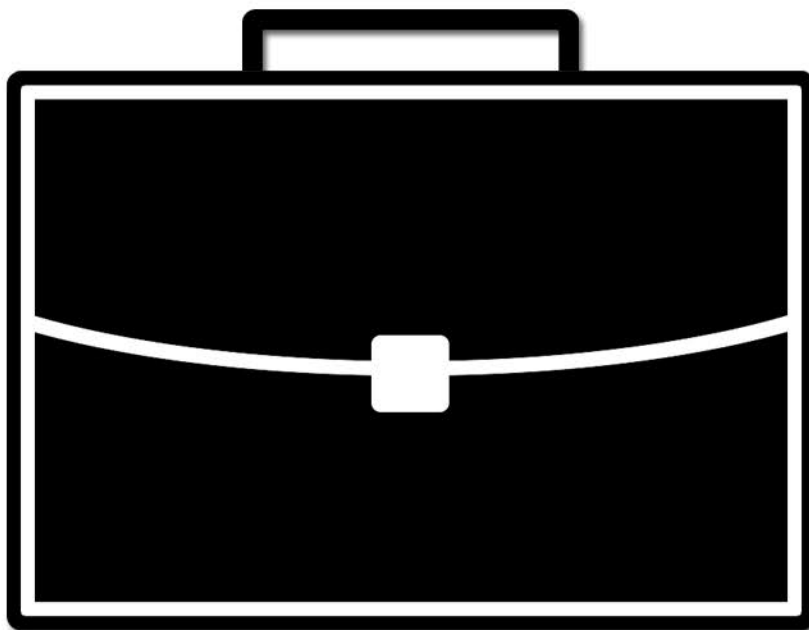


# Champion Briefs

## Novice Topic 2023

### Lincoln-Douglas Brief



Resolved: In the United States,  
national service ought to be  
mandatory.

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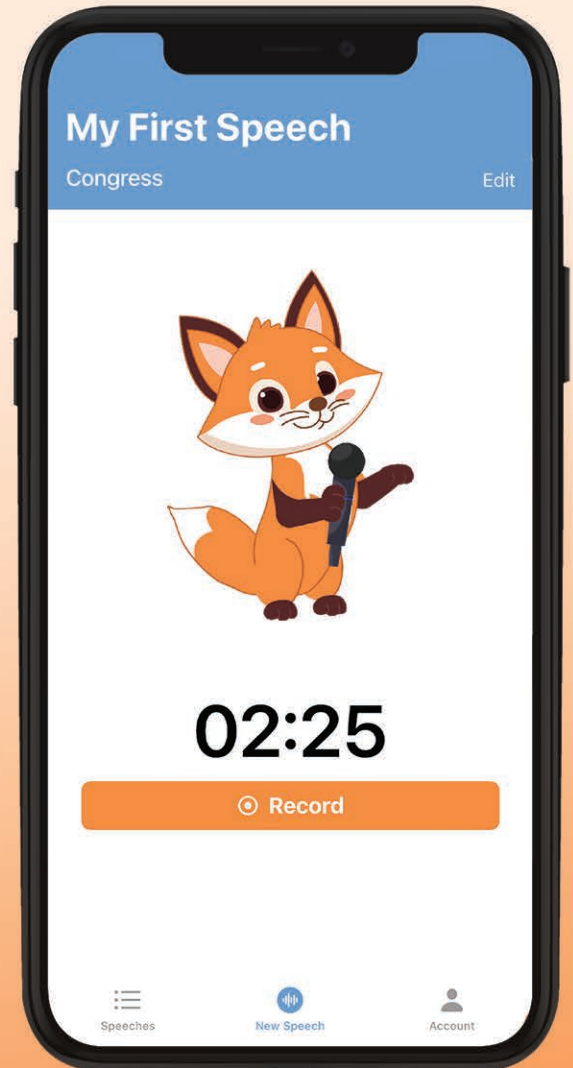
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These seven statements, while simple, represent the complex notion of what it means to advance students' understanding of the world around them, as is the purpose of educators.

### Letter from the Editor

Welcome to the wonderful world of debate! We at Champion Briefs are excited for you to start this journey, and we're here to help guide you.

The Novice Topic produced by the NSDA is an excellent introduction into the event of Lincoln-Douglas and the moral and political issues that we regularly debate. This brief is unique amongst our products in that it is geared only for those first starting out in Lincoln-Douglas. This means that we focused on more traditional LD cases dealing with philosophies and ethical decision making. We also tried to provide students a sample of what more progressive debate can look like through more approachable progressive cases such as plan based affirmatives and negatives that look at the underlying goals of national service. Ultimately, we produced a brief where many of the case positions are directly responsive to each other in order to help debaters create clash without having a deep knowledge of LD strategy.

Many of you are just starting your journey in competitive debate, and while I cannot say it will be easy, I can promise you it will be rewarding. The knowledge you will gain and the friends you'll make will last a lifetime. Don't be discouraged if things seem tough to start or if you aren't finding immediate success. Debate like a sport is something you can only get better at with practice. Good luck to you all!

Daniel Shatzkin  
Editor-in-Chief

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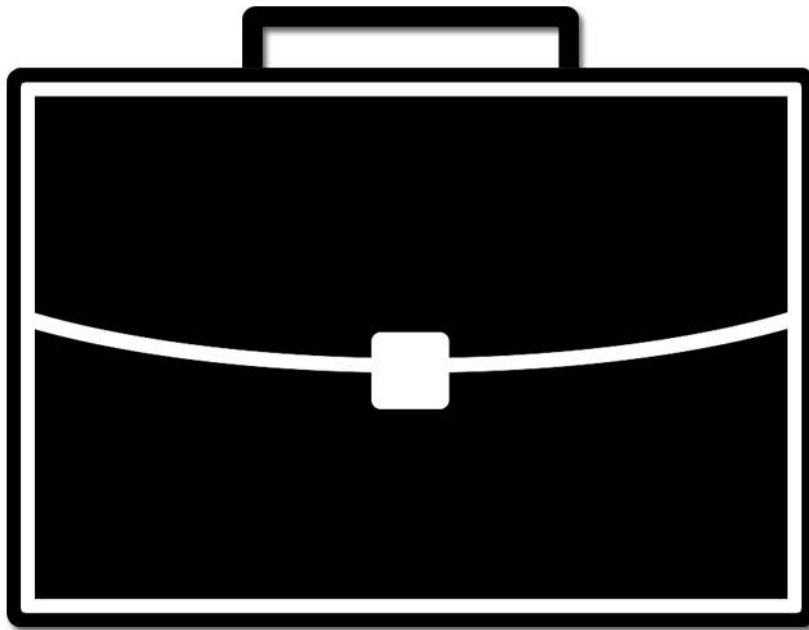
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# Champion Briefs

## Novice Topic 2023

### Lincoln-Douglas Brief



# Topic Analyses

## Topic Analysis by Sheryl Kaczmarek

***Resolved: In the United States, national service ought to be mandatory.***

The Northeast was the first part of the country to have an official novice topic. I was there when we created it for the start of the 2009-2010 season – the primary motivating factor was the September-October 2008 topic: Resolved: It is morally permissible to kill one innocent person to save the lives of more innocent people. While I love the “Trolley Problem” as much as the next coach, philosopher or varsity debater, it was not a great topic for Beginning LDers. Some years later, the NSDA adopted the Civil Disobedience topic, and now we have a new Novice Topic, which is actually an old Varsity topic, last debated in September-October of 2017. Of course, no one in high school now came close to debating that topic, and a fair number of current coaches also probably have little direct experience with it, so my mission here is to introduce the topic while also providing some advice as to how novices, varsity debaters who work with novices and coaches new to this topic might approach it.

I nearly always start by looking at the definitions when I analyze any topic because looking at the individual words and phrases allows me to uncover that topic’s fundamental premises. I STRONGLY recommend that novices stick to the fundamentals (and leave the tricks for later), which is why I will address the first phrase in the resolution only briefly. I also believe that novices should write their own cases, even though I know that varsity debaters might be

tempted to hand over their old files. Since this is the first year of this particular novice topic, however, there are no varsity folks who have hand-me-down evidence, which is excellent.

In the novice division, I doubt anyone will play silly games with definitions of United States (and no one should in any division, in my opinion), so I think we can simply assume that the phrase “in the United States” exists to focus the debate on where, specifically, we should be contemplating the existence of “mandatory” “national service.” It makes sense that students new to debate focus on a US-specific issue since there is a lot to learn at the start of a person’s debate career. Needing to learn a different political/social system seems an unnecessary burden for novices, as does using a topic so open-ended it could refer to anywhere (or even nowhere).

If we accept that the first phrase is a simple limiter for debates (in fact, I believe all resolutions ought to serve to limit and focus debates), that leaves us with three additional words/phrases to consider. When possible, I like to work with definitions of whole phrases because that provides the most topic-specific definitions, which means we have “national service,” “ought to be,” and “mandatory.” It is possible to define “national” and “service” separately or “ought” separately from “to” and “be,” but I’d recommend against doing that because keeping related words together makes for more precise interpretations.

