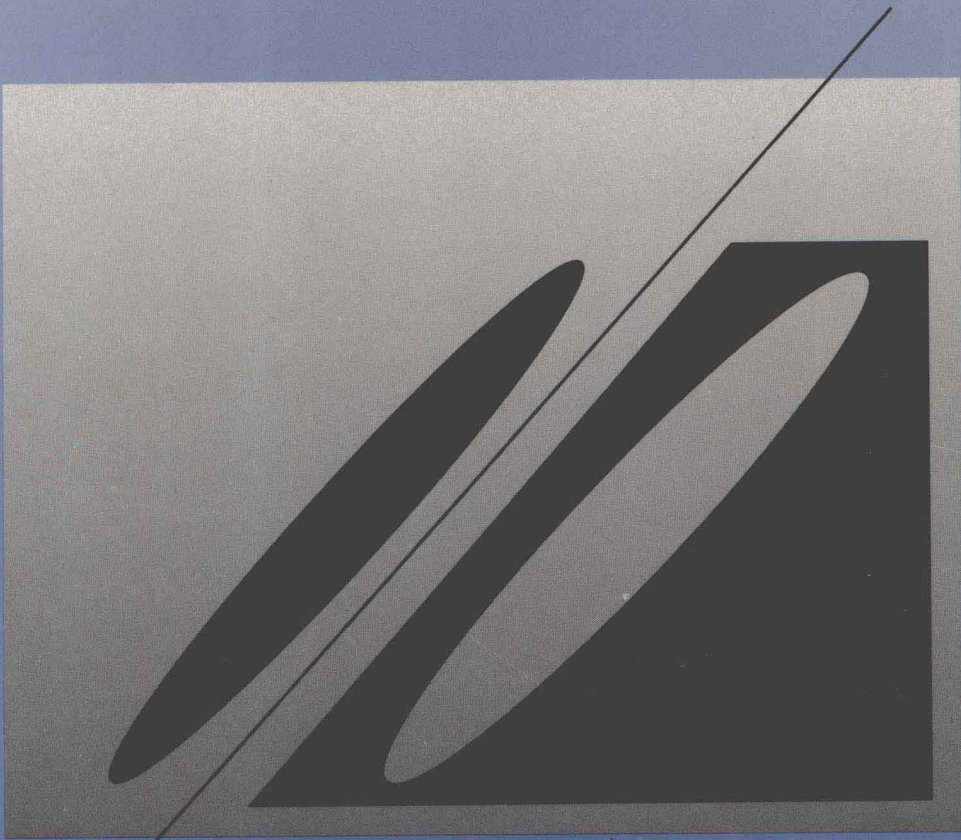


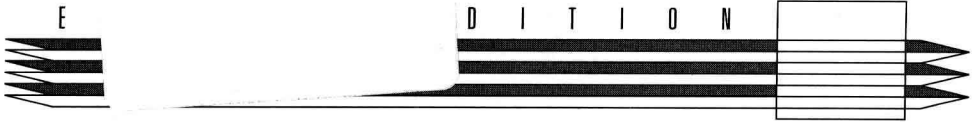
ARGUMENTATION AND DEBATE

Critical Thinking for Reasoned Decision Making

E I G H T H E D I T I O N



AUSTIN J. FREELEY



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CRITICAL THINKING FOR REASONED DECISION MAKING

AUSTIN J. FREELEY

John Carroll University

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CIP

**TO TRUDIE
AND TO THE MEMORY
OF MY MOTHER AND FATHER**

AUSTIN J. FREELEY, Emeritus Professor of Communication at John Carroll University, is a nationally recognized authority in argumentation and debate. He is a founder and past president of the American Forensic Association and has also headed the Eastern Forensic Association, New England Forensic Association, and the Ohio Speech Communication Association. He has received the Distinguished Service Award from the American Forensic Association (1980), Delta Sigma Rho–Tau Kappa Alpha (1986), and Boston University (1992). He has also served as Associate Editor of the *Journal of the American Forensic Association*, *Ohio Speech Journal*, *Speaker and Gavel*, and *Central States Speech Journal*.



PREFACE

This eighth edition of *Argumentation and Debate* retains and reinforces the features that have led to its wide use for more than thirty years by eight “generations” of students, and, at the same time, brings before today’s students the significant changes in our constantly developing field of knowledge.

Along with many updates and revisions this edition provides new material on:

- Background of educational debate. (Chapter 2)
- Value and quasi-policy debating. (Chapter 3)
- An example of research strategies. (Chapter 5)
- Intuitive and counterintuitive evidence and a section on critical evidence. (Chapter 7)
- Examples of disjunctive syllogisms and modal qualifications. (Chapter 8)
- CEDA and NDT debate cases. (Chapter 12)
- Whole resolution arguments, hasty generalization, typicality arguments, two criteria for counterplans, topical counterplans, permutation and permutation standards. (Chapter 13)
- Speech preparation. (Chapter 16)
- Cross examination debating. (Chapter 18)

The appendixes, too, have been updated. There is a new CEDA final round in Appendix B, a new NDT final round in Appendix C, the listing of CEDA and NDT debate propositions have been updated in Appendixes D and E. The glossary in Appendix F has been expanded.

Throughout the text many new examples have been provided on many issues. Some of these examples are drawn from the debates in Appendixes B and C, and some come from debates on recent CEDA and NDT national propositions. Others are drawn from recent events, Operation Desert Storm, the Thomas Supreme Court nomination hearings, the col-

lapse of the Soviet Union, and similar occasions of public debate within the students' memory.

Today's students have grown up in the greatest era of change in all human history. Just since the seventh edition of this book the map of the world has changed. The Cold War is over and in its place new problems, crises, options, and opportunities arise. No phase of our lives is untouched by what some see as the rise of a new civilization that will profoundly challenge our old assumptions, ways of thinking, formulas, dogmas, and ideologies. To deal with this fast-emerging clash of new values, technologies, geopolitical relationships, life styles, and modes of communication, we need a means of critical thinking to arrive at reasoned decisions on the complex, urgent, and unprecedented issues that confront us. A knowledge of argumentation and debate empowers us to take an effective role in the world in which we live.

Knowledgeable teachers of argumentation recognize that the accelerated rate of change has had a marked impact on the field of argumentation and debate. In many important ways we no longer analyze arguments, conduct research, build cases, or conduct debates in the way we did even a few years ago. Not only is more knowledge available today than ever before, it is also more accessible. The field of argumentation and debate changes as new theories and practices emerge each new academic year. While the change in any one year is small, the incremental growth of change over a few years mandates a new edition.

This book is designed for all who are interested in using critical thinking to reach reasoned decisions. It is designed specifically for the undergraduate students of argumentation and debate courses, but it may be used in any broadly liberal course for students who seek self-empowerment and who desire to prepare themselves for effective participation in a democratic society.

The instructor may assign the chapters in any order adapted to the needs of the students. The instructor may take a broad overview of the field of argumentation and debate; focus on CEDA or NDT debate; or focus on critical thinking.

I wish to record my thanks to Nicholas F. Burnett of California State University, Sacramento; Rodney M. Cole of the University of Maine–Augusta; Michael Overking of Fairmont State College; and Lee B. Winet of SUNY, Oswego who all offered thoughtful, insightful, and practical advice for this Eighth Edition. Also, thanks are due to Holly Allen of Wadsworth Publishing Company, whose editorial work on this edition is sincerely appreciated, and to Sara Hunsaker/*Ex Libris* for facilitating the production of this book. Over the years many of the students I have taught and judged have contributed to this edition as well as earlier editions. They have helped me refine my thinking and develop more cogent statements on many matters and they have provided many of the examples that may be found throughout this text.



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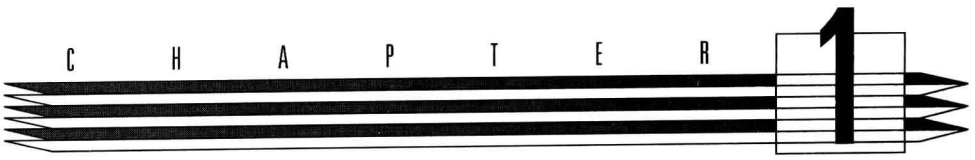
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CRITICAL THINKING

A growing number of colleges and universities are establishing the requirement that their students study critical thinking. The executive order establishing California's requirement states:

Instruction in *critical thinking* is designed to achieve an understanding of the relationship of language to logic, which would lead to the ability to analyze, criticize, and advocate ideas, to reason inductively and deductively, and to reach factual or judgmental conclusions based on sound inferences drawn from unambiguous statements of knowledge or belief. The minimal competence to be expected at the successful conclusion of instruction in critical thinking should be the ability to distinguish fact from judgment, belief from knowledge, and skills in elementary inductive and deductive processes, including an understanding of the formal and informal fallacies of language and thought.

Competency in critical thinking is rightly viewed as a requisite intellectual skill for self-realization as an effective participant in human affairs, for the pursuit of higher education, and for successful participation in the highly competitive world of business and the professions. Debate is today, as it has been since classical times, one of the best methods of learning and applying the principles of critical thinking.

Many of the most significant and critical communications of our lives are conducted in the form of debates. These may be intrapersonal communications, where we weigh the pros and cons of an important decision in our own minds; or they may be interpersonal communications, where we listen to a debate conducted to secure our decision or participate in a debate to secure the decision of others.

Success or failure in life is largely determined by our ability to make wise decisions for ourselves and to secure the decisions we want from others. Much of our significant, purposeful activity is concerned with making required decisions. Whether to join a campus organization, go to graduate school, accept a certain job offer, buy a car or house, move to another city, invest in a certain stock, or vote for Smith—these are just a few of the thousands of decisions we may have to make. Often, intelligent self-interest or a sense of responsibility will require us to secure certain decisions from others. We may want a scholarship, a particular job, a customer for our product, or a vote for a certain candidate.

Some people make decisions by flipping a coin. Others act on the whim of the moment or respond unthinkingly to the pressures of the “hidden persuaders.” If the problem is trivial—the movies tonight?—the use of these methods is of no consequence. For important matters, however, mature adults require a reasoned means of decision making. They seek the greatest possible assurance that their decisions are justified by good reasons based on true evidence and valid reasoning.

Argumentation is reason giving in communicative situations by people whose purpose is the justification of acts, beliefs, attitudes, and values. This definition is based on a definition adopted at the National Developmental Conference on Forensics.¹ Toulmin makes a similar point when he asks, “What kind of *justificatory activities* must we engage in to convince our fellows that these beliefs are based on ‘good reasons’?”² *Good reasons* may be defined as “reasons which are psychologically compelling for a given audience, which make further inquiry both unnecessary and redundant—hence justifying a decision to affirm or reject a proposition.”³ Note that what constitutes good reasons for one audience may not be good reasons for another. When Iran’s former political and religious leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini ordered his followers to murder novelist Salman Rushdie for writing the “blasphemous” *The Satanic Verses*, Khomeini’s command and his “good reason,” “blasphemy” of the Prophet, were considered to be so compelling that, even after Khomeini’s death in 1989, Rushdie, a British subject living in Britain, remained in hiding under British police protection, and publishers and booksellers around the world feared for the safety of their employees and customers. In most of the world “blasphemy” is not perceived as a good reason for murder, and in America freedom of the press, enshrined in the First Amendment to the Constitution, is perceived as a good reason for allowing an author to express just about any opinion. The debater’s task is to discover the justificatory activities that the decision renderers will accept and to develop the good reasons that will lead them to agree

¹ James H. McBath, ed., *Forensics as Communication* (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1975), p. 11.

² Stephen Toulmin, *Knowing and Acting* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), p. 138.

³ David Zarefsky, “Criteria for Evaluating Non-Policy Argument,” *Perspectives on Non-Policy Argument*, ed. Don Brownlee, sponsored by CEDA (privately published, 1980), p. 10.

with the desired conclusion—or, of course, to reject those reasons advanced by an opponent.

First we will consider debate as a method of critical thinking. Then we will consider some other methods of decision making and see how they relate to argumentation and debate.



DEBATE

Debate is the process of inquiry and advocacy, the seeking of reasoned judgment on a proposition. Debate may be used by the individual to reach a decision in his or her own mind, or it may be used by an individual or a group seeking to secure a decision from others.

