





SIGURD S. LARMON
Donor of the Larmon Trophy presented each year to the Champions
of the National Debate Tournament

Nineteenth
National
Debate Tournament
at West Point

APRIL 21-24, 1965

RESOLVED: That The Federal Govern-
ment Should Establish
a National Program of
Public Work For The
Unemployed.

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
WEST POINT, NEW YORK

FOREWORD

During April, forty of the nation's best debate teams gathered at West Point to compete in the National Debate Tournament for the highly coveted Sigurd S. Larmon Trophy, symbolic of debating excellence and the prize emblematic of the National Collegiate Debating Championship.

This book is being published to serve as a permanent record of the Nineteenth National Debate Tournament. Herein are contained a transcript of the Championship Debate and the names of those whose work made the Tournament possible.

The United States Military Academy is honored to host the National Debate Tournament each year. Our thanks go to the coaches, debaters and judges whose cooperation made this publication possible and to all those who contributed to the success of the Nineteenth National Debate Tournament. It is hoped that this Report will serve as a memento to these people and also encourage interest and participation in intercollegiate debate.

Additional copies of this publication may be obtained by addressing a request to: Director, National Debate Tournament, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York 10996.

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Commandant of Cadets

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Dean of the Academic Board

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Captain Oliver B. Combs, Jr.
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Training Aids and Debate Rooms:
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Messing: Spottswood DeWitt

Housing: Anthony Livic

Escorts: John B. Ritch, III

Statistics: Ken Moorefield

Program: Lansing T. Hewitt

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Hamilton Watch Company

The National Debate Tournament expresses its appreciation to the Hamilton Watch Company of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, through whose generosity the two highest speakers in the seeding rounds and the four finalist debaters each received a Hamilton Electric Wrist Watch. In recognition of Hamilton's continuing interest in the National Debate Tournament, the finalist watches are designated the Hamilton Award.

Dorothy Gordon Youth Forum

For the eighth successive year, five participants in the National Debate Tournament were hosted by Miss Dorothy Gordon on her program, The Dorothy Gordon Youth Forum, on WNBC-TV, New York on Sunday, 2 May.

Seeding Round 1	Seeding Round 2	Seeding Round 3	Seeding Round 4	Seeding Round 5	Seeding Round 6	Seeding Round 7	Seeding Round 8	Elimination Round	Quarter Final Round	Semi Final Round	Final Round
ABILENE CHRISTIAN GEO. WASHINGTON KANSAS STATE LOYOLA NORTHWESTERN MINNESOTA GEOGETOWN NEBRASKA STATE M.I.T. NAVY NO ILLINOIS DARTMOUTH GEO. WASHINGTON Vermont OKLAHOMA CITY PHENNYLVANIA OREGON MIAMI PACIFIC UNIV. EMORY RELANDS NOTRE DAME SAN FERNANDO ILLINOIS-CHICAGO S.W. MISSOURI RICHMOND U.S.C. WAYNE STATE WASHBURN WICHITA STATE HARVARD WYOMING WAKE FOREST	ARMY PACIFIC UNIV. BOSTON UNIV. OF PACIFIC BRANDIS OKLAHOMA CITY CARSON-NEWMAN WASHBURN DARTMOUTH SAN FERNANDO EMORY U.S.C. GEOGETOWN LOYOLA Vermont GEOGETOWN M.I.T. NAVY NO ILLINOIS DARTMOUTH GEO. WASHINGTON Vermont OKLAHOMA CITY PHENNYLVANIA OREGON MIAMI PACIFIC UNIV. EMORY RELANDS NOTRE DAME SAN FERNANDO ILLINOIS-CHICAGO S.W. MISSOURI RICHMOND U.S.C. WAYNE STATE WASHBURN WICHITA STATE HARVARD WYOMING WAKE FOREST	ABILENE CHRISTIAN DARTMOUTH KANSAS STATE CARSON-NEWMAN LOYOLA WAKE FOREST MINNESOTA RICHMOND NEBRASKA STATE ILLINOIS-CHICAGO NORTHWESTERN EMORY ARMY NO ILLINOIS DARTMOUTH GEO. WASHINGTON Vermont OKLAHOMA CITY PHENNYLVANIA OREGON BOSTON PACIFIC UNIV. GEO. WASHINGTON BRANDIS SAN FERNANDO S.W. MISSOURI MIAMI M.I.T. UNIV. OF PACIFIC NOTRE DAME PENNSYLVANIA UNIV. OF PACIFIC KANSAS STATE Vermont RICHMOND U.S.C. WAYNE STATE WASHBURN WICHITA STATE HARVARD WYOMING WAKE FOREST	ARMY NEBRASKA STATE BOSTON NORTH TEXAS BRANDIS S.W. MISSOURI CARSON-NEWMAN WYOMING DARTMOUTH LOYOLA EMORY MINNESOTA GEOGETOWN RELANDS GEO. WASHINGTON Vermont NORTH TEXAS NORTHWESTERN HARVARD NO ILLINOIS ILLINOIS-CHICAGO VASHBURN M.I.T. U.S.C. MIAMI KANSAS STATE NAVY DRECH WAYNE STATE PACIFIC UNIV. RICHMOND RELANDS UNIV. OF PACIFIC SAN FERNANDO NOTRE DAME OREGON PENNSYLVANIA UNIV. OF PACIFIC PACIFIC UNIV. RICHMOND U.S.C. DARTMOUTH UNIV. OF PACIFIC GEO. WASHINGTON WASHBURN WICHITA STATE NAVY WICHITA STATE NOTRE DAME SO. MISSISSIPPI	ABILENE CHRISTIAN CARSON-NEWMAN HARVARD GEO. WASHINGTON KANSAS STATE WAKE FOREST LOYOLA M.I.T. MINNESOTA BRANDIS NEBRASKA STATE WYOMING NO ILLINOIS Vermont NORTH TEXAS NORTHWESTERN HARVARD BOSTON OKLAHOMA CITY VASHBURN M.I.T. U.S.C. MIAMI KANSAS STATE NAVY DRECH WAYNE STATE PACIFIC UNIV. RICHMOND RELANDS UNIV. OF PACIFIC SAN FERNANDO NOTRE DAME OREGON PENNSYLVANIA UNIV. OF PACIFIC PACIFIC UNIV. RICHMOND U.S.C. DARTMOUTH UNIV. OF PACIFIC GEO. WASHINGTON WASHBURN WICHITA STATE NAVY WICHITA STATE NOTRE DAME SO. MISSISSIPPI	BOSTON NO ILLINOIS BRANDIS LOYOLA CARSON-NEWMAN DARTMOUTH S.W. MISSOURI EMORY WICHITA STATE GEOGETOWN U.S.C. GEO. WASHINGTON NEBRASKA STATE ILLINOIS-CHICAGO M.I.T. KANSAS STATE MIAMI ABILENE CHRISTIAN NAVY NORTHWESTERN HOTEL DAME PACIFIC UNIV. GEO. WASHINGTON RELANDS UNIV. OF PACIFIC SAN FERNANDO NOTRE DAME OREGON PENNSYLVANIA UNIV. OF PACIFIC PACIFIC UNIV. RICHMOND U.S.C. DARTMOUTH UNIV. OF PACIFIC GEO. WASHINGTON WASHBURN WICHITA STATE NAVY WICHITA STATE NOTRE DAME SO. MISSISSIPPI	ABILENE CHRISTIAN GEOGETOWN ARMY WAKE FOREST DARTMOUTH GEO. WASHINGTON HARVARD MIAMI KANSAS STATE NORTHWESTERN LOYOLA CARSON-NEWMAN MINNESOTA ILLINOIS-CHICAGO NEBRASKA STATE NO ILLINOIS M.I.T. NORTH TEXAS OKLAHOMA CITY NORTHWESTERN RELANDS OKLAHOMA CITY VASHBURN M.I.T. KANSAS STATE MIAMI ABILENE CHRISTIAN NAVY NORTHWESTERN HOTEL DAME PACIFIC UNIV. GEO. WASHINGTON RELANDS UNIV. OF PACIFIC SAN FERNANDO NOTRE DAME OREGON PENNSYLVANIA UNIV. OF PACIFIC PACIFIC UNIV. RICHMOND U.S.C. DARTMOUTH UNIV. OF PACIFIC GEO. WASHINGTON WASHBURN WICHITA STATE NAVY WICHITA STATE NOTRE DAME SO. MISSISSIPPI	ARMY NORTH TEXAS BOSTON SO. MISSISSIPPI BRANDIS NO. ILLINOIS CARSON-NEWMAN REDLANDS EMORY ABILENE CHRISTIAN GEOGETOWN WICHITA STATE GEO. WASHINGTON OREGON ILLINOIS-CHICAGO UNIV. OF PACIFIC M.I.T. MINNESOTA MIAMI UNIV. OF PACIFIC NAVY OKLAHOMA CITY OREGON NORTHWESTERN RELANDS U.S.C. GEOGETOWN SAN FERNANDO WICHITA STATE PENNSYLVANIA TOSU PHENNYLVANIA RICHMOND Vermont S.W. MISSOURI WAKE FOREST WASHBURN WAYNE STATE RELANDS WYOMING OKLAHOMA CITY	EMORY M.I.T. MIAMI Vermont NORTHWESTERN LOYOLA UNIV. OF PACIFIC NORTHWESTERN OREGON GEOGETOWN RELANDS MINNESOTA SAN FERNANDO WICHITA STATE U.S.C.	CARSON-NEWMAN MIAMI GEOGETOWN NORTHWESTERN	CARSON-NEWMAN NORTHWESTERN	

MATCHING BOARD - NINETEENTH NATIONAL DEBATE TOURNAMENT

PAST CHAMPIONS OF THE NATIONAL DEBATE TOURNAMENT

- 1947 - Southeastern State College
W. Scott Nobles and Gerald Sanders
Coach - T. A. Houston
- 1948 - North Texas State College
Bill Wilson and Don Clark
Coach - S. B. McAlister
- 1949 - University of Alabama
Oscar L. Newton and Mitchell C. Latoff
Coach - Annabel D. Hagood
- 1950 - University of Vermont
Richard O'Connell and Thomas Hayes
Coach - Robert B. Huber
- 1951 - University of Redlands
James Wilson and Holt Spicer
Coach - E. R. Nichols
- 1952 - University of Redlands
James Wilson and Holt Spicer
Coach - E. R. Nichols
- 1953 - University of Miami
Gerald Kogan and Lawrence C. Perlmutter
Coach - Donald Sprague
- 1954 - University of Kansas
William Arnold and Hubert Bell
Coach - Kim Griffin
- 1955 - University of Alabama
Dennis Holt and Ellis M. Storey
Coach - Annabel D. Hagood
- 1956 - United States Military Academy
George Walker and James Murphy
Coach - Abbott Greenleaf
- 1957 - Augustana College
Norman Lefstein and Phillip Hubbard
Coach - Martin Holcomb
- 1958 - Northwestern University
William Welsh and Richard Kirshberg
Coach - Russell R. Windes, Jr.
- 1959 - Northwestern University
William Welsh and Richard Kirshberg
Coach - Russell R. Windes, Jr.

- 1960 - Dartmouth College
Anthony Roisman and Saul Baernstein
Coach - Herbert L. James
- 1961 - Harvard University
Laurence Tribe and Gene Clements
Coach - James Kincaid
- 1962 - Ohio State University
Dale Williams and Sarah Benson
Coach - Richard Rieke
- 1963 - Dartmouth College
Frank Wohl and Stephen Kessler
Coach - Herbert L. James
- 1964 - University of the Pacific
Raoul Kennedy and Douglas Pipes
Coach - Paul Winters

PAST RUNNERS-UP OF THE NATIONAL DEBATE TOURNAMENT

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1947 - University of Southern California | 1956 - St. Joseph's College |
| 1948 - University of Florida | 1957 - U.S. Military Academy |
| 1949 - Baylor University | 1958 - Harvard University |
| 1950 - Augustana College | 1959 - Wisconsin State Coll., Eau Claire |
| 1951 - Kansas State Teachers Coll., Emporia | 1960 - San Diego State College |
| 1952 - Baylor University | 1961 - King's College |
| 1953 - College of the Holy Cross | 1962 - Baylor University |
| 1954 - University of Florida | 1963 - University of Minnesota |
| 1955 - Wilkes College | 1964 - Boston College |

NINETEENTH
NATIONAL
DEBATE
TOURNAMENT

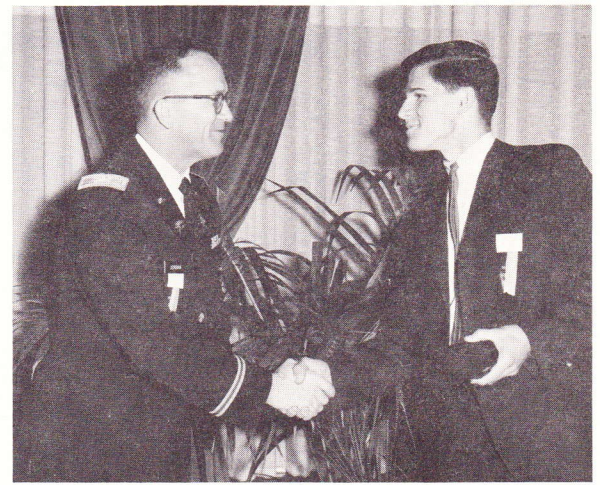


MR. PATRICK HEALY
Director, Community Relations, Job Corps
delivering the banquet address



FIRST PLACE SPEAKER

Robert Shrum, of Georgetown University, receives a Hamilton electric wrist watch from Colonel Amos A. Jordan, Professor of Social Sciences.



SECOND PLACE SPEAKER

Doug Pipes, of the University of the Pacific, receives a Hamilton electric wrist watch from Colonel Amos A. Jordan, Professor of Social Sciences.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Forty teams from the eight national districts debated eight seeding rounds of strength versus strength pairings the first two days of the Tournament, and the top sixteen teams participated in four elimination rounds in the final day.

Carson-Newman College won the National Debate Tournament and became the possessor for one year of the Sigurd S. Larmon Trophy. Debating the affirmative side of the national debate topic, Carson-Newman defeated Northeastern State College in the Championship Round by a 6-1 vote.

At the Tournament banquet, held after the completion of the eight seeding rounds, Mr. Patrick Healy, Director of Community Relations for the Job Corps, delivered the principal address. Colonel Amos A. Jordan, Professor of Social Sciences at the United States Military Academy, presented the Lt. George W. P. Walker Memorial Awards of two Hamilton Electric Wrist Watches to the two speakers who had received the highest number of speakers' points in the eight seeding rounds: Robert Shrum of Georgetown University, first place, and Doug Pipes of the University of the Pacific, second place. The members of the two finalist teams, Barnett Pearce and John Wittig of Carson-Newman College, and Glenn Strickland and David Johnson of Northeastern State College each received prize electric watches, designated the Hamilton Award, following the final debate. These watches were made available through the generosity of the Hamilton Watch Company, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

The sixteen teams entering the elimination rounds Saturday were selected on the following basis:

First, on the number of debates won during the seeding rounds.

Second, in case of ties, on the number of judges' votes received.

Third, if a tie still existed on the number of team points received.

* * *

Tape recordings of the Championship Round of debate are available without charge. To obtain a copy of the tape, send a blank 1800 foot reel of recording tape to: Signal Officer, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York 10996, ATTN: Recording Studio. The debate will be transcribed on the blank reel and returned to the sender.

CHAIRMAN AND COMMITTEES FOR 1965

DISTRICT I

Arizona, California, Hawaii, Nevada, Utah

Chairman Professor Jed Richardson, Brigham Young University
Professor Donald Cameron, San Fernando Valley State College
Professor John DeBross, University of Southern California
Professor Jack Howe, University of Arizona
Professor Robert Kully, Los Angeles State College
Professor Paul Winters, University of the Pacific

DISTRICT II

Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming

Chairman Professor Albert C. Hingston, Pacific University
Professor Theodore Karl, Pacific Lutheran University
Professor Les Lawrence, Montana State University at Bozeman
Professor W. Scott Nobles, University of Oregon

DISTRICT III

Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas
Mississippi

Chairman Professor Dave Matheny, Texas Christian University
Professor Arnold Anderson, Lamar State College
Professor Edward Brown, Abilene Christian College
Professor Glenn Capp, Baylor University
Professor Ben Chappell, University of Southern Mississippi
Professor D. J. Nabors, East Central State College (Oklahoma)
Professor Fred Tewell, Oklahoma State University

DISTRICT IV

Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska
North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin

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Professor Charles Fulcher, Washburn University
Professor Larry Larmer, Kansas State Teachers College (Emporia)
Mr. Donn Parson, University of Kansas
Professor Fred Phelps, Nebraska State College (Kearney)
Professor John Schmidt, Wisconsin State University (Oshkosh)

DISTRICT V

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Professor Richard LaVarnway, University of Chicago
Professor Ronald Reid, Purdue University
Professor Richard Rieke, Ohio State University
Professor Joseph Wenzel, University of Illinois
Professor George Ziegelmüller, Wayne State University

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South Carolina, Tennessee

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Professor Gifford Blyton, University of Kentucky
Professor Merrill G. Christophersen, University of South Carolina
Professor Forrest Conklin, Carson-Newman College
Professor Annabel D. Hagood, University of Alabama
Professor Franklin Shirley, Wake Forest College
Professor Joseph Wetherby, Duke University

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Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia

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Professor Robert Connelly, King's College
Professor George Henigan, George Washington University
Professor Joseph Morice, Duquesne University
Professor Robert Newman, University of Pittsburgh
Professor William Reynolds, Georgetown University

DISTRICT VIII

Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire
New York, Rhode Island, Vermont

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Professor James Cameron, Eastern Nazarene College
Professor Betty Grimmer, St. John's University (Brooklyn)
Professor Herbert James, Dartmouth College
Professor John A. Lynch, St. Anselm's College
Rev. Paul McGrady, S. J., College of the Holy Cross
Mr. Lawrence Tribe, Harvard University

GUEST JUDGES

A special debt of thanks is owed the following individuals who gave of their time, energy, and resources to assist in judging at the Nineteenth National Debate Tournament. Gratitude is also due their schools for releasing them from their duties to attend the Tournament and, in many cases, for financing their journeys to West Point.

Malthon M. Anapol
University of Hartford

Robert H. Donaldson
Harvard University

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City College of New York

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United States Air Force Academy

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University of Chicago

James R. East
Parsons College

John Belniak
Harpur College

Robert Wm. Evans
Carthage College

Mrs. Dorothy Bishop
Northern Illinois University

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Brooklyn, New York

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Wayne State University

Barbara Feuerman
Columbia Grammar School

Robert Boren
Brigham Young University

Robert Fishman
Clark College

Nelson M. Carpenter
West Georgia College

Charles A. Glackin
Georgetown University

W. W. Chaffin
Washington & Lee University

Daniel J. Goulding
Albion College

Lt. Louis Chappuie
United States Naval Academy

John B. Greg
Wayne State University

Blair Clark
Columbia University

James J. Hall
St. John's University

Marvin Cox
Wichita State University

Wayne Hayden
Suffern, New York

Nicholas M. Cripe
Butler University

Robert J. Higgins
Pennsylvania State University

Michael Cronin
University of Vermont

Miss Joan Horrigan
State College at Framingham

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Washington, D. C.

Robert B. Huber
University of Vermont

Russell N. De Vinney
Pennsylvania State University

Lee W. Heubner
Harvard University

Roger Hufford
Clarion State College

Milton E. Kern
Glenville State College

Steven Kessler
Columbia University

Mrs. Steven Kessler
New York, New York

David A. Kolb, S. J.
Fordham University

Richard LaVarnway
University of Chicago

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University of Illinois-Chicago

Diane LeLito
Northern Illinois

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Norwich, Vermont

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Texas Christian University

Mrs. David L. Matheny
Texas Christian University

A. L. McLeod
Lockhaven State College

J. C. McCroskey
Pennsylvania State University

Mrs. Lucy Anne Melhuish
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Francis J. Mertz
St. Peter's College

Rev. Gerald J. Murphy, S. J.
St. Peter's College

R. H. Myers
University of Wisconsin

Janet Norberg
Eastern Illinois University

Richard T. O'Connell, Esq.
Old Saybrook, Connecticut

Charles E. Parkhurst
Brooklyn College

Jed J. Richardson
Brigham Young University

Richard D. Rieke
Ohio State University

Stan Rives
Illinois State University

Robert E. Roberts
George Washington University

Elizabeth W. Rowe
Shrewsbury High School

Saul Rossien
Trenton State College

Michael P. Schon
Memphis State University

James J. Seabol
St. Vincent Prep.

Larry Silvey
Nebraska State College

Ralph R. Smith
Columbia University

Captain John F. Sloan
United States Military Academy

Janice B. Snook
Rosemont College

Edwin L. Stevens
George Washington University

John R. Swaney
Sherman, Texas

E. R. Tame
Bethany Nazarene College

Jerry L. Tarver
University of Richmond

Lt. Colonel Warren C. Thompson
Air Command & Staff College

Carson W. Veach
Colgate University

George J. Wade, Esq.
New York, New York

K. Wayne Wall
Norwich University

Grace Walsh
Wisconsin State University

Robert R. Walton
Trenton Central High School

Joseph W. Wenzel
University of Illinois

Herbert A. Wessling
Stonehill College

Raymond S. Wilkes
Wayne State University

Russel R. Windes
City University of New York

Frank Wohl
University of Chicago



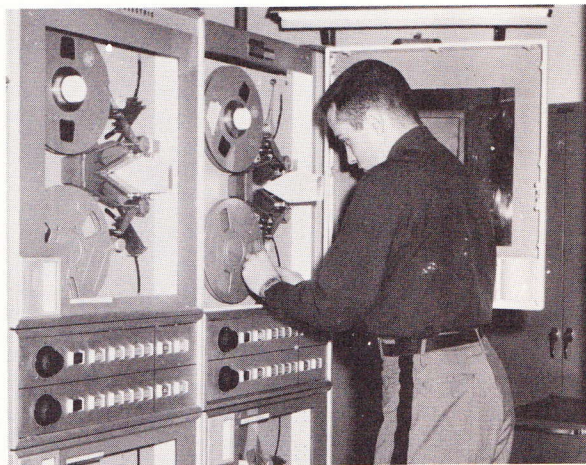
The Semi-Finalists At Leisure



The Final Debate Begins



Strategy



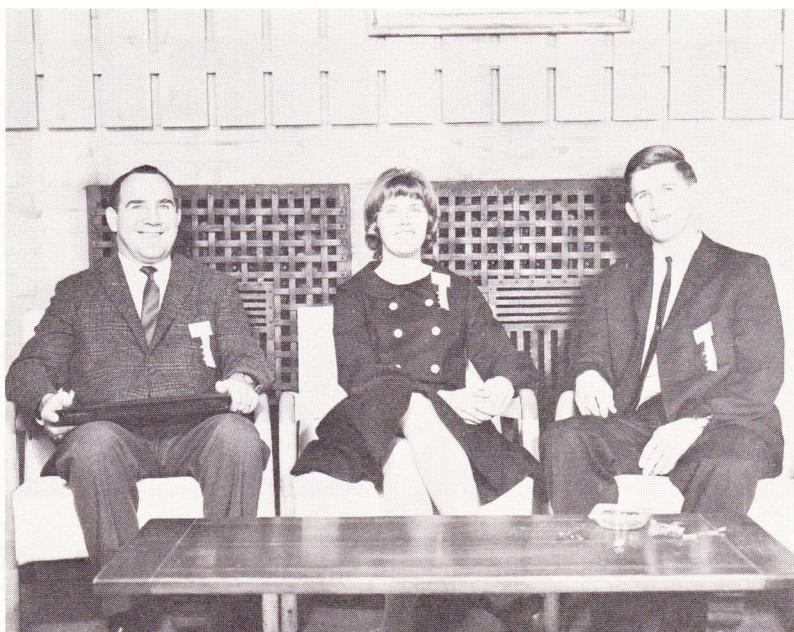
The Nerve Center

PARTICIPATING TEAMS

District I



University of Southern California
Larry Stein, Dave Kenner, (not pictured)
John C. DeBross (Coach)

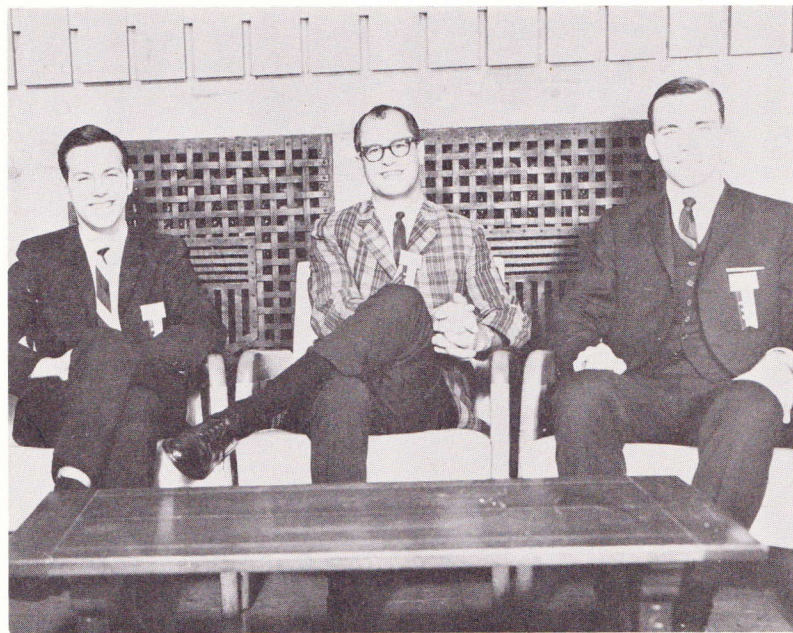


University of the Pacific
Paul Winters (Coach), Patty Bilbrey,
Doug Pipes

District I

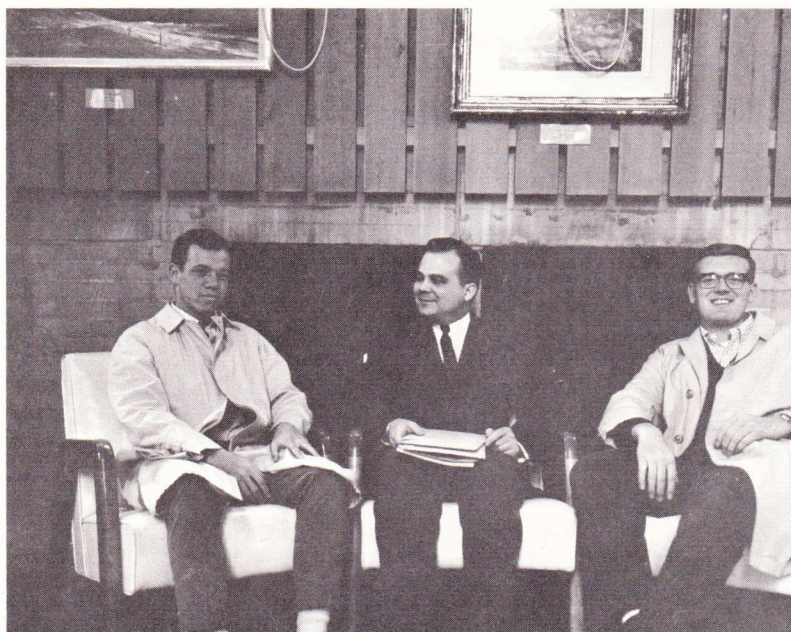


San Fernando Valley State College
Jeff Sobel, Janet Padden,
(not pictured) Don Cameron (Coach)

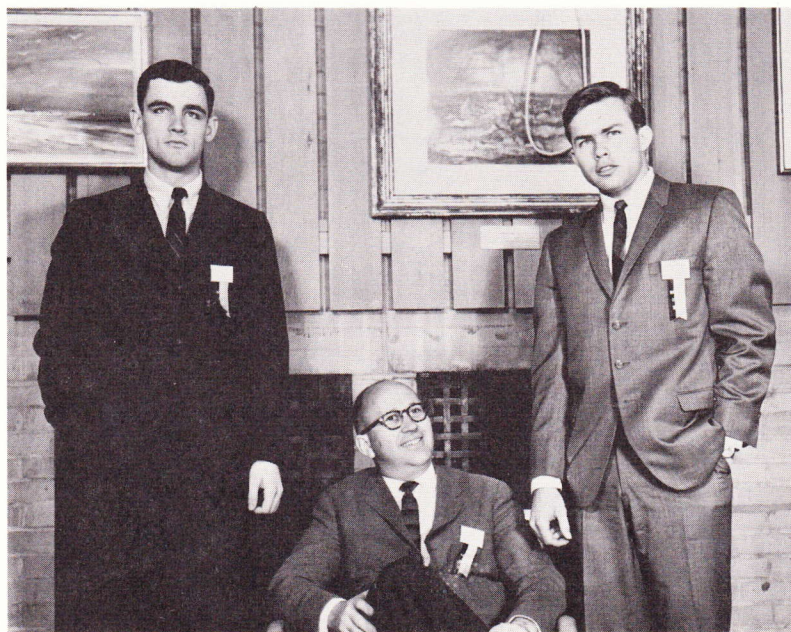


University of Redlands
Michael Jones, Louis Cockerham (Coach),
Doug Foerster

District I



Loyola University of Los Angeles
Bill Waysman, George Schell (Coach)
Terry O'Reilly



University of Oregon
Gordon Zimmerman, W. Scott Nobles (Coach)
Steve Jamison

District II

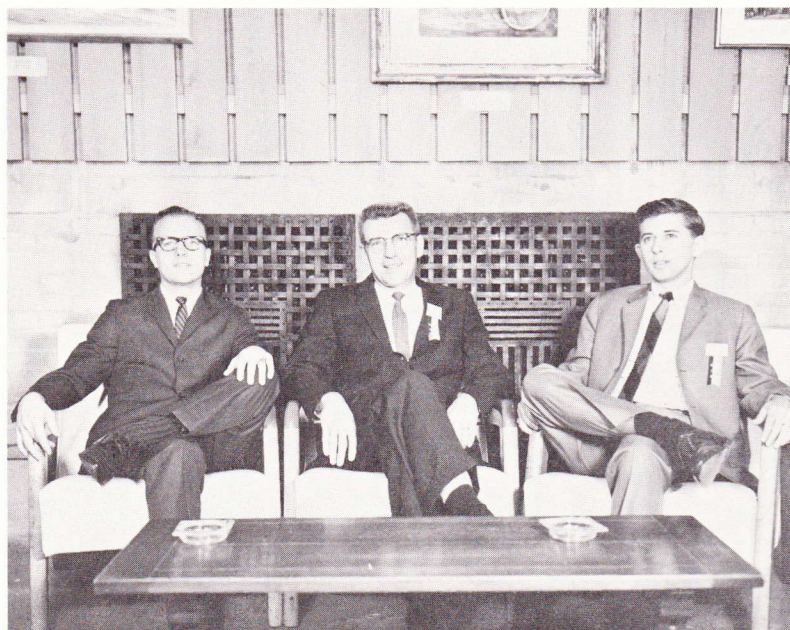


University of Wyoming
Fred Crimmel, Bill Wilmot,
Wayne Callaway (Coach)



Pacific University
Clark Peters, Oscar Warnstrom,
(not pictured) A. C. Hingston (Coach)

District III

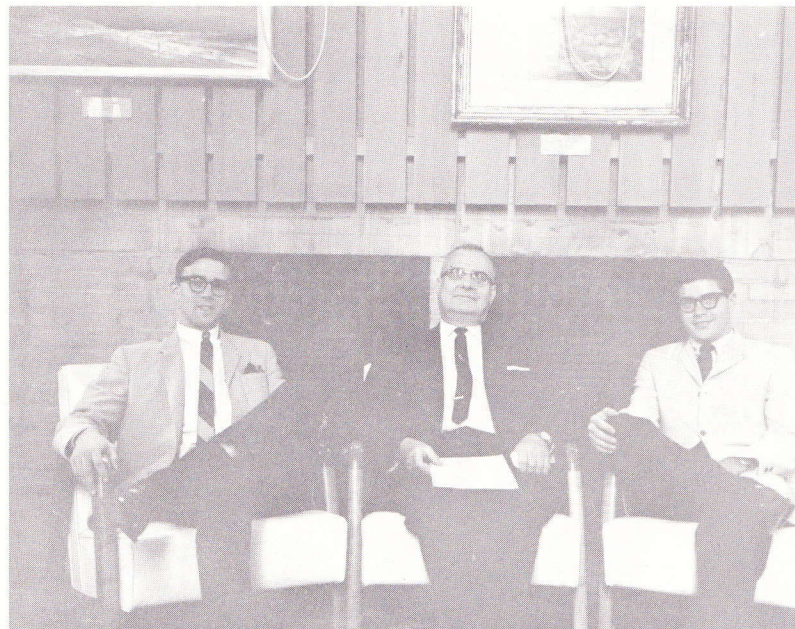


Abilene Christian College
John Ferguson, Edward Brown (Coach),
Larry Bradshaw

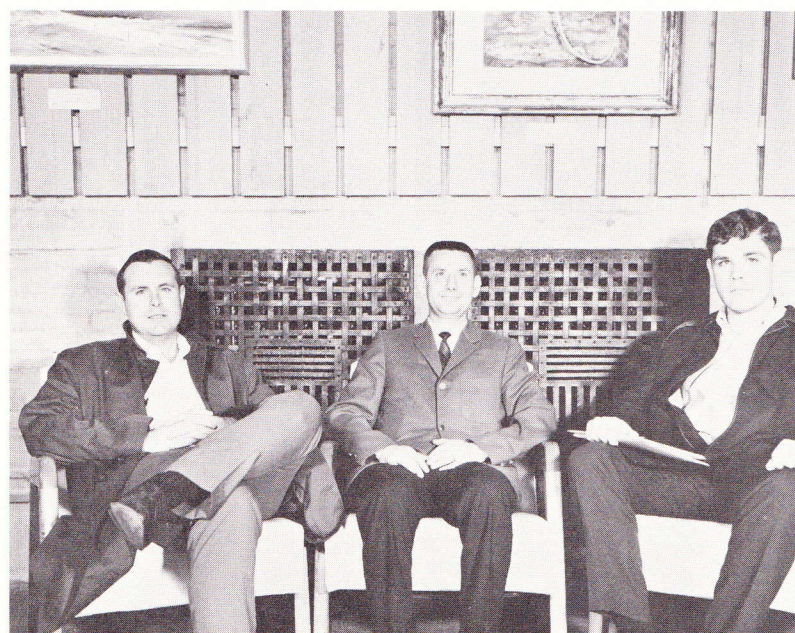


North Texas State University
William DeMougeot (Coach),
Jebby Prindle, Ben Sheppard

District III

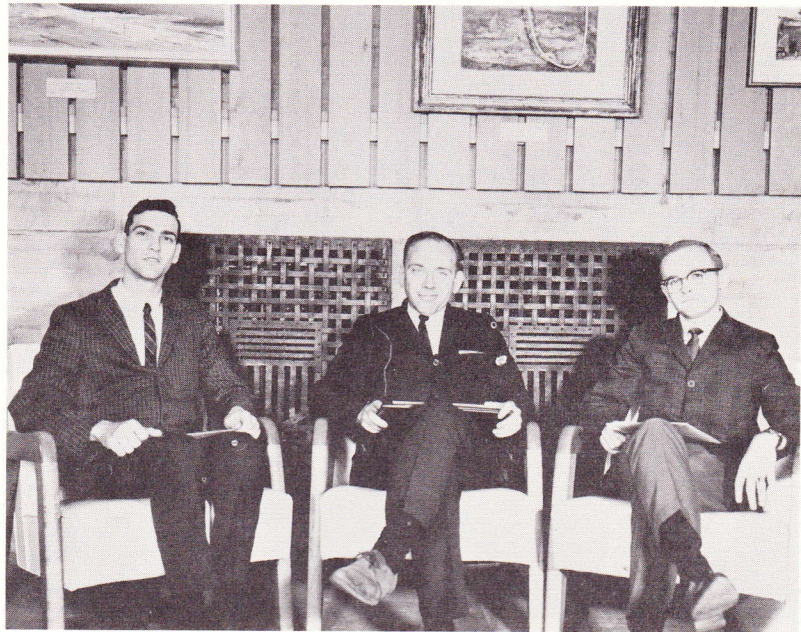


Oklahoma City University
Chuck Turci, J. D. Hoover (Coach),
Jerry Jayne

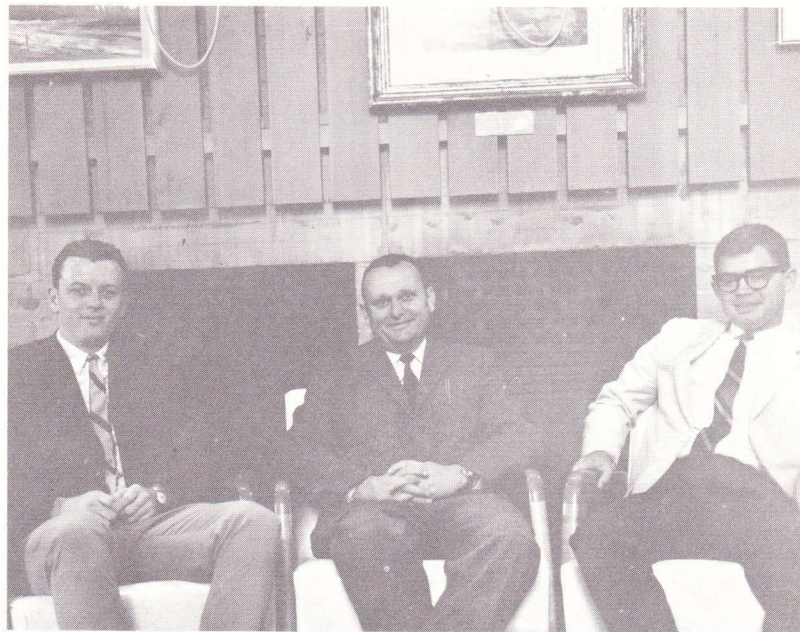


Northeastern State College
Glenn Strickland, Valgene Littlefield (Coach),
David Johnson

District III

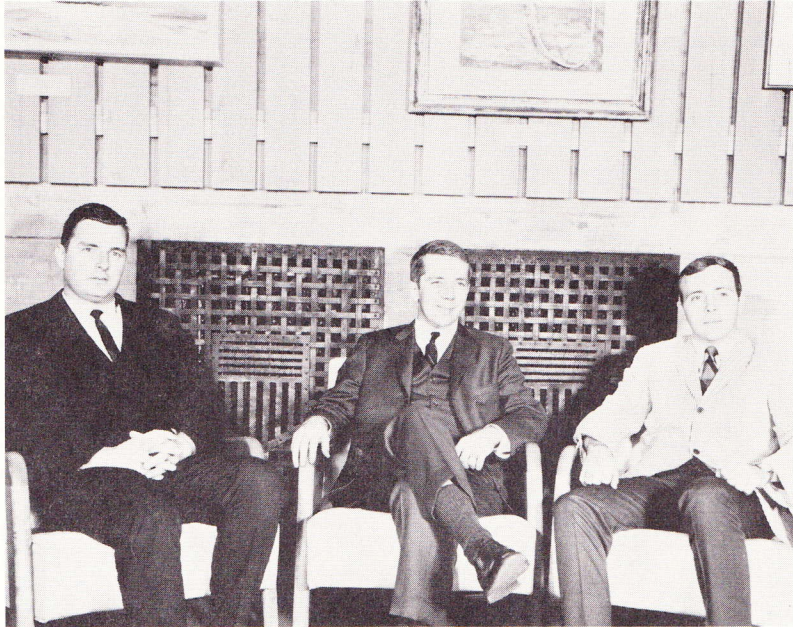


University of Southern Mississippi
Jesse Delia, Ben Chappell (Coach)
David Swanson

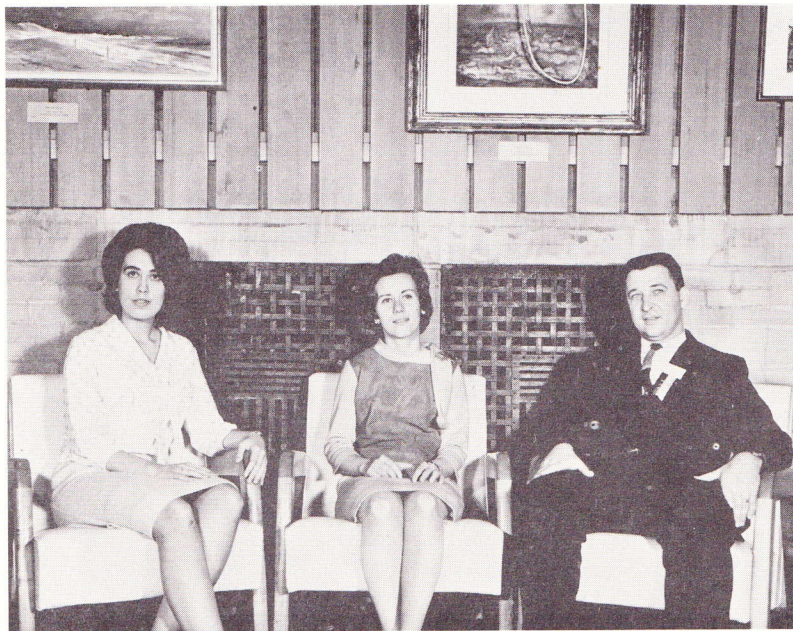


Southwest Missouri State College
Richard Franks, Holt Spicer (Coach),
Kent Keller

District IV

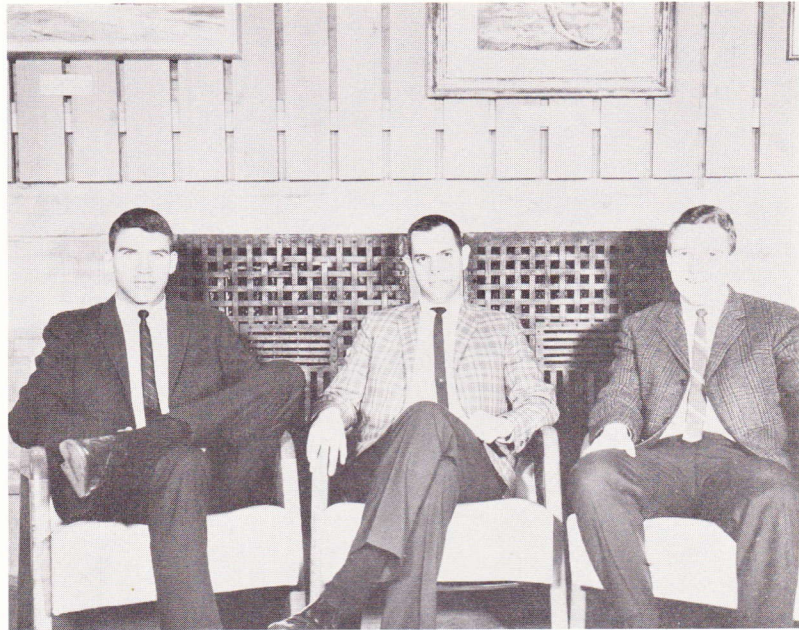


Washburn University
Jim Riley, Chuck Fulcher (Coach)
Paul Thomas



University of Minnesota
Barbara Berg, Bernie Brock (Coach),
Sherill Hooker

District IV

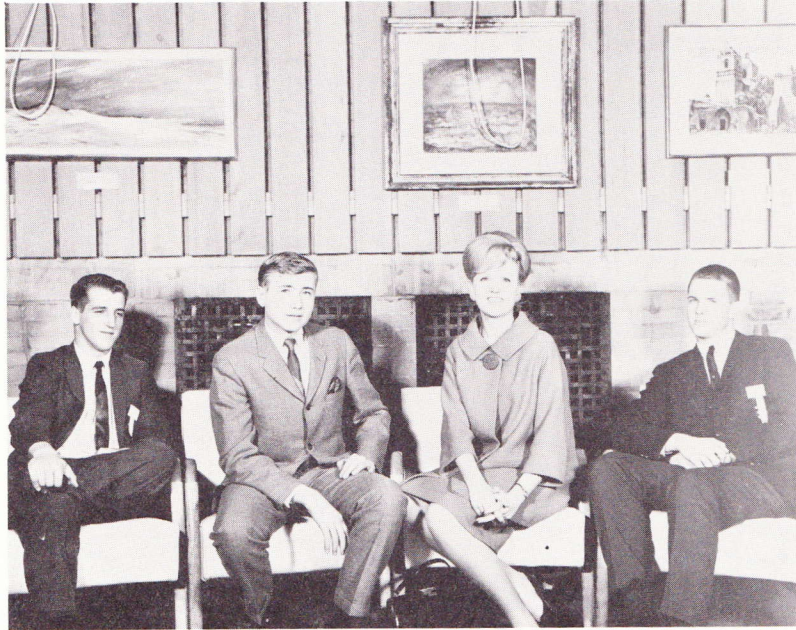


Kansas State Teachers College
Charles White, Larry Larmer (Coach),
Charles Willard



Nebraska State College at Kearney
John Bliese, Bob Lapp (not pictured)
Fred Phelps (Coach)

District IV

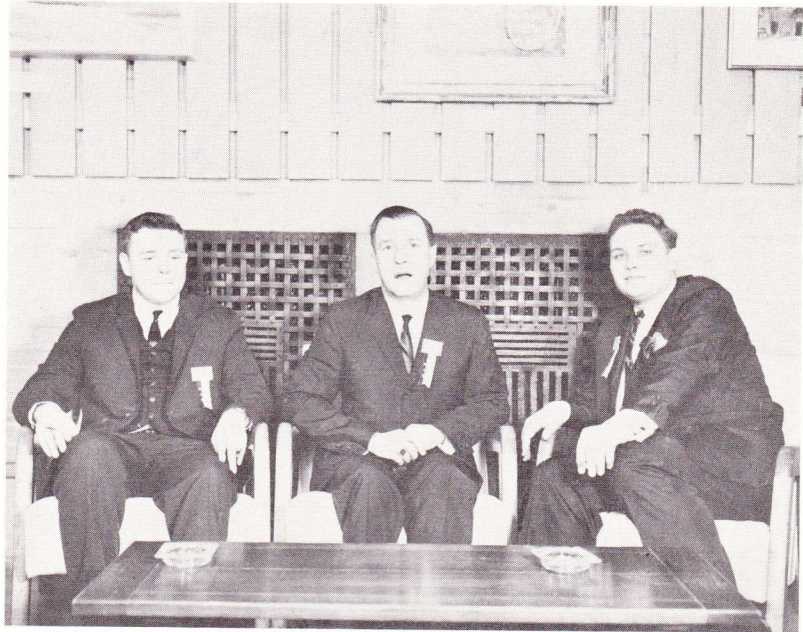


Wichita State University
Marvin Cox (Judge), Bob Shields,
Quincalee Brown (Coach), Bob Glenn

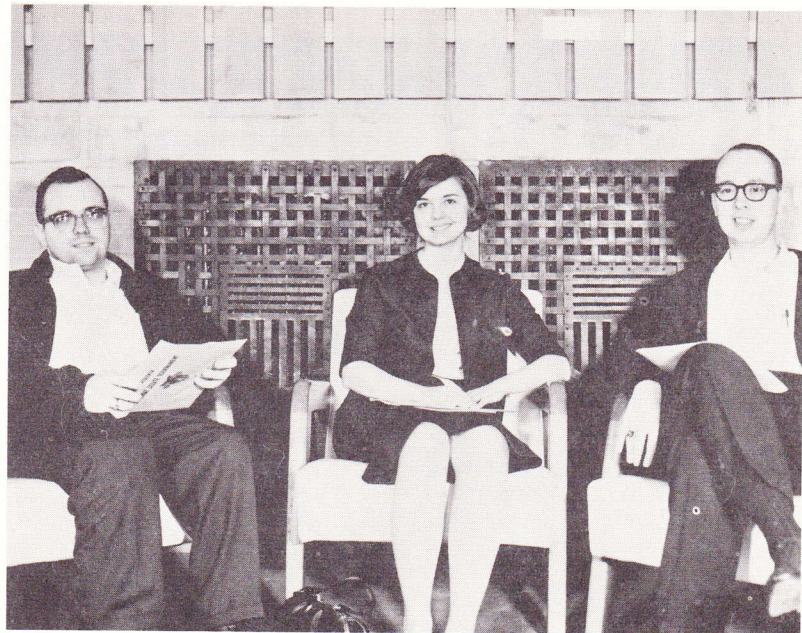


Northern Illinois University
John Cragan, Herbert Hess (Coach),
Diane Lelito (Judge), Jo Sprague,
Mrs. Dorothy Bishop (Judge)

District V

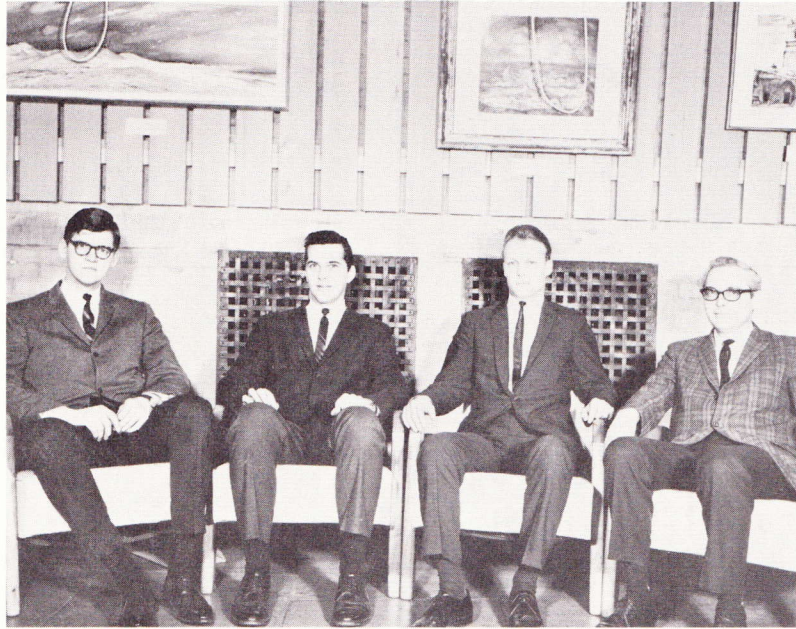


University of Notre Dame
John Roos, Leonard Sommer (Coach),
Larry Petroschius

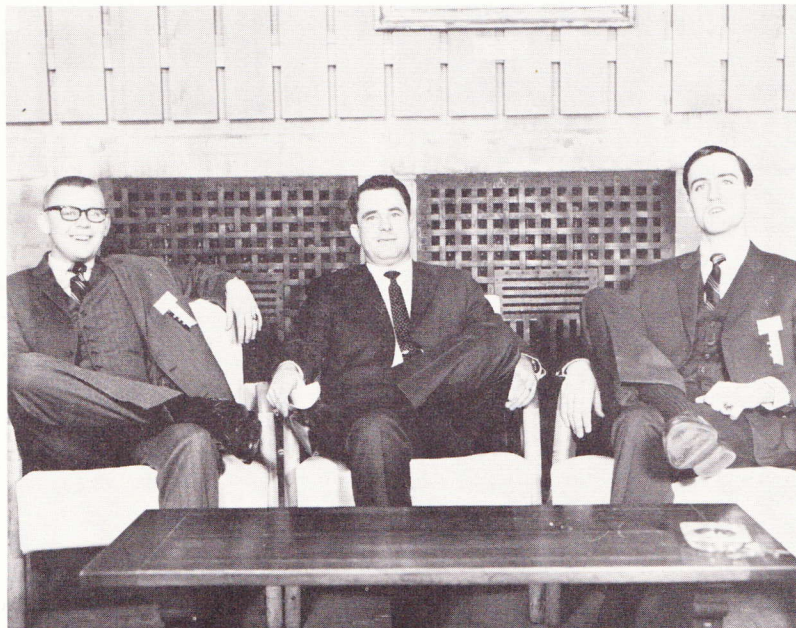


Wayne State University
David Ling, Sandra Purnell
George Ziegelmuller (Coach)

District V

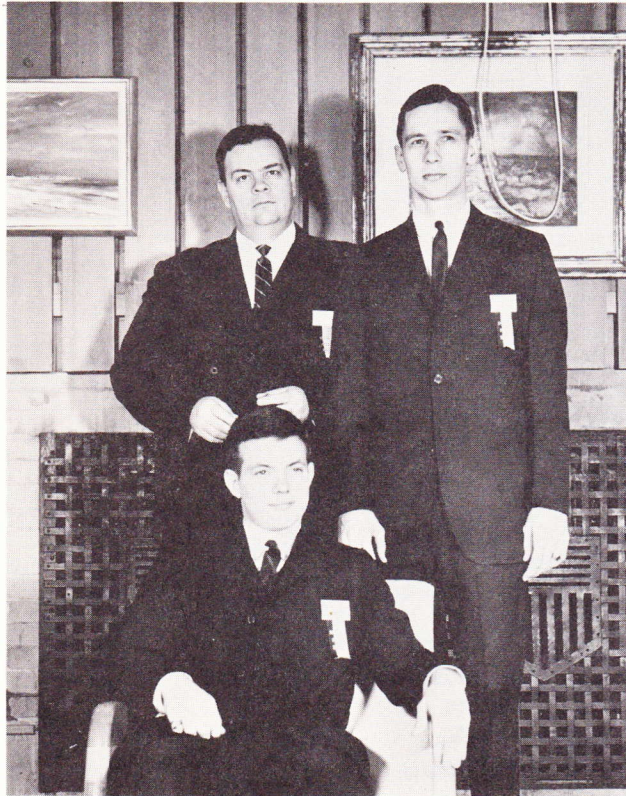


University of Illinois - Chicago
Charles Ledbetter, Ron Marich,
Joseph Buga, Ted Jackson (Coach)

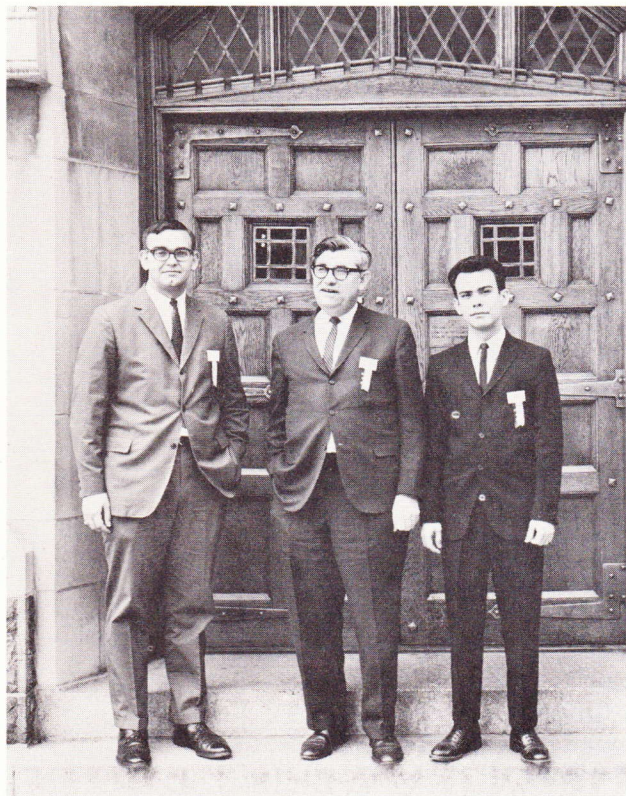


Northwestern University
Mike Denger, Thomas McClain (Coach),
William Snyder

District VI

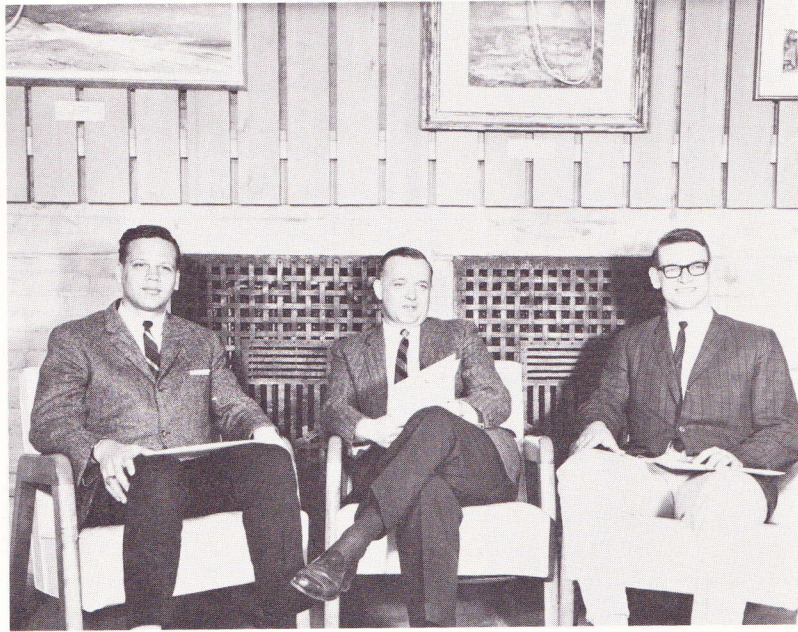


Emory University
Glenn Pelham (Coach), Charles Clark,
Larry Woods

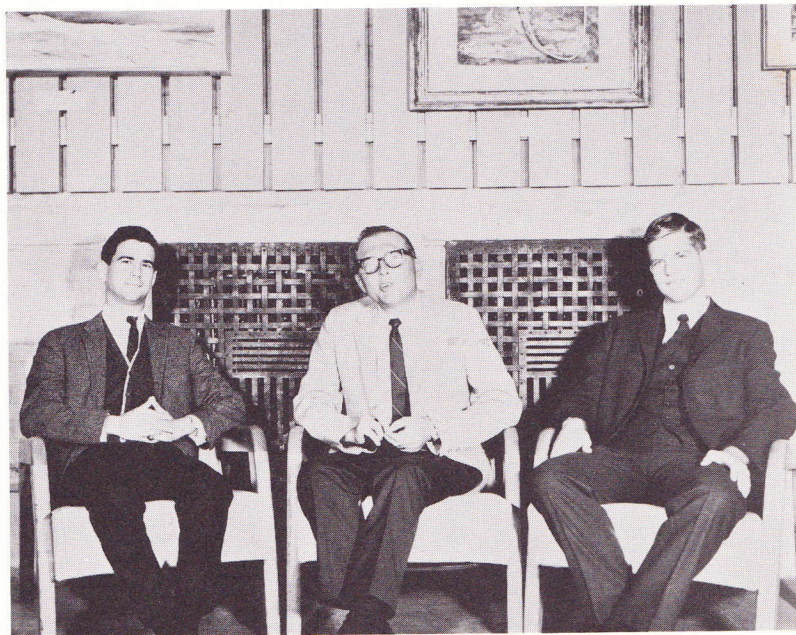


Wake Forrest College
Neil Tate, Franklin Shirley (Coach),
Jose Cabezas

District VI

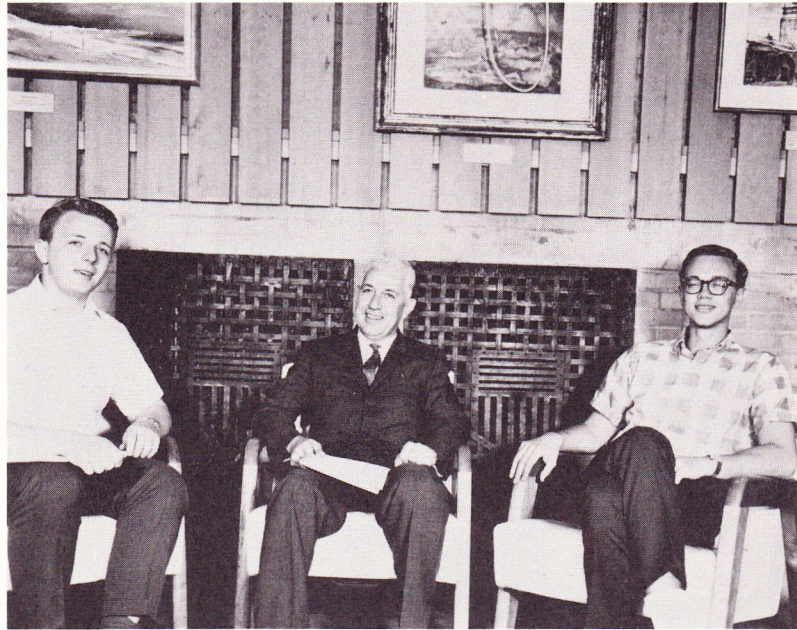


Carson-Newman College
John Wittig, Forrest Conklin (Coach),
Barnett Pearce

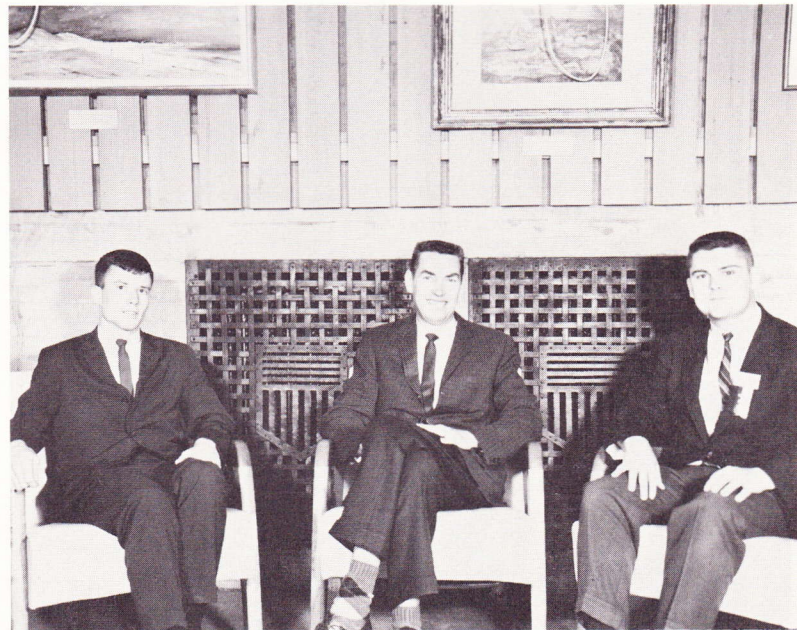


University of Miami
Ron Sabo, Frank Nelson (Coach),
Steve Mackauf

District VII

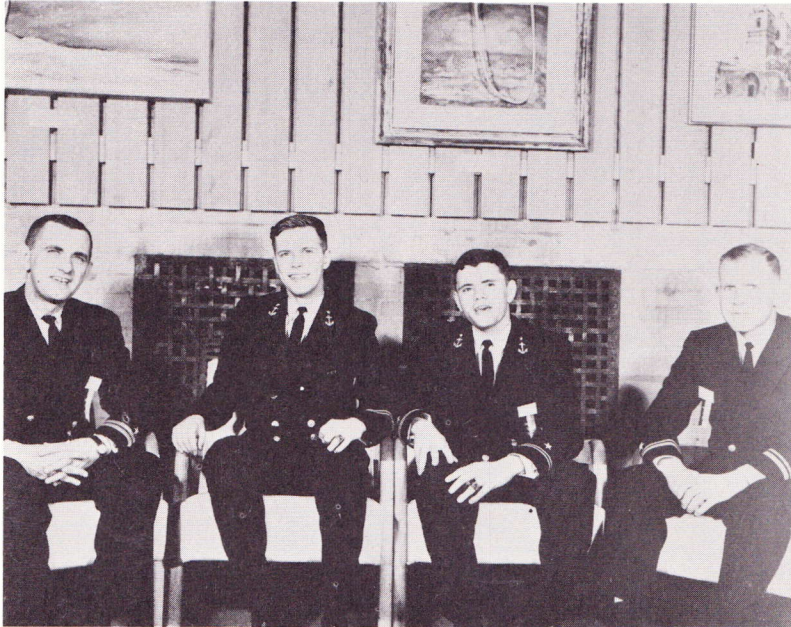


George Washington University
John McCune, George F. Henigan (Coach),
Hugh Heclo

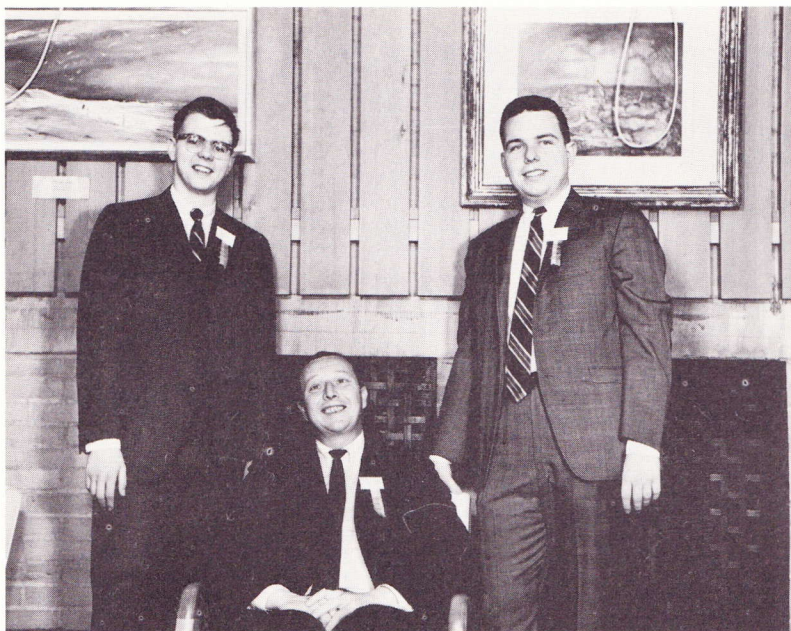


University of Richmond
Robert Cox, Bert Bradley (Coach),
Raymond Robertson

District VII

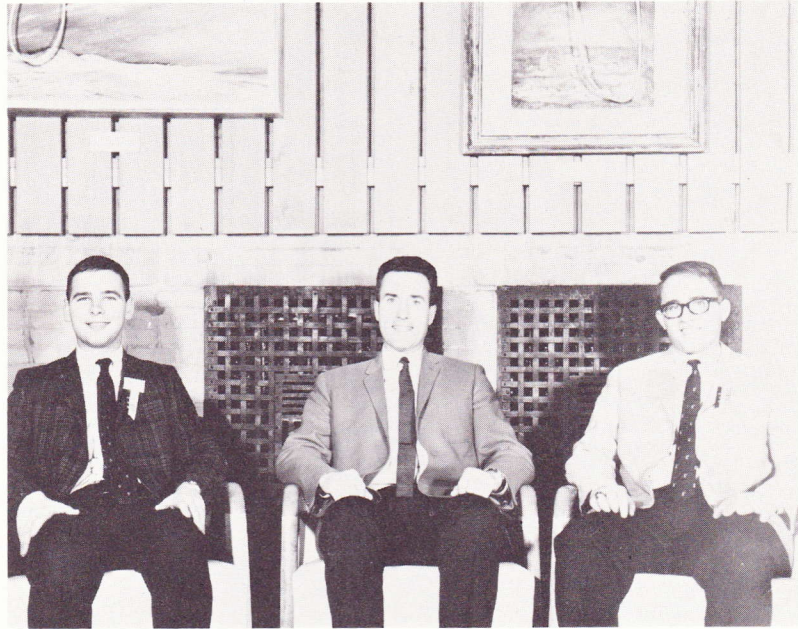


United States Naval Academy
Lt. L. J. Flink (Coach), Craig Carlson,
Edwin Linz, Lt. Louis Chappuie (Judge)

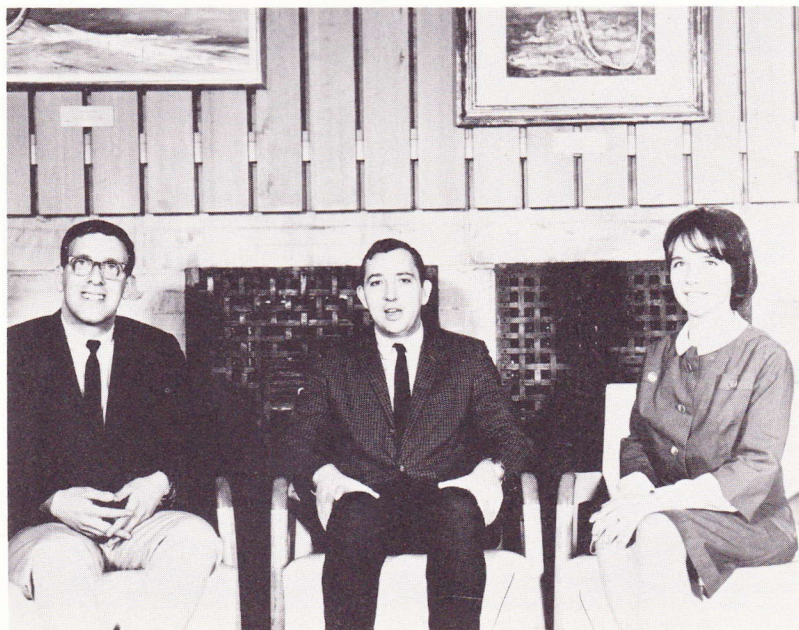


Georgetown University
John Koeltl, William Reynolds (Coach),
Robert Schrum

District VII



University of Pennsylvania
Lawrence Haverty, Miceal Carr (Coach),
Alan Westheimer

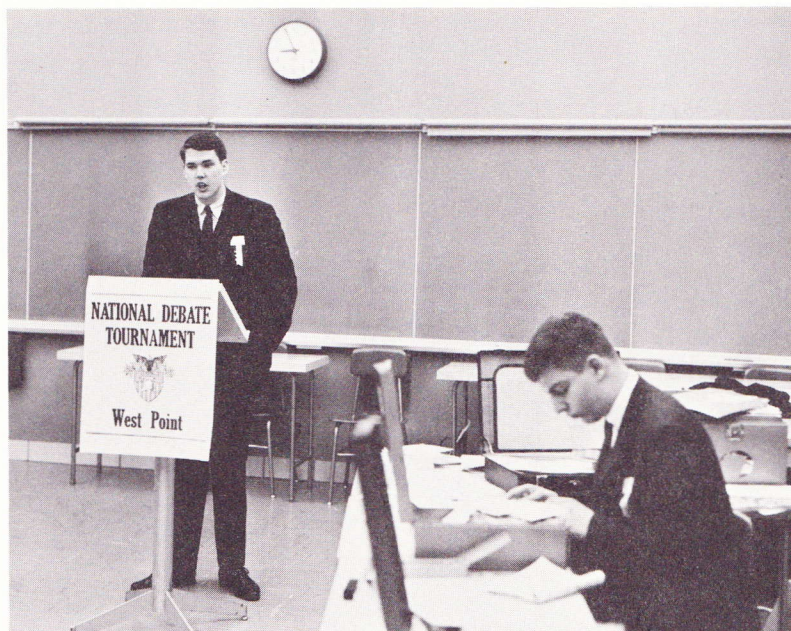


University of Vermont
Norman Snow, Robert Carr (Coach),
Carmen Wessner

District VIII

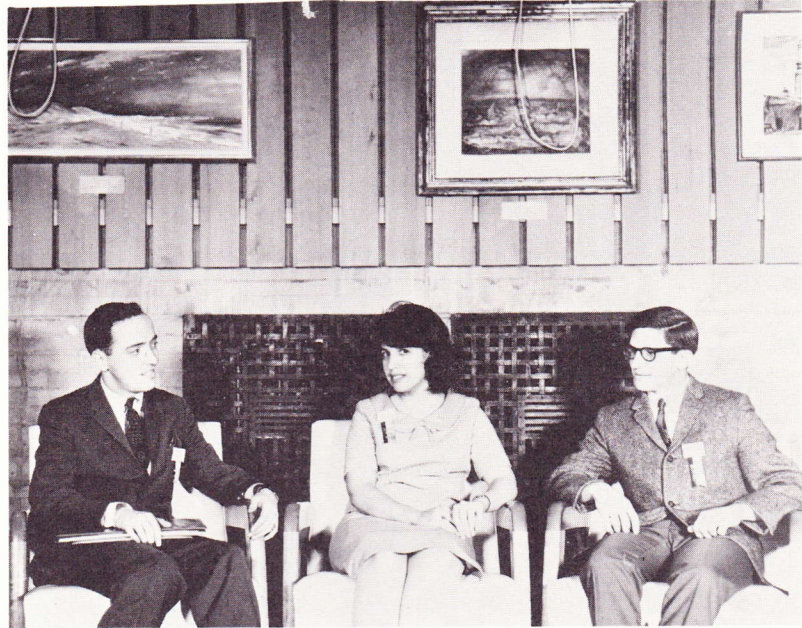


Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Madis Sulg, Eric Johnson, (not pictured)
Richard Kirshberg (Coach)

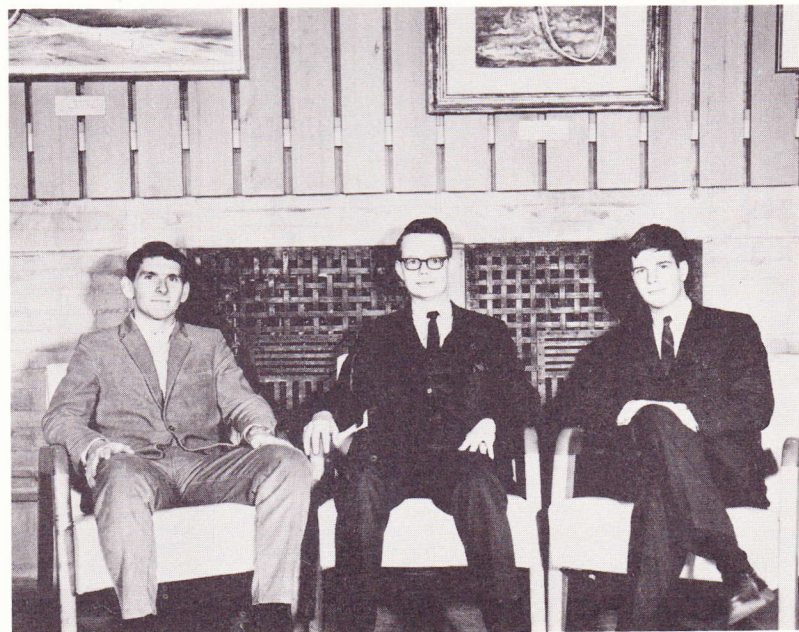


Harvard University
Jim Turner, Tom Fritzsche, (not pictured)
Larry Tribe (Coach)

District VIII

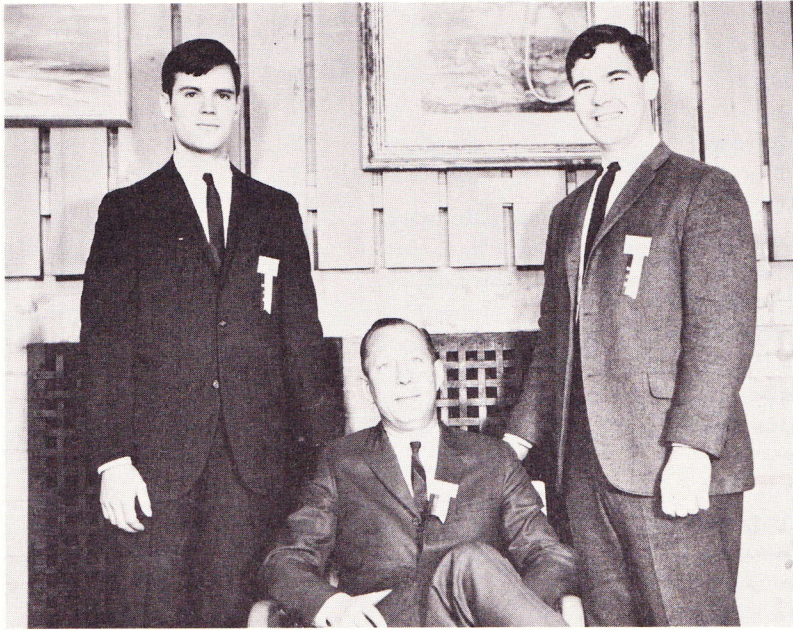


Brandeis University
Frank Harrison (Coach), Deborah Lewis,
Allan Lichtman

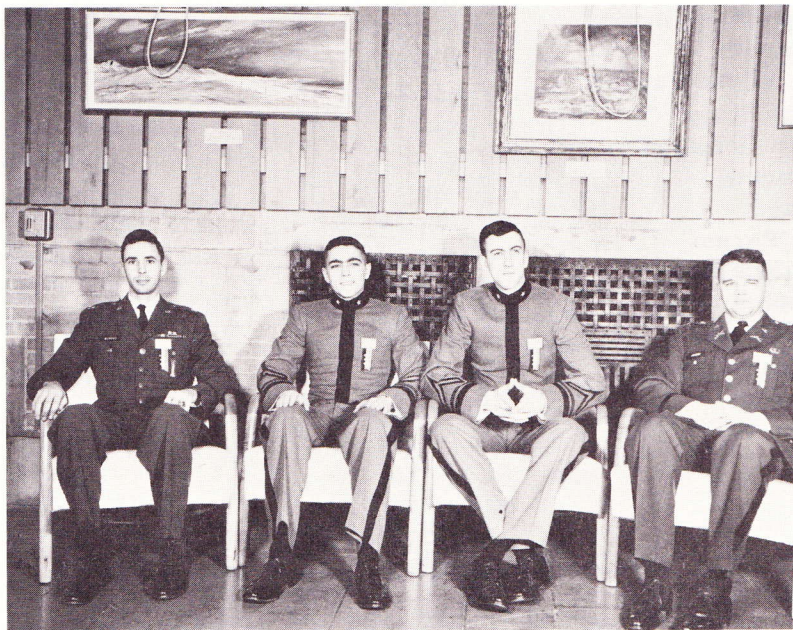


Boston College
Joseph McLaughlin, Jim Unger (Ass't Coach),
Robert Halli, (Not pictured) John Lawton (Coach)

District VIII



Dartmouth College
Brian Butler, Herbert James (Coach),
Weaver Gaines



United States Military Academy
Captain Jim Murphy (Coach), Wesley Clark,
Jack LeCuyer, Captain Gus Johnson (Coach)

SEEDING ROUND RECORDS

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Team</u>	<u>Wins</u>	<u>Judges' Votes</u>	<u>Team Points</u>
1	Redlands	7	21	991
2	Loyola	7	19	995
3	Georgetown	6	16	1013
4	M. I. T.	6	16	1008
5	U. S. C.	6	15	981
6	Vermont	5	15	1026
7	Northwestern	5	15	1012
8	San Fernando	5	15	989
9	Carson-Newman	5	15	944
10	No. Illinois	5	14	949
11	Miami	5	13	990
12	Wichita State	5	13	961
13	Emory	5	12	913
14	Oregon	5	11	955
15	Northeastern State	4	13	968
16	Minnesota	4	13	931
17	Notre Dame	4	13	930
18	Wayne State	4	12	959
19	Illinois-Chicago	4	12	949
20	Abilene Christian	4	12	917
21	Southern Mississippi	4	12	905
22	U. S. N. A.	4	12	869
23	Southwest Missouri	4	11	992
24	Washburn	4	11	916
25	North Texas State	4	11	835
26	Brandeis	4	10	967
27	George Washington	3	13	989
28	Dartmouth	3	13	930
29	Univ. of the Pacific	3	12	1003
30	Kansas State	3	11	953
31	Boston College	3	11	941
32	Richmond	3	11	837
33	Harvard	3	10	954
34	Wake Forest	3	10	834
35	Nebraska State	3	9	866
36	Oklahoma City	3	9	828
37	Pennsylvania	2	8	910
38	U. S. M. A.	1	4	828
39	Wyoming	1	4	782
40	Pacific Univ.	1	3	729

	<u>Seeding Rounds</u>								<u>Totals</u>
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>VII</u>	<u>VIII</u>	
Affirmative Wins	7	4	8	9	11	8	10	9	66
Negative Wins	13	16	12	11	9	12	10	11	94
Split Decisions	9	15	7	14	9	8	9	11	82

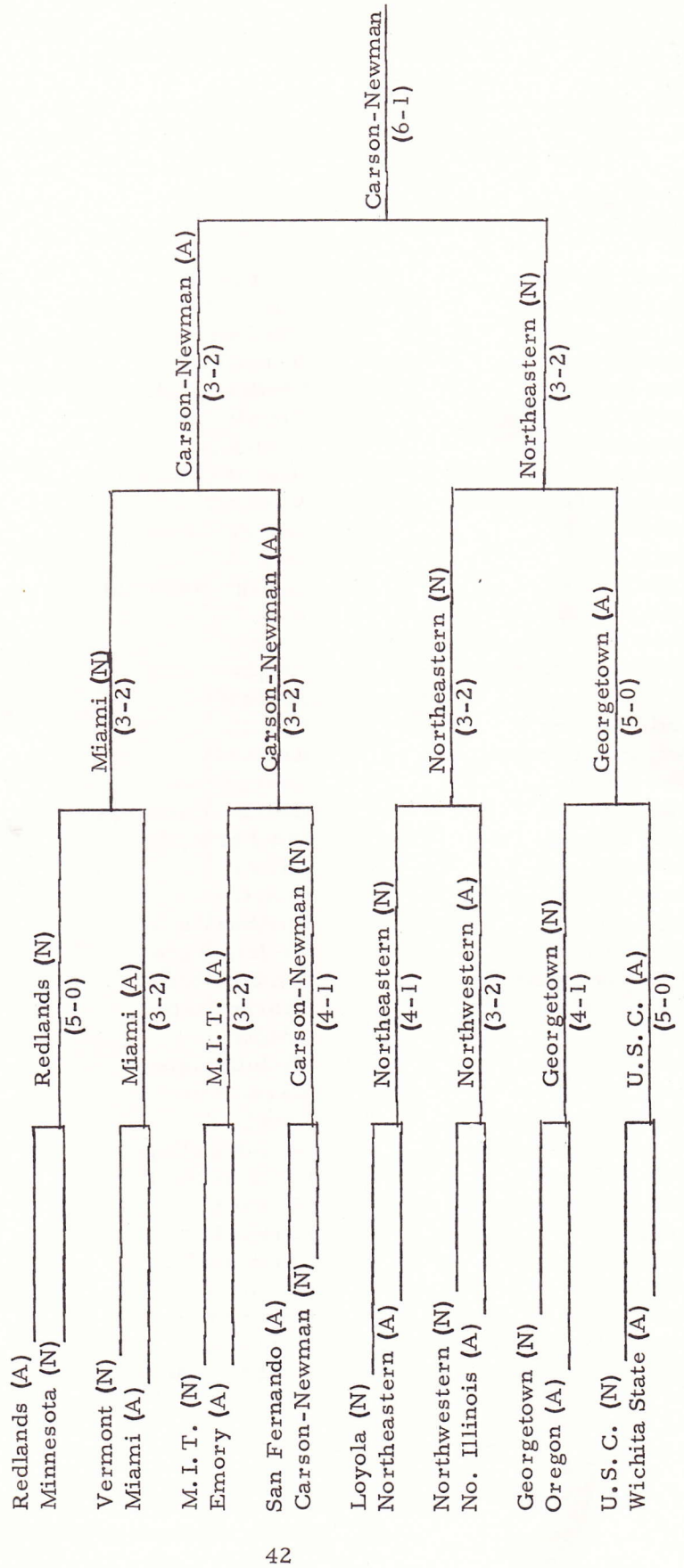
Percent of total debates won by affirmative side: 41.3

Percent of total debates won by negative side: 58.7

Top Speakers

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Points</u>
1	Robert Shrum	Georgetown	1054
2	Douglas Pipes	Univ. of the Pacific	1046
3	William Snyder	Northwestern	1033
4	Norman Snow	Vermont	1030
5	Kent Keller	Southwest Missouri	1025
6	Terry O'Reilly	Loyola	1020
7	Deborah Lewis	Brandeis	1018
8	Ronald Marich	Illinois-Chicago	1010
9	Carmen Wessner	Vermont	1008
10	Jeff Sobel	San Fernando	1007
11	Madis Sulg	M. I. T.	1005
12	Hugh Heclo	George Washington	1002
13	Eric Johnson	M. I. T.	1000
14	Steve Mackauf	Miami	998
15	Michael Denger	Northwestern	989
16	Michael Jones	Redlands	987
17	David Kenner	U. S. C.	986
18	Douglas Foerster	Redlands	985
19	John Koeltl	Georgetown	983
20	John McCune	George Washington	979
21	Janet Padden	San Fernando	978
22	Ron Sabo	Miami	972
23	Tie (Larry Stein	U. S. C.	970
	(David Johnson	Northeastern	970
25	Robert Glenn	Wichita State	969
26	Tie (Glenn Strickland	Northeastern	968
	(Charles White	Kansas State	968
28	Steve Jamison	Oregon	967
29	Robert Shields	Wichita State	965
30	David Ling	Wayne State	962
31	William Waysman	Loyola	960
32	Joseph McLaughlin	Boston College	957
33	Patty Bilbrey	Univ. of the Pacific	957
34	Tom Fritzsche	Harvard	956
35	Jim Turner	Harvard	955
36	Tie (John Cragen	Northern Illinois	954
	(John Wittig	Carson-Newman	954
38	Sandra Purnell	Wayne State	953
39	Tie (Sherill Hooker	Minnesota	951
	(Richard Franks	Southwest Missouri	951

ELIMINATION ROUNDS



THE
CHAMPIONSHIP
DEBATE

CHAMPIONSHIP DEBATE *
NINETEENTH NATIONAL DEBATE TOURNAMENT
24 April 1965

RESOLVED: That The Federal Government Should Establish a
National Program of Public Work For The
Unemployed

* * *

First Affirmative Constructive Speech
Mr. Barnett Pearce
Carson-Newman College

Because of only postponed being an unemployed debater, this far, I can understand and sympathize with the 1962 Economic Report of the President when it declares, in 1962, that "this nation will not countenance the suffering, frustration, and injustice of unemployment, or let the vast potential of the world's leading economy run to waste in idle manpower, silent machinery and empty plants." Accordingly, we affirm, that the Federal government should establish a national program of public work for the unemployed. By way of definition, we mean that the Federal government should set up, on a permanent basis, a program of work relief for the deflationary unemployed.

In examining the present system we find that despite our economic safeguards, recessions are nonetheless an inherent part of our business activity. The Council of Economic Advisers pointed this out in their report to the President in 1962. We've experienced four postwar recessions. Our conclusion is then that we've obviously had recessions in the past; and Dr. Walter Heller when he was Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers warns of the future when he was quoted in U.S. News and World Report, September, 1964, as saying, "I don't think that recessions are a thing of the past." We've had recessions in the past, they're likely in the future, they're an inherent part of our business activity.

Our second contention is that during a trough of a recession an intolerable level of deflationary unemployment is reached. For the purposes of clarity, we used Dr. Abba Lerner's definition of deflationary unemployment. In his book, Economics of Employment, he describes deflationary unemployment as that which results from too small a demand for workers. Now that we've defined deflationary unemployment, we turn to the Bureau of Labor Statistics which tell us that, indeed, the level of such unemployment is intolerable during periods of recession. They report that in October 1949, we had an unemployment rate of 6.1%; that was the nadir of the first recession. Similar statistics of the following three recessions indicate rates of 5.6% in August 1954, 7.1% in April 1958, and 8.1% in February of 1960. We conclude, therefore, that recessions result in deflationary unemployment.

Third, we contend that deflationary unemployment results in direct national and personal loss. Nationally, the Council of Economic Advisers puts the loss into dollars and cents when they reported, "The annual loss of goods and services which results from

*This transcript was compiled from the tape recording of the Championship Round. Punctuation was inserted where it was thought the speakers intended it to be placed. Except for the correction of obviously unintended errors, this is as close to a verbatim transcript as was possible to obtain from the tape recording.



BARNETT PEARCE
CARSON-NEWMAN COLLEGE

a difference of 1 1/2% unemployment, above the level of frictional full employment, is estimated to lie between 30 and 40 billion dollars." Now, bear in mind that this is a loss predicated on an unemployment rate of only 1 1/2% above the level of frictional full employment. That loss approaches astronomical figures when unemployment during recessions skyrockets to 6 and 8%. It's only to be expected that this national loss should make itself felt on the individual and it does; that's our second point. The Upjohn Institute investigated the economic loss to individuals displaced by the 1959-60 recession. They reported in their book, Persistent Unemployment, "An income loss of \$2,000 or over was sustained by nearly half of those families where the head was unemployed for more than half of the time, during the 12 months prior to this respective survey data." Well, secondly, there's an area of harm to the individual not only to his pocketbook, but to his social status and psychological well-being. This was pointed out by Dr. James Coleman in his textbook, Abnormal Psychology and Modern Life.

"Even more demoralizing than unsatisfying work is inability to find work at all. The history of the United States has been dotted by a series of widespread recessions. These periods have brought increases in certain types of abnormal behavior, such as apathy resulting from chronic unemployment, suicides, crime, even marital unhappiness." We conclude then that loss occurs both to the nation and the individual. Now that we've shown that recessions are inherent, they cause unemployment, this unemployment causes a significant harm, let's see what can be done about it.

We contend in the fourth place that economic stabilization can minimize deflationary unemployment. And as the Council of Economic Advisers so succinctly put it, "Effective stabilization policy is the first step toward a policy of full employment." And Dr. Paul Samuelson phrased in his book, Economics, "When private investment and consumption spending are producing a deflationary gap which Federal Reserve monetary policy has not fully offset, the task of economic stabilization is to offset the remaining gap to preserve high employment." Economic stabilization, we conclude, can minimize deflationary unemployment.

We therefore contend, as our fifth and final contention, that public work can provide effective economic stabilization. We'll support this first by showing that the present programs aimed at economic stabilization are inadequate. First, the automatic stabilizers are insufficient. The American Economic Association reports that "We feel strongly that the existing automatic flexibility makes an important contribution to economic stability, but we do not believe it prudent for policy to regard the automatic flexibility as more than a first line of defense." Their conclusion: more must be done to cope with serious economic fluctuations. Second, the tax cut, although it's a necessary part of any stabilization program, doesn't really get to the heart of the stabilization problem, and is, therefore, basically ineffective. Dr. Elmer Bratt, Professor of

Economics at Lehigh University in his book, Business Cycles and Forecasting, tells us that "Everyone hopes that taxes can be reduced," (No surprise here) "but the reduction of income or profit taxes would weaken the influence of those automatic stabilizers." In other words, a tax cut while providing a measure of stability on the one hand, creates a measure of instability on the other hand. Its net effect is unpredictable with respect to stabilization. This point is corroborated by Dr. R. C. Matthews, Professor of Economics at Cambridge, when in his book, The Business Cycle, he writes "A distinction may be drawn between measures which affect a man directly, such as enlarged government expenditure, and those which affect it indirectly, such as changes in taxation." Changes in governmental expenditure has the advantage over the tax cut in that its effects are more exactly predictable.

Since the present programs are inadequate, we contend, as our second reason for a program of public work of economic stabilization, that it will work. First, because a properly timed program of public work prevents prolonged recession, the cause of deflationary unemployment. Dr. Thomas Wilson, Professor of Economics at Oxford, in his book, Fluctuations in Income and Employment, says, "Since the short term changes in the distribution of income presents certain difficulties, it will be necessary to rely to a large extent on changes in government expenditure. Public work is a time honored remedy for the trade or business cycle, and remains the most useful of government policies." Second, that program must be established now. Because as Dr. Maurice Lee, Dean of the School of Economics and Business at Washington State College, writes in his book, Economic Fluctuations, "The decision to use public works spending as an offset to serious declines in the private economy is also a decision to use the period before such decline in careful planning." Now this careful planning takes time. Dr. Lee concludes our point when he writes, "One of the purposes to be served by advanced planning of public work programs is the elimination of all delay when the decision to engage in such spending is made, and the time when such spending actually begins to push income into the economy."

We've demonstrated five things then. First, recessionary pressures are inherent in our economy, we've had them in the past, top economists only predict a continuation in the future. Second, during the trough of a recession, an intolerable level of deflationary unemployment is reached -- up to 6 to 8% of the labor force. Third, this deflationary unemployment inevitably results in loss both to the nation and to the individual. But, fourth, a program of economic stabilization can minimize this problem of deflationary unemployment, so, fifth, we are advancing a program of public work to solve this particular problem. This is the presentation of the affirmative plan. The first point has that all employers will register available jobs at their local employment security office. The second point goes right along with it. All the unemployed will register at the local employment security office. And third, after counselling and testing, the Employment Security Bureau will make recommendations to the unemployed whether he should take retraining, take a job in the private sector of the economy, or take the jobs that are available in the public sector of the economy. These decisions being made contingent upon the existence of jobs and the existence of jobs for which retraining is practicable. Fourth, to ensure effectiveness, all present manpower programs will be coordinated under a Manpower Commission. Fifth, this Manpower Commission will work in cooperation with state and local planning agencies to set up rapidly expandable programs of repair, maintenance, and services. Now the administrative details -- sixth, the salaries would be determined by the Civil Service Commission in anticipation of the type of work to be done, but in no case would they be less than \$3,300 a year. Seventh, the program will be financed out of the general revenues with a capital contingency fund of \$2 billion dollars. There are some three advantages to the adoption

of our proposal we want to point out in addition to meeting the need of deflationary unemployment. First, we'll be able to avoid the commensurate waste of manpower and solid machinery. Second, we'll help to control inflation. The Federal government will be empowered to change the interest rate and monetary policy irrespective of concern about creating or adding to the problem of unemployment. And third, we'll be able to reform needed public work. Some five need contentions, three advantages, that makes eight reasons in all calling for the adoption of the Affirmative Proposition.

* * *

First Negative Constructive Speech
Mr. Glenn Strickland
Northeastern State College

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: Last round when I stood up in the semi-finals, I was scared to death, frankly. So you can imagine how I feel right now in perhaps the most important debate of my career.

However, let's go to what the gentlemen have said because this is the most important issue in the debate. Now you know in the introduction, that gentleman said that he and his colleague were quite concerned with the severe suffering unemployment causes. Now David and I thought when we heard that introduction that the gentlemen were immediately going to start doing something about that severe suffering that unemployment causes. But, later on when we heard the case, we found the gentlemen were not going to deal with that. So the first thing I might suggest is that those gentlemen have somehow got to justify not doing something about the current rate of unemployment. Because that's current and the debate topic says a public work program for the unemployed. It does not say a national program of public work when we have unemployment during recessions. So before David and I can accept the terms of that proposition, the gentlemen have got to give us some rationale for not dealing with current unemployment.



GLENN STRICKLAND
NORTHEASTERN STATE COLLEGE

But, now let's go into what the gentlemen have had to say. They tell us in the first place that recessions are inherent within the present system. Well, now realizing that the gentlemen are not dealing with present unemployment, let's still try to debate them on their grounds, and see whether or not we've got any severe problem today. Well, what about the idea that recessions are inherent within the present system? Now in order to substantiate this they turn to Walter Heller and he said that, well, we still may have recessions. Now I have a quotation here from Walter Heller, it's in the Los Angeles Times, February 5, 1965 -- here's what Chairman Heller said, "The present expansion does not carry the seeds of its own destruction as in other postwar periods. Previous expansions have always had the shadow of excess inventory, heavy government procurement, or oppressive tax system overhanging the economy." Mr. Heller says this, "the

present expansion does not carry the seeds of its own destruction as in the previous postwar periods." Now I suggest that Mr. Heller may have had a change of positions; I suggest that the gentlemen are going to have to do more to substantiate that recessions are inherent within the present system.

But, now let's go into their second major idea. They tell us that during times of recession, we have severe harms. Why? Because unemployment is high -- recession results in high unemployment. Of course, the gentlemen did not tell us here that we didn't have any programs to deal with this high unemployment. Now, if you'll pardon me, I'm going to connect this contention with that third contention, and show you that certainly that unemployment rate during times of recession is not harmful as the gentlemen say it is. So let's go to their second contention, their third contention rather, that this unemployment results in losses. Number one, it results in losses to the nation. And how do the gentlemen substantiate this? They turn to the present rate of unemployment and tell us that when we have unemployment above 4% during time of prosperity, we lose 30 to 40 billion dollars. Now how they can ever tie this into recessional unemployment, I don't know. He didn't try to do this. But, ladies and gentlemen, I'm going to suggest that he can't show you those severe economic harms during times of recession, for let's see the programs we've got to deal with it. First of all let's go to Federal Fiscal Policy in The Postwar Recessions, Dr. Wilfred Lewis, Bureau of the Budget, Brookings Institute, 1962, "In the 1953-1954 recession, for example, business savings and the indirect fiscal stabilizers together offset about 2/3 of the decline in GNP. And the direct fiscal stabilizers offset roughly an additional 1/4 of the decline in GNP." So I suggest once again here that we have no serious problems. Let's go even further, Dr. Lewis once again tells us, "In 1960-61, for example, the fiscal stabilizers offset well over 100%," that's right, ladies and gentlemen, I said well over 100%, of the actual decline in GNP, peak to trough, owing the shallowness of the recession. Gentlemen, I suggest once again, there is no severe problem we've got here. The gentlemen are trying to tell us that because present unemployment above 4% results in economic losses to the nation -- they're trying to tie this into recessional unemployment -- I'd say the correlation can't be made. When we examine those economic harms during the recession we find that they don't exist. Well now, what about the individual? Is the individual hurt during times of recession? Well, the gentlemen tell us that they were during the 1959-1960 recession. Now, I don't know how they could be, since there was not a recession in 1959-1960; there was, however, one in 1957-58 and one in 1960-61, so let's examine these recessions, and see whether or not this additional income was hurt. First of all, let's go to Dr. Dexter M. Keezer, McGraw-Hill Department of Economics, when he points out in his book, New Forces in American Business, "Personal income and consumption were well maintained in 1958." David and I suggest, once again, the gentlemen are going to have to do more. They're going to have to show us that this recessional unemployment is harmful, because, ladies and gentlemen, I submit the gentlemen have not done that. And, ladies and gentlemen, I submit, more importantly, the gentlemen are going to continue to be unable to do that. So in the first place, I don't think they've showed the harm to the nation, or to the individual. But they did show more than an economic harm to the individual, they showed a real social harm. They said, they led us to believe that all of these unemployed workers during recessions were running around murdering their wives, I guess. But I suggest there's no rationale here -- I've never known of any job survey on this. But, anyway, I point out that they didn't have the reduction in personal income or some other factor such as this. So I suggest that if they murdered their wives, it was probably due to some other cause other than recessional unemployment. So in the first place that unemployment has resulted from recessions, harmful unemployment; David and I reject that affirmative analysis.

What about that fourth major contention -- economic stabilization can minimize recessionary unemployment? Well, here again, I think David will deal with this contention because that's part of their plan meet need, and I think logically David should deal with it in the second contention.

So let's skip on down to their fifth major contention -- that is, that present programs cannot meet recessionary problems. Why can't they? In the first place, automatic stabilizers are inadequate because they give only a first-line defense. Well now, that's a pretty good feat for a first-line defense to offset one hundred percent of that recessionary harm during 1960-1961. I suggest that the University of Oklahoma football team, if they'd had that first line of defense, would be winning more than it is today. I suggest once again that's a pretty good stabilization right there for offsetting that type of economic harm. What else did the gentlemen say? They said, "Well, we can have tax cuts, but tax cuts are ineffective." Why? Because they would weaken the effects of automatic stabilizers. Well now, first of all, let's examine the tax cut before we have a recession to see what effects will be. Let's go to Chairman Heller once again, reporting in the Christian Science Monitor when he said, "A big reason for the United States' booming prosperity is that it has skipped a recession -- thanks very directly to the tax cut." That's in the January 24th issue of Christian Science Monitor. Ladies and gentlemen, that tax cut certainly didn't hurt the automatic stabilizers simply because it became into effect before we had the recession, and it's averted the recession; I suggest no problem here. Well, let's go on. What if we should have a recession and put the tax cut into operation? Could we get out of the recession without hurting automatic stabilizers? I suggest we can. Economic Report of the President, January, 1963, page 70. "While the tax cuts of 1954 helped considerably in rescuing the economy from the recession, it should be recognized that had they gone into effect earlier, the recession of 1953-54 might have been completely avoided." No, we're not going to offset the reduction under the automatic stabilizers; I suggest those tax cuts are effective as a counter-cyclical device. Ladies and gentlemen, there's no significant problem here that the present system cannot handle. Well, what about during times of recessions? Let's see whether or not the tax cuts are an effective means. In the first place, President Johnson has asked Congress for standby tax cutting authority. In other words, in debate jargon, the quickie tax cut, as we refer to it. Now I suggest here that it gives him the right to cut taxes immediately and that this can help us during times of recession. To prove this I would go to the Congressional Record, which was published October 1st, page 64, and it points out the examples in some of the other areas, or rather some of the other countries of the world, where we've been able to come out of a recession because of tax cuts. It says in the winter of 1962-63, Britain faced the threat of business stagnation and rising unemployment. The British government then decided that a major income tax was needed. In April, 1963, it presented a strongly expansionist budget to Parliament, and within a month, the lower tax rates were approved. By July the economic indexes were rising, the unemployment rate which was 4% previously had been reduced to 2%. Ladies and gentlemen, I suggest the effectiveness of the tax cut -- it's a quick proposal if we have the quickie tax cut. I suggest once again, that's the way of dealing with recessionary unemployment; I say once again we've got the present policies. Where's the need for that program, that national program of public work for recessionary unemployment? Ladies and gentlemen, I suggest the rejection of the affirmative resolution. Thank you.

* * *

Second Affirmative Constructive Speech
Mr. John Wittig
Carson-Newman College

Ladies and gentlemen. Barnett indicted the status quo in five areas. And the gentleman raised one significant question. And that was, "Justify not doing something for the unemployed at the present time." We are -- the affirmative proposal. Now, let's get back and look at the reasons for adopting it. We said, number one, recessions are an inherent part of our business activity. And here the gentlemen suggested "Well, Walter Heller's had a change of heart, therefore, we're not going to have any more recessions." We suggest, number one, that's shallow analysis; number two, it doesn't deny the inherency of the recessions. Let's turn to the 1965 Economic Report of the President, page 10. President Johnson tells us, "I don't believe recessions are inevitable." But then he goes on to say, "In principle, public measures can head the recessions off before they start." And then comes the big "But", "Unforeseen events and mistakes of public policy and private policy will nonetheless occur. Recessions may be upon us before we recognize their warning signs." And true, in the statement of that last negative speaker, he did ask for discretionary program of tax cuts. And he also asked for discretionary program of public work to alleviate the problem of unemployment that results from the recessions that are no longer inherent, according to that first negative speaker. All right, we're going to move a little bit further, insufficient in respect to the Council of Economic Advisers, let's give you some reasons why we suggest that recessions are an inherent part of our business activity, particularly in light of what Dr. Elmer Brock, Professor of Economics at Lehigh University, pointed out in his book, Business Cycles and Forecasting. He suggests that "there are three logical reasons for fearing that instability is increasing." He said, number one, "Activity has become increasingly dependent upon expenditures for durable goods and other products representative of optional demand." All right, we suggest therefore, this means that the consumers are no longer spending as much money on necessities as they used to. This represents an area of shifting consumer demand which could bring recessionary activity upon us. Reason number two, Dr. Brock says, "Political instability throughout the world is disturbing;" I don't think we have to go too far to see the effects that political instability has upon our balance of payments. Number three, he says, "There is great danger that inflationary pressures will recurrently trouble us." We want the gentlemen to tell us how a tax cut solves number one -- optional consumer demand; number two -- political instability outside the United States; and number three -- inflation. I think that's going to be rather a difficult task for them to do.

All right, number one, recessions are an inherent part of business activity. Now, what happens during recessions? We suggested that during the trough of the recession an intolerable level of unemployment is reached. And the gentleman said, "Well, not



JOHN WITTIG
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really, an 8% unemployment rate really isn't intolerable and there's really not too much difficulty here because, you see, recessions aren't harmful." I mean, that was his basic line of his argument. The first thought that comes to mind is that if recessions aren't harmful, why are we trying to do everything possible to avert them? Why does the Council of Economic Advisers devote so much attention to their elimination? We suggest, obviously, they are not the best thing in the world that ever happened to the economy; let's look at the particulars. We suggested, in the first place, that there was an intolerable level of unemployment that was reached. Let's examine it. We turn to the 1962 Economic Report of the President; they characterize the four postwar recessions for us. They tell us that the business cycle peak was reached in November 1948, the business cycle trough was reached in October 1949. Do you know when we achieved full employment through all the marvelous stabilizers? -- October, 1950. The second recession, a business cycle trough was reached in August of 1954. We didn't achieve full employment until July of 1955 -- that's over almost a year. Then the next one was reached in April 1958; that was the third trough of the third recession. You know, we haven't had full employment since. And then we had a recession within a recession: February 1961 was the trough, and we still haven't had full employment. We're going to reject those automatic stabilizers; we're going to reject the tax cuts; they haven't solved the problem of deflationary unemployment.

All right, now let's look at the particulars why we ought to solve it. First, we suggested to you that there was a harm to our economy, and the gentleman said, "Now you're making a rather erroneous calculation here because you're trying to equate unemployment that exists at the present time with unemployment that we have during recessions." Now we're going to make two observations here. What we said was, that according to the Council of Economic Advisers, each 1 1/2% of excessive unemployment costs us 30 to 40 billion dollars of Gross National Product. We then said when we have 6 and 8% unemployment during a recession, doesn't it stand to reason that we're suffering some kind of loss -- even greater than 30 to 40 billion dollars? The gentleman's argument wasn't germane -- let's quantify it. We turn once again to the 1962 Economic Report of the President; they tell us in the last decade the nation has lost 175 billion dollars because of the four postwar recessions. We suggest that's a significant loss. Well now, "Wait a minute," the gentlemen said, and they read some rather impressive evidence, that all of the automatic stabilizers were so effective because, number one, they offset 2/3 of the decline in one recession and they offset 110% of the decline in another recession. Not let's use our heads a little bit -- what does the word offset mean? It means it was finally able to drag the economy back up to the level where it was. That doesn't mean it ever recouped those losses. That doesn't mean it ever prevented the economy from losing 175 billion dollars. What is meant was that ultimately the economy got back to where it was before the recession started -- that we knew -- that was the reason why we had four of them. Obviously there's no particular need to concern ourselves with this particular bit of negative analysis. All right, point number two -- we said there was a loss to the individual. And here the gentleman said, "Now wait a minute, we've got a quotation which says that generally personal income held up fairly well during that 1957-58 recession." We referred you to a specific group it didn't hold up well for at all, it cost them \$2,000 apiece; we suggested that was a significant harm -- the gentleman's evidence doesn't refute our point at all. Then we said there was a social loss. And here the gentleman's only argument was, well he didn't think people murdered their wives because they lost income, that was the correlation. Now what we said was, marital unhappiness, which may or may not be murder, depending upon how you view your marriage. Going back to Dr. Coleman in his book, Abnormal Psychology and Modern Life, he says there is a direct statistical correlation. That during periods of recession when unemployment is highest we find an increase in abnormal behavior, he characterizes it --

apathy, suicides, crime, and marital unhappiness. We suggest that this is the extreme but it certainly indicates a change in attitude on the part of those who are unemployed. Let's face it, people who are out of work generally aren't quite as happy as the people who are in work.

All right, let's go to the next contention -- the gentleman didn't want to talk about that because David is going to do a great job on that in his second speech, so we'll wait on the fourth contention.

Then we said fifth -- public work could provide effective economic stabilization. Well the gentleman didn't want to direct himself to that immediately; what he wanted to talk about was perhaps some other alternate solutions to the problem, such as the negative counterplan, discretionary tax cuts. Well we'll get to that one in a minute, let's look at the automatic stabilizers. First, we said the automatic stabilizers were only a first line of defense. And here the gentleman's argument breaks down because he referred back to the evidence, which was meaningless in the first place, which was that ultimately we managed to drag ourselves out of the recession. That doesn't mean that we couldn't have done a better job had we minimized the effects of deflationary unemployment by reemploying those who were disemployed by the economy at that time. And nothing the gentleman argued in that particular instance had anything to do with it, and wasn't the least bit relevant. All right, now let's go to the tax cut. Now here we made two indictments of the tax cut which the gentleman didn't want to talk about. We said in the first place their effects were unpredictable. I suggest that Mr. Strickland ignored that particular contention. But he did talk about the second one -- we said it led to a degree of instability, and Mr. Strickland said in 1964 it didn't work out that way, you see, because it didn't work out that way. Now we made two particular observations here. In the first place, income tax is in itself an automatic stabilizer. When you cut into it, you automatically eliminate one degree of its stabilizing influence; that creates instability. None of his argument dealt germanely with that particular analysis by Professor Matthews. Most importantly, none of the particular evidence that he introduced denied the fact that the only way we're going to be able to use effectively an income tax cut is if we can be guaranteed of its predictable behavior. Let's turn to Dr. Brock once again, he says "some choice may be available between changing tax rates and the use of public work. In recession this choice is available only if tax collections continue to be substantial at the prevailing rates." So I'm going to put a burden of proof on that next negative speaker before he introduces his counterplan of discretionary tax cuts. I want him to prove to me that during each of the following recessions that we're going to have in the future, tax collections will remain substantial at the prevailing rates so that some degree of restored income will take place. Moreover, I want him to demonstrate that tax cuts automatically take care of the disemployment that takes place during recessions -- that's our argument -- he didn't talk about it either.

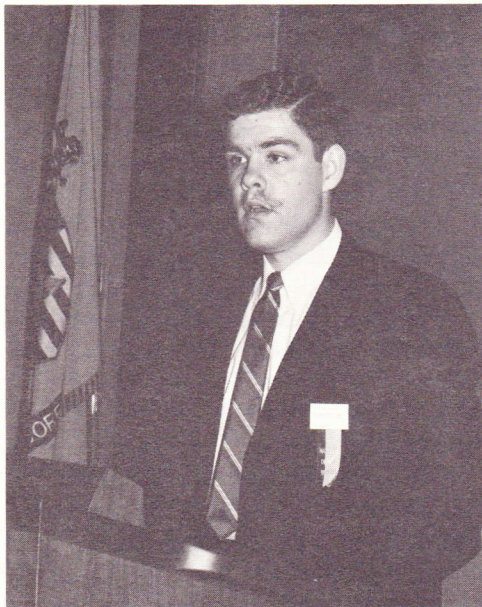
All right, let's go to the next contention that the gentleman wanted to talk about, and that was in the area of overall countercyclical action. And we're going to make two observations here. In the first place, what we've tried to demonstrate is an effective program designed to eliminate and alleviate one particular aspect of recessionary activity. We do not claim that we can stop and eliminate recessions. What we do claim is that we can effectively eliminate the harms of a recession, primarily by taking care of the greatest harm as far as we're concerned specifically on this debate topic -- the unemployed people. How? By reemploying them -- that doesn't seem to present a particular problem. All right, we're going to reemploy them, we suggest that's an advantage right there. Secondly, we gave you three more advantages and the gentleman didn't want to talk about them. We said we'd eliminate the idle machinery by pumping

income back into the economy by giving these people money to live on. Number two, we said we'd give the government another weapon to fight inflation with. And that's another cause of instability. In other words, our program will effectively stabilize the economy by eliminating not only the threat of recession by absorbing its affects, but also by minimizing the affect of inflations leading to recession. Now let's examine this for one second -- the Federal Reserve Bank has the option at the present time to adjust interest rates up and down as it sees fit; when inflation is rising in the economy, it likes to depress the interest rates, or raise the interest rates, to make money cheap. Unfortunately, it can't always do that because it's always got the ramifications of what effect this will have on our employment policy. Presently by providing for the absorption of these members of the labor force into our public work program, we give the Federal Reserve Board Bank the option to use that without fear of causing severe harm to the economy through unemployment. And the third -- that needed public work. You know I look back and that gives us eight reasons to adopt the affirmative proposal. We call for the resolution.

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Second Negative Constructive Speech
Mr. David Johnson
Northeastern State College

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ladies and gentlemen: We're going to have a real wonderful plan the members of the opposition are going to be setting up as all these wife murderers run around doing all this needed public work. I'm going to suggest on a little closer analysis of that plan they don't have nearly as advantageous a proposal as the members of the opposition first suggested, and let's go into it.



DAVID JOHNSON
NORTHEASTERN STATE COLLEGE

The first thing I'd like to talk about, members of the opposition, is to show you a definite advantage of this present system over anything the members of the opposition can tell you would possibly meet the need they're talking about. I want to do it in two areas. I want to show you first of all that unemployment compensation is better and secondly I want to show you a tax cut is better as far as economic stimulation, and that's what the gentlemen of the opposition want -- economic stimulation to bring us out of any economic decline. Let's go into those transfer payments, or unemployment compensation, first. Lawrence Abbott, Professor of Economics at Union College, in Economics and the Modern World, pointed out, "Transfer payments are a much quicker way of putting money into the private hands if payments are paid to unemployed workers in need. The second round multiplier will be almost immediate. The public work multiplier is paid to business firms, only part of it is therefore paid to employees as wages and thus quickly spent on consumption. Much of the public work multiplier is sidetracked in payments to other firms, delaying its transformation

into income. " I'm going to suggest that that's the first advantage of this present system over anything the gentlemen can give you. Now they can spend money on public work; but a lot of that money, and the economic stimulation of the multiplier, is going to be sidetracked where under the present system, we can spend on unemployment compensation and the economic stimulation, the multiplier, it's immediate. If they want economic stimulation, if they want economic recovery at the slightest hint of a decline, we can get it through transfer payments in unemployment compensation. They must talk about the tax cut: Lawrence Abbott again, "A 10% reduction in personal income taxes, for instance, would give consumers some 4 billion dollars more spending money. " Now that's more money through a tax cut -- twice as much as the gentlemen want to spend on that plan. And then he goes on to point out, "This money is put into the economy with more rejuvenating effect than public work. The very day a tax cut goes into effect it begins to affect the incomes and spendings. We must remember that most of the federal income taxes withheld from the workers' paychecks, any cut in the withholding rate, increases peoples' take-home pay at once. " Now that's going to be real important a little later on. Because while the tax cut on one hand increases their pay, and increases economic stimulation, that plan they're calling for does not do that. We're going to show a little bit later their plan's a lot slower. So, we've shown you, first of all, unemployment compensation or transfer payments and secondly those tax cuts are the best way of getting economic stimulation.

All right, let's go a little bit further, members of the opposition. I think the question they'll logically come back with, is the idea "Well, can you go on cutting taxes forever?" Glenn and I are going to suggest we think we can, if we use that tax cut whenever we think we might be going into a period of economic decline. You know, Glenn told you that tax cutting policy caused us to skip one recession; we're going to suggest we can time those tax cuts and have quickie tax cuts, as Glenn said, anytime we need them. The Treasury Department reported on October 28, 1964 that just the pace of economic growth brings an additional 6 billion dollars into that federal treasury. All right, there's 6 billion dollars every year we've got coming in, in addition, just through normal economic growth. Now we could use that to cut taxes; we're going to suggest we can continue to cut taxes whenever those reductions are needed. All right, let's go a little bit further. You know, the members of the opposition emphasized one thing in that speech -- they want to give economic stimulation. They want to bring us out of that recession. I'm going to suggest if that's what they want, then the best way to do it is through continued expansion of state and local public works projects. Why do I say this? First place, Harold Groves, Professor of Finance at the University of Wisconsin, in Financing Government, 1964, points out, "Public work from borrowed funds will create the biggest multiplier in the way of indirect stimulation to the economy. " All right, that's an important point. Public works from borrowed funds creates the biggest multiplier, the biggest economic expansion. Now, how can we get public works through borrowed funds? Well, I think Time magazine for November 13, 1964 points out how we can get it when it says that states and localities are passing those big, borrowing bonding referendums. We're going to suggest states and localities can do it; they can borrow the money along with the Federal program and we're going to suggest this is the area where we can have that economic stimulation, where we can have the best possible economic stimulation. It sounds like the present system's a little bit better than what the members of the opposition are talking about.

Now, in the second area, I'd like to talk about, "Will the members of the opposition hire these unemployed people?" You know, they gave you all sorts of employment recourses -- they're going to put them on public services, they're going to put them on maintenance and repair. Well, let's see if the members of the opposition can really do

this under their plan. Let's look at public services first of all. I think we can turn to U.S. News and World Report, August 19, 1963, when it points out the U.S. Unemployment Service attempted to place unemployed youths in service jobs, and these jobs were in maintenance around capital buildings in Washington, D.C. But the youths refused to take these jobs because they thought they were beneath their dignity. Now they're going to try to be solving this present unemployment problem; they're going to be filling these people in using the unemployment service. We're going to suggest these people don't even want those public service jobs. We're going to suggest there's still another reason why we shouldn't use those public works jobs, especially public service, and step them up in recessions. Challenge magazine for July tells us why we shouldn't when they say, "The continued growth of service labor will likely slow down the rate of productivity growth, productivity so essential to economic growth in the United States today for the increased stepped up of service spending can dull that, slow it down." It doesn't sound like a very good proposal to be using in a recession, or what the members of the opposition would call an imminent recession. But, you know, then they're going to have maintenance of all these facilities and repair. Well, the 1965 Manpower Report For the President points out, "Demand for repair services, maintenance, and hospital and other community services, for example, often go unmet because trained workers and efficient firms are in short supply." How are they going to get those trained workers? You need them for those projects they're talking about. How are you going to get the firms to supply for these public works projects? You need them, they're in short supply right now. The gentlemen didn't tell you anything they were going to do to give you those trained workers, or those firms supplying material for those needed public works jobs. Now then the members of the opposition have a real, real interesting point here. Let's talk about that maintenance and repair. You know, I don't think the members of the opposition have solved one very essential problem, and that is, just how quickly are they going to be able to act when that recession seems imminent? Now, we told you those automatic stabilizers come into effect, that tax cut, the first week we cut taxes. And President Johnson wants that standby tax cutting authority. We're going to suggest that's going to be a lot better than what the members of the opposition are talking about. The House Committee on Public Works, in its Minority Report, talks about the Federal Highway Act of 1958, and here's what they say about it, "Even though this program only had maintenance of highways, and even though it was on a shelf prepared and ready to go, it still took four months before jobs were ever created for this program." We're going to suggest that sounds like an awfully slow agency to use, maintenance and repair; all these people had to do was go out and smear a little asphalt on a highway, but it still took them a long time to do it. What happens if recovery started by the time the gentlemen of the opposition get that poor plan of theirs into effect?

I'm going to suggest there's something else wrong with that plan the members of the opposition are offering, aside from the fact there's a serious time lag. And this was pointed out by none other than Walter Heller, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, in the Senate Hearings on Public Works Acceleration, April, 1962, when he says, "Many other wise useful projects are not long useful for countercyclical spending because they involve large scale and long-term construction and require long periods of execution." Now if we've got this backlog of public work that we so desperately need, what does Mr. Heller say about that? We can't use those long-run projects, the ones we really need; we've got to use shorter run, less desirable programs, the least important programs, just because they're quick. I'm going to suggest we should continue spending for those programs, for those programs we really need; I'm going to suggest we can stop those recessions through the present system, and the members of the opposition haven't given you any reason to believe we can't do that.

All right, then I'm going to go to another area, showing you the status quo, as far

as Glenn and I are concerned, can take care of this problem the members of the opposition are talking about. And this was best pointed out by the Council of Economic Advisers, Report to the President, January, 1965. Now the members of the opposition quoted this and used it quite a bit in that speech. I wish they'd read on when it says, "Certain maintenance, rehabilitation and modernization activities on Federal facilities, or on state and local facilities, assisted by Federal Grants, provide opportunities to push funds through already existing pipe lines." Now we can have those programs of public work the members of the opposition are talking about, but there's one essential difference. Those programs are already underway now, the CEA says; the pipe-lines are already there, and all we need to do is just put a little bit more money into those programs. So we're going to suggest if public works are really what the members of the opposition want, why don't we just accelerate those programs we've already got now under the present system?

So what have we shown you? We've shown you the members of the opposition certainly aren't going to have a plan that's going to meet their needs. We've shown you, secondly, they don't have proper employment recourses under their plan. And we've shown you, thirdly, we've got better ways of doing it under the present system than the ones the members of the opposition are talking about. I think we're going to sum up by telling the members of the opposition that we think we can have adequate economic growth. And the members of the opposition are going to have to show you a possibility of real economic decline. Printers Ink for January 1965, quoting Dr. Pierre Rinfant, Professor of Economics and a Research Consultant to the Lionel D. Eddy Research Foundation for Economic Affairs, points out that "over the coming years, we're going to grow at 6 1/2 to 7%." Now, that's more than enough to maintain full employment and provide necessary jobs. Does it sound like we've got an imminent threat of recessions in the future? Certainly if we do, we can offset them through present automatic stabilizers.

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First Negative Rebuttal Speech
Mr. Glenn Strickland
Northeastern State College

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: You remember in that first speech, I asked the gentlemen, "If you're concerned with unemployment, severe suffering because of unemployment, then why aren't you dealing with today's debate resolution, 'Resolved: That we Should Have A National Program of Public Work For The Unemployed?'" And what did the last gentleman say? He said, "Well, I explain this later on in my speech." Now, he never did make a special point of explaining how he justifies a national program of public work for recessional unemployment. I still want to know "Why a national program of public work for the unemployed?" Gentlemen, you're not debating the resolution.

But I think down here in this third contention he did make an attempt to justify it. Because he said that after each recession, we have never got back down to the pre-recession levels of unemployment. Now here again, I don't think that once again answers my point. My point is that in 1965, we do have a high-level of unemployment. But with the growth rate of 6%, surely that gentleman is not seriously going to tell us that we're still in the midst of a recession. Gentlemen, that present unemployment is a mismatching of skills. Now you come back up here and justify a national program of public work for the unemployed. You're not dealing with the present unemployment. Why don't you put those people on the public works program?

All right, let's go into their first contentions. Number one, that recessions are

inherent in the present system. Now, to justify this they turn to a generalized quotation by Mr. Heller to say recessions are inherent in the present system. Now, when I turn to Mr. Heller, back in February 5th, to tell you that those factors which cause recessions are not present today, I was giving you a shallow analysis. But I don't think I was. The gentleman didn't like that quotation. He went on to turn to President Johnson who said, "Recessions may occur at any time. In fact, we won't even know if one's upon us." Well gentlemen, if we don't even know when one's upon us, how are you going to put your program of public work into effect? You've never told us that in the debate. I want to know. That's significant. I think we should know in this debate before that last rebuttal speech. Well let's go even further. The gentleman told us all the factors which could cause a recession -- the main one hinders around consumer demand. You know what, ladies and gentlemen? What are we doing about consumer demand? We're giving them cut-rate taxes. We're giving them unemployment compensation. That stimulates demand, gentlemen. Where's there anything inherent within the present system? I suggest we can deal with recessions today.

All right, let's go on down into that second major contention, that unemployment results during recessions. Yes, unemployment does result during recessions. But my question is on their third contention. Is it harmful unemployment? So let's deal with that once again. Now, remember, they told us we lose 30 to 40 billion dollars for every percentage point above 4%. Now I said, "You can't relate that during times of recession." The gentlemen really didn't answer that. I pointed out once again that 2/3 and 100% of the decline of recessions was offset by automatic stabilizers. Now, the gentleman really didn't return to his original argument that the economy is in desperate shape when we're in a recession. But here's what he said. He said, "Well, we ought to be doing a little bit better. Sure we're not losing anything, but we better start gaining something." Well, gentlemen, I suggest once again we're doing precisely that by cutting taxes, by giving unemployment compensation. Really, how are the gentlemen showing us those severe economic harms to the nation? It's simple, they're not doing it. What about the individual? Well, once again, during that 1959-1960 recession, which we didn't have, by the way, these unemployed people lost \$2,000. Now, that's not so. I turned to when we did have a recession, in 1958, and these peoples' incomes were relatively well-maintained. And I suggest that's because of the automatic stabilizers. Now, perhaps the gentlemen will come back up and deal with the years we did have recessions. Let's go even further. That social impact -- well, there was a great increase in social disorder. Now at the same time there may have been a corresponding increase in the number of marriages, I don't know. But, here again, I'm going to suggest the income was maintained. Where's the real problem to the unemployed? The gentlemen haven't dealt with that.

Let's go on down. Let's skip that fourth contention, which I should have dealt with in my first speech, and analyze the affects of the present program, to see whether or not we can, number one, offset recessions; number two, effectively get out of recessions. For automatic stabilizers? I still think that's a pretty good first-line of attack if we offset more than 100% of the decline of the recession. That's still a good first-line of attack. But secondly, what about taxes? The gentlemen's only indictment of taxes is that they're unpredictable, that you don't know what's going to happen. Well now, ladies and gentlemen, be reasonable for just a moment. When you cut taxes you give people income. They spend it in the economy. And I suggest if that's unpredictable, then their public works program of giving them money to spend in the economy is likewise unpredictable. So let the gentlemen deal with that. Our tax cuts are good. In fact, we said from the Report of the President that we could have avoided the 53-54 recession if we had enacted them earlier. And gentlemen, that's not a counterplan, that's a tax cut

we had available then. And why don't you deny in Great Britain when they instituted the tax cut, they immediately came out of that recession? Gentlemen, I suggest the effectiveness of that present system. David also pointed out we can continue to cut those taxes. Ladies and gentlemen, I say on sheer logic alone, let's reject the affirmative resolution. Thank you.

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First Affirmative Rebuttal Speech
Mr. Barnett Pearce
Carson-Newman College

Ladies and gentlemen: look at that affirmative plan. I haven't been asked to defend that plan. I've been asked to defend a whole concept of public work as an intracyclical program, not the specific program that we outlined. Now, let's look and see some reasons why I make this statement. You'll recall they said, after we said the present programs couldn't solve the recession, not that they could, but there were advantages to using that present programs of unemployment compensation and contracyclical tax cuts. So, first, they've conceded that they can't work. Second, let's look at those supposed advantages. First, they talk about unemployment compensation. They said its advantage was it goes directly to people. All right, we're giving them a job. I don't think that you can get anymore directly to people than by giving them a paycheck, so that advantage really doesn't follow. But what's my real contention here? There are disadvantages to unemployment compensation. They were pointed out in the 1965 Economic Report of the President. Here's three of them. One -- it excludes about 20% of all workers whether they're unemployed during a recession or not. Second -- the average benefits amount to only about 35% of averages wages in covered employment, and, third -- with the present maximum duration of benefit payments, a large number expire their benefit allowances during a recession and then go without. Three disadvantages of using that as a means to solve the problem. Let's look at that second part of the negative comparative advantage counterplan. That was, contracyclical tax reductions. All right, the big point here, they said, was that we're going to be giving this money immediately to persons because their withholding taxes are withdrawn every month. You know that works for people who have a job. What about those who are unemployed? They don't have any withholding taxes when they don't have any income. We're going to say our program is better because it provides them a job. It provides them an income. But, secondly, as Dr. Edward Chambers pointed out, Economic Fluctuations and Forecasting, his book, "Very frequent changes in tax rates are undesirable because of the uncertainty they create which increases rather than modifies instability." That program's undesirable. We don't want it. Well, what about those state expenditures? We turn again to Dr. Edward Chambers. He says the many forms of social capital such as schools, and hospitals, and secondary roads that the states take care of, have to be tied in by law to their fiscal abilities and "have frequently intensified rather than moderated fluctuations in the private sector of the economy." They want to spend more through the states. That's going to increase the intensification of the fluctuations. That's only going to aggravate the problem. I don't think we want that. Well, what about contracyclically varying the present public work programs? Now I ask you, "What are we saying that we ought to do?" We want to establish the affirmative plan. Evidently they want to, too. Let's look at the nuisance questions they ask about our plan. First they said, "Are you going to hire the unemployed, some people don't want to work?" All right, we're talking about those disemployed during recessions; evidently they do want to work. They had a job before they were disemployed. What about the shortages of skills? Those disemployed have skills. No particular problem here. "Well, how fast is your program going to act?" Coupled with that, "How are you going to know when to have it?" John

said we're going to establish the program right now. If there's a problem of unemployment, we'll solve it now. If there comes a recession and that problem is aggravated and tremendously increased, our program is already in effect. It can be expanded immediately. Take care of the problem. We've got a two billion contingency fund, to make sure we have that money. It doesn't even have to go through Congress. What about their tax program? It has to go through Congress; it's going to take awhile. We're saying our plan's going to not only meet that problem, it's going to do it better than anything the negative team has talked about. I think I've handled those objections to the plan.

Let's go back to the need contentions. First, we heard that recessions are inherent. They said, "Well why aren't you dealing with the problem of unemployment right now?" They agree it's a problem. We say we are going to meet that problem. If it is a problem due to a mismatching of skills and jobs, we'll solve that with the employment service recommending to the unemployed the training for which they can take, for which it is practicable for them to do. All right, we talked about recessions being inherent. John gave you three good reasons why we can fear that instability is on the increase. What were they? The shift to consumption of durable optional demand goods. Second, political instability affecting our international trade. Third, inflation; fifteen minutes of debate -- they didn't mention it. We've got a problem. We ought to watch out and advance the affirmative plan to solve the problem when it comes into effect. 'Well, secondly during the trough of recession that level of unemployment is intolerable. They conceded that. What about the harm? They said "You know these persons really don't lose any money." They said, "Your evidence doesn't say what it did." I'd like for them to show me a person who was unemployed for six months who didn't lose any money. I don't think they're going to be able to do that. Well, what about this social harm? They tried to laugh and talk about wife killers and all of that. They couldn't refute Dr. Coleman's correlation of the times of recession when the times of abnormal behavior in a number of categories increased dramatically. He drew the correlation. They can't deny it. What about the present public work programs? They said, "Tax cutting can create more demand." Sure it can create demand for any type of things. That's why we've pointed out that the demand has shifted to optional demand goods, durable goods. What we need to do is to provide jobs, not demand stimulus, but jobs for those unemployed during a recession to solve the problems and the harms resulting from deflationary unemployment. That's what we're talking about. Our plan can do it, no disadvantages. Remember those three advantages -- let's do -- let's enact the affirmative proposal.

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Second Negative Rebuttal Speech
Mr. David Johnson
Northeastern State College

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen: Let's go back over this whole need case, and the plan, and see what the gentlemen of the opposition have really said in this debate. Point number one, the inevitability of recessions. What have the gentlemen of the of the opposition said about this? Glenn asked them, first of all, "If you're concerned about unemployment, why don't you do something about today's unemployment?" The gentlemen of the opposition came back and said, "Oh, we're doing something about today's unemployment." Of course they never showed you an inability of the present system to do something about that job creation and placing these people in those jobs. Glenn way back in his first negative speech pointed out that unemployment problems we have now are due to a mismatching of people, their skills, with available jobs. Now

what are they doing in that plan that we can't do under the present system? Then the members of the opposition pointed out that we're going to always have an inevitable fear of recessions because of shifts in international politics, because of inflation, and because of various other factors. We're going to suggest though we can have all of those three things. I think we had them all last year. But still we avoided that recession, according to Chairman Heller. How? By tax cutting and stimulating that demand. What about consumer benefit? The members of the opposition say, "Well, you can't keep consumer demand high. You can't make sure they spend it in durable goods; there might be some sort of magical shift." Well, Glenn pointed out we're going to be giving these people money through unemployment compensation and tax cuts. Why don't they spend that in the same areas as the members of the opposition's people on public works receiving wages will be spending them? They'll be spending them in the same areas, stimulating consumer demands. What about those automatic stabilizers? We think this is real important. We pointed out it offset more than 100% of the decline in the 1961 recession. Those recessions are getting shorter and milder, and we're offsetting them through those automatic stabilizers. The members of the opposition came back and said we should have done more. Glenn said, "We are. We can compound all this with a quickie tax cut, and do even more, members of the opposition." No answer from them. Then the members of the opposition said, "You come back and show someone that was not harmed due to recessionary activity." Now, they've been throwing around this fact these unemployed lost \$2,000. I'd ask them to bear in mind that was the unemployed's estimate of how much they lost. I'm not so sure how sound that is. I could go out and say, "Well, I believe I lost \$2,000 because I was unemployed three days." But I don't think that proves a real harm. And Glenn went to Dr. Keezer who said we have those fiscal stabilizers right now to offset all those income losses, and you've never seen them bring up any documentation. So if they've got those socio-psychological problems, I'd suggest it's from some other reason than their losing money.

Then the members of the opposition didn't talk about growth. We're going to have that continuing growth over the next few years according to competent authorities. I think we can avoid those recessions, and they didn't talk about that. Those tax cuts, they're unpredictable. Now why are they unpredictable? I'm not sure, because as Glenn pointed out, you get that money from those tax cuts, and you spend it in the same areas those people are going to be spending money from the paychecks of that public work plan. What about the fact that tax cuts could have avoided that 1954 recession? And what about the only documentation that we've given you in this debate showing the present system? We took those quickie tax cuts in Great Britain, and it certainly worked there; it brought that unemployment down. I think we can do it under the present system.

Let's go to that plan. We pointed out unemployment compensation is better and with that, members of the opposition came back and said, "Well, you conceded that the automatic stabilizers don't work." No, we're conceding they're part of the automatic stabilizers. They said, "The paycheck's faster because people are excluded from unemployment compensation, and some people exhaust their benefits." 1958 recession, we stepped up and extended that coverage. I think we can do it now. That's no inherent change. But, they didn't deny the basic indictment. Because, I pointed out when you spend on public works, all the economic benefit and stimulation is sidetracked. And you know the members of the opposition didn't talk about that. And I went to those effects -- the economic stimulation of that unemployment compensation. It gets directly to the point, whenever we need it. What about the tax cuts? The members of the opposition say, "Well, we don't think it's going to happen because a lot of people don't have those jobs." How's the tax cut going to help them? I'm suggesting first of all we've got the jobs now. We can put those people on those jobs, so whenever those recessions are threatened,

those automatic stabilizers could offset those recessions, and we're not going to have any of those unemployed people. Then the members of the opposition say, "Well, now we cannot go on cutting taxes forever." Wish they had gone back to what the Treasury Department said, we get six billion dollars every year and we can use that for tax cutting whenever we need it. Then the members of the opposition went to State Bonds. I pointed out it's the best way of getting a multiplier in economic stimulation. They said, "we've got legal limits," whatever that is. I guess that's Mississippi or some other state saying, "Don't believe I want to indebt myself too much." I'm going to suggest that can be changed. Time magazine said these states are selling those bonds, and Dr. Groves said it's the best possible stimulation. They say it's going to increase fluctuations. I don't see how it's going to any more than that plan the members of the opposition are talking about. What else? I pointed out they won't take services. Members of the opposition said they had jobs. That doesn't mean they want services. Secretary Wirtz said they don't have a commitment to the public sector of the economy. These people have got skills so they won't need training. That's not what our authorities said, The Manpower Report of the President, they need skills even for maintenance and even for services, and they never showed you those people had those necessary skills, going into that last rebuttal. "We can establish our plan now and avoid the time lag." Well, that Highway Act was already established. They had everything all ready to go on the shelf, but it still took four months. That's going to be a little bit late whenever that recession comes along. Then the members of the opposition, I don't think, ever denied a basic disadvantage. If you concentrate on these programs merely because of the speed of putting them into operation, you're going to be neglecting all the really vital public work projects, according to Chairman Heller. And what are you going to be doing? Spending on less needed items. That's a real definite disadvantage. Cause to reject that affirmative plan. All we need to do is accelerate present public works programs because it's a lot quicker -- undenied. We've got that economic growth over the coming years. Just where is the probability of that need?

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Second Affirmative Rebuttal Speech
Mr. John Wittig
Carson-Newman College

Ladies and gentlemen. I would have you bear in mind that since the beginning of this debate there have been three affirmative advantages to the plan which have yet to be mentioned, and I don't suppose they are going to be. Let's go back again. We said we'd put idle men and machinery back to work. We'd give the government another weapon against inflation. We'd do needed public work. I think there's three good reasons right there to adopt the affirmative proposal. We gave you five more. Let's go back and take a look at those. Number one, recessions are an inherent part of our business activity. Well, the gentleman got up on one horse and rode one way for awhile, and then they got off and tried to go backwards in the opposite direction. I think they've been drawn and quartered. We said in the first place that unemployment and recessions existed concomitantly. The gentlemen said we read a "blurb" quotation. We turned to the Council of Economic Advisers, hardly a blurb. We said the recessions may be upon us before we know it. Now here's where the gentlemen's whole argument breaks down. Now, I want to take a lot of their lumps of arguments in together. They said, "Well, we can have quickie tax cuts." And they used the Great Britain example, as proof positive, you see, as to the effectiveness of this particular proposal. Number one they said, "Well, in Britain they somehow or other guessed that a recession might be coming and they had a 4% unemployment rate so they happened to pass a tax cut which happened

to lead to a decline in unemployment." We said the recessions that are going to come about in the future will not forecast their shadows in advance. That was the Council of Economic Advisers speaking. The gentlemen still are going to tell us that somehow or other that they've got a crystal ball which nobody else has got. That's going to tell them when that tax cut has to be passed in order to prevent that recession from coming. Point number one, I think, still stands -- recessions are pretty inherent in our present system.

All right, what about the unemployment? Well, it's pretty high. But it's no harm according to Mr. Strickland and Mr. Johnson, you see, because some people manage to maintain their income and he didn't think our particular evidence was valid. Once again, we turn to the Upjohn Institute, reliable enough we suspect. They say \$2,000 was lost by these people. That seems to be a significant loss. What about the economy? I related it to you to the economy -- 172 billion dollars. Now here's where the gentlemen's line of argument broke down again. They said, "Now wait a minute, our marvelous automatic stabilizers offset all this." Now I went into a large analysis of what that offset meant. It meant that once we reached the nadir of the economy, we managed to come all the way back up and got to the same level. That doesn't mean we didn't incur loss during that recession. The gentlemen never denied that. They never came back to resubstantiate that piece of evidence. We suggest on that basis there was a severe harm that occurred to the economy as a result of the recession.

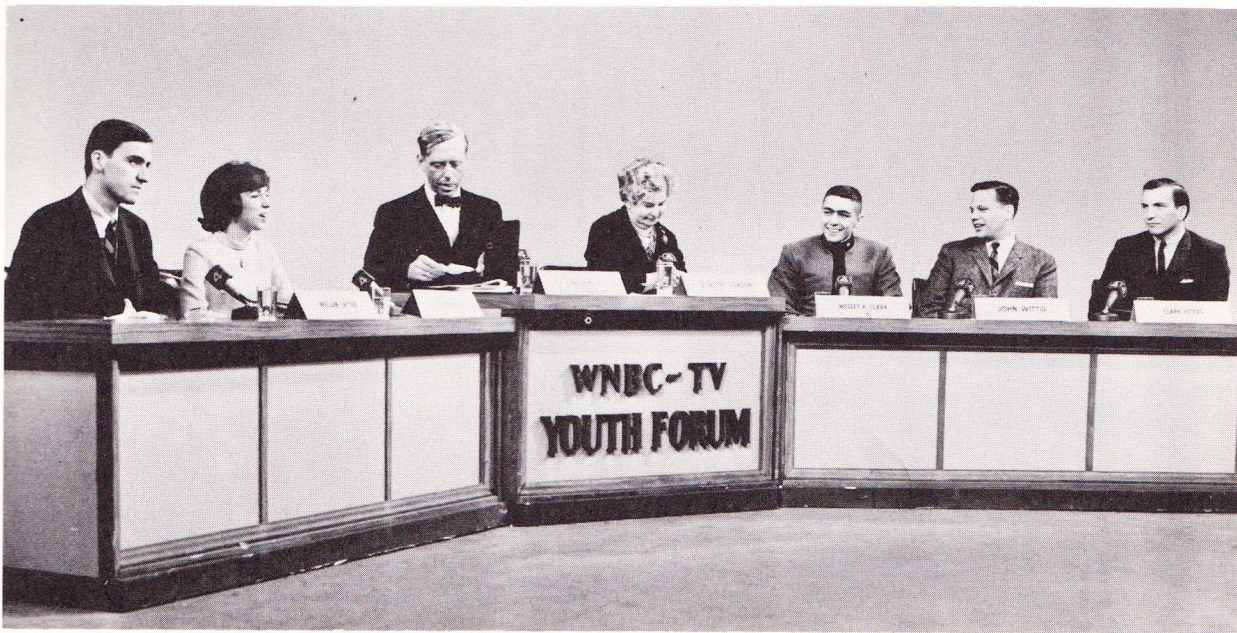
All right, let's go to the next point. We suggested, therefore, public work could provide effective economic stabilization. That I don't think has really been denied because the gentlemen offered us a counterproposal. They said, "Ha Ha, in times of recession, let's feed more money into the public work sector, expand the employment and thereby soak everybody up." Now, I think that's exactly our particular argument that we ought to have a contracyclically varied program of public work to take care of the unemployed. Then the gentlemen said, "Now you can't do it in your plan because there's a time lag." No, there's not, had they paid attention all the way through this debate. We said that's why we had to set the program up now because there would be a time lag unless we didn't. That's the reason for all this shuffling around and interviews and tests -- to make sure that we know when deflationary unemployment takes place. That's the reason for the two billion dollar contingency fund in our plan -- to make sure we can expand it when unemployment comes about as a result of recession. That's the reason for the affirmative proposal -- the affirmative proposal with three unmentioned advantages.

Let's move a little bit further. The gentlemen said, "Now, wait a minute. The states can do it. They've got all sorts of bonds." Now, I think that's highly irrelevant. What they're talking about now is a state program of contracyclically varied public works, which means you want fifty states acting in concert to vary their programs coordinatedly. Now, if that's what we're going to do, I suggest the logical place to do it, if for no other reason than to make sure of unanimity, is in the Federal government, and I think that argument got developed awfully late in rebuttals. Let's move a little bit further into what the gentlemen had to say about certain other aspects. We said there were three reasons for assuming instability was increasing. The gentlemen said we can solve all those with a tax cut. Now let's look at this a little bit. A tax cut's going to make sure that consumer demand no longer is dependent on durable goods. That's what the gentlemen would have you believe. Point number two, we said political instability throughout the world is increasing. I think the State Department ought to know about the calming effects of tax cuts upon our international relations because that's the curative measure the gentlemen have proposed. Then we said, third, there's a

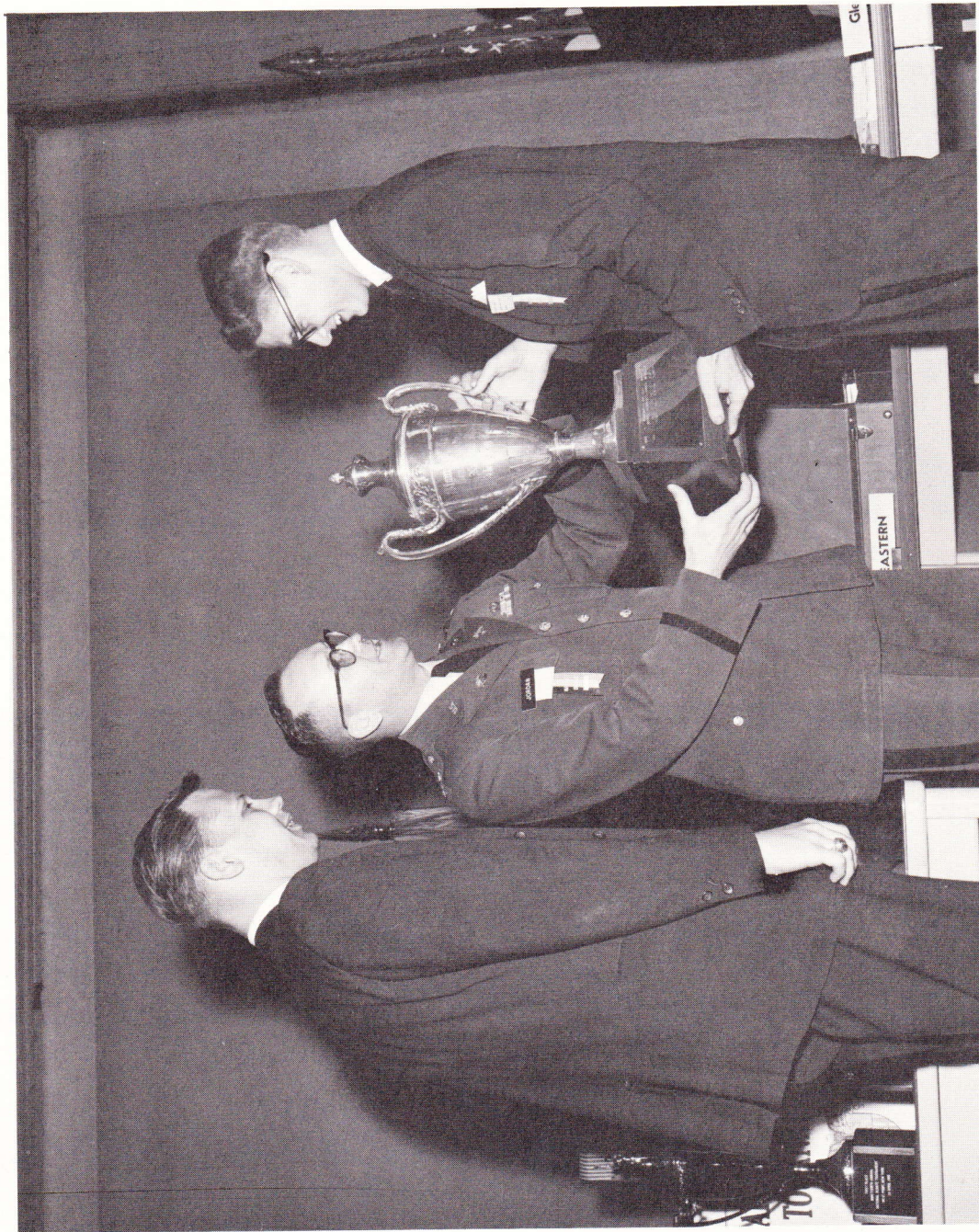
danger that inflationary pressures will overwhelm us. And what did the gentlemen say? "Let's put more money into the economy, that's the way to stop inflation." Now I'm not an economics major, but it sounds to me that when inflation is a danger the way to handle this is hardly by putting more money back into the economy. We reject that particular solution. Let's get back and look at the harm area. Now the gentlemen said, "Now as far as this social harm goes, it must come from some other reason than money." And I think this takes care of the unemployment compensation, which we indicted in three counts, and they didn't want to talk about. But we won't go into that right now. The gentlemen said there must be some other reason than money that causes all these social harms. And we suggested that the reason was unemployment. You see, that's the causal factor. That's what our evidence said. The gentlemen wanted to make believe that it was because people were poor that they had trouble with their wives. No, it was because they were home all day instead of working. We suggested that was the area of concern. I think we've given you legitimate reasons to adopt the affirmative resolution. I don't have a disadvantage from that particular proposal. The gentlemen never presented us with one. All right, the last question the gentlemen had was, "Well, can we employ the unemployed?" You know, I think this question has been asked to every affirmative team in every debate that's taken place this year, and I think Barnett substantiated the fact when he read from Roger Freeman, that "chores are waiting to be done everywhere and projects of moderate size can be placed wherever long-term unemployed, particularly those of low or no skill, are able to be put to work." What problem do we have left? Only that of recurring recessions which must be solved by soaking up that unemployment to make sure we don't incur those national harms. To make sure we don't incur those personal harms, and to accrue the three advantages the gentlemen conspicuously wanted to ignore. We call for the adoption of the affirmative resolution.



Relaxing Between Rounds



Post-Tournament Activity



JOHN WITTIG AND BARNETT PEARCE
of Carson-Newman College, receive the Larmon Trophy from
Colonel Amos A. Jordan



Colonel Amos A. Jordan presents the permanent first place trophy to the Carson-Newman College team (L to R) - John Wittig, Barnett Pearce, Forrest Conklin (Coach)



Presentation of the Second Place Trophy
Colonel Jordan, Glenn Strickland and David Johnson,
of Northeastern State College



Third Place - Georgetown University
Robert Shrum and John Koeltl receive the Third Place Award
from Colonel Jordan



Fourth Place - University of Miami
Ron Sabo and Steve Mackauf receive the
Fourth Place Award from Colonel Jordan