Besides, there are plenty of definitions of “national service” to meet your needs, so you might as well be specific. The first thing anyone doing the definition work I have done will learn is that “national service” is either both military and civilian or pretty much exclusively military. My favorite definition comes from Encyclopedia.com:

“The term national service traditionally refers to a nationwide program of public/community work in which citizens, mostly young people, serve for one or two years at a subminimum wage to help the community as well as themselves (Gorham 1992; Moskos 1988). In countries such as Israel, Korea, Austria, Singapore, and Turkey, young people (mostly male) are required to serve in the military. In other countries, for example, Germany, (male) citizens may choose whether they want to serve in the armed forces or participate in alternative national service programs.”

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/national-service-programs>

The article this definition comes from also provides an excellent and inclusive history of national service (mostly US-specific). I would recommend checking it out for potential arguments, and, in fact, the more definition research you do, the more you will find arguments for both sides of any topic, in addition to the definitions you seek.

Here are three military-specific definitions:

“the system in some countries by which young people, especially men, are ordered by law to spend a period of time in the armed forces”

[<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/national-service>]

“National service is service in the armed forces, which young people in certain countries have to do by law.” [<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/us/dictionary/english/national-service>]

“compulsory service in the military during peacetime”

[<https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/national%20service>]

Then, this definition makes military training a requirement but allows for non-military service:

“national service means compulsory military training followed by either military service and/or a civilian posting (see National Service)”

[<https://www.lawinsider.com/dictionary/national-service>]

Finally, this definition indicates that military or non-military service both qualify as national service:

“Mandatory national service (also called compulsory service) is a requirement that people serve in the military or complete other works of service. Modern propositions for compulsory service envision that young Americans could join the military or do civilian projects such as teaching in low-income areas, helping care for the elderly, or maintaining infrastructure, among other ideas.”

[<https://www.procon.org/headlines/mandatory-national-service-top-3-pros-and-cons/>]

As a side note, the Procon.org definition, probably not surprisingly, comes from an article that explains several arguments in favor of national service and several arguments against it. Also, the article you’ll find if you follow the link below compares compulsory (or mandatory) to voluntary national service [<https://www.brookings.edu/wp->

[content/uploads/2019/10/national-service\\_text-3.pdf](#)]. Since the Affirmative must support mandatory service, the Negative has the option of suggesting no service or voluntary service, which means the Brookings article could be valuable for BOTH sides. And finally, these last two definitions explain the range of programs that might constitute national service, with no mention of the military:

“National service refers to programs like AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, and other programs and initiatives. Participants in these programs address community needs in disaster services, economic opportunity, education, the environment, health, and veterans and military families.” [<https://youth.gov/youth-topics/civic-engagement-and-volunteering/national-service>]

“national service means civilian employment in Federal or State Government in a field in which the Nation and the public have critical needs.”

[<https://www.lawinsider.com/dictionary/national-service>]

So, what is a debater to do when the range of definitions offered literally goes in contradictory directions? In short, now is the time to make some choices. Do you want to defend the full range of options for “mandatory” “national service” – from military to civilian – or would you prefer to defend ONLY military service or only non-military service? Regardless of the choice you make, you need to recognize that your opponents may be making different choices from you, at least some of the time. If you defend exclusively military service in your

affirmative, your opponent might argue that compulsory service is bad for the US military and that a number of the folks who might be required to serve in the military might not be well suited to that work. Your opponents also might argue that increasing the size of the US military might be problematic. On the other hand, if you defend exclusively civilian service, your opponents could argue that you would be draining current volunteers from the military, which might be bad or might argue that putting many young people in sub-minimum wage jobs might be bad for them personally, and bad for the economy as a whole, especially given worker shortages in a number of fields, not to mention the complications associated with how doing service intersects with college, internships or job training.

As for Negatives, in addition to making responses based on your choice about what sort of “mandatory” service you are defending, they could argue that all “mandatory” service is bad, that voluntary service is better, or that people ought to make their own choices about how, when or whether they ever want to do service for little or no payment. Affirmatives could also set up cases to address the values of service in terms of individual growth, a more supportive and caring national climate, or less divisiveness, but I have also seen evidence that indicates that forcing people to do service negates all of those positive psychological benefits.

While I will be returning to this contemplation of potential arguments again soon, I would like to finish providing the definitions of the key terms in the resolution first, which brings us to the definitions of “ought to be.” The Cambridge Dictionary provides two different definitions, with relevant examples, of the entire phrase:

“used to show when it is necessary or would be a good thing to perform the activity referred to by the following verb: ‘*You ought to be kinder to him.*’ ‘*We ought to be getting ready now.*’” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/ought-to>

“used to express something that you expect will happen: ‘He ought to be home by seven o'clock.’” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/ought-to>

“Ought” is a very important word in LD topics, and historically, “ought” has been the word that separates LD from Policy because “ought” is where LD gets its nudge in the direction of moral obligations or the rightness and wrongness of potential actions. These definitions of “ought” from Dictionary.com show what I mean:

“(used to express duty or moral obligation): *Every citizen ought to help.*

(used to express justice, moral rightness, or the like): *He ought to be punished. You ought to be ashamed.*” [<https://www.dictionary.com/browse/ought>]

If we think about the Novice topic in terms of “ought” by itself, the ground between the affirmative and negative is very clear. Simply put, the affirmative must defend the position that requiring everyone to complete “national service” is the just and morally correct thing to do or that everyone has an actual duty or moral obligation to perform the service. On the other hand, the negative needs to deny that any such moral obligation exists or argue that any requirement to do “national service” is unjust. If we look at the entire phrase “ought to be,” however, the

burden on the affirmative seems to be slightly smaller, and also less focused on moral obligations and more directed at the practical good that might come from folks performing “national service.” Therefore, affirmatives who want to talk about the positive results from people performing “national service” would probably want to use one of the definitions of the entire phrase. Of course, if the affirmative opens the door to discussions of the pragmatic good of “mandatory” “national service,” that does mean the negative can make similar arguments in the opposite direction regarding potential harms.

I hope that as I am helping you figure out what the words in the topic mean I am also showing you **how** exploring the meanings of the words in the resolution helps provide insights on the types of arguments you will want to make. Over the course of time, and especially if you continue into Varsity LD, I hope you’ll continue to let the words in the resolution open doors to new arguments for you, but it is also true that Varsity LDers sometimes bring their own preconceptions to new resolutions rather than letting the resolutions speak to them. In the Novice division and in parts of the country where Varsity judges really expect debaters to address resolutions directly, however, there is no better way to start thinking about a topic than to look at the words in their resolutorial context.

And speaking of words, we have one left to consider, the word “mandatory.” There are lots of dictionaries, but they mostly say one or the other of the following things:

“made necessary, usually by law or by some other rule: used to describe something that must be done, usually because the law states that it is necessary:”

[<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/mandatory>]

“authoritatively ordered; obligatory; compulsory:

*It is mandatory that all students take two years of math.*

pertaining to, of the nature of, or containing a command.”

[<https://www.dictionary.com/browse/mandatory>]

To be honest, it does not look like there is much wiggle room for affirmatives in the interpretation of “mandatory.” Simply put, a thing which is mandatory is a thing that the law, or some person in power, says people must do. If I am debating on the negative, I might be tempted to argue that people should not be forced to give away their time or labor for little or no monetary reward (or for less pay than they would make doing other work). I might also argue that such forced service is neither right nor just, as previously mentioned.

Although your own coaches and varsity team members may have different views from me on the steps to develop arguments and put together cases, I would like to close with my thoughts on how preparing for this topic could work and, by extension, how you can prepare to debate future topics. As I hope is already obvious, I believe you should start exactly as I have modeled the process in this Topic Analysis by cutting up the topic into words and phrases and then exploring the possibilities and limits suggested by various definitions. Along the way, you will find links to articles that will help you come up with and then develop arguments, and one article often leads to others. Too many Varsity debaters (in my opinion) have particular arguments they like to make on every topic, and for them, their research process is more about finding ways to work in their favorite arguments than seizing opportunities to discover new

ideas. Now is the time, before you have your favorite arguments, to genuinely dissect new topics.

As a general rule, novices should have cases with some sort of framework, either a Value Premise and Criterion (the traditional way) or some other set of standards by which you want your judges to evaluate the debate (perhaps utilitarianism – looking at consequences of actions or deontology – looking at the intent behind potential actions). Then, an affirmative should probably offer two or three contentions (major arguments in support of your interpretation of the topic). Negatives should probably not have more than two contentions because they need to spend part of their first speech directly attacking the affirmative. If there are particular arguments in your case that depend on one of the definitions I have included here or one that you find on your own, those definitions ought to go into your case (usually at the top). If your interpretations are "standard," you generally don't need to include any definitions.