As debate specifically provides reasoned arguments for and against a given proposition, it also provides opportunities for critical thinking. Society, as well as the individual, must have an effective method of reaching reasoned decisions. A free society is so structured that many of its decisions are reached through debate. Our law courts and our legislative bodies are specifically designed to create and perpetuate debate as the method of reaching decisions. In fact, any organization that conducts its business according to parliamentary procedure has selected debate as its method. Debate pervades our society at decision-making levels.

From the earliest times to the present, thoughtful people have recognized the importance of debate for the individual and society. Plato, whose dialogues were an early form of cross-examination debate, defines rhetoric as “a universal art of winning the mind by arguments, which means not merely arguments in the courts of justice, and all other sorts of public councils, but in private conference as well.”⁴

Aristotle lists four values for *rhetoric*.⁵ First, it prevents the triumph of fraud and injustice. Aristotle argues that truth and justice are by nature more powerful than their opposites. When decisions are not made as they should be, speakers with right on their side have only themselves to blame for the outcome. Thus, it is not enough to know the right decision ourselves; we must be able to argue for that decision before others.

Second, rhetoric is a method of instruction for the public. Aristotle points out that situations exist wherein scientific arguments are of no avail; the speaker must then instruct the audience by framing arguments with the help of common knowledge and commonly accepted opinions. Congressional debates on arms limitations or tax policies are examples of this. The general public, and indeed the majority of the Congress, lacks the specialized knowledge to follow highly sophisticated technical arguments. Skilled partisans who have the expertise to understand the technical data must reformulate their reasons in ways that can be comprehended by both Congress and the public.

⁴ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 261. Cooper and Jowett use slightly different terms in translating this passage. This statement draws from both translations.

⁵ See: Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I, 1.

Third, rhetoric makes us see both sides of a case. By arguing both sides, no aspect of the case will escape us, and we will be prepared to refute our opponents' arguments.

Fourth, rhetoric is a means of defense. Often a knowledge of argumentation and debate will be necessary to protect ourselves or our interests. Aristotle states: "If it is a disgrace to a man when he cannot defend himself in a bodily way, it would be odd not to think him disgraced when he cannot defend himself with reason. Reason is more distinctive of man than is bodily effort."

Similarly, in the nineteenth century, John Stuart Mill placed great emphasis on the value of debate:

If even the Newtonian philosophy were not permitted to be questioned, mankind could not feel as complete assurance of its truth as they now [1858] do. The beliefs which we have the most warrant for, have no safeguard to rest on, but a standing invitation to the whole world to prove them unfounded. If the challenge is not accepted, or is accepted and the attempt fails, we are far enough from certainty still; but we have done the best that the existing state of human reason admits of; we have neglected nothing that could give the truth the chance of reaching us; if the lists are kept open, we may hope that if there be a better truth, it will be found when the human mind is capable of receiving it; and in the meantime we may rely on having attained such approach to truth as is possible in our day. This is the amount of certainty attainable by a fallible being, and this is the sole way of attaining it.⁶

The United States Senate designated, as Senate Immortals, five senators who had shaped the history of our nation by their ability as debaters: Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Robert M. La Follette, Sr., and Robert A. Taft. The triumvirate of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun towered over all others and were the near unanimous choice of senators and scholars alike. These commanding figures might well be included in a list of the world's great debaters. As John F. Kennedy, then a freshman senator, pointed out, "For over thirty years they dominated the Congress and the country, providing leadership and articulation on all the great issues of the growing nation."⁷ La Follette and Taft were selected as the outstanding representatives of the progressive and conservative movements in the twentieth century. In honoring these "immortals," the Senate recognized the importance of debate in determining the course of American history. John Quincy Adams considered Webster's reply in his debate with Hayne to be "the most significant act since the founding of the Constitution."⁸ Indeed, it would be impossible to understand the history of the United States without a knowledge of the great debaters and their debates.

Our laws not only are made through the process of debate but are applied through debate as well. The famous attorney Joseph N. Welch has stated:

⁶ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (New York: Burt, n.d.), pp. 38–39.

⁷ John F. Kennedy, Speech in the Senate, May 1, 1957, from a press release.

⁸ *Ibid.*