple Qs or multiple As
    Serial or parallel
    Tree structure
    Revisiting topics

Debate Structure Issues

No Compulsory Consensus

Consensus on policy necessarily reflects the interests of the many groups affected, which cannot be resolved independently of their means of government. In representative democracies, that is the proper function of the legislature when properly constituted.

The Congress should be viewed as an exploratory and analytical tool of the Legislature, the Executive, and the People, reflecting the best knowledge and understanding available in the nation, but it is not in itself a policymaking institution. The College should not be required to reach consensus or to avoid dissonance in its reports or debates. The ideal result of the debate process is a set of linked debate summaries, which accurately and incisively reflect the issues, concepts, challenges, and responses between the viewpoint groups, with comments by all sides outlining points of divergence or

misunderstanding. This product of the debates is the essential input to the consensus building process of the people and their legislature.

Exploratory Studies

Studies of Underlying Data

The broad mandate of the College requires that a wide range of analytical studies and synthesis topics be considered. In the course of each study, questions will be generated as to premises, validity of or extensions needed to contributing studies, potential effects beyond the scope of a study, neglected aspects of the problem, apparent contradictions, conflicts with related studies, questions raised in other areas by new models or analogies, and other matters which appear to necessitate further studies, reviews, or updates. In addition, studies may be required as a result of changed conditions, natural or human-caused events such as wars or legislation, natural disasters, new scientific studies, or proposed policies. Specific or general studies may be proposed by Congress, the executive, or public input.

Types of Studies

The studies provided for a debate generally include both analysis and synthesis:

Analyses:

Existing conditions by discipline (history, economy, sociology, natural, political)
Apparent effects of existing policy, and recent events

Syntheses:

Likely near-term developments; possible long-term developments
Effects of policy alternatives; interactions in other functional areas and regions

All studies can be discussed and debated, but studies of existing conditions may be accepted with comments from various viewpoints.

Results of Analysis and Synthesis

The results of analysis and synthesis generally consist of multiple well-argued viewpoints on potential developments and policy alternatives. Facts and general effects of policies are often broadly agreed. Shaky or counterfactual grounds for major policies such as foreign interventions are often clear.

The evaluation of fact and concepts proposed should result in agreements to record commented summaries of agreed and conflicting fact or analysis, and:

1. Exclusion of statements of authorities having clear prejudice;
2. Comments and agreement on evidence relevance and quality for a debate;
3. Comments and agreement on general sufficiency of evidence for a debate.

Where the debate preparation exposes excessive differences of fact, concepts, and analysis for a single debate, the planning process explores the differences with multiple

exploratory debates, to reach sufficient agreement on debatable facts, concepts, and analyses, to limit or repeat the planned debate.

Preliminary Processes

Processes preliminary to a specific debate include:

> *Forming Viewpoint Groups*
> *Preliminary Discussions and Exploratory Debate*
> *Preliminary Exchanges*
> *Resolving the Terms*
> *Selection of Viewpoint Representatives*
> *Readiness of the Topic for Debate*
> *Readiness of the Debate Team*

Formation And Monitoring Of Debate Viewpoint Groups

The most knowledgeable, rational, and eloquent proponents of a viewpoint in its viewpoint (VG) should be selected as members of its debate VG (DVG). The forming of debate viewpoint groups (DVGs) permits the related issues of each group to be considered, and the relative skill and suitability of proponents to emerge. The goals and policies involved are explored, researched, and informally debated within a viewpoint group. Such debates may form separate sub-viewpoint groups, and may continue debates while broader debates are conducted with other viewpoint groups.

Where factions develop in DVGs, sufficient to require distinct consideration of views that lead to distinct policies, and this would facilitate public debate of the issues without excessive redundancy, they are encouraged to decide, in their discussions and choice of VRs, whether their differences are of sufficient concern to warrant independent VRs in debate, or whether they can alternate VRs to express sub-viewpoints during the debate. Where disputes internal to a DVG are explosive and not readily resolved, more controlled debate is required, and they should have separate DVGs in related debates.

The DVGs must declare their viewpoint, and may not be split to create extra debaters sharing a view, except by agreement that the views are sufficiently distinct to require separate VRs.

Communications within DVGs must be automatically monitored for prohibited acts, with complaints checked by balanced cross-checking committees, to facilitate:

1. Moderation;
2. Detection of manipulation, bullying, or collusion for dominance by a sub-viewpoint or other influence groups;
3. Detection of efforts by members to identify each other, to communicate privately, or to circumvent monitoring against improper influence or collusion.
4. Identification of potential VRs and scoring in the essential characteristics.

Like Viewpoint discussion groups, a debate VG can become an echo-chamber for tribal narratives or propaganda, producing intransigent partisans with social dependencies upon their viewpoint groups. It is essential that demagogues and manipulators be excluded as members of DVGs, and as viewpoint representatives (VRs). This cannot be done if

tyrants dominate or lead DVG members with social manipulation, economic dependency, or bullying to ensure conformity to their narratives or propaganda. Means to detect and remove demagogues, bullies, and manipulators from DVGs are essential.

Comments in DVGs that suggest social or economic manipulation must be flagged and investigated, including signs of identification for private communications between members. Commenters are logged in and monitored, generating a profile of moderation actions per group, a qualification for continued membership, and for VRs.

Preliminary Discussions and Exploratory Exchanges

VRs selected by a DVG engage those of other DVGs and planners as the Planning Committee (PC) in a process of preparation for each debate. Preliminary exchanges define a group of debates. For each debate, the extent of debate is defined, and its dependencies upon premises and side issues, including:

1. Criteria to steer debate away from issues or premises that need further debate;
2. Planning for debate of side issues or premises.

Knowledge of the dependencies limits wandering into side issues and ends debate appropriately. The Planning Committee PC applies the criteria to plan further debates.

Preliminary discussions between the DVGs of a general subject help to clarify initial views and questions, often in several cycles. Three or more parties may require a round-the-table presentation of views. The debate planners then explore with the DVGs the issues of goals, common terms and concepts, and factual bases of contentions, to resolve the subjects and concepts enough to choose the paths of exploration by debate.

Exploratory exchanges of basic outlines of goals and positions, and evaluation of fact and concepts proposed, ensure that debate will reflect the viewpoints and challenges. These exchanges, and preliminary debates of the goals and proposed policies, prepare debaters to represent proper viewpoints and challenges.

The Viewpoint debaters of preliminary debates need not be limited to the VRs chosen, but may include input of representative experts REs selected by a DVG, perhaps led by their VR. The full range of VG knowledge is thus available in preliminary discussion without preparation of the debater.

Several (n) parties engaged in one topic debate need ways to create a linear exchange despite the many (n(n-1)/2) binary relationships: a question may be addressed to the others as a group or separately, and all may respond with questions to the others, or to the debate planners.

Preliminary Exchanges Between Debaters (with moderator)

First Rounds (expression of viewpoints)

Evidence or argument for viewpoints (goals and policy options)
Evidence or argument for opposing viewpoints

Second Rounds (examination of viewpoints)

Questions of evidence or argument (new or presented)
Questions whether a concept or evidence presented should be explained/explored

Later Rounds (general challenge/response to viewpoints)

>Questions of apparent contradiction of evidence or argument (new or presented)
>Introduction of challenging/supporting concepts or evidence

Preliminary Suggestion Exchanges Between Debaters And Debate Planners

>Debate should further explore a concept or evidence before proceeding
>Debate should further explore subsidiary subject(s) before proceeding
>Debate should explore sufficiently to rejoin dependent broader subject debate
>Debate should avoid a concept or evidence to avoid drifting off subject
>Debate should include evidence or a concept needed to be meaningful
>Structure issues: must first explore subsidiary subject(s) enough to proceed

Moderation Of Preliminary Exchanges Between VRs or DVGs

>Moderation of preliminary exchanges

>>A question or response directed to other VRs
>>Moderator response to the source VR (to amend for moderation)
>>Amended question or response directed to other VRs
>>Moderator forwards to other VR

>Moderation directed to a specific VR

>>Moderator to DVG: objects to a VR on:
>>>Persistent improper tone or immoderacy
>>>Lack of information, coherence, relevance, argument, or sincerity

Resolving the Terms

Preliminary consideration of the concepts used by debate viewpoint groups (DVGs) reduces incompatible concepts during debate to avoid the "dog talking to chicken" style of interaction. Preliminary debates of an issue group establish divergence of terms & concepts used, and permit exploration, presentation, and comparison of terms, analogies, concepts. Some terms and concepts are debated in themselves. Concepts of viewpoint groups that cannot be accepted by others, or are not subject to rational analysis, are identified and excluded from subsequent debate.

Excluded terms include those that are undefinable, presume conclusions (such as special rights, presumed processes of government, or tangled doctrines of politics or economics), or may not be related to concrete issues (religious doctrines, myths, etc).

A viewpoint group that insists that only the demands of mystical powers or their own leaders can be the basis of policies, may yet be able to debate a rational basis of policies, with positive effects upon the political powers that they recognize.

Selection Of Viewpoint Representatives

Debate VGs should prepare and select two fully qualified Viewpoint Representatives (VRs), so that debate scheduling is not disrupted by personal mishaps.

Selection of VRs should be based largely upon scores by moderators for characteristics critical in debate.

Moderator Scoring Of Viewpoint Representatives (VRs)

1. Score on comprehension of:

> Relevant fact: history, technology
> Relevant policy issues: goals and policy options
> Relevant contrary Viewpoints

2. Score on quality of responses to challenges from contrary Viewpoint groups (VGs):

> Rationality of consideration of opposing Viewpoints
> Rationality of presentation of Viewpoint
> Acceptance of divergences

3. Score on moderation

> Acceptance of the facts of research, and the sincerity of other VGs
> Lack of attempts to deceive, mislead, or distract debate
> Lack of personal or VG insults or deprecations

4. Completion of debate VR training

5. Vote of the debate VG, based on the above information

Good Debater Characteristics: Criteria for Education and Selection

1. Character, personality, and motivation:

> An intelligent person seeking the truth
> Concern and ability to show that broad public benefit motivates arguments
> Enthusiasm for and commitment to positions represented
> Gracious and respectful when debate is not going well for position represented

2. Knowledge and preparation:

> Able to show excellent evidence and strong arguments
> Related fact: history, technology, economy, politics
> Related policy issues
> Related contrary viewpoints
> Ability to use concepts and terms preferred by other DVGs

3. Debate professionalism:

> Completion of debate VR training
> Willingness to argue rationally in common terms
> Argues completely, not assuming that audience easily sees the arguments
> Comprehends critique and responds with good evidence and argument
> Accepts related ideas and uses relationships to enhance analysis
> Can track & predict debate progress, find decisive areas and respond suitably
> Score from contrary DVGs on quality of responses to challenges:
>> Rationality of presentation of Viewpoint
>> Rationality of consideration of opposing Viewpoints

Acceptance of divergences

Disqualifying Debater Characteristics: Avoided By Training and Selection

1. Dependency Impairments

  Insists upon concepts & terms & narratives that lead to desired conclusions.
  Subject by tribal dependencies to insist upon its concepts, terms & narratives.
  Has personal goals with social or economic dependency upon tribal dictates.

2. Character, personality, and motivation:

  Frustrated by difficulty, or by lack of determination
  Makes false complaints of prejudice or process
  Disrespect of debaters, moderators, administrators
  Overly competitive, uninterested, or biased
  Makes threatening bluster, bellowing, and gestures

3. Knowledge and preparation:

  Insufficient knowledge of related history, technology, economy, politics, issues
  Insufficient concern with, and knowledge of contrary viewpoints: some will learn
  contrary views only after many years of merely echoing convenient narratives.

4. Debate professionalism:

  Demands trust and acceptance without evidence or argument
  Fails to make connections between issues, evidence, and arguments
  Argues in generalities or cannot connect detail with the issues
  Ignores criticism, or fails to learn from errors or others' success
  Unable to focus on the issues or debate process

Typical Preparation By Debate Teams

  Debate teams prepare to argue their viewpoint by careful study of the issue, facts, related issues, and opposing arguments. This requires them to:

  Discover facts and issues by subject study;
  Find common terms, to avoid the "dog talking to chicken" style of interaction;
  Identify propositions; evaluate proof requirements; test the evidence;
  Exclude fallacious reasoning; implicit assumptions; non-logical persuasion;
  Find the opposing arguments, analyze, and prepare counter arguments;
  Prepare question statements.

Problems Early In The Debate Process

  Goals are sometimes unstated, concealed due to tribal pressures, or falsified. Goals must be stated clearly, discussed fully, and arguments must show that a policy achieves them. Goals are tested with questions on acceptance of policy that meets them.

Problems of Bad Argument

Arguments positing good effects or motives of a favored policy without evidence, or seeking to discredit an opposing view without fact or argument by positing bad character, conduct, or motives, should be modified in early discussion or moderation.

Arguments intended to only as propaganda opportunities for some viewpoint, should be modified by discussion and moderation.

Problems of Evidence

The issues of evidence are often essential. Factual bases are often insufficient, presumed or hypothetical. Debaters may disagree on the significance of facts. The quality of evidence can be hard to measure, depending upon credibility judgments, types of evidence for distinct views, and the quality of analogies used in applying evidence. Such issues can be raised in debate, and a fair standard of evidence and its criticism may guide debate processes without forcing concensus.

Debate of issues where the evidence is largely controlled or suspect, or in disjoint sets accepted only by distinct views, may be useful as presentations of views, but may be unresolvable, leading only to questions for research. In modern times evidence is often tied up with massive disinformation and propaganda operations, false flag events, official lies, tribal narratives, etc. Evidence is often elaborately faked. Questions may hang entirely on source credibility issues, so that further study is necessary.

Problems of Concepts And Analogies

In debate, arguments often are made by analogy, and differences may be based upon different analogies. Analogies are often stretched, debaters may jump to other analogies during an argument, and their narratives may force transitions between analogies. DVGs may not agree on the applicability of another's analogy, or on the extent of applicability, and be unable to exchange views except on the applicability. DVGs are encouraged to use analogy sparingly, and to fully argue its application.

Where viewpoint parties have no common ground of concepts and fact, preliminary discussion and debate still can serve well to put these views on the table and suggest research and movements toward terms of debate. To make reasonable progress as knowledge is gained, agreements before a debate may record conflicting summaries of background fact or analysis, without requiring prior agreement or debate.

The ability to decide when a debate has reached the limits of progress must determine the extent and schedule of each debate, the subtopics, the studies and considerations to be done by each party before it resumes, whether new representatives should be involved, etc. Consensus should not be expected, encouraged, or forced where the debate has not reached such a stage naturally.

Readiness of the Topic for Debate

A topic is ready for debate when the goals and terms are defined, the evidence available, the preliminary discussions have produced definite viewpoints and policy options, and qualified debaters are available for the various viewpoints. Debate is completed when the various views and models are presented, challenged, and finalized,

related topics created, linked, and debated, and when reviewed again by the debaters for completeness and accuracy.

Readiness of the Debate Team

The Expert Discussions Layer consists of expert groups in each region, discipline, and policy area, which form specialized discussion groups on a range of potential topics, and VGs for all viewpoints. Procedures should ensure that those selected for each debate VG fairly and properly represent a viewpoint, and that persons able to serve as VRs are chosen and familiarized to do so. The debate VGs are advised by higher level discussion with the Diversity of Knowledge Layer, to ensure that the full range of applicable concepts is considered. Discussion within VGs is vigorous and wide-ranging before DVGs are selected.

Each DVG evaluates its members in measures of debate ability, and chooses VRs, advisors, consultants, and moderators for the debate. Opinions of VR ability are formed in the DVG and may be challenged on the basis of procedural ratings by other DVGs. VR and moderator ability is rated by peers of all viewpoints, assessed by critics, and may be appealed to administrators.

The Process of Debate

Typical Process of Debate of A Single Issue or Policy

1. Initial development: debaters advance and support the arguments

> The goals to be met.
> Establish background, clarify goals, explain the issue, and why it is important
> Why concept needed, how applied, evidence, what favored and what opposed.
> To advocate a proposal:

>> Organize research into a cohesive set of arguments.
>> Select the important arguments, to frame the debate.
>> Present three or four major arguments, clearly labeled and introduced.

> To advocate a policy or change, formulate as problem & solution:

>> Clearly outline the problem, goals, plan, and how plan will solve problem.
>> Explain why this solution has not been done; and its further benefits.

> To resolve differences on subjective values, use criteria-based arguments:

>> Provide criteria to evaluate the values.

2. Cycles of critical analysis: evidence and arguments are presented, criticized, defended

> Questions: Critique/challenge opposition weaknesses, faults and inconsistencies

>> Unforeseen effects, goals not met, better means.
>> Highlight greatest weaknesses in opposition argument.

> Answers: Analyze specific arguments, prepare counter argument

Counter questions with explanation.
Begin with a direct answer; convincingly answer, and refute the argument.
Provide several reasons that question argument should be rejected.

3. Concluding argument of each position in the light of the others

Moderation and Evaluation of Arguments

1. Argument Criticism Goals

Detect improper terms and concepts

Term is nontranslatable, imprecise, or inapplicable
Concept or Term presumes conclusions
Analogy vague, unsuitable, requires support

Detect evidence problems

Evidence is insufficient, or assertions unsupported
Evidence sources cited are poor, questionable, or immaterial

Detect improper assumptions

Violating assumptions of equal rights, special knowledge, etc.

Detect argument fallacies

Argument step non sequitur, needs more argument, off point, diversionary
Tautologies, equivocations, contradictions, and presumed conclusions

Detect logic errors

Some members of A are bad therefore all are bad (negative prejudice)
Many members of A are good therefore all are good (positive prejudice)
Not all members of A are B therefore all As are not B

Detect complex faults

Proposal causes problems elsewhere, raises further issues, violates rights
Does not meet needs of persons affected; not sustainable.

Detect broad problems

Argument depends on poor fact
Weak arguments
Debaters need to make further study

2. Typical Modes of False Argument

Presuming good or bad motives or special rights of a group or movement

(e.g. choosing sides in conflicts of religious, cultural, or other groups)
(e.g. we want democracy because we say so despite contrary evidence)

Presuming a group's essential interests conflict with those of opposing groups

(e.g. oil state will deny oil supply if an opposing group comes to power)
(e.g. state will block nearby shipping if opposing group comes to power)

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Presuming a group's intent by the means it employs

> (e.g. revolutionaries seek dictatorship, or are the sole cause of revolutions)
> (e.g. one-party states are so, not merely to prevent superpower influence)

Presuming group's intent by its increasing range or popularity

> (e.g. revolution will spread everywhere if not opposed in certain cases)
> (e.g. superpower security requires opposing rebels against their proxies)

Presuming that war or coercion operations are a necessary means

> (e.g. subversion/war against govts/rebels is only means to secure interests)
> (e.g. force results in conflict resolution or democracy, without argument)

Moderation and Evaluation of Questions and Responses

Much of the debate consists of a series of moderated challenges with moderated responses between VRs, which may occur in many cycles. Each output is subject to moderation and evaluation by others agreeing with the VR, causing changes by the VR, and then subject to moderation and evaluation by those of other views, with further changes by the VR, before response by other VRs.

This process must meet agreed standards. Defects of presentation are corrected (spelling, grammar, usage), as well as immoderate statements, diversions, etc.

1. Standards of Basic Moderation (to exclude demoralizing and social attacks)

Debate challenges and responses may not contain insulting statements, appeals to emotion, loyalties, positive or negative discrimination, personal performances, dominance behavior, or threats. VRs are scored by moderators on these errors.

> 1. No personal remarks at all (ad hominem, vulgar, or insulting statements).
> 2. No threats, demands, or extreme solutions: may propose necessity if rational.
> 3. No statements that there is no solution or that one side must prevail, etc.
> 4. No unsupported conclusions (may be objected and later edited)

2. Improper Modes Of Questions And Responses

Questions may be improper, if these:

> 1. Raise issues beyond the immediate question (this is done in notes to planners);
> 2. Attempt to confuse the issue;
> 3. Raise multiple issues requiring multiple responses;
> 4. Force a response that seems to improperly answer a hidden question;
> 5. Force a direct response that seems to ignore critical related issues;
> 6. Force an over-simplified response then taken as improper in another context;
> 7. Force an ugly issue not yet debated in which any response may seem ugly; or
> 8. Seek to force the other VR to use false premises or misleading terminology.

The proper response to a question considers the issue, and responds with related evidence and argument. Improper responses might:

> 1. Attack the question; or

2. Present false evidence or irrational argument.

3. Change the subject, ignore or distract from the question, or raise other issues;

3. Standards of Focus

1. No "what about" diversions to distant issues (comparison OK if limited)
    Side skirmishes annotated but deleted from debate summary
2. No "it's all about" generalizations (may note or comment, but not divert topic)
3. No "wild theory" distractions (may propose side debates without distraction)
4. No technical claims to divert or end debate (may propose side debates)
    VRs comment to planners on side debate relevance and validity

4. No Performances, No Emotions, No Winners

Unlike in-person debates with audiences, the debates of the College have no winners in audience appeal. Those whose presentations seek personal glory or triumph via performances and emotions are unsuited as VRs.

5. Moderation Suggestions Are Made Before Interventions

To ensure that VRs are not unduly offended or discouraged, moderators make suggestions before requesting changes. These are made in the terms used in training debate VRs. Automatic moderation suggestions may be made on the same pattern:

Is this statement too ___?
Should you moderate this?
Did you fully answer the questions?
Did you cite evidence in your statement (or reply)?
Can we avoid ___?

Course Changes During A Debate

For continuity, the debate plan should explore the topic as a tree structure. A debate segment may end, explore a subsidiary matter, or return to a broader matter. Ending a segment requires that the parties feel that they have been heard on the issues, and agree with the debate planners to (1) return to the broader subject, or to explore (2) a subsidiary matter, or in some cases (3) a parallel related matter.

In the course of debate, it is often necessary to depart from an issue to explore sub-issues, develop missing information, explain interpretations, or examine the usefulness or clarity of preferred concepts or analogies. The large number of potential sub-debates requires a threshold of relevancy and resolvability. Sub-debates may proceed through discussion groups to debate planning process, then to separate debate, before revisiting the original debate.

The debate Planning Committee communicates with moderators to plan for new subtopics, studies, and argument considerations to be done by each party before debate resumes, and whether new representatives should be involved, etc. The PC decides when each sub-debate is sufficient, what path or issue should be explored next, and where the present debate should end and be resumed or repeated.

Each debate and sub-debate should produce an edited summary of presentations and question/answer sequences with a definite topic, links to evidence and related debates, and a set of proposed related debates, including those that may clarify or support arguments made, and issues that must be debated in more detail, including disputed facts (science, history, situation), concepts or terminology requiring side debate.

Agreement on terms, concepts, analogies, evidence, and history must occur before each debate. Consensus on debate directions is not expected or forced where the debate has not reached such a stage naturally. The debate plan does not seek any consensus as to policy conclusions, but only on the debate concepts and completeness.

Planning requires frequent evaluation of the debate status, deciding:

1. Whether the topic remains ready for debate, in terms resolved, status of required subtopics, and prepared debaters;
2. Whether required subtopics are ready, to continue debate of the present topic;
3. If so, where should the present debate break;
4. If not, whether debate can proceed at a more general level to a useful point;
5. If not, what are the plans for debate summaries, and further debate.

Debate Summary and Commenting

When debates are concluded, the participants and planning committee agree to omit aspects and diversions not properly part of the debate, producing several summaries at different levels of detail. Each viewpoint group may then comment upon the result, noting incomplete or erroneous statements of their views, and incomplete or improper responses to their challenges. Requests for related debates may be made, to be decided by debate planners, and moderators may revise the debate summary or comments for mutual approval before the debate is posted for public access.

The debate summary generally consists of multiple well-argued positions on each policy alternative. Facts and general effects of policies are often broadly agreed. Shaky grounds for major policies such as foreign interventions are often clear.

Debate summaries must allow reading at varying levels of detail to match the time and patience of readers. The simplest level allows beginners to get a general appreciation of the structure of the subject and the views held, with challenges to their own views for reconsideration, and questions for them to explore. A more thorough reading allows a fairly full exploration of the subject, from which those curious to learn more can delve into particular questions.

The outer summary layer has general education and reference sections: maps of all kinds (historical, regional, political, resources, etc), glossaries and theory in each discipline at several levels (with links in the most general debate summaries and presentations), history by region, state, ethnicity/group and topic linked to maps (political, ancient, policy variations, etc), with self-examinations.

Even the most detailed debate must relegate to references some academic details, such as the influence of particular persons, etc. In many debates it is useful to explore an entire branch-and-rejoin segment in greater detail as a structure below, which itself has branches and rejoins to the common debate.

Debate Polls and Its Uses

Polls of members and VGs on the debate summaries and dramatized debates provides information on:

1. Understanding of the viewpoints by opposed VGs and more distant groups;
2. The clarity, sufficiency, and persuasiveness of presentations to opposing VGs, and to groups of student members or registered public site users;
3. The ability of VGs to understand opposing views.

This information guides the structuring of forum debates and debate summaries, deciding the completeness of debates, and terminology resolution. Polls of interest may be grouped by VGs, demographics, education, and specialization, including:

1. Polls of opposing VGs and the other viewpoints of a debate;
2. Polls of faculty on each view of a debate (summary or dramatized);
3. Polls of advanced members on each view of a debate (summary or dramatized);
4. Polls of public viewers on each view of a debate (summary or dramatized);

Analysis of poll information can determine:

1. Whether a viewpoint was not presented with clarity and sufficiency
   a. Whether a debate should be re-done for clarity and sufficiency
   b. Whether any viewpoint was not represented or misrepresented
   c. Whether viewpoints can be combined or split for clarity and sufficiency
2. Whether a well-presented viewpoint was not understood by certain groups
3. Whether certain groups did not try to understand a well-presented viewpoint
4. Which debates should be dramatized, and how that affects understanding

PROBLEMS OF DEBATE

Failure to Accept the Equal Rights and Interests of All

The failure to accept the rights and interests of all persons and parties is a premise upon which no agreement can be reached, so that this acceptance must be required to ensure that agreement can be reached. Arguments based upon presumptions of superior rights, or based upon racism, nationalism, ethnicity, religious claims, or non-rational ideology may yield to persuasion but not argument, and hence may be excluded from debate. Debate forms may be sought in which such viewpoints may be presented.

This fault may take the form of ignoring rights because the debater cannot see a means to secure them, or ignoring them because they are held of lesser value than rights advanced by the debater. Debaters may be fairly required to consider all rights and inconvenient means to achieve them.

The same fault may proceed from tangled claims of prior deprivations of property or rights, or technical disputes such as territorial claims. These situations may require complex technical considerations, consideration of larger agreements, etc.

Claims based upon historical events more than four generations prior, or which cannot be traced to specific causes and effects upon living persons, are better argued as rights of living persons to equal shares of compensation of a group whose injuries can be documented, or to equal opportunity and benefits for those of demonstrated need, where documentation is unavailable. (also see Debate Of Claims of Long-Opposed Factions).

Failure To Reach Common Premises And Common Terms

The most common problem of debate is the failure to reach common premises and terms, causing a "dog talking to chicken" debate of conflicting ideologies.

Discussions of culture, economics, history etc. may bring some groups with irreconcilable premises into better communication. An idea which once applied to an era, region, or circumstance, may seem less essential when context is understood.

Major progress toward communication usually depends upon rational challenges to the premises and analogies of each viewpoint, based upon well-proven facts and circumstances upon which analogies are based. The pursuit of academic or sophist controversy, with vague terms or abstruse historical or philosophical concepts or narratives, obstructs debate and should result in moderator criticism, potentially affecting the evaluation of debaters.

Some adherents have social and economic commitments that bar them from considering alternative views and lead them to fear and anger at efforts to persuade. Some have made social commitments to an ideology, analogy, or conclusions that they dare not change for fear of admission of error. Others fear economic reprisals of their own kind, causing loss of employment or exclusion from essential interaction with their community. Such tribalist dependencies obstruct productive debate of the issues.

Failure to Agree on Studies or Data

Good faith disagreements on data and its interpretation can be resolved by further research if practical, but ideologues may impede progress by intransigence on data interpretation. Discussion in the DVG may reveal arguments that work with agreed data or further research, or members who can work with limited data.

Attempts to distort data or its interpretation can be resolved by discussions before debate. Persistent data distortion and misinterpretation in VGs and DVGs should be scored, and such members should not become DVG members or VRs.

Premises that Assume the Conclusion

The simplest and perhaps most common false argument is the premise that assumes the conclusion, failing to state the argument and urging others to simply presume its truth from a superficial plausibility. The debate must identify premises that presume conclusions, and require the conclusions to be argued.

An example is the argument for military containment of a nation on the premise that it is dangerously expansionist. The need for containment might be stated without arguing the premise, and error may be exposed by suitable examination:

1. Is such a policy declared by a government or leaders, or widely accepted there?
2. Would the nation or its rulers benefit significantly?
3. Does such expansion have natural or cultural barriers?
4. Has the nation expanded for gain? Does it coerce or advocate elsewhere?
5. Is the national ideology spread by aggression, or without physical aggression?
6. Is the ideology a means to meet temporary goals such as development?
7. Is the ideology a reaction to prior aggression, colonialism, or deprivations?
8. Can the ideology be adapted to democracy when fair goals are met?

Analogies That Obscure Counterarguments

The arguments for or against systems in conflict such as cultures, religions, or economies, which do not consider the other view, often are based upon analogies that contain assumptions and premises. Examination should inquire:

1. Are there significant differences between the past and present situation?
2. Is the resemblance sufficient to impute similar natures and risks?

Examples include the mutual accusations of expansionism by Western Europe and Russia. Russia can cite NATO expansion to its borders as analogous to the disastrous invasions of its territory by Napoleon and Hitler. Western Europe can cite Russian re-absorption of Crimea, perhaps analogous to USSR occupation of eastern Europe after the WWII invasion. Both concerns are based upon analogies that do not apply well to the present. Arguments may mention analogous cases as causes for concern, but their application should be based upon evidence.

Refusal to Examine the Applicability of an Analogy

Analogy may contain truth to be examined, regardless of its inconvenience. Were N. Korea and N. Vietnam entirely wrong to see the US as a colonial successor to Japan or France, whom they had been fighting for generations? Was Russia wrong to see NATO expansion to its borders as the precursor of invasions like those of Napoleon and Hitler, perhaps inventing enemies to exploit their resources? Examination of such analogies permits understanding situations of mistrust, in which accommodation of reasonable concerns is likely to be the path of least conflict.

Failure to Agree on Sub-debates or Preliminary Debates

The debate Planning Committee (PC) decides the need for preliminary debates and subdebates, in consultation with members of the debate viewpoint groups (DVGs). Failure to agree may be based upon valid concerns of relevancy or delay, or improper disregard of opposition concerns for the debate. The PC decision must be based upon the rules for debate readiness, equity of expression, and significance of the subdebate issue.

A DVG may perceive the need for preliminary debate of an historical or technical issue to resolve the terms and concepts of debate. The PC should determine whether this concern is based upon fact and argument. If based upon intransigence in premises or terminology, the focused debate may be nonetheless necessary to resolve the issues.

Debate of Old Claims of Long-Opposed Factions

The planning of debates of regional issues must be made with recognition that, where these entail longstanding regional disputes (borders, past wars, threats, resources, etc) these should be part of a larger framework for regional dispute resolution. The more complete and distinct the regional group set, the more comprehensive, undisputed, and unthreatened the resolution may be.

Generally the claims among long-opposed factions divide into (1) "ancient or nonrational claims" not cognizable as bases of present claims (claims of ancient empires, sacred or special rights, innate superiority, etc.); (2) "older rational claims" of definite wrongs or past states of borders/resources, which are too old (over four generations) to reliably apportion rights or wrongs among living individuals; and (3) "recent rational claims" of wrongs against groups and individuals, with traceability to wrongdoing by other groups or persons. Generally, (1) the ancient or nonrational claims will need to be disregarded; (2) the old rational claims will need to be handled by a measure of present disadvantage of individuals, to be assisted relative to needs; and (3) the recent rational claims can be handled with consideration of specific injuries, goals, and policies.

The resolution of old rational claims between dispossessed groups, not too old to quantify losses and trace causes to other groups, may be resolved by agreement to pool their resources (wealth, land, minerals, agriculture, structures, equipment, and infrastructure) for proportionate distribution between the groups and then among their individuals. Such distribution can balance intergroup claims, and then personal claims within each group, recognizing such principles as per capita minimum resources, fractions of individual accumulations, special needs, and specific civil or criminal claims.

For example, resolution of the old historical claims of factions in Palestine might be proposed, by apportioning combined resources into two viable states by population, with individuals compensated with some minimum resources, and further in proportion to their resources before relocation, reduced per group and person by their resource wastage, perhaps with an agricultural DMZ later apportioned by subsequent cooperation. Debates involving such longstanding disputes can present, clarify, and debate the viewpoints in preparation for a regional solution framework, recognizing that the detailed structure of the regional solution will emerge later.

Another example is the period 1820-1860 leading to the US Civil War, when there was no cogent public debate comprehending the goals and divergent views of North and South, and Congress became a circus of intransigent ideologues. Historical claims were too old to guide a clear apportionment of wrongs and damages among the living, and a regional resource redistribution between factions was not likely to be agreed. But the issues were not regional except by fairly recent economic and social tradition, and all sides had common concepts of property, rights, and modes of government, within which debate could proceed smoothly. CPD debate of factional views and economic issues would soon have illuminated, in addition to the issues of human rights, the key economic constraints within which solutions were quite practical. Although innovative then, exploration of new solutions would have made them practical.

Cases such as the conflicts with Native Americans and their displacement also involved wrongs and injuries which after several generations were not traceable to living individuals, although perhaps unnecessary. Later resolution would have benefited by proper debate, because the underlying disparate concepts of land use and ownership would have been stated clearly, forced the US concession that some fair regional solution framework was necessary, revealed the failure of its representatives to concede limits to land seizures, and would have formalized its violations of agreements.

Debate planners must characterize the overall problems and viewpoints, and recognize a framework within which the debates can clarify the goals, terms, issues, and contending proposals, to inform the separate process of negotiating solutions.

Where broad controversies remain unresolved in preliminary discussion and debates, such as the issues of religious controversy, or forms of government that affect a specific policy, the issues may remain unready for debate until policy options can be phrased to skirt the controversy. Where such controversies arise during debate and need some resolution to make progress, and such resolution appears to be feasible, the debate may be extended to reformulate and resolve the controversial gating issues.

Other Problems of Debate

A common problem is the Viewpoint Discussion Group member who is highly trained in a system of propaganda promoting the interests of a faction, in which every statement is an unsupportable fallacy, followed upon any response with another unsupportable fallacy, concluding with unsupportable denunciations of those who question the fallacies. The argument goes around in circles, concluding nothing. The member simply pretends to have triumphed at every point, and pretends to be marching the discussion to his conclusion. Naïve observers pick up impressions, decide whom they

like, and the best gambit wins. In VG and Subject Discussion Groups, propagandists rack up violations and may not become DVG members or VRs.

For debate purposes, evasions such as off-topic statements are excluded or listed for separate debate, and evasions of answers to objections are not permitted.

Another problem is the faction that demands preliminary concessions, often using terminology whose denial might suggest an unacceptable demand, but whose affirmation represents an unacceptable concession or precludes significant debate. An example is the demand for a concession that a colony has a "right to exist" so that opponents can be accused of seeking a massacre rather than a restoration of sovereignty.

Extended historical/political narratives may be presented in preliminary discussions, but only until the viewpoint group accepts an agreed set of concepts and facts. This should be explored in expert discussion, and such narratives or concepts debated separately from the policy issues.

Agreed questions should be limited to the issues and facts of the initial topic, as divided into subissues. The subissues should be agreed in advance, so that a reasonable series of questions and responses may explore them, and the debate may be held to the agreed structure.

There are views which can never be resolved, such as religions, or the inflexible doctrines of tyrants or ideologues concerned only with tribal dependencies and personal gain. A measure of the resolvability or resolution of views is used in determining whether to debate at a level of greater detail, or to proceed by minimizing issues with unresolved differences.

Where viewpoint groups have no common ground of concepts and fact, debate still can serve well to put their views on the table and suggest research and movements toward terms of debate.

IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE

The Role of The Congress in Citizen Education

The education of citizens of a democracy on the issues of democratic government is not well studied or organized. The primary role of the CPD, in providing citizens the facts and policy viewpoints needed for policy determination, provides an essential means of citizen education, and may be extended to education in the philosophy and design of democratic government.

The career education of citizens should occupy no more than half of their time in education, with perhaps half of the balance in modern history, literature, philosophy, and social science. Education facilitating development of good citizenship should comprise at least half of humanities education. The education of citizens should explore the structure and policies of government. That must not be indoctrination, but exploration of the safe design of democratic government, the rational basis of actual and potential government policies, the productive roles of citizens, and the many specific processes of distortion and corruption of ostensibly democratic institutions. The many processes of deception, manipulation, and coercion of citizens, should be very well illustrated and explained, so that all citizens are immunized.

Such education should not be managed by boards of education or college boards, often dominated by a political faction, nor by academics, but by those seeking truth by exposing all facts and viewpoints to challenge and debate, organized to ensure balanced representation, with controls to prevent dominance of particular viewpoints.

Education toward good citizenship is therefore an appropriate role for the CPD. In addition to presenting the viewpoints and debates of underlying policy issues in every area, the CPD should be a model and source of information on the safe design of democratic institutions, the rational means of determining government policies, and the productive roles of citizens.

Effects of the CPD on Public Understanding of Policy

If most of the general public could have sufficient understanding of the background studies, viewpoint debates, and policy resolution and negotiation debates, then representatives would be unnecessary, and the people could properly vote directly on all policy issues. But it is unlikely that text debate summaries of the broad and complex issues can be properly attended and understood by the majority of people in seeking facts and alternative viewpoints. The Forum can better educate a majority of voters on most issues, and when mass media are regulated to eliminate economic influences, they can better assist by interpreting the policy options for an electorate too busy or focused to attend and comprehend so much.

CPD examination records of candidates for public office can provide voters the means to evaluate all candidates' knowledge and concern in each area of public policy.

By educating the most concerned citizens in the evidence and arguments for and against public policies, through study of the debates and resources of the Center and the

Institute, the energies lost in civil conflicts of ideology can be harnessed for innovation and cooperation, to advance more effective and just policies for the good of all.

The Productive Roles Of Citizens

New ways of thinking are the key to improvement of public policies, which requires new institutions to permit public debate to form a new public mind, able to consider all evidence and argument on all policy issues, and to resurrect the public spirit and human values easily lost in a business-oriented culture.

Institutions that fail to provide this essential means of citizen education, or to exemplify dedication to the public interest, create a deficit of moral education in the processes of good government, allowing unregulated competition for personal gain to select the most selfish to wield power over mass media and elections, and to create a morally empty mass media culture.

A "consumer society" whose mass media focus only on competition for the vanities accumulated after basic needs are met, equating personal wealth with "net worth," denigrates public service, and robs its citizens of the meaning of their lives. The mass media of unregulated competition for personal gain teach corruption by example, incentive, and explicit advocacy of the worst in human nature. The valuable roles of citizens in working to improve the lot of humanity, can be forgotten and lost.

Religion and philosophy alone are not sufficient in moral education: they can suggest good principles, but cannot by themselves put principles into practice across the society. Personal experience of public culture, the interaction of citizens for the common good through their institutions and laws, teaches them how to apply principles in practice, what is possible, how interests and methods can be balanced, and how individuals can act to improve their society. This is the essential adult experience of moral education.

By providing policy education and personal experience of cooperation in understanding for the common good, the CPD can enable citizens to learn how to apply good principles in practice, and to practice the moral principles they have learned, in their most valuable role as citizens: working together to improve the lot of humanity.

Why Many Ignore Good Evidence and Argument

Public "groupthink" is any doctrine that must be accepted to gain benefits or promotion within a group, as decided by economic powers for politicians and mass media and managers, and thereby for the majority. The groupthink process can displace democracy. Citizens know what they must not say about politics and foreign policy, in order to be promoted, elected, or accorded their rights in court. Knowingly or not, the advocates of groupthink undermine democracy, promote war, and deceive the public, for personal gain at the expense of the common good.

The people and even their representatives can find themselves led like sheep, by the good feeling of being unified by groupthink, and by their knowledge that the penalties of opposition are unsustainable: most "go along to get along." If politicians dissent, they lose the support of mass media, political party, and donors. They and others who dissent lose social relationships, employment, and even their rights in society. They know that

they must conform, and appear to conform, and must put those costs of opposition in the balance with the evidence.

For the least moral and the least aware, the rewards of conformism are in the balance against the costs of opposition, and the facts and arguments are ignored. They can always pretend that conformism for personal benefit, conserving personal wealth and power, is political conservatism, and develop skill in ignoring truth and justice. H.L. Mencken[3] said "The average man … avoids the *truth* as diligently as he avoids arson, regicide, or piracy on the high seas, and for the same reason: because he believes that it is dangerous, that no good can come of it, that it doesn't pay." Ambrose Bierce noted[4] with sympathy that a pastor is "a man hired by the wicked, to prove to them by his example, that *virtue* doesn't pay." Most people know that neither truth nor virtue pay, because the price of adhering to them is the loss of one's social group and job, so they are forced by social and economic pressure, to diligently go along to get along.

As noted in Aristotle's Politics[1], these social and economic dependencies within every tribe or group create fears of criticizing group leaders, the perfect invitation to tyrants, who elevate themselves as leaders of the tribe by falsely declaring its principles, waving its flag and praising its god, while seeking to exploit tribal power for personal gain. They invent threats to the tribe to demand power as protectors, and to accuse their opponents of disloyalty, destroying their country while claiming to defend it.

The public generally prefers simple emotional choices between narratives that flatter themselves and promise nice things, and this is all that most political campaigns offer. Most voters will not seek details even within their chosen narrative; few will even consider inconvenient facts and views, and almost none will dare to repeat views divergent from the tribal groupthink demanded by their social group or occupation. Ralph Waldo Emerson noted[5] that "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines." But even the educated often have little time to read debates or even careful summaries, and see ruin in the advocacy of views opposed by their social or career group. And so "groupthink" can prevail.

As democracy degrades, public debate seldom gets even as far as a preliminary clash of narratives: an oligarchy controls mass media and public discourse, blocking expression of opposition views. At most a simulated debate is permitted, with alternatives to oligarchy presented as weak arguments. Despite the lessons of history, the public is told, for every proposed war and reduction of their rights, that this time "it's different!" and are pressured to ignore opposing viewpoints, reason, and even the lessons of history.

Only educated democracies can see that peace and progress are the broadest goals, that diplomacy to resolve policy conflicts is sooner or later necessary, that military intervention and confrontation usually exacerbate problems, and that leadership is not abdicated by limiting interventions to the application of economics, diplomacy, and experience to solve the problems caused by inequity, fear, and cultural divides.

The Relationship of the CPD to the Legislature

The CPD does not seek to decide policy, it merely explores the policy options and arguments so that citizens and their government may decide the best policy. The people and their representatives must at some point negotiate the most agreeable policies.

A major problem of democracy is that many representatives and voters do not consider presentations of opposing policy options, or read debate summaries or even watch enacted debates, regardless of how alluring such presentations are made. If familiarity with the details of present issues were a qualification for political office, candidates would be properly excluded if they did not care enough to be well informed.

Role of the CPD in Policy Education of Representatives

The United States Congress was formed of elected representatives on the reasoning that policy debate and negotiation could not be conducted with an assembly of more than a few hundred persons, and that therefore populations exceeding that size required elected representatives.[2] Aristotle had noted in his *Politics*[1] that pure democracy ("democracy") was limited to populations of lesser size, and that a representative democracy ("republic") also offered a more controlled debate process than the campaign speeches of local tyrants, and that representatives might have more education and spare time than the average voter in an agricultural society. But representatives also introduce their concealed biases, and social or economic dependencies upon interest groups, which can corrupt simple republics, making them plutocracies or oligarchies.

The U.S. Congress has not been an effective institution of policy debate. It's representatives are often (1) inexperienced in complex issues even with advisors, (2) biased by re-election considerations, in raising campaign funds from sources demanding special influence. Many are regional demagogues or manipulators backed by special interests, who are the worst of debaters, as they do not pursue truth or even care to hear facts and viewpoints contrary to those interests.

Because the College of the CPD is structured to ensure (1) elimination of social and economic dependencies in administration, (2) proper representation of all viewpoints, and (3) that viewpoints are challenged with proper responses in a comprehensible format, public policy debate and public policy education is best conducted there. It may also conduct policy resolution and negotiation debates, and participation may be the best training experience for potential representatives.

CPD Examinations for Elected Office

If no more than a small fraction of the public is able to understand sufficiently for policymaking, the background studies, viewpoint debates, and debates seeking resolution of policies, then representatives with sufficient understanding of such policy must be qualified by examination. Those who demonstrate thorough understanding, and independence of economic and social influence, and whose biases are studied and made known to their constituents, are the most qualified candidates to represent the people. Representative democracy should require qualification of representatives to ensure:

1. Sufficient understanding (of studies, viewpoints, and major debates);
2. Independence of improper economic and social influence; and
3. Systematic study and publication of their viewpoints to their constituents.

If during election campaigns, candidates participate in debates seeking resolution of policies, they will have illustrated their comprehension to their constituents before

election. With prior debate of the issues by the CPD, and qualification of candidates, a Congress of qualified representatives can properly negotiate policies.

Qualification of candidates also ensures that the newly elected are less likely to change allegiances when in power due to executive agency influence: if they campaigned upon their views with knowledge of opposing views, they must have detailed reasons for changing viewpoints. This also ensures that extreme factions find it more difficult to qualify anyone who sincerely represents their view, which will reduce ranting and canting in Congress, and might have prevented deadlocks of factions deaf to reason. It would likely have moderated the Congresses swept up in Civil War fever, cold-war hysteria, wars in Asia and the Mideast, and the undermining of democracy. Qualifying exams should encourage sympathy in foreign policy and a reduction of militarism.

Qualification Of Representatives To Vote On Policies

When representatives themselves are required to know about an issue to vote on it, they must spend far more time studying the debates than in simply taking the advice of party members. They might still vote as others demand, but cannot be completely ill informed. Pre-qualification of representatives to vote can exclude the simplistic ideologue, but not those who memorize but ignore the reasoning of other viewpoints.

Partisans will invest great sums to corrupt the scoring process as well as the debates, to gain false qualifications and votes for their faction and to exclude opponents. So the methods of auto-testing, scoring, and reporting of scores must be subject to multi-viewpoint technical audits and overviews. Bias could be introduced by inequitable choice or depth on the issues tested. For example, partisans might seek to bias the tests so that only military enthusiasts could vote on military policy, or only certain economists could vote on an economic policy. Vigorous safeguards are essential.

The Preliminary Policy Consideration Process

The process of policy negotiation and selection carried out by the legislative Congress, can be assisted by a preliminary policy consideration process of the CPD. The purpose is to provide preliminary policy considerations that otherwise burden the legislative process, not to duplicate or predict later legislative process. Questions of policy options early in the legislative process include:

1. Have all objections to cost, feasibility, and alternatives been fully debated?
2. What are the best arguments against objections to the policy options?
3. What potential policy combinations may be most acceptable to major groups?
4. What options may satisfy groups objecting to policies important to majorities?

The first two considerations are readily summarized from the related debates. The second two are questions that may be answered by viewpoint groups, with reference to polls of the actual prevalence of those viewpoints in the electorate. Both should be part of the related reports to the legislative Congress, made available to the public.

The purpose of preliminary policy considerations is not to duplicate or predict the legislative negotiation process. The CPD cannot practically select members as representatives for negotiation between regions or states, because:

1. Accurate secure polling of voters on detailed viewpoints may be impractical;
2. Such a voting process may be difficult to isolate from interested factions; and
3. Selection of members who are representative may be impractical.

Integration of the CPD for Checks and Balances

In its fully developed form, the results of analysis and debate by the CPD should be considered the knowledge of the people of the nation on policy matters. This knowledge can be used as a constitutional check upon the branches of federal government in matters of fact and rationales for policy. For this purpose, the CPD or its successors may when fully developed be considered a necessary branch of the federal government. This can protect the independence of the Congress, and improve the operation of checks and balances among all branches.

Because the Congress forms no consensus on matters of fact or policy, its knowledge cannot be compulsory upon the other branches. However, where the Congress reaches a preponderance of evidence regarding policy likely to serve national or humanitarian interests, national policy should be consistent with this knowledge. Elected officials, judges, and executive agencies should be held publicly accountable in detail for contrary actions, and for statements of fact or policy arguments generally shown by the Congress to be false, and should be required by law, to publicly admit such errors and to retract or explain in detail such statements.

Judicial decisions should establish that federal actions must be guided by the debate of the Congress. False statements of fact by secret agencies, secret presidential wars and policy directives, executive acts that force commitments upon the legislature, and legislative acts which are shown by the Congress to be injurious to national or humanitarian interests, or based substantially upon statements of fact shown by the Congress to be false, should be exposed and reversed.

The Role of The Congress Of Policy Debate in the Reform of Democracy

Reforms to Protect Government From Economic Power

The present U.S. Constitution deals only with regulation of the forms of power that predominated when it was written, primarily physical force. There was then no generally accepted concept of economic force as a broad parallel form of coercion requiring regulation. Amendments are needed to protect elected officials and mass media from economic power, for example:

1. Prohibiting donations for election expenses, except registered individual donations not exceeding (for example) the average day's pay annually;
2. Prohibiting donations to mass media, except registered individual donations not exceeding (for example) the average day's pay annually;
3. Monitoring of officials' finances and communications for unlawful influence;

There is also little present understanding of the newest form of power, the information power of social media, network service providers, and hackers, and little debate of the ability of present institutions to control that. The CPD can perform an

essential role in these reforms, by freeing public debate from economic power, and raising issues which Congress and the mass media still cannot, due to their economic dependencies.

Reforms to Improve Checks and Balances

The *Federalist Papers*[4] show the fundamental nature of the initial design considerations of the U.S. Constitution. The framers recognized the need for Checks and Balances, and implemented a bold prototype, expecting and stating that improvements must be made in the future as needed. But checks and balances have seldom worked and have not been improved.

The original Checks and Balances have not been effective because they are limited to checks between the three very different branches of federal government. We cannot expect the landing gear of an aircraft to take over for a malfunctioning wing or rudder, and we cannot expect the legislature to correct a malfunctioning executive or judiciary. Each major subsystem of a government, like those of an aircraft, must have internal redundancy with "checks and balances" or the system does not work.

Presently, the Executive branch has all of the real power, and does what it pleases, systematically concealing its acts. Every act of the other branches must go through the Executive to be effective. The Judicial branch freely invents facts and principles of its own to subvert legislation, and the other branches are powerless to intervene. The Legislative branch feeds government funds to "donors" to political parties on whom they rely for election funding, and the executive agencies protect those crimes. There are presently no functioning checks and balances in the federal government. The Constitution must be amended to improve the functioning of checks and balances.

The CPD can facilitate these reforms by ensuring that these issues are debated, free of economic dependencies. Its administration is designed to implement checks and balances in every department and committee, and to monitor all administrators, so that neither external nor internal corruption can influence its operations. Thus the CPD can serve as an example of uncorrupted governance.

An Optimistic View of the Future

The lives of humanitarians teach us that despair over the condition of humanity is futile and unnecessary. But the unselfish are resented by the selfish: many there are whose entire lives have been spent in intense efforts to improve civilization, yet are attacked for doing so, and the work of their lives often destroyed, precisely because it is unselfish and raises the price of respectability for others. That has also been the fate of many historical prophets presented as sons of the sources of moral law. Not surprisingly, some conclude that "No good deed goes unpunished."

The most discouraged, reviewing any century of history, might conclude that humanity has not risen far above savage tribalism, and may expect no more of the future. They may see their region or nation as decayed from its ideals, but recognize its many good people: the atoms of even a decayed whole have every potential. Their conclusion should not be despair, but rather release and hope: nature lives on and slowly improves.

If there is a path to repair a damaged democracy, then its reform is far less risky and burdensome than its collapse and reconstruction. Those who are so loyal to an old car that they refuse to allow its repair, hasten its demise by causing it to later need prohibitive repairs. But the moral person should not attempt to merely repair a faulty design. Rather than dream of a pretty world, we must seek and implement the correct design: the seed of the incorruptible organization, and of moral education effective for all.

Thoughtful and benevolent citizens wonder what the seed of a better world for humanity can be. Is it not a plan to organize the common mind of humanity for its future benefit? To organize, analyze, and debate its thoughts and knowledge upon all things, especially upon how to govern and educate all humanity, in its policies, laws, and moral education, to achieve its goals? The seed of an organization that becomes the universal mind of humanity, to achieve the goals of all, will always be very worthy of cultivation.

RELEVANT QUOTATIONS

These quotations are a selection from *Quotations For The Congress Of Policy Debate*, a work presently being compiled.

Quotations Indexed By Subject

Justice Requires Truth

"Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered."
Daniel Webster, *Address* at the Bunker Hill Monument, 1825

"We can learn by reason and judgment and understanding and faith that all life is worth saving, and that mercy is the highest attribute of man."
Clarence Darrow, *Closing argument*, Leopold-Loeb trial, 1924

"If men would consider not so much wherein the differ, as wherein they agree, there would be far less of uncharitableness and angry feeling in the world."
Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*

"Were half the power, that fills the world with terror.
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There would be no need of arsenals or forts."
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Arsenal At Springfield*, 1845

"I am inclined to think that if a question as serious as going to war were presented to our nation we would demand facts unvarnished by interpretation. Whether we, even in our free democracy, could obtain them is another matter."
Eleanor Roosevelt, *This Troubled World, 1938*

"And here we wander in illusions; Some blessed power deliver us from hence!"
Wm. Shakespeare, *The Comedy of Errors*, 1594

"Friendship is the only cement that will ever hold the world together."
Woodrow Wilson, *Speech* at Red Cross, 1918

"National injustice is the surest road to national downfall."
William Gladstone, *Speech*, Plumstead, 1878

"Man is the only animal that laughs and weeps; for he is the only animal that is struck with the difference between what things are and what they ought to be."
William Hazlitt, *Introductory on Wit and Humour*, 1819

"No one can be perfectly free till all are free; no one can be perfectly moral till all are happy."
Herbert Spencer, *The Evanescence of Evil*, 1851

"Have we, the inheritors of this continent and of the ideals to which the fathers consecrated it, - have we maintained them, realizing them, as each generation must, anew? Are we, in the consciousness that the life of man is pledged to higher levels here than elsewhere, striving still to bear aloft the standards of liberty and hope; or, disillusioned and defeated, are we feeling the disgrace of having had a free field in which to do new things and of not having done them?"
Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom*, 1912

"The fool doth think he is wise, but the wise man knows himself to be a fool."
Wm. Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, 1598

"Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other."
Benjamin Franklin, *Poor Richard's Almanac*, 1732

"It is a shameful thing to be weary of inquiry when what we search for is excellent."
Marcus Tullius Cicero, attributed

"I shall try to correct errors where shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views as fast as they shall appear to be true views."
Abraham Lincoln, *Letter to Horace Greeley*, 1862

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."
George Santayana, *The Life of Reason*, 1905

"Half the world knows not how the other half lives."
Proverb

"Ignorance is preferable to error; and he is less remote from truth who believes nothing, than he who believes what is wrong."
Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781–5)

"Only the wise possess ideas; the greater part of mankind are possessed by them."
Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Miscellanies*

"Men possessed with an idea cannot be reasoned with."
James Anthony Froude, S*hort Studies on Great Subjects*, 1868

"He that imagines he hath knowledge enough hath none."
Proverb

"He that knows least commonly presumes most."
Proverb

"Nothing in human life is more to be lamented, than that a wise man should have so little influence."
Herodotus, *Calliope*

"Of all things wisdom is the most terrified of epidemical fanaticism, because, of all enemies, it is that against which she is the least able to furnish any kind of resource."
Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the French Revolution*, 1790

"For fools rush in where angels fear to tread."
Alexander Pope, *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, 1735

"Unless an individual is free to obtain the fullest education with which his society can provide him, he is being injured by society."

W. H. Auden, *I Believe*, 1939

Justice Requires Citizen Education

"Observation, not old age, brings wisdom."
Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*

"It is no shame for a man to learn that which he knoweth not, whatever be his age."
Isocrates

"'Tis education forms the common mind: / Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined."
Alexander Pope, *Moral Essays*, 1731-1735

"What greater or better gift can we offer the republic than to teach and instruct our youth?"
Cicero, *De Divinatione*

"Liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people."
John Adams - 2nd U.S. President

Knowledge Is Power

"Knowledge is power."
Francis Bacon, *Essays,* 1625

"Knowledge is more than equivalent to force."
Samuel Johnson, *Rasselas,* 1759

Audience Emotion Impairs Reason

"We must remember how apt man is to extremes - rushing from credulity and weakness, to suspicion and distrust."
James Anthony Bulwer-Lytton, *Asmodeus At Large, On The Departure Of Youth, 1833*

"True courage is not the brutal force of vulgar heroes, but the firm resolve of virtue and reason."
Alfred North Whitehead, attributed

"Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good."
Abraham Lincoln, *In Response to a Serenade*, 1864

General Observations On Justice And Truth

"Beneath the rule of men entirely great, / the pen is mightier than the sword."
James Anthony Bulwer-Lytton, *Richelieu*, 1839

"The golden age is before us not behind us."
Henri de Saint-Simon, attributed

"In scattering the seed... He who has received them from you will hand them on to another. And how can you tell what part you may have in the future determination of the destinies of humanity?"
Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *The Idiot*, 1868

"Consider what you have in the smallest chosen library. A company of the wisest and wittiest men that could be picked out of all civil countries, in a thousand years, have set in best order the results of their learning and wisdom."
Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Society and Solitude*, 1870

"I have often thought that nothing would do more extensive good at small expense than the establishment of a small circulating library in every county, to consist of a few well-chosen books, to be lent to the people of the county, under such regulations as would secure their safe return in due time."
Thomas Jefferson, *Letter to John Wyche*, 1809

"Libraries, which are as the shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue, and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed."
Francis Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, 1605

Truth Requires Diversity of Viewpoints

"He who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that."
John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

"The easiest person to deceive is one's own self."
James Anthony Bulwer-Lytton, *The Disowned*, 1828

"Know how to listen, and you will profit even from those who talk badly."
Plutarch, attributed

"Two heads are better than one."
Proverb

"What we have to do is to be forever curiously testing new opinions and courting new impressions."
Walter Pater, *The Renaissance*, 1873

"He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils."
Francis Bacon, *Essays*, 1625

"In all affairs, love, religion, politics, or business - it's a healthy idea, now and then, to hang a question mark on the things you have long taken for granted."
Bertrand Russell, attributed

Resistance To Diversity Of Viewpoint

"So many new ideas are at first strange and horrible though ultimately valuable that a very heavy responsibility rests upon those who would prevent their dissemination."
J. B. S. Haldane, attributed

"Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."
Thomas Jefferson, *First Inaugural Address*, 1801

"The more enlarged is our own mind, the greater number we discover of men of originality."
Blaise Pascal, *Pensees, Thoughts On Philosophical and Literary Subjects*, 1670

"The difference is as great between / The optics seeing as the objects seen."
Alexander Pope, *Moral Essays*, 1735

"A man has no ears for that to which experience has given him no access."
Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, 1888

"Change, indeed, is painful, yet ever needful."
Thomas Carlyle, *Miscellanies, Characteristics*, 1839

"Hearts may agree, though heads differ."
Proverb

Minorities Must Be Heard To Find The Truth

"When great changes occur in history, when great principles are involved, as a rule the majority are wrong."
Eugene V. Debs, *Authorized Life And Letters, Trial, Conviction, And Appeal, Response To The Court On Bolsheviki*, 1919

"the fact… that majorities have usually been wrong, must not blind us to the complementary fact, that, majorities have usually not been entirely wrong."
Herbert Spencer, *First Principles*, *Religion And Science*, 1862

"Governments exist to protect the rights of minorities. The loved and the rich need no protection,—they have many friends and few enemies."
Wendell Phillips, *Speeches, Lectures, And Letters, Mobs And Education*, 1863

"There is not a social, political, or religious privilege that you enjoy to-day that was not bought for you by the blood and tears and patient suffering of the minority. It is the

minority that have stood in the van of every moral conflict, and achieved all that is noble in the history of the world."
J. B. Gough, *What Is a Minority*

Dissent Must Be Heard To Find Truth

"We should behave toward our country as women behave toward the men they love. A loving wife will do anything for her husband except stop criticizing and trying to improve him. We should cast the same affectionate but sharp glance at our country. We should love it, but also insist upon telling it all its faults. The noisy, empty 'patriot,' not the critic, is the dangerous citizen."
J. B. Priestley, attributed

"A decent and manly examination of the acts of Government should be not only tolerated, but encouraged."
William Henry Harrison, *Inaugural Address*, ***

"the dissenting opinions of one generation become the prevailing interpretation of the next."
Burton J. Hendrick, *Bulwark of the Republic*, 1937

"The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning, but without understanding,"
Justice Brandeis, *Dissent* in Olmstead v. United States, 1927

"It is the conservatives' function to be intensely practical... the progressives' function to be idealistic... based on potential realities."
Henry A. Wallace, *Sec. of Agriculture Educational Record*, vol 15 , p.9, c. 1921

"There is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and a flatterer."
Francis Bacon, *Essays*, 1625

"Without freedom of thought there can be no such thing as wisdom; and no such thing as publick liberty without freedom of speech; which is the right of every man as far as by it he does not hurt or control the right of another; and this is the only check it ought to suffer and the only bounds which it ought to know."
Benjamin Franklin, as *Silence Dogood No. 8*, 1723, from John Trenchard as Cato, 1721

"the essential characteristic of true liberty is, that under its shelter many different types of life and character and opinion and belief can develop unmolested and unobstructed."
Charles Evans Hughes, *Liberty And The Law*, address to ABA, 1925

Dangers Of Error In Excluding Diversity

"The interrogation of custom at all points is an inevitable stage in the growth of every superior mind."
Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Representative Men*, 1850

"When men are the most sure and arrogant, they are commonly the most mistaken and have there given reins to passion without that proper deliberation and suspense which alone can secure them from the grossest absurdities."
David Hume, attributed

"For an idea ever to be fashionable is ominous, since it must afterwards always be old-fashioned."
George Santayana, *Winds of Doctrine*, 1913

"Whoso belongs only to his own age... must needs die with it."
Thomas Carlyle, *On Boswell*, 1832

"I don't think I regret a single 'excess' of my responsive youth—I only regret in my chilled age, certain occasions and possibilities I didn't embrace."
Henry James, *Letter to Hugh Walpole*, 1913

"The faculty of doubting is rare among men. A few choice spirits carry the germs of it in them, but these do not develop without training."
Anatole France, *Penguin Island*, 1908

"The number of those who undergo the fatigue of judging for themselves is very small indeed."
Richard Sheridan, *The Critic*, 1779

The Value Of Curiosity

"Curiosity is one of the permanent and certain characteristics of a vigorous mind."
"The gratification of curiosity rather frees us from uneasiness, than confers pleasure."
Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, 1750-1752

"The immense value of becoming acquainted with a foreign language is that we are thereby led into a new world of tradition and thought and feeling."
Havelock Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene*, 1912

Truth Requires Debate

"He that wrestles with us strengthens our nerves and sharpens our skill. Our antagonist is our helper."
Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790

"Happy are they that hear their detractions, and can put them to mending."
William Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1612

"Have you not learn'd great lessons from those who reject you, and brace themselves against you? or treat you with contempt, or dispute the passage with you?"
Walt Whitman, *Stronger Lessons*, 1888

"Get your enemies to read your works in order to mend them; for your friend is so much your second self that he will judge too much like you."
Alexander Pope, *Thoughts On Various Subjects, Works, 1812*

"There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies; his senses awakened, his judgment sharpened, and the truth which he holds more firmly established. In logic they teach that contraries laid together more evidently appear; and controversy being permitted, falsehood will appear more false, and truth more true."
John Milton, *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, And Toleration,* 1673

"Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly as when they discuss it freely."
Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Southey's Colloquies*, 1829

"All discord [is] harmony not understood."
Alexander Pope, *Essay on Man*, 1733-1734

"All extremes are error. Truth lies between those two extremes."
Richard Cecil, attributed

"If any man can convince me and bring home to me that I do not think or act aright, gladly will I change; for I search after truth, by which man never yet was harmed."
Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, c. 160

"Wisdom comes by disillusionment."
George Santayana, attributed

"The injuries we do and those we suffer are seldom weighed in the same scales."
Aesop, *Fables*

"All bitter feelings are avoided, or at least greatly reduced by prompt, face-to-face discussion."
Walter B. Pitkin, attributed

"In a case of dissension, never dare to judge till you've heard the other side.
Euripides, *Heracleidae*, c 4310 BCE

"Freedom is in danger of being slain at her own altars if the passion for uniformity and control of opinions gathers head."

Charles Evans Hughes, *On Liberty And Law*, ABA Journal, 1925

"Any doctrine that will not bear investigation is not a fit tenant for the mind of an honest man."
Robert Ingersoll, lecture *Intellectual Development*, c. 1880

"Whoever is afraid of submitting any question, civil or religious, to the test of free discussion, is more in love with his own opinion than with truth."
Thomas/Richard Watson, Bishop of Landaff, *Letter to Mr. Wakefield*, 1784

"For we must look about under every stone, lest an orator bite us."
Aristophanes, *The Trial Of Euripedes*, c.400 BPE

"It is as hard for the good to suspect evil, as it is for the bad to suspect good."
Marcus Tullius Cicero, attributed, c. 60 BPE

"If others had not been foolish, we would be so."
William Blake, *Proverbs of Hell*, 1794

"excitement is always followed by remission, and often by reaction... to depreciate what we have over-praised,... to show undue indulgence where we have shown undue rigor."
Thomas B. Macaulay, *Miscellaneous Writings, Warren Hastings*, 1866

"The measure of a master is his success in bringing all men round to his opinion twenty years later."
Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Conduct of Life*, 1860

"Though observation and instruction, reading and conversation may furnish us with many ideas of men and things, yet it is our own meditation that must form our judgement of things."
Isaac Watts, *The Improvement Of The Mind,* 1718

"Genius is one per cent inspiration and ninety-nine per cent perspiration."
Thomas A. Edison, remark, c. 1903

The Terms Of Debate

"If you wish to converse with me, define your terms." Attributed, from
"We must here repeat what Locke has so strongly urged – Define your terms."
Voltaire, *Abus des mots*, in 1770

"Most controversies would soon be ended, if those engaged in them would first accurately define their terms, and then adhere to their definitions."
Tryon Edwards, *Dictionary of Thoughts* (quoting himself) 1891

Proper Evidence

"Knowledge is of two kinds: we know a subject ourselves, or we know where we can find information upon it."
Samuel Johnson, from Boswell: *Life Of Johnson*, 1791

Dangers Of Bad Evidence

"What is more unwise than to mistake uncertainty for certainty, falsehood for truth?"
Cicero, *De Senectute (On Old Age)*, 44 BPE

"Great blunders are often made, like large ropes, of a multitude of fibres."
Victor Hugo, *Les Miserables*, 1862

History As Evidence

"history [is] the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind."
Edward Gibbon, *Decline And Fall Of The Roman Empire*, 1776-1789

"Peoples and governments never have learned anything from history, or acted on principles deduced from it."
Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, 1832

Proper Argument

"For brevity is very good, / Where we are, or are not understood."
Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, 1663

Analogies and Aphorisms in Argument

"Though analogy is often misleading, it is the least misleading thing we have."
Samuel Butler, *Note-Books*, 1874-1902

"The excellence of aphorisms consists not so much in the expression of some rare or abstruse sentiment, as in the comprehension of some useful truth in few words."
Samuel Johnson, attributed

Errors Of Argument

"All generalizations are dangerous, even this one."
Alexandre Dumas, the Younger, attributed

"It is unfortunate... that so few enthusiasts can be trusted to speak the truth."
James Balfour, *letter to Mrs Drew*, 1891

"The narrower the mind, the broader the statement."

Ted Cook, attributed

"Beware lest clamour be taken for counsel."
Desiderius Erasmus, *Sematulus*, attributed

"Surmise and general abuse... ought not to pass for proofs."
Sir Philip Francis, *Letters Of Junius*, 1772

"Neither irony nor sarcasm is argument."
Rufus Choate, attributed

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."
Samuel Johnson, from Boswell: *Life Of Johnson*, 1791

Mixture Of Good And Bad Argument

"fallacies that are often concealed in florid, witty, or involved discourses."
John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690

"Folly and learning often dwell together."
Proverb

Dishonest Argument

"There is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability."
Francis Bacon, *Of Cunning*, 1612, 1625

"Cunning has effect from the credulity of others. It requires no extraordinary talents to lie and deceive."
Samuel Johnson, from Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 1791

"You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."
attributed variously, to P. T. Barnum, and even to Abraham Lincoln

"Impudent... to attempt to blind us with the smoke without convincing us that the fire has existed."
Sir Philip Francis, *Letters Of Junius*, 1772

"Dishonesty will stare honesty out of countenance, any day of the week, if there is anything to be got by it."
Charles Dickens, attributed

"Cunning leads to knavery. It is but a step from one to the other, and that very slippery. Only lying makes the difference; add that to cunning and it is knavery."

La Bruyere, *Works*, 1752

Human Nature Avoids Truth

"The despotism of custom is everywhere the standing hindrance to human advancement."
John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

"What a chimera, then, is man! what a novelty, what a monster, what a chaos, what a subject of contradiction, what a prodigy!"
Blaise Pascal, *Pensees/Thoughts*, 1670

"The average man avoids truth as diligently as he avoids arson, regicide, and piracy on the high seas, and for the same reasons: it is dangerous, no good can come of it, and it doesn't pay."
H.L. Mencken, attributed

"All that I care to know is that a man is a human being—that is enough for me; he can't be any worse."
Mark Twain, *Concerning the Jews*, Harper's, 1899

"When the fight begins within himself, / A man's worth something."
Robert Browning, *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, 1855

Difficulty In Accepting Truth

"None love the messenger who brings bad news."
Sophocles, *Antigone*

"Advice is seldom welcome; and those who want it the most always like it the least."
Lord Chesterfield, *Letters*, 1774

"One of the greatest pains to human nature is the pain of a new idea."
Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, 1872

"The mind unlearns with difficulty what has long been impressed on it."
Lucius Annaeus Seneca, attributed

"We hardly find any persons of good sense save those who agree with us."
La Rouchefoucauld, *Maxims*, 1665

The Value Of Accepting Truth

"To make no mistakes is not in the power of man; but from their errors and mistakes the wise and good learn wisdom for the future."
Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, c. 90

"To profit from good advice requires more wisdom than to give it."
John C. Collins, *Posthumous Essays, Memoirs*, 1912

"Honest error is to be pitied, not ridiculed."
Lord Chesterfield, *Letter to his son*, 1748

"It is only an error of judgment to make a mistake, but it argues an infirmity of character to adhere to it when discovered."
Christian Nestell Bovee, attributed

"The greatest of faults, I should say, is to be conscious of none."
Thomas Carlyle, *Heroes & Hero Worship*, 1840

"Four precepts: to break off customs; to shake off spirits ill-disposed; to meditate on youth; to do nothing against one's genius."
Nathaniel Hawthorne, *American Note-Books*, 1835-1853

Moderation

The Value of Moderation

"A man should study ever to keep cool. He makes his inferiors his superiors by heat."
Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Lectures*, 1833-1871

"Let what will be said or done, preserve your sang-froid immovable, and to every other obstacle oppose patience, perseverance and soothing language."
Thomas Jefferson, *Letter to Wm. Short*, 1792

"True eloquence consists in saying all that is proper, and nothing more."
Francois de La La Rochefoucauld, *Maxims*, 1665

"Moderation is best, and to avoid all extremes."
Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, c. 90

"Perfect good sense shuns all extremity. / Content to couple wisdom with sobriety."
Jean-Baptiste Poquelin Moliere, *Le Misanthrope*, 1666

"He that overcomes his passions overcomes his greatest enemies."
Proverb

The Value Of Gentleness

"The great mind knows the power of gentleness..."
Robert Browning, *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau*, 1871

"Do as you would be done by, is the surest method of pleasing."

Lord Chesterfield, *Letters To His Son*, 1747

"Gentle of speech, beneficent of mind."
Homer, *Odyssey*

"Men should allow others' excellences, to preserve a modest opinion of their own."
Isaac Barrow, *Geometrical Lectures*, c. 1640

"It's not the brains that matter most, but that which guides them - the character, the heart, generous qualities, progressive ideas."
Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *The Insulted and the Injured*, 1861

The Value Of Patience

"One often sees good intentions, if pushed beyond moderation, bring about very vicious results."
Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, 1580

"Whoever is out of patience... kill themselves in stinging others."
Francis Bacon, *Essays*, 1625

"impatience should be avoided, because it wastes that time and attention in complaints which, if properly applied, might remove the cause."
Samuel Johnson, attributed

"Cheerfulness keeps up a kind of daylight in the mind, filling it with a steady and perpetual serenity."
Joseph Addison, *Spectator*, No. 381

"Every one must have felt that a cheerful friend is like a sunny day, which sheds its brightness on all around; and most of us can, as we choose, make of this world either a palace or a prison."
Washington Irving, attributed

"Patience is so like fortitude, that she seems either her sister or her daughter."
Aristotle, attributed

Debater Passions Impair Reason

"Man's chief merit consists in resisting the impulses of his nature."
Samuel Johnson, attributed in *Johnsonian Miscellanies*

"The contention which began in pride, ends in anger."
Cato the Censor, *Letter No. 47*

"Contradiction should awaken attention, not passion."

Proverb

"He who curbs not his anger will wish undone that which vexation and wrath prompted."
Horace, *Epistles*, 20 BPE - 14 BPE

"An angry man is again angry with himself, when he returns to reason."
Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae,* 80-45 BPE

"Delay is the greatest remedy for anger."
Seneca, *De Ira*, 45 AD

"The ruling passion conquers reason still."
Alexander Pope, *Moral Essays*, 1731 - 1735

Immoderacy Is A Fault

"He who establishes his argument by noise and command shows that reason is weak."
Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, 1580

"If we were without faults, we should not take so much pleasure in remarking them in others."
Francois de La La Rochefoucauld, *Maxims*, 1665

"Gratuitous violence in argument betrays a conscious weakness of the cause, and is usually a signal of despair."
Sir Philip Francis, *Letters Of Junius*, 1772

ADMINISTRATION: PROBLEMS AND MECHANISMS

Exclusion Of External Influences

The value of the product of the Congress depends upon its absence of bias and its representation of all viewpoints. The importance of the product in policy making establishes a high value to interested parties to prejudice the product to favor policies from which they would benefit. Therefore attempts must be expected by interested parties of internal or external origin to prejudice the product to favor their viewpoint, by schemes to discredit, counterfeit, hack, obstruct, or distort the debate process, and to infiltrate or control the staff and administration of the Congress to influence procedures and results.

The Congress structure and operations must therefore actively and rigorously prevent improper influence, infiltration, or takeovers by interested parties, factions, or ideologues, as well as government and economic influences, that might misrepresent viewpoints, or limit the terms, subjects, and direction of debate.

Control of Market Attacks, Counterfeits, and Hacking

Any wealthy group, political party, media group, or search engine with a political view can make market attacks, to obscure or damage a public-interest entity, because:

1. Money controls public awareness (in an unregulated market economy);
2. Marketing often controls a careless majority, by entertaining and deceiving them; and
3. Most would much rather see a circus of heroes claiming virtues, than learn anything.

The Forum Reduces Market Interference And Increases Educational Influence

To improve the popularity of the CPD, market appeal must be maximized, so that hostile competition on the basis of mere entertainment value is not practical. This requires that less-familiar or less-intellectual audiences be given frequent and engaging presentations of the viewpoints and issues, combining drama, variety, comedy, brevity, and other aspects of entertainment with the presentation of contending viewpoints.

The Forum of Policy Debate is the dramatized in-person debate section of the Congress, which provides the circus of an in-person debate forum in an unbiased way, reflecting prior textual debates, and perhaps exposing untruths rather than defeating viewpoint groups. The goal is to illustrate the agreed factual basis, dispose of myths or prejudices, and provide background information and analysis.

For example, between presentations of the viewpoints, for comic relief and review, a straw man may hold forth against a demonstrated truth, and later admit his error without deprecation or defeat; perhaps reappearing having learned the point, but taking another wrong turn with similar results. The audience sees his errors after presentations, enjoys his embarrassment by admired characters, and is rewarded for learning. Comedy of all kinds can be used to illustrate simple errors in areas just demonstrated.

More entertainment-based learning may be introduced if biased competition emerges, such as animation, music, romances, plays, courtroom dramas, adventures, sports teams, or war movies. But CPD presentations should always primarily present points of view in a balanced manner, using other forms only to attract and hold attention.

Control of Counterfeits and Hacking

The CPD has trademarks for the Congress and its several divisions, each with the variations that might be used to confuse the public in offering counterfeit services without the safeguards of the CPD. The Congress has obtained the corresponding website names, and copyrights its materials. Enforcement of these safeguards is effective.

Safeguards against hacking of CPD operations software are vigorous and responsive to emergencies, and kept up to date as hacking methods develop.

Control Of Internal Influence By Members And Moderators

Improper internal influence can be attempted at any level by members with improper motives not yet detected. Large viewpoint groups within the Congress contain many persons seeking truth, but also some ideologues, opportunists, manipulators, and demagogues. The latter sorts naturally associate in political factions or tribes having

loyalties, dependencies and collusions, seeking opportunists to influence, and offices to abuse, while their associates burden the public discussion layer moderation processes. Such persons may correctly represent a viewpoint group, and may even properly conduct some entrusted functions, but in many cases may act improperly. To limit improper influence the following methods are used:

1. Scoring of debaters and debate moderators on violations of debate rules;
2. Scoring of discussion and VG members and moderators on good conduct;
3. Scoring of VG members on tribal and social manipulations;
4. Detection of manipulations to suppress topics, evidence, or argument:

   a. Rules manipulations (nonvalid objections, nonvalid motions)
   b. Illusory abstractions (obfuscation, conflation to ignore evidence or argument)
   c. Diversions (objections, immaterial or false evidence, false argument)

5. Evaluation and exclusion from VR roles of experts who persistently use false arguments: debate statements must rationally advance the interests represented.

The representation of divergent or minority opinion is rigorously protected by internal procedures and audits, and unpopular views may not be excluded, nor views widely considered irrational but necessary to specific debates.

Automatic Operations And Monitoring

In the process of corruption by a group intending to introduce bias, the operations of the Congress would be distorted to favor a political viewpoint. One means of prevention is to make those processes automatic, visible, and simple, including their regulation, so that distortion of one process is detected by another, with sufficient redundancy and cross-checking that systemic bias cannot be created, and sabotage is unlikely to succeed.

This requires redundant independent systems of control and monitoring, each having its own means of cross-checking with the others to report failures. The monitoring systems are substantially automatic themselves, administered and audited by independent operations of the redundant independent administrations.

Design For An Unbiased Administration

The Problem

The central problem of designing the administration is the prevention of corruption, the process of gradual or sudden takeover by a group intending to introduce bias. Economically or politically powerful groups can be expected to attempt takeovers.

Corruption of public institutions must be anticipated where those in positions of authority may gain or retain power by means of service to a faction or tribe. The CPD must ensure that none of its members gains authority but in the rejection of tribal influence, and that none can use their position in the service of any faction or tribe.

The old fashioned approach[12] would be to assemble a small group of very trusted persons, whose dedication to truth and justice is deep and sincere, who suspect their own perceptions of even great and central truths, who are skeptical of their own decisions and staffing choices, and refuse social pressure of all kinds and group-think processes. But these groups seldom replenish and rejuvenate, unable to secure the succession of similarly spirited people, due to the complexity of administrative and staffing tasks, the reliance upon enthusiastic, flattering, or socially-connected people, and the difficulty of plumbing the true character and principles of those who solemnly *declare* principles. Even the seeming idealist may adopt "higher values" once in power, or develop new persuasions in violation of the ideal. The founding generation is often succeeded by imitators or worse, and is seldom or never succeeded by an administration that reflects the original ideals. That may be worst among groups whose original ideal or vision was unclear, poorly formulated, dependent upon past circumstances, or otherwise less tenable in the future, but it is also common in groups unable to identify potential successor administrators who are truly idealists of the necessary principles.

The initial dedication of founders seldom endures: the U.S. Constitutional Convention made the same assumptions about the Supreme Court, that it was small (and would therefore show "good behaviour") compared to Congress which also controlled its budget, but no specific power or entity was created to monitor the SC, which soon ordained itself to be above the Constitution and laws. The same assumption is often made of NGO governing board members, who may in practice govern by personal preference, or at the pleasure of hidden powers, and their institution may succeed or fail accordingly, regardless of the inspiring original vision.

Therefore specific measures must be taken to create and ensure the proper operation and renewal of the CPD administration (see diagram below). The CPD has compiled procedures and safeguards to ensure the selection and training of administrators to achieve its proper purposes.

School of Administration

Of course training for all administrative functions must include ethics training, which deals with the ethical problems in likely scenarios. By this means the necessary standards of administration are understood and accepted, and violations are preventable.

Courses for training and review are provided to improve awareness of related administrative ethical issues:

1. The history and literature of misconduct of tribal groups: town, church, family;
2. The tyrant and demagogue in history, literature, town, church, and family;
3. Corruption of simple democratic institutions and mass media by factions; and
4. Historical policy errors that might have prevented wars and disasters.

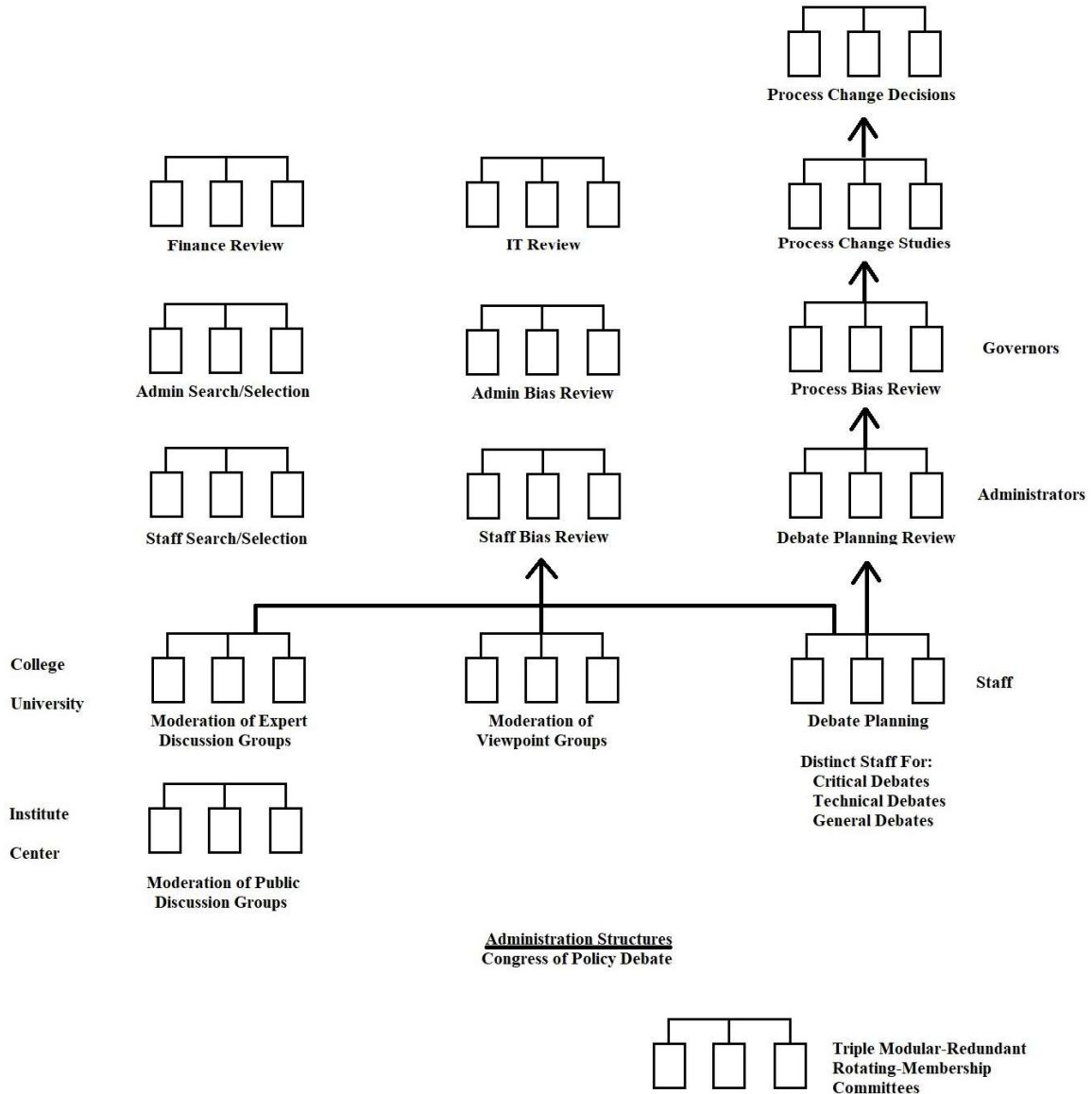The levels of administrative responsibility are also levels of training, and of evaluation of the ethics required, and so each level of CPD administrative service is the principal means of training and monitoring for service at a higher level.

A program of Monitoring and Detection provides (1) Basic introductory training, then periodic reviews of principles, (2) Intermediate training in greater detail, and (3)

Advanced training in avoiding bias, based upon experience, error reviews, and analysis, considering the fine points of abuses of office, paths to error, etc.

By these means of staff selection, education, and monitoring, the ethic of the Congress predominates, that justice and truth require impartial debate of public policy.

The Structure of Governance

Process Change Decisions

Finance Review   IT Review   Process Change Studies

Admin Search/Selection   Admin Bias Review   Process Bias Review   Governors

Staff Search/Selection   Staff Bias Review   Debate Planning Review   Administrators

College

University

Moderation of Expert Discussion Groups   Moderation of Viewpoint Groups   Debate Planning   Staff

Distinct Staff For:
Critical Debates
Technical Debates
General Debates

Institute

Center

Moderation of Public Discussion Groups

Administration Structures
Congress of Policy Debate

Triple Modular-Redundant
Rotating-Membership
Committees

The Auto-Immune System

The mechanisms of corruption evolve by survival of the fittest, requiring the careful design of an auto-immune system, that detects and eliminates bias and the organization of bias, within the administration. This is difficult because the forces of bias

are vast and strongly motivated, able to make a science of simulating principled conduct while working behind the scenes for advantages to their faction and themselves.

An antibody-like immune system detects the potential for damage, action toward damage, and damage done, to isolate the causes and correct the damage. So each debate or support process has an integrity measure that tracks potential damage, as does the monitoring process. The detection process is discreet to avoid alerting manipulators.

Each member of the CPD staff and administration is scored per function in measures that are useful or readily evaluated, and may include multi-partisan scorings by others. This is practical where the function is well defined, and less practical for vaguely-defined qualities or conclusions, which may reflect only the bias of evaluators.

The inevitable social channels of administrators are prevented from becoming influence channels. This requires prohibition of private disclosure of the CPD role of administrators and governors, their anonymity in CPD public information, and the prohibition of political discussion among administrators.

The Balanced-Redundancy and Internal Fault-Detection Methods

The system of "checks and balances" set up by the US Constitution was innovative and imaginative for its time, and yet serious flaws emerged over time that are not yet corrected. The Constitutional Convention projected that the three federal branches could implement checks and balances between each other, and went no further. That works about as well as relying upon the aircraft landing gear and rudder if the wings fall off. Few scenarios were considered, no checks at all were placed on the judicial branch, and the executive branch has all enforcement power, and has rarely been balanced or checked by the others. Economic influence substantially controls all three branches.

The anti-corruption technology of democracy design was not developed after the U.S. Constitution was written, despite the warnings of the founders. Checks and balances are implemented in control systems by redundant controllers within each major system, using one of two means: Where the controller cannot detect its own errors (as in aircraft autopilots), it is placed in a group of three that vote and disable the dissenter as broken. Where the controller can detect its own errors but not fix them (as in mass storage systems), it is placed in a group of at least two, and upon detecting an error, disqualifies itself and reboots to correct itself while the other handles the workload, both recording logs of events used to diagnose and correct software faults. This method presumes that errors are due to a rare combination of circumstances that does not soon recur.

Checks and balances in a democracy requires at least three equal top-level decision groups in *each* branch (and mass media), which must agree before any power can be exercised. If one disagrees, it may be flagged and ignored until reformed. This corresponds to the triple-modular-redundancy TMR design of aircraft autopilots. A more reliable method is to use redundant cross-checking committees throughout each branch to prevent malfunctions. These methods work best where malfunction is promptly detected.

So in a human organization subject to corruption and error, both methods are needed. The federal branches must have redundant control groups that implement checks and balances, at each level and the top level. But they must also have extensive

preclusion and detection of external influence, internal monitoring, rotating committee memberships, automatic checks for bias groups, and the ability to swap out bad elements, reconfigure bad groups, and analyze records to diagnose and prevent similar errors.

While CPD administrative committees themselves detect and correct many errors, procedures detect internal faults due to staff bias or even corruption before the need arises for checks and balances, to ensure that the problem faction or bias does not gain a foothold in multiple committees.

CPD administrators will necessarily have personal viewpoints despite their acceptance of the need for impartiality. The need to balance potential bias requires that all administrators declare affiliations and affinities with viewpoint groups and ascriptive groups (race, religion, ethnicity, national origin, etc.). Admitted viewpoints are balanced and rotated within functional committees, and redundant committees balance each other. Knowledge of such traits also permits balancing debate planners, DVGs, and moderators.

Each administrative area (Debate Operations, Debate Planning, Arbitration, Staffing, IT, Finance) has three committees which check & balance each other in areas where critical decisions could be biased, and may divide up the tasks that do not require cross-checking of major decisions. Non-critical committees simply divide up workload. Thus two of three committees in any functional area must agree to make a decision.

The controlling administrative committees are studied when viewpoint balance is affected by suppression or promotion of a viewpoint by any administrative means.

Factions, Demagoguery, Social Leaders, Higher Values

Counteraction of Tribal Factions

A tribal faction in CPD administration is a group that holds common political viewpoints strongly enough to prejudice its administrative decisions controlling political debate, on the basis of a perceived identity such as race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, political viewpoint, or other group or "tribe" that commands loyalty.

Tribalism is the ancient curse of all humanity, originating in the tendency of groups to create social and economic dependencies of members, who come to fear the tribal leaders in control of those social and economic ties. That creates the perfect opportunity for tribal tyrants, who can demand power as essential defenders of the tribe, and accuse their opponents of disloyalty, by simply inventing threats to the tribe, usually the next tribe. All virtues are claimed for tribe members, all wrongs ascribed to others, and all who do not support the tyrant are declared to be dangerous enemies. Soon no one dares to disagree. Because tyrants must invent enemies to demand power as defenders, and take resources to reward their supporters, tribalism leads to aggression.

The circumstances that create tribalism are present in all groups at all levels, from families to villages/states/nations, churches/religions, ethnicities, and professions. Groups such as religions and political parties that espouse fundamental values, often have sincere leaders, but create even more perfect opportunities for tyrants, who can praise their lord and wave their flag to conceal the fact that they betray the values their group espouses,

usually in pursuit of gains for their supporters at the expense of the group's neighbors. The tyrant becomes an aggressor, starting wars to steal benefits for his supporters.

Tribalism is intensified by stress upon the group caused by war or other conflicts, often originating in nearby tribalism. The group defeated by tribalist aggression becomes angry and defensive, claims ever more the virtues that it would prefer others to live by, blames the losses caused by a tyrant aggressor upon the entirety of the aggressor tribe or all other tribes, and is soon led by its own tyrant "defender" in search of personal and factional gains from other tribes. Examples of tribalism are so numerous that it may be seen to varying degrees in every region and era, and is a principal theme in history.

In wars and severe conflicts of group interests, negotiation is merely a show for an aggressor tyrant. Those who approve the acts of their tribe in war, even in developed nations, are usually tribal opportunists themselves, and strongly ostracize all who question the tribal narrative, denouncing them as disloyal sympathizers of the tribe's enemies, and do not dare listen to debates or change their viewpoint. Yet in many cases, especially in the early stages of conflict, or where both populations are suffering and see no gain in warfare, negotiation between factions is possible through public debate of underlying causes. Without respectful debate of the issues, such conflicts cannot be resolved without mass suffering, which generally prolongs and exacerbates conflict.

The economic dependencies of tribalism are not based upon any theory, belief, or values, but motivate conformity with tribal demands. External economic dependencies are precluded in the selection and monitoring of CPD administrators.

Some social dependencies of individuals upon national, religious, ethnic, and professional tribes may exist even within the administration of an institution dedicated to resolution of the issues that underlie tribal conflicts. Where their social dependency upon professional associates in the CPD is stronger, tribalism reinforces the ethics of public debate. So the creation of <u>an administrative community that includes most of the associates of its members</u> reduces social dependency upon external political tribes engaged in debate.

Counteraction of Demagoguery

Tyrants and demogogues, those who enthrall the people, generally employ the dynamics of tribalism, and exploit the social and economic dependencies of tribe members, to control the tribe for personal gain, and to extract its resources or those of its neighbors to reward their supporters. But the demagogue also uses a set of personal tricks and social manipulations to gain supporters and power, which may be seen at work in most social groups. Such manipulations must be prevented in the CPD administration.

One common characteristic that elevates demagogues and tyrants is an impressive appearance, in height, weight, or admirable physical traits male or female, persuading many naïve persons that the demagogue is somehow safe in alliance or dangerous to oppose. The tyrant is sure to display those traits and interact publicly with those who most readily accept his/her leadership, to show others how they must behave to gain acceptance. Neither those who use, nor those who acquiesce in such manipulations, can be appropriate administrators, and those who have such physical traits must be personally evaluated, to avoid demagoguery. Because many persons naively prefer the leadership of

physically large or attractive persons, despite awareness that this is not a qualification, they are best excluded from the administration.

Another common characteristic of demagogues is the manipulation of popular styles, notions, and narratives, persuading many that the views of the demagogue are safe and comfortable, even while the demagogue uses these as a mask of real intentions. The early demagogue is an opinion leader, showing mastery of the bait of social acceptance, and pretends to a moderate rejection of opponents until he ascends to power, whereupon he secretively abuses and consolidates power, until he can make overwhelming threats of social and economic ostracism and group attack upon any opposition to his demands.

All persons may be expected to use some of the methods of the opinion leader in arguing for their viewpoints, but any effort to aggregate a faction of followers is antithetical to the administration of the CPD. However sincere the beliefs of the demagogue, the methods are abuses of administrative office and must be prohibited.

The problem here is that the acceptable means and degrees of social influence grade very subtly into opinion leadership, which grades subtly into the means of demagoguery. Administrators should avoid the assertion of strong or general political viewpoints, even when they consider such views most reasonable, and should rigorously avoid, reasonably discourage, and if necessary proscribe efforts of opinion leadership, or the assembly of a viewpoint faction among other administrators.

The prohibition of political discussion between administrators assists this goal, and violators are readily reported and checked.

Counteraction of Social Leaders and Viewpoint Factions Among Administrators

A viewpoint faction in CPD administration is a group that claims to hold a common political viewpoint, whether or not sincerely, strongly enough to prejudice its administrative decisions controlling political debate. Viewpoint factions include some who sincerely argue that they support the viewpoint, some who cannot provide a sincere or cautious argument for the viewpoint, and many whose acceptance proceeds only from social or economic tribal dependency, or personal convenience.

Social groups naturally form upon the identification of viewpoints shared with others, even without any strong inclination: most are pleased to share common ground. But where viewpoint groups form within committees, boards, or groups of CPD administrators, they threaten the impartiality relative to viewpoints, that is most essential to CPD operations. The recognition of a viewpoint group that it controls some aspect of public debate, or the assumption of high office, is a vision of power that often intoxicates the viewpoint group. As Lord Acton stated[11] "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Therefore most provisions of CPD administration against corruption deal with viewpoint group influence in various forms. Observation of the normal social processes by which viewpoint factions form, and observation of administrator factions, is therefore a primary means of counteracting their formation and influence.

Ordinary forms of social leadership often lead to opinion leadership. For example, a group of friends of a gregarious social leader include socially dependent personalities who become followers in search of approval or in hope of similar abilities and friends,

and some ultimately become socially-dependent followers. They are gradually introduced to the realization that the leader accepts some set of social or political notions, values, or narratives, and that the most accepted friends of their leader are those who "of course" accept those viewpoints as "higher values" despite their now-laughable duty to rigorously avoid bias in administrative office. The popular personality turned social leader has become a hidden opinion leader, with a hidden viewpoint faction, able to coordinate influence operations by socially dependent followers, and has become a serious threat to the integrity of the CPD administration. It is expected that administrators will have viewpoints, but they must not talk politics or form factions.

A culture of reminders and admonishment helps to prevent inadvertent violations, and early detection preserves staff members from straying or violation.

Counteraction of "Higher Values" or Beliefs

While everyone has values and policy preferences, whether these result from training, circumstances, and dependencies, or from careful study and consideration, the administrator may not allow personal values to bias the administration of public debate. The acceptance of justice for all as the highest value, and of truth as necessary to justice, and the integrity of the truth-finding process as necessary to finding truth, must be the highest values, above any political conclusions resulting from that truth-finding process.

Apart from the problems of factional interests and loyalties resulting from selfishness, recklessness, or ignorance, there are many of generally good intentions who simply believe that the values and policy conclusions of their religious or political faction, or the conclusions they have made after long study, are true beyond further questioning, and are therefore "higher values" than the value of finding the truth by means of balanced debate. Such convictions may be reached before involvement with the CPD, perhaps detected prior to admission to any administrative capacity, but might be reached in the course of administration, even while mastering the declarations and appearances of impartiality. Upon approach for a violation of neutrality, such a person may sincerely feel that they are serving "higher values" than those of the CPD. The "higher values" error is due to a *very sincere belief* that results in a violation of proper administrative procedures.

Examples of "higher values" decision errors are the choice of a VR or debate plan that ignores issues, or the decision that there is no value in subdebating an issue because one faction will demand something while the decision-maker "knows better."

An administrator who improperly advances or obstructs a viewpoint based upon generalizations or technical points that are themselves debatable, especially one dear or horrid to their professional, economic, or social group, may sincerely accept it as true or false and unconsciously advance or obstruct it in debate. But they may concede the need for debate of their assumptions only upon examination and suggestion of alternatives.

Apart from a viewpoint so completely immaterial, unfounded upon fact, or vaguely expressed that it *cannot* be debated or is not yet ready for debate, which can be excluded by accepted procedures, the administrator must accept the equal legitimacy and right to expression and debate of all viewpoints that may be usefully expressed in debate.

Counteraction of the Convergence Of Viewpoints Formerly Balanced

Convergence in a group of administrators who may have for many years engaged in impartial administration, may occur where they have gradually agreed in viewpoint, and come to regard safeguards of impartiality as superfluous. This problem is largely avoided by rotating committee membership, but might occur so broadly among governors or administrators, that rotations do not affect its prevalence. Increasing complaints of bias against some viewpoints may expose the problem.

The requirement for viewpoint balance among administrators and governors can minimize this problem, but implementation should avoid the removal of higher staff, which poses impractical problems. Blending administrators of varying seniority within committees, helps ensure that viewpoints less often converge.

Counteraction of the Presumption of Impracticality

Most innovations of great value in the implementation of government policies were previously considered impractical, often because a technology had not been developed, but often because a solution appeared potentially too complex or costly, although the difficulty later proved to be far less than that of the resulting conflict. Examples include the innovation of a broad regulation in an era of small government, and the innovation of international conflict resolution methods such as ceasefires and DMZs.

A process of qualification of viewpoints for debate, which encounters objections that a proposed policy is impractical, must consider whether the policy meets criteria of extreme or obvious unsuitability for debate, and if not, consider criteria of cost, complexity, and efficiency, initiating any further study or preliminary debate to determine practicality in broader debate. For example, a technical solution to an ecological problem should be well studied in itself, and in application, before debate of its use in solving a broad problem. The objection of "impracticality" is then moot.

Another example is the solution of the slavery issue, never debated in the lead-up to the U.S. Civil War, by means of a wholesale tax upon the buyers of slave products, to subsidize wages, towns, and schools for the former slaves. This would have left the plantation owners unaffected, avoiding the legitimate concern of the southern states, but required a large government agency perhaps thought impractical, a conceptual inconvenience that caused a war with roughly a half million deaths.

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A Boston Press Book

A very readable introduction to the Congress Of Policy Debate, which presents the details of its purposes, structure, operations, and administration. The need for the Congress is shown by sketching past failures of the executive, legislative and judicial branches to consider and debate the viewpoints that would have prevented disasters, and strong arguments of the voices of reason that policy debate is the best solution.

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