I would recommend revising your cases after every tournament. One thing you will soon discover if you haven't already, is that there is a lot to learn at the start of a person's debate career, but even learning two or three new things makes a tremendous difference both to what you understand and what you can do. My favorite thing in all of my years of coaching is watching lightbulbs go on in the brains of novices, and I very much hope that my explanation of the Novice topic and the method to approach any topic will give you plenty of light bulb moments this season.

**About Sheryl Kaczmarek**

Sheryl Kaczmarek is a member of the National Speech and Debate Association's Hall of Fame and has been coaching speech and debate for more than 35 years. Her career began at Brookfield Central High School in Wisconsin in the 1982-83 school year, coaching exclusively policy debate (and speech) since Lincoln- Douglas had not yet spread across the country, and no one had even dreamed of Public Forum. She spent 10 years at Brookfield Central, before spending one year at Glenbrook North, then moved east to Newburgh Free Academy in New York, where she coached Policy, Lincoln-Douglas, and Public Forum for 21 years. She now teaches at Lexington High School in MA, teaching advanced classes in debate in addition to novice classes and managing a team of 130 students.

## Topic Analysis by Grant Chmielewski

***Resolved: In the United States, national service ought to be mandatory.***

### Introduction

Welcome to your first topic in Lincoln Douglas debate. Throughout your time in this activity, you will learn that much of debate is about who knows the topic literature best. Throughout this topic analysis, this concept will be continually reinforced. Without further delay, let's examine the way this topic analysis will be laid out: I'll cover some definitional issues I think are pivotal, followed by an overview of important arguments on the affirmative, followed by the same on the negative. There is a deliberate lack of framework discussion in this topic analysis; as for the first topic for novices, I believe that focusing on the argumentation and finding your compelling round-winning "story" is the best focus of your time. I'll finish this topic analysis with some brief closing thoughts.

### General Thoughts

For this topic, I think that there are several things to consider. First, let's take the word "ought". This word in Lincoln-Douglas debate often confers a moral obligation. In the context of debate, that is important for what I'll call the should/would distinction. In Lincoln Douglas debate, we care about what should happen, not what is feasible. On a general level, debate utilizes a concept known as "fiat" to achieve this. In plain language, when the judge votes for the affirmative or negative side of the debate, we assume those things happen.

Next, let's examine the idea of national service. A more general idea of national service would equate the term with the military. Cambridge defines national service as: "the system in some countries by which young people, especially men, are ordered by law to spend a period of time in the armed forces.<sup>1</sup>". Given this definition, it may be helpful to have some international examples to look at. Sometimes, you can also find definitions that include the phrase peacetime. In that case, your best example will be a European country like Estonia<sup>2</sup>. Additionally, in non-peace conditions South Korea<sup>3</sup> It is probably the most pertinent example in terms of compatibility with the United States. Depending on the narrative you want to use in your case, you need to carefully pick your international example. One other wrinkle is that it does not specify active duty service. Therefore, there exists a compelling argument for this to primarily be in a reservist role stateside.

Finally, let's look at the term "mandatory". Merriam-Webster defines mandatory as "required by a law or rule."<sup>4</sup>. In this case, I believe that it is important to examine what isn't dictated by this definition. Namely, whom specifically the resolution is targeting. If there are age or other limitations, then there are specific areas to dive into in literature. A good foil for what this could look like is any of the attempted proposals by former Representative Charles Rangel, who attempted to pass a proposal for compulsory service five times.

### Affirmative

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<sup>1</sup> Cambridge Dictionary "National Service". <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/national-service> G.C.

<sup>2</sup> Republic of Estonia Defence [sic] Forces "Conscript service" <https://mil.ee/en/defence-forces/compulsory-military-service/> G.C.

<sup>3</sup> Elin Hofverberg; writes for LOC- creds easily found. "FALQs: The Conscription System of South Korea" <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2022/12/falqs-the-conscription-system-of-south-korea/> G.C.

<sup>4</sup> Merriam-Webster. "Mandatory" <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mandatory> G.C.

On the affirmative, I think that there are several compelling arguments. The first is that the number of people voluntarily joining the military is actively falling. On the affirmative, you could argue that this is falling to dangerously low levels.<sup>5</sup> I think that your best argument here may be in terms of preparedness and readiness, as the military is currently engaged in many theaters throughout the world. In looking at that argument, it becomes incumbent on the affirmative to explain why the draft in and of itself is not sufficient, as I believe that to be a consistent and go to negative answer. The answer to this could be that the recruiting issue is causing broader cuts in the active size of the military.<sup>6</sup> Overall, you could also argue that by making military service mandatory, you are having the nation take a broader responsibility for its collective defense. This impact could extrapolate out to better support for veterans.

On the broader impact level, with regards to the impact level, it becomes a little bit of a choose your example stage. First, you need to establish that plugging the troop gap is paramount to national security, which the Bloomberg article.<sup>7</sup> in the footnotes can assist. One such example is the struggle in Ukraine. There is evidence to suggest that as readiness gets bolstered, the United States can support Ukraine without compromising support for Taiwan.<sup>8</sup> given the

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<sup>5</sup> Jim Garamone; DOD News. "Vice Chief Talks Recruiting Shortfalls, Readiness Issues"

<https://www.defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/3369472/vice-chiefs-talk-recruiting-shortfalls-readiness-issues/> G.C.

<sup>6</sup> David Barno and Nora Bensahel; Nora Bensahel, Ph.D. is a Visiting Professor of Strategic Studies and Senior Fellow at the Merrill Center in the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, D.C..

"Addressing the U.S. Military Recruiting Crisis" <https://warontherocks.com/2023/03/addressing-the-u-s-military-recruiting-crisis/> G.C.

<sup>7</sup> Michael R. Bloomberg "Military Recruitment Woes Endanger National Security".

[https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2022-08-08/us-military-has-a-recruitment-and-retention-problem-here-s-how-to-fix-it?in\\_source=embedded-checkout-banner#xj4y7vzkg](https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2022-08-08/us-military-has-a-recruitment-and-retention-problem-here-s-how-to-fix-it?in_source=embedded-checkout-banner#xj4y7vzkg) G.C.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Spoher and Maiaya Clark; Heritage Foundation. "How the United States Can Support Ukraine Without Compromising Deterrence in the Indo-Pacific" <https://www.heritage.org/sites/default/files/2023-05/BG3768.pdf> G.C.

considerations of TSMC and the sea traffic. With any example that you pick, the key impact will end up being global impacts. Globalization means that regional conflicts have outsized global consequences- especially in Taiwan, where there is a large portion of container shipping traffic that passes through. For a justified example of how "bad" this can get, you may use the example of COVID-19 causing massive supply chain issues.

There is a strong argument for the idea of hegemony here on the soft power side of the coin. Hegemony is the concept that without the U.S. physically being there it can influence proceedings. About this specific case, I foresee alliances like NATO or our ability to assure allies we can be present as being of paramount importance. The idea of military readiness from a U.S. perspective hinges upon being able to respond to any conflict within the shortest period of time possible. Our presence prevents others from militarizing like us, of which Japan is probably the best example. In instances like Japan, our security "umbrella" prevents further militarization. For a full list of U.S. military bases that are public, use this link<sup>9</sup>. Should you want to make the argument of having reservists fully trained should a conflict break out, the link provides a comprehensive list of bases stateside and outside of the U.S. borders. Overall, I feel the above are the most likely topic bases to cover.

### Negative

On the negative side, I think that a lot of the stock arguments go hand in hand with each other. You could make arguments that it is not an issue with the size of the U.S. military but rather

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<sup>9</sup> DOD Real Property Portfolio. "Base Structure Report- F.Y. 2022 Baseline"  
<https://www.acq.osd.mil/eie/Downloads/BSI/Base%20Structure%20Report%20FY22.xlsx> G.C.

that we are overextended<sup>1011</sup> and therefore should consider pulling back from some bases. In terms of what bases look like, please refer to the link below<sup>12</sup>. The overall size of the military can also target the budget to decrease defense spending overall. The negative's best argument, therefore, under this strategy is that the issue itself is bigger than just a sheer manpower issue. Alternatively, you could argue that the manpower we have is currently fine and does not require drastic action. Under this course of action, you need to stress to the judge that it is the affirmative burden to prove why there should be a change. Ergo, absent an overly compelling argument on timeframe, the judge should default to the negative.

Another potential argument comes from the position that such a system where mandatory national service happens is that those who are richer (i.e., the 1%) would manipulate the system, and therefore the burden would be unfairly laid at the feet of those less fortunate. The empirical example you may use to support this would be the draft dodgers of Vietnam, which is as close as the United States has come to a sustained mandatory national service in recent times. The argument here is based on a framework of minimizing structural violence in the traditional type of argumentation. The argument here (Ho 07) is that it constrains the agency of those who may not have the financial resources to dodge any mandatory national service. I believe that this can be an interesting argument because, for the lay judges that you may

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<sup>10</sup> Ravi Agrawal; editor in chief of Foreign Policy. "Is America Overextending Itself".

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/08/24/us-restraint-ukraine-taiwan-wertheim-interview/> G.C.

<sup>11</sup> John Glaser; Associate Director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Cato Institute. "The Potential Upside to Shutting Down Military Bases." <https://time.com/4633142/peace-american-military-presence/> G.C.

<sup>12</sup> DOD Real Property Portfolio. "Base Structure Report- F.Y. 2022 Baseline"

<https://www.acq.osd.mil/eie/Downloads/BSI/Base%20Structure%20Report%20FY22.xlsx> G.C.

encounter, this is an easy argument to grasp and make without having to have a huge grasp and understanding of philosophy.

The last argument that I will make goes partially in line with the first argument on the negative side presented. This argument states that in a system where globalization reigns supreme, that country versus country conflicts, especially with the involvement of superpowers, are extremely rare. For framework, you want to utilize a utilitarian calculus through the idea that the cumulative losses would make it challenging to do so. This argument largely serves to counter-narratives from the affirmative that China will attempt to re-take Taiwan, which will spark a massive conflict that the United States is ill-equipped to handle through lack of readiness at present. The negative position here argues that such an attack will never happen because of the global prevalence of TSMC, which makes the overwhelming number of computer chips<sup>13</sup>, as well as the shipped impacts through the South China Sea and Taiwan Strait, where 88% of the world's largest ships pass through.<sup>1415</sup> This does not box the negative into having to unwind the U.S. military apparatus, although you could certainly argue that winding down militarily decreases conflict fairly easily.

### Conclusion

This topic always represents an interesting time of year because it's your first-ever topic. My advice to you would be the same I give to my novices- know the topic better than

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<sup>13</sup> The Economist. "Taiwan's dominance of the chip industry makes it more important"  
<https://www.economist.com/special-report/2023/03/06/taiwans-dominance-of-the-chip-industry-makes-it-more-important> G.C.

<sup>14</sup> Kevin Varley; Bloomberg. "Taiwan tensions raise risks in one of busiest shipping lanes".  
<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/small-biz/trade/exports/insights/taiwan-tensions-raise-risks-in-one-of-busiest-shipping-lanes/articleshow/93312490.cms?from=mdr> G.C.

<sup>15</sup> Sara Hsu; The Diplomat. "Potential Logistical and Operational Costs of a China- Taiwan Conflict"

everybody else, and pick the arguments you feel you can explain the best. As you look to start your debate journey, may your rounds be ever educational, may you make many friends on the circuit, and may you find the success and learning you desire from this activity. Good luck!

## Topic Analysis by Daniel Shatzkin

***Resolved: In the United States, national service ought to be mandatory.***

Welcome to Lincoln-Douglas debate! The concept of mandatory (aka compulsory or obligatory) national service has stirred passionate debates and discussions across the country over the years. Between policy debate and LD, this is now the third time since 2007 that the topic has been addressed. Advocates assert that such a system nurtures civic responsibility, fosters social cohesion, and effectively addresses critical national needs. In contrast, opponents emphasize the significance of individual liberty and voice concerns about potential government overreach. This topic analysis essay dives into the multifaceted discourse surrounding the resolution, "In the United States, national service ought to be compulsory." It begins by clarifying essential definitions, followed by an in-depth exploration of the history of national service in the U.S. Furthermore, this essay delves into the various types of compulsory service programs that have shaped this discourse over time.

### Key Terms

An in-depth understanding of key terms is vital for analyzing any resolution. Within this topic, there are two terms that deserve greater attention: Compulsory and "National Service."

"Compulsory" denotes a mandate that is binding and non-negotiable, indicating an obligation to comply. " Within the literature, you will often find the terms compulsory, mandatory, and obligatory all used interchangeably to describe some form of service that all citizens must perform.

"National service" encompasses a spectrum of activities that citizens undertake for the collective welfare. This might encompass military service, community service, disaster relief, infrastructure projects, healthcare initiatives, and other endeavors that contribute to the nation's betterment. In the U.S., we consider the military and federal service programs like AmeriCorps, The Peace Corps, etc. to be national service organizations.

### **National Service in the U.S.: A Historical Perspective**

The concept of national service is deeply woven into the fabric of American history. From the nation's inception, the call for citizens to contribute to the collective well-being during times of crisis has been an enduring theme. The Revolutionary War necessitated the establishment of militias comprising everyday citizens who stepped up to defend their newly formed nation. During the Civil War, the draft became a contentious issue, leading to riots and dissent. This established a precedent that demonstrated the challenges inherent in compelling citizens to serve.

The Selective Service system, which emerged during the 20th century, forms a pivotal point in the nation's history of compulsory service. This system, established to provide conscripts for military service during times of war, reflects the nation's willingness to demand contributions from its citizens in the face of existential threats. While it underscored the

importance of defending the nation, it also highlighted the complex interplay between civic duty and individual freedoms.

Beyond military service, the 1930s witnessed the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) as part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. The CCC not only provided employment during the Great Depression but also demonstrated the capacity of a compulsory service program to address national needs beyond defense. The 1960s brought forth the Peace Corps under President John F. Kennedy, promoting international cooperation and goodwill through volunteer efforts abroad. These historical instances illustrate the diverse ways national service can manifest and its potential to bolster national identity and unity.

More recently, while there have been discussions and proposals over the years about the establishment of such programs, including ideas like a "National Service Corps" or expansion of existing initiatives like AmeriCorps, there is no singular nationwide program that has been fully implemented. Participating members engage in activities such as education, disaster relief, healthcare, environmental conservation, and more. Participants not only contribute to the betterment of society but also acquire valuable skills, leadership experience, and a sense of shared responsibility. Through these programs, the United States seeks to cultivate a culture of active citizenship, strengthen social cohesion, and empower individuals to make meaningful contributions to the greater good.

### **Case Ideas**

Beyond national service, we should also examine the various approaches that nations have taken.

**Military Service**

Compulsory military service is a paradigm that demands citizens serve in the armed forces for a predetermined period. While it cultivates discipline, national defense capabilities, and a sense of duty, it also draws criticism for potentially infringing upon personal freedoms and normalizing the militarization of society. There are many countries that are considered liberal democracies that practice this form of mandatory service, notably including the Nordic countries of Finland, Sweden, and Norway, as well as more totalitarian states like Russia and Iran.

**Hybrid Programs**

Some nations opt for hybrid compulsory service models, permitting individuals to choose between military and civilian service. This flexibility allows citizens to align their service with their personal inclinations and skills, potentially enhancing the effectiveness of both sectors. However, the successful execution of such a program demands careful coordination and resource allocation.

Civilian service programs involve citizens participating in non-military roles such as community development, healthcare, education, and environmental conservation. In the US, The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Peace Corps serve as historical examples of the potential for such initiatives to address critical needs beyond the military realm. Advocates emphasize the cultivation of altruism, skill development, and the opportunity to create positive, lasting change in local and global communities.

**Compulsory Volunteering:**

A less coercive approach involves mandating citizens to engage in volunteer work within their communities. This fosters a sense of responsibility and community involvement (volunteerism), although critics argue that the impact on addressing larger national challenges might be limited. We often see this approach manifested in service hour requirements for graduating high school and sometimes colleges.

**Implications and Framework Considerations**

The debate over compulsory national service rests upon several significant considerations that resonate with the core values of the nation. In this section, we'll look at some of those ideas and how they could translate into value premises and criterions.

**Civic Responsibility and Social Cohesion:**

Advocates contend that mandatory service nurtures a sense of civic duty and shared responsibility among citizens. By collectively working towards the common good, individuals may forge a deeper connection to their country and fellow citizens, fostering a stronger social fabric. These types of arguments in support of national service correspond to ideas central to utilitarian ethics (common good). Mandatory national service is also often viewed through the lens of this social contract, as it represents a tangible way for citizens to contribute to their nation's well-being in return for the rights and opportunities granted by the state.

**Equity and Access:**

Compulsory service could potentially promote equal access to opportunities and resources as individuals from diverse backgrounds engage in activities that benefit their communities and the nation at large. However, ensuring the equitable distribution of service roles and preventing the exploitation of marginalized individuals are vital concerns.

John Rawls' theory of justice, as outlined in his book "A Theory of Justice," could be interpreted to support the idea under certain conditions. Rawls argues for a society in which social and economic inequalities are arranged to benefit the least advantaged, and he emphasizes the importance of fair equality of opportunity. Mandatory national service could be seen as a means to ensure that all citizens have an equal opportunity to contribute to society's well-being, thus aligning with Rawls' principle of fair equality. However, programs such as the draft have historically burdened minority populations, which warrants skepticism about future programs.

**Individual Liberty:**

Many negative arguments will underscore the fundamental significance of individual liberty and the right to make personal choices. They argue that compulsory service might infringe upon these rights, leading to potential resentment and a disengaged citizenry. Philosophers can take many different approaches to justifying the idea of individual liberty and autonomy. While both Kantian and objectivist approaches address individual liberty, they do so from distinct philosophical perspectives—one rooted in duty and universalizable maxims and

the other grounded in rational self-interest and individual rights. Kantian philosophers like Korsgaard focus on rationality and the idea that individuals should be treated as ends in themselves rather than as means to an end. Objectivist philosophers like David Kelley ground their philosophy on rational self-interest and individual freedom leading to human flourishing.

**Impact Focus:**

Compulsory service programs have the potential to address pressing issues such as infrastructure gaps, healthcare disparities, and environmental concerns. There are several programs that affirmatives can focus on:

AmeriCorps: a national service program in the United States, provides participants, known as AmeriCorps members, with the opportunity to engage in projects addressing community needs such as education and disaster relief. Through their service, members make a tangible impact on their communities while developing essential skills like leadership and teamwork. Participants are eligible for education awards upon completion of their service, fostering personal growth and offering financial support for further education. AmeriCorps encourages civic engagement, provides valuable professional experience, and fosters diverse connections, making it a rewarding avenue for those seeking to contribute meaningfully to society.

The Peace Corps: a renowned international service organization, offers individuals the chance to serve in communities around the world. Participants, called Peace Corps Volunteers, work on projects spanning education, health, agriculture, and more, fostering positive change.

These activities generally help to create a positive image of America and Americans in societies that may not always view the US positively. Volunteers gain cross-cultural skills, language proficiency, and hands-on experience, enhancing their personal and professional development. After completing their service, Volunteers receive benefits such as a readjustment allowance and eligibility for certain graduate school scholarships.

There are also programs to address public health (National Health Service Corps) as well as programs to keep senior citizens engaged in the community ( Senior Corps), and numerous other programs that might be independent or housed within service organizations like AmeriCorps.

#### Negative Case Ideas

Negatives can focus on the implementation of compulsory service on a national scale. Aff's cannot just wave away the multitude of potential problems related to this complex endeavor. Adequate training, resource allocation, and the development of a robust infrastructure are essential to ensure the smooth operation of these programs. Beyond that, there is also the potential for national service to cause unexpected harm to society.

#### **Econ/Spending:**

Mandatory national service, while well-intentioned, poses significant financial challenges that need careful consideration. The costs of establishing and running a nationwide program could strain government budgets and divert resources away from other essential areas. Funding would be required for recruitment, training, administration, supervision, stipends or compensation for participants, and infrastructure development. These expenses

could escalate rapidly, especially if the program is designed to accommodate a large number of participants. Moreover, mandatory national service could lead to disruptions in the labor market, with young adults temporarily leaving the workforce or delaying their entry, potentially impacting productivity and economic growth. In a time when public spending priorities are critical, the costs associated with mandatory national service should be evaluated against their potential benefits to ensure a balanced allocation of resources.

**Nationalism:**

Promoting nationalism through mandatory national service carries inherent risks that should not be overlooked. While encouraging a sense of belonging and pride in one's country can have positive effects, it's crucial to recognize the potential downsides. Linking national identity to compulsory service can inadvertently foster a narrow form of patriotism that discourages critical thinking and dissent. When citizens are compelled to participate in service programs as an expression of their national loyalty, it may stifle open dialogue and discourage questioning of governmental policies or practices. This suppression of differing opinions goes against the principles of democratic societies, which value individual freedom of thought and expression. Moreover, forced nationalism can create an 'us vs. them' mentality, potentially leading to social divisions and animosities both within the country and on the international stage. To truly foster a healthy and inclusive sense of citizenship, we should prioritize education, open discourse, and voluntary engagement over mandated displays of allegiance.

**Final Thoughts**

The resolution, "In the United States, national service ought to be compulsory," encapsulates an ongoing discourse about citizenship, responsibility, and the balance between collective interests and individual rights. Examining the historical underpinnings of national service and the myriad forms it can take, coupled with the consideration of its implications, underscores the complexity of this debate. There are many ways for you to begin approaching this topic, whether you want to approach it from a philosophical perspective or ask whether mandatory national service can solve some of the problems facing the country. Use this brief as a starting point for your research. There is plenty of evidence included which can help you craft excellent cases, but don't let it constrain your ideas. I wish you luck in your first debates!

## Frameworks Analysis by Adam Tomasi

***Resolved: In the United States, national service ought to be mandatory.***

**Editor's Note:** This topic analysis is different than the others. Our goal here is to present the basics of different philosophical frameworks that can be applied to the topic. Through this, we hope that novice and experienced students alike will gain a deeper understanding of how to frame their arguments through values to create a cohesive advocacy.

This season's Lincoln-Douglas Novice Topic, "Resolved: In the United States, national service ought to be mandatory," will grant debaters many opportunities for exciting debates about the value and value criterion. It is essential that novices engage thoughtfully with the value and value criterion, which could potentially get sidelined in a debate that focuses entirely on the "pros" and "cons" of national service (Public Forum-style). Lincoln-Douglas debate, from its inception, has been about investigating our deepest assumptions about morality (right and wrong, which could come from many sources) and justice (what is fair, based upon what people are owed). The value that debaters should typically use for their cases is morality because the word "ought" in the resolution implies that we are discussing a moral obligation. Other than morality or justice, any other value you may come up with might be better suited as a value criterion (utilitarianism, which I will define later, is not a value – it's a criterion!). The value is the abstract goal that you think society ought to achieve, such as morality or justice. The value criterion is the formula by which you achieve the value – to achieve morality, we should adopt

'x' rule or principle for action. The value criterion is important because it filters arguments in the debate; all of your contentions are linked to your value criterion, and if you win your criterion, you should also be excluding your opponent's contentions from relevance. If my value criterion is "respecting individual freedom," and your value criterion is "promoting societal welfare," my winning the criterion of freedom should exclude all contentions in the debate that are based on societal welfare – and vice versa. Framework is a strategic tool, not an FYI, simply meant to educate the judge!

Two of the most common frameworks in Lincoln-Douglas Debate are utilitarianism and deontology. Utilitarianism is defined as maximizing the greatest good for the greatest number of people, measured in the sum of happiness minus suffering. Deontology is defined as adhering to a set of absolute rules that morally constrain the maximization of utility. The "trolley problem" is a common thought experiment used to explain the differences in these two frameworks: suppose you are the conductor of a trolley, the breaks have failed, and the train is going to run over five innocent people who have been tied to the tracks an evil mastermind. Then suppose you have the option to pull a lever that would divert the train onto a sidetrack, where you would instead kill just one person (say, a trolley worker who happened to be in the way). When there is no way out of killing either one person or five, a utilitarian would say that you should sacrifice one person to save five – this would produce the greatest overall happiness. A deontologist would reply that deliberately killing one person to save five still counts as murder and is, therefore, inherently immoral. In the case of this national service topic, which is less of a wild hypothetical than the trolley problem, the crux of the debate may be whether it is moral for the government to require someone to serve the greater good and

thereby give up some level of freedom. The Affirmative can argue, with utilitarianism, that mandatory national service will be more effective at achieving the greater good than whatever people may commit to doing voluntarily (magnified by the fact that many people may not volunteer to do service of any kind). The Negative can argue, with deontology, that individuals should have the freedom to choose whether they partake in national service or do other things with their time and that government should respect these personal choices.

The motivations behind national service are one source of compelling moral debates. Serving one's community and people in need is built upon altruism, which we would generally consider to be a virtue. National service may be most consistent with the idea of "public justice," tied to being a good citizen, but it could also make people feel disconnected from society at large (serving other people whose problems are "over there" and not my own).<sup>16</sup> Debaters will need to compare the morality of treating national service as a civic duty or a voluntary commitment. Although good motivations (wanting to serve and serving for the right reasons) are commonly seen to be important, the Affirmative may have a compelling argument that national service cannot be left up to people whose heart is in the right place. Just as all citizens are required to participate in jury duty, national service may be another important obligation tied to citizenship and the maintenance of democracy. If either side were to argue about the implications for democracy, they would need to read an impact explaining why democracy is good. That may sound odd ("Of course democracy is good!"), but in debate, you need concrete impacts, and as critical thinkers, we can always ask, "Why is democracy good?"

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<sup>16</sup> E.J. Dionne, Jr. and Kayla Meltzer Drogosz, "United We Serve?: The Debate Over National Service," *Brookings*, September 1, 2002, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/united-we-serve-the-debate-over-national-service/>

You never proved that." Thus – and this is where framework helps you – it is crucial that you explain in concrete terms why democracy is the biggest impact in the round and is tied to your moral framework (the value criterion).

Apart from the motivations behind national service, the objectives of mandatory national service are equally important for philosophical debates on the Novice Topic. Mandatory national service could include working on infrastructure and conservation projects, as well as serving in health clinics, food banks, classrooms, the National Guard, and many other opportunities.<sup>17</sup> Affirmative cases that argue that mandatory national service will bring communities together and reduce intense political divides could argue that morality or justice requires thinking of oneself not as a disconnected individual but as having an essential role in society ("no person is an island"). This is based upon the philosophy of communitarianism, which Affirmatives can certainly use to their advantage on the national service topic – the value criterion would be "fostering community" (or it could be "fostering communal identification"). If the Negative is looking for creative argumentation, they can appeal to the United States Constitution, specifically the Thirteenth Amendment's prohibition of "involuntary servitude."<sup>18</sup> With a value criterion of "consistency with the Constitution," the Negative can argue that democracy requires holding the government accountable to the Bill of Rights and thereby maintaining the rights of citizens (this can be paired with deontology).

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<sup>17</sup> Lilliana Mason, "Mandatory National Service," *Politico*, 2019, <https://www.politico.com/interactives/2019/how-to-fix-politics-in-america/polarization/mandatory-national-service/>

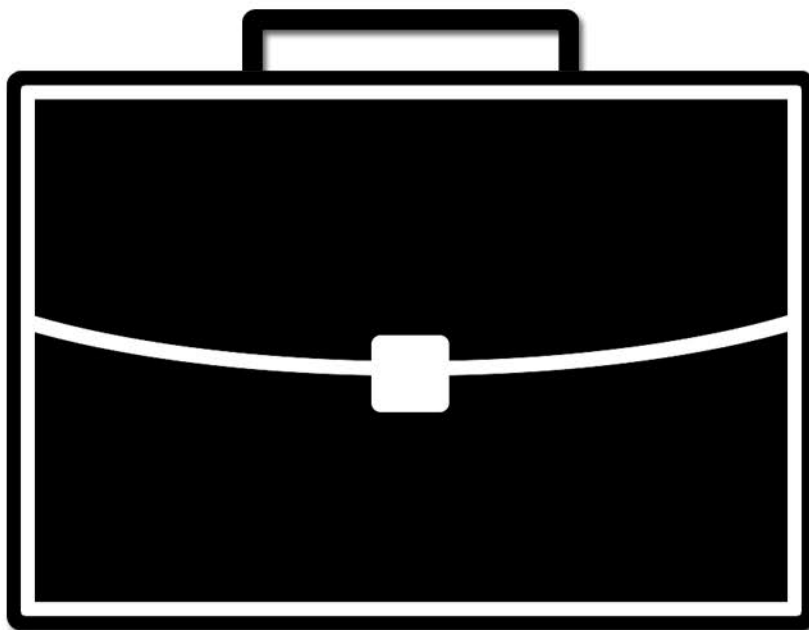
<sup>18</sup> Doug Bandow, "Mandatory National Service: A Bad Idea That Won't Die," *CATO Institute*, August 8, 2019, <https://www.cato.org/commentary/mandatory-national-service-bad-idea-wont-die>

The philosophical debates described above will require in-depth topic research. If you're hoping to refute the Affirmative case, which argues that mandatory national service will promote a communitarian ethic, it will be helpful to have solid, topical evidence that argues that national service will fail at this goal. Similarly, if you're hoping to refute the Negative case, which argues that national service is unconstitutional, it will be useful to explore how real-life advocates of the resolution defend the constitutionality of their proposals. This ensures that you can argue either that your opponent does not achieve their own value criterion or that you win the debate under both value criteria. Both framing arguments are very persuasive to judges because they will welcome the opportunity to vote for you regardless of which framework they think is ahead. While you could always argue that you win under both value criteria or simply agree with your opponent's framework (debaters nowadays commonly agree to utilitarianism), the framework debate is a strategic opportunity for you to weigh arguments based on ethical principles. As you debate the Novice Topic, consider how a well-crafted value and value criterion can give you the edge over all your opponents, and do not forget to cut the framework cards for any case you use from the brief!

# Champion Briefs

## Novice Topic 2023

### Lincoln-Douglas Brief



## Affirmative Cases

**AFF: Util Logic AC**

Most cases on this topic (as every topic that have a utilitarian slant) are going to be minimal on frameworks and big impact discussions. In this section, a lot of the cards bring elements of philosophy back into your contention level and argue that national service is a matter of ethical principle of doing good and not just about practical impacts. Many of the cards speak to the principle of reciprocity in service. What this means is that if everyone puts in their fair share of work, everyone is benefited and thus a utilitarian society has been created. Several of these cards don't directly speak to national service but rather entitlement programs such as social security. These are justified similarly philosophically as both involve everyone giving something and everyone getting something back in return (sometimes money, sometimes labor and services) such as where citizens yield tax money to create social security they also can yield their skills to help build a road where then someone else builds a bridge and everyone benefits.

The tenant of this argument is that everyone benefits, however, affirmatives may find trouble upholding the argument if service is disproportionally provided to certain groups or by certain groups. Alternatively forcing some to do labor could also be considered utilitarian if everyone benefited. Thus, the affirmative needs to prove that by mandating everyone participate, everyone is guaranteed to benefit.

**The federal government's role is to alleviate hardship and stabilize society by collectivizing citizen resources.**

Konczal, Mike. "The Conservative Myth Of A Social Safety Net Built On Charity." The Atlantic. March 24, 2014. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/03/the-conservative-myth-of-a-social-safety-net-built-on-charity/284552/>>.

With this history in hand, it's worth teasing out a general theory of why the voluntary sector has limits in providing social insurance that the state does not. Economics as a field has theorized extensively about the concept of market failures, or moments when markets don't allocate resources efficiently. It has also described government failures, particularly in the libertarian-influenced "public choice" theory. This focus on markets and governments leaves the study of the voluntary sector under-theorized. In turn, this lack of critical attention leads to assumptions that the voluntary sector can solve problems it cannot. But the Great Recession offers the perfect case study in why the voluntary sector can't solve these problems. If people like Mike Lee are correct, then the start of the Great Recession would have been precisely the moment when private charity would have stepped up. But in fact, private giving fell as the Great Recession started. Overall giving fell 7 percent in 2008, with another 6.2 percent drop in 2009. There was only a small uptick in 2010 and 2011, even though unemployment remained very high. Giving also fell as a percentage of GDP (even as GDP shrank), from 2.1 percent in 2008 to 2.0 percent in 2009 through 2011. (The high point was 2.3 percent in 2005.) As research by Robert Reich and Christopher Wimer showed, the decline occurred with all sources and hit almost all types of nonprofits. Individuals gave 8 percent less in 2008 than the previous year, and their giving dropped an additional 3.6 percent in 2009. Charitable bequests fell 21 percent overall between 2008 and 2010. Contributions by corporations fell in 2008, and only slowly increased afterwards. Foundations also gave less in the Great Recession even though they have legal payout and operating rules to follow that would presumably put a floor on this. There were some bright spots—giving to food banks, for instance, increased. But as the economy

went from free fall in 2008 to stagnation in 2010, private charity still remained depressed. Worse, as a wave of austerity hit state and local governments—with large retrenchment in spending and layoffs of public-sector workers—the state pushed harder on private charity to pick up the slack of social work. Why didn't this sting as badly as it could have? Because of the role the federal government played. "Automatic stabilizers," a key policy innovation of the welfare state, were there to pick up the slack. Automatic stabilizers are policies such as unemployment insurance and food assistance that maintain an income floor and security for people, which allows for more spending when an economy goes into a recession. This ability to boost purchasing power automatically is a major, effective response to a recession. These stabilizers, in turn, also decline automatically as the economy starts to recover.

**Service should be remodeled to include everyone based on commitment and skills to allow everyone to participate in national service.**

Glaston , William. "A Sketch Of Some Arguments For Conscription." Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly. August 26, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/A-Sketch-of-Some-Arguments-for-Conscription-Galston/0f1a9dd1025ea9a47145bad813ec4c38a2cd5203>>.

First, we could follow the advice of former secretary of the navy John Lehman and eliminate the current bias of military recruiters in favor of career personnel and against those willing to serve for shorter periods. As Lehman puts it, we should "actively seek to attract the most talented from all backgrounds with service options that allow them to serve their country ...without having to commit to six to ten years' active duty." He makes a strong case that this change would markedly increase the number of young men and women from elite colleges and universities who would be willing to undergo military service. Second, the Congress could pass legislation sponsored by senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Evan Bayh (D-IN) that would dramatically expand AmeriCorps (the Clinton-era national and community service program) from its current level of 50,000 to 250,000 full-time volunteers each year. Survey evidence shows overwhelming (80 percent-plus) support for the basic tenet of this program, that young people should have the opportunity to serve full-time for a year or two and earn significant post-service benefits that can be used for higher education and advanced technical training. As Sen. McCain rightly puts it, "one of the curious truths of our era is that while opportunities to serve ourselves have exploded ... [,] opportunities to spend some time serving our country have dwindled." In this context, the ongoing resistance to AmeriCorps in some quarters of Congress verges on incomprehensible. It would be wrong to oversell the civic benefits that might accrue from the revisions to the AVF that I propose, let alone the more modest steps I have just sketched. Still, some of our nation's best social scientists see a link between World War Two-era military service and that generation's subsequent dedication to our nation's civic life. If reconsidering a decision about military manpower made three decades ago could yield even a fraction of this civic improvement, it would be well worth the effort.

**Mill would support national service on the grounds of necessary duties to maximize happiness.**

Galston, William. "A Sketch Of Some Arguments For Conscription." Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly. August 26, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/A-Sketch-of-Some-Arguments-for-Conscription-Galston/0f1a9dd1025ea9a47145bad813ec4c38a2cd5203>>.

The fair share argument. It is not difficult to recast Mill's position in the vocabulary of contemporary liberal political thought. Begin with a conception of society as a system of cooperation for mutual advantage. Society is legitimate when the criterion of mutual advantage is broadly satisfied (versus, say, a situation in which the government or some group systematically coerces some for the sake of others). When society meets the standard of broad legitimacy, each citizen has a duty to do his or her fair share to sustain the social arrangements from which all benefit, and society is justified in using its coercive power when necessary to ensure the performance of this duty. That legitimate society coercion may include mandatory military service in the nation's defense.

## **Mandatory national service benefits everyone through economic improvement, community identity, and experience.**

Yoo, Tae. "How National Service Can Help Communities And Build A Stronger Workforce."

Huffington Post. October 09, 2014. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/tae-yoo/positive-effects-national-service\\_b\\_5954878.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/tae-yoo/positive-effects-national-service_b_5954878.html)>.

According to a report by Voices for National Service, the skills people acquire during their national service make them more likely to be employed and to earn higher salaries over the course of their lifetimes. Sixty-seven percent of AmeriCorps state and national members and 70 percent of AmeriCorps National Civilian Community Corps members reported that their service experiences provided them with an advantage in finding a job. While serving, young people acquire expertise that is particularly relevant to the rapidly growing nonprofit sector - the third largest industry in America's economy, employing 10.5 million workers, or one-tenth of our workforce. In addition to preparing people for lifelong careers, national service also increases the likelihood that corps members will continue working in fields that benefit society. For example, according to the Voices for National Service report, two-thirds of Community HealthCorps alumni, many of whom had no prior experience in health care, went on to pursue careers as doctors, health educators, social workers, medical assistants and registered nurses after spending a year promoting health care in underserved communities. Similarly, about two-thirds of Teach for America corps members, who teach in low-performing schools for two years, remain in the education sector as teachers, administrators, advocates and innovators after their service is over. National service also encourages people from low-income backgrounds to pursue public service careers where they can make a difference to others. Forty-four percent of minority and 46 percent of disadvantaged alumni of Corporation for National and Community Service programs are employed in public service, versus only 26 percent of comparison groups. Cisco has long recognized the importance of national service, both to the corps members and to the community. For example, we partner with educational service organizations like City Year

and Teach For America to grow their corps members and reach more students. At this year's Clinton Global Initiative (CGI) Annual Meeting, we announced our commitment to "The Service Year: Tackling Problems & Building Citizen Leaders." This commitment involves a variety of other partners, including Lumina, The Franklin Project, the National Conference on Citizenship (NCoC), ServiceNation and Voices for National Service. The foundation of this commitment will be the Service Year Exchange, a technology platform that will increase the number of available Service Year opportunities by: certifying positions offered by nonprofits, government agencies, colleges and social enterprises engaging a wide range of donors in funding the positions through crowd funding allowing prospective corps members to find opportunities, fundraise for them and then document and share their experiences. Through The Service Year, we can create a sense of common purpose rooted in active citizenship, and we can reverse the growing sense of disconnectedness. By giving young Americans a stake in the outcome of their communities, we can renew our civic identity while providing people with skills and experiences that they can use throughout their lives. How do you want to be involved in The Service Year? Are you an organization in need of the human capital that corps members can provide? Are you a young person who wants to do meaningful work? Or are you someone who believes in its potential and wants to donate? Visit [youserve.org](http://youserve.org) and find out how you can participate.

## Alternative formulations of utilitarianism regulate contracts to help a common good by being a citizen.

Collins, Brian. "A Utilitarian Account Of Political Obligation." The University of Iowa. 2014. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/1307>>.

Hare defines political obligations as "the moral obligations that lie upon us because we are citizens (politai) of a state with laws" (Hare, 1976, p. 2). With this definition Hare makes clear that he understands political obligation as a sub-species of moral obligation and not as an independent species of obligation alongside moral obligations (Hare, 1976, p. 1-2). He goes on to frame his investigation with the question: "Does the fact that I am a citizen of the United Kingdom [or any other country] lay upon me moral obligations which I should not have if I were not?" (Hare, 1976, p. 2). This question, as has been discussed in the previous chapters, is one that most people answer in the affirmative and most take these political obligations to include obligations to obey the laws, support and defend the country, take part in the political process, etc. (Hare, 1976, p. 2). Hare notes that the traditional consent theory doesn't seem equipped to support this intuition because, "the social contract is a fiction to which no reality corresponds" (Hare, 1976, p. 3). He takes this as his jumping off point, but instead of pursuing a hypothetical contract theory as others have done (e.g., Rawls), Hare starts "directly from the logical properties of the moral concepts" (Hare, 1976, p. 3). With his prescriptivism<sup>130</sup> as a foundation, Hare explains: [T]o ask what obligations I have as citizen is to ask for a universal prescription applicable to all people who are citizens of a country in circumstances just like those in which I find myself. That is to say, I have to ask - as in any case when faced with a question about what I morally ought to do - 'What universal principle of action can I accept for cases just like this, disregarding the fact that I occupy that place in the situation that I do (i.e. giving no preferential weight to my own interest just because they are mine)?' This will lead me to give equal weight to the equal interests of every individual affected by my actions, and thus to accept the principle which will in all most promote those interests. Thus I am led to a form of utilitarianism. (Hare, 1976, p. 3)<sup>131</sup>

**Obligations of service are rooted in utility to maximize the benefit of society, similarly, to how following the law is.**

Collins, Brian. "A Utilitarian Account Of Political Obligation." The University of Iowa. 2014. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/1307>>.

As a utilitarian, Hare grounds these obligations on the principle of utility but, along Humean lines, he also endorses the practical necessity of using general principles instead of conducting utility calculations before each and every action. Due to practical considerations such as a lack of time to make specific calculations, self-interested biases, and the need for simplicity in moral education, Hare argues that it is, "not only useful but necessary to have some simple, general and more or less unbreakable principles" (Hare, 1976, p. 4).<sup>132</sup> This idea, that following "general principles" can sometimes maximize utility, roughly corresponds to a version of indirect utilitarianism (psychological indirect utilitarianism); i.e., "It may be more productive of utility, at least in some circumstance, if people act on a motive other than that of maximizing utility itself. In such circumstances, utility will be maximized indirectly, as a consequence of pursuing some other aim" (Horton, 2010, p. 59). With this indirect utilitarianism Hare contends that, "we ought to obey the law" is one of these general principles that should be inculcated in people in order to maximize utility indirectly. Hare holds this view because he takes "it as obvious that the general interests of people in society will be promoted by having some laws regulating property and the distribution of goods" (Hare, 1976, p. 5). Despite this strong assumption concerning the value of a legal system, Hare attempts to remain neutral between types of legal systems that a society ought to enact. He writes, "almost any system of laws that has much chance of getting adopted is likely to promote them [the general interests] better than having no laws at all" (Hare, 1976, p. 5). So Hare assumes that anarchy is not typically able to promote the general interests of a society, but he also acknowledges that legal systems can be too restrictive and fail to maximize value for a society.

**Connection to other citizens is the base of obligation of service.**

Collins, Brian. "A Utilitarian Account Of Political Obligation." The University of Iowa. 2014. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/1307>>.

All adequate accounts of political obligation must make sense of the intuition that individuals are tied to their government and fellow citizens in a special way. A political theorist can offer an account of political obligation with a positive conclusion in which they would be claiming that the intuition is based on, or at least should be based on, whatever it is that they believe grounds the obligation. Alternatively, one can offer a negative conclusion (i.e., philosophical anarchism), but they must offer some sort of error theory and explain away the intuition (e.g., based on a false belief(s), conceptual confusion, etc.). Either of these strategies would fulfill the first desiderata by explaining and making sense of the common intuition.

## **Most criticism of social benefit programs aren't related to the program they are related to intricate problems with the society.**

Konczal, Mike. "The Conservative Myth Of A Social Safety Net Built On Charity." The Atlantic. March 24, 2014. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/03/the-conservative-myth-of-a-social-safety-net-built-on-charity/284552/>>.

As the political scientist Theda Skocpol has documented, there were also multiple examples of state-issued social insurance programs before the New Deal. In the wake of the Civil War, Congress established an elaborate system of pensions for veterans. At its height in 1910, this de facto disability and old-age pension system delivered benefits to more than 25 percent of all American men over 65, accounting for a quarter of the federal government's expenditures. Between 1911 and 1920, 40 states passed laws establishing "mothers' pensions" for single women with children. These programs provided payments for needy widowed mothers in order to allow them to provide for their children. But there did exist a system of voluntary social insurance during the turn of the century. In *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State*, historian David Beito writes that there were thousands of fraternal societies across America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These societies were organized by religion, ethnicity, and other similar affiliations. They were also the most common provider of insurance and relief before the New Deal. In general, they would cover funeral costs and provide some sick pay. These were particularly important for low-wage workers, and played a bigger role in insurance than charity or welfare institutions. Politically and socially fragmented, they played no part in calling for a public role in social insurance. These institutions continue to be a focus of celebration for conservatives. But there were a few major problems with these societies. The first was that they were regionally segregated and isolated. These forms of insurance didn't exist in places without dense cities, industry, or deep ethnic and immigrant communities. Even in states with large cities and thriving industries like California and New York, only 30 percent of workers had some sort of health-care coverage through fraternal methods. Moreover, the

programs were fragmented and provided only partial insurance. Also, these were programs designed for working men—for the most part, they did not cover women. Health insurance contracts, for example, were explicit in not providing for coverage of pregnancy, childbirth, or child care (seen as women’s responsibilities at the time). The doctors the lodges hired were often seen as providing substandard care. And most of these societies had age limits. Those over 45 were generally ruled out, and those that weren’t were charged higher rates. Those already in poor health were excluded through medical examinations. There were maximum and minimum limits on benefits, and as a result, long-term disability wasn’t covered. As late as 1930, old-age benefits represented just 2.3 percent of social benefits given out by fraternal organizations. Thus, though they were pervasive throughout this time period, they never provided more than a sliver of actual, robust social insurance. As the Russell Sage Foundation concluded at the time, private societies stand “as a tangible expression of a keenly felt need, a feeble instrument for performing a duty beyond its own powers.”

**AFF: Military Recruitment AC**

The arguments in this section or based on the argument that currently the US military is struggling to recruit soldiers. There are many cards that detail the recruiting problems in depth but in short, the multiple branches are struggling to make a career in the military attractive to Gen Z recruits. The evidence provided offers a mandatory service period for all Americans which would seek to eliminate this shortfall. There is also some statements in the evidence calling for a return to the draft which would be a for of mandatory service but only selected Americans.

The advantage is based around US power or Hegemony. While military power represents one dimension of hegemony it is also the area where America is continuing to fall further behind. A decrease in American hegemony, according to the affirmative evidence, could result in war and conflict that has the potential to cause extinction.

Negatives have some pretty good answers within this file. First negatives can argue that while yest recruiting is a problem the manufacturing of new, technologically advanced equipment is the bigger problem; particularly for the navy and air force. Negatives also have well warranted arguments about US hegemony being bad. These direct evidentiary clashes will be a good starting point for debaters looking to weigh probability of impacts as well as an area to engage in warrant comparison.

**Mandatory national service is key to military recruitment.**

Peltier, Chad. "Cultural Change, Tuition-Free College, And Comprehensive Health Care:

Emerging Challenges To National Defense?" National Defense University Press. January, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://ndupress.ndu.edu/JFQ/Joint-Force-Quarterly-108/Article/Article/3264581/cultural-change-tuition-free-college-and-comprehensive-health-care-emerging-cha/>>.

Potential Recruiting Solutions A failure to develop new tools to incentivize enlistment and retention in the military could cause decreased staffing and/or loss of technical expertise if fewer seasoned Servicemembers were willing to stay in the military without comparatively strong benefits. Even now, military recruitment is largely dependent on the civilian economy; recruiting decreases when civilian job opportunities go up, implying that many already view the military as a secondary opportunity.<sup>35</sup> In anticipation of the growing challenges associated with maintaining staffing and experience as interest in military service declines, and particularly of a situation in which two of the most valuable recruiting incentives would lose value, we outline several potential solutions, including mandatory service, repurposing the education and healthcare funds for higher pay/bonuses, greater investment and reliance in automation, and relaxing or eliminating eligibility criteria around fitness levels and marijuana use. Mandatory Service. Since the U.S. military became an all-volunteer force, recruiting costs have become an essential part of meeting personnel requirements. Between 1980 and 2017, the total dollars spent on recruiting increased by more than 50 percent, from \$1.8 billion to \$2.9 billion (in 2018 dollars), while at the same time, the number of applicants dropped by more than 50 percent, from 768,523 to 333,663.<sup>36</sup> This trend, of a decrease in the number of applicants despite more money being spent to encourage applications, raises concerns about the expense and effectiveness of using current recruiting practices to maintain personnel requirements into the future—particularly given the widening gaps between civilian and military cultures noted. Given the necessity of meeting military personnel requirements, alternative methods of increasing service participation may be needed. Inspired to Serve, a report submitted to the President and

Congress by the National Commission on Military, National, and Public Service in 2020, reviewed challenges and potential solutions to increase participation in public service.<sup>37</sup> Although the commission formally recommended that there be no mandatory public service, it did suggest that the Selective Service could be modified so that all young men and women would need to register for potential national service. Given the concerns of the commission regarding the decreasing eligibility for and interest in military service, we suggest that a form of mandatory service may be necessary if current personnel requirements are maintained and recruiting challenges remain. Military recruitment losses could be minimized by the implementation of mandatory national service to begin following high school graduation. Such a program could offer the option of military service alongside other service programs (for example, volunteering with AmeriCorps, Teach for America, the Boys & Girls Clubs of America, the American Red Cross, the National Park Service, or Habitat for Humanity). The less demanding services (such as the Reserves) would require longer contracts, whereas more demanding Active-duty service would require shorter contracts to ensure a more balanced commitment between options from young adults. The main benefit of this solution would be that the military would have a larger pool from which to choose the most effective recruits. Other potential benefits include promoting national unity, providing useful skills and knowledge to younger generations, and building work experience among these Servicemembers before investing years in college education. Some may argue against mandatory national service on the grounds that it is a violation of free will or that it may produce poor performance because it would not be a completely volunteer force and that, therefore, those who joined might not have the dedication and commitment necessary for a ready and effective force. Allowing multiple mandatory service options to choose from could reduce, though not eliminate, this concern; those who joined the military would still have chosen it over the alternatives. Although mandatory national service may seem implausible in the United States, between 2003 and 2015 at least four bills advocating for mandatory national service, sponsored by former Congressman Charles Rangel (D-NY), were put before Congress. President Barack Obama, General Stanley McChrystal, and former Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT), among others, have all expressed support for expanded community service opportunities for young people.<sup>38</sup> The

benefits to the Nation from national service could also help offset the costs of providing a college education to those who complete the service. Although mandatory national service is highly controversial, it could provide many potential benefits that extend beyond the military, including on-the-job training for youth, increased service for underserved communities, and the fostering of cooperation among people from diverse backgrounds.

**Military recruitment can't be solved using past techniques.**

Spoehr, Thomas. "Bad Idea: Relying On The Same Old Solutions To Meet The Military Recruitment Challenge." Defense360. March 10, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://defense360.csis.org/bad-idea-relying-on-the-same-old-solutions-to-meet-the-military-recruitment-challenge/>>.

The U.S. military is facing the worst recruiting crisis since the creation of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) nearly fifty years ago in July 1973. In FY 2022, the Army missed its recruiting goals by nearly 20 thousand soldiers—nearly 25 percent of the service's recruiting goal. While the other services were able to meet their FY 2022 recruiting targets, they did so by drawing on delayed entry recruits—those recruits with signed contracts who were not expected to enter service until FY 2023—indicating that the challenges experienced in FY 2022 may only increase in the coming year. Early indications are that FY 2023 is as bad or worse. All the signs were there, but the warnings seemingly went unheeded. In 2018, the Army missed its recruiting goal and in subsequent years increasingly relied on increased retention numbers to meet their total end strength requirements. Other services encountered increasing challenges too in meeting their missions. As the services now face an unprecedented recruitment crisis, there's a temptation to rely on traditional, seemingly time-tested solutions to help the services meet recruitment targets: increased enlistment bonuses, reduced requirements (for high school diplomas, test scores, or moral waivers), a higher number of recruiters, and adjustments to marketing campaigns intended to expand the appeal of military service. However, as demonstrated by the growing recruitment problem encountered over the last few years, relying on such traditional approaches is an insufficient and ineffective means of addressing the current challenge. Marshall Goldsmith titled his 2008 self-help book *What Got You Here, Won't Get You There*. That thought accurately captures the challenge now facing the U.S. armed forces. Reliance on these traditional approaches is understandable, as they have served as effective solutions in past difficult recruiting environments. Enlistment bonuses accounted for nearly 20 percent of high-quality enlistments between FY 2004 and 2008. Moral waivers (for felonies, traffic

violations, and drug offenses) provided more than 34 thousand enlistees in FY 2006 at a time when the services faced ambitious recruiting objectives at the height of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan—though those waivers would later correlate with significant increases in disciplinary issues and attrition rates. Growing the number of recruiters can enable the services to effectively connect with candidates interested in and eligible for military service when there is a pool of American youth with a propensity to serve and the ability to meet enlistment requirements. And marketing campaigns that highlight the long-term financial benefits of serving in the military—from steady pay and retirement benefits to the GI Bill and VA home loan—may have provided an appeal to potential recruits when there is slack in the labor economy with scarce employment opportunities and low wages. To a degree, a strong economy and competitive private sector opportunities are contributing to current recruitment woes. Yet there is reason to believe that the recruiting challenges facing the services are fundamentally different from those the services have encountered in the past at a structural level, thus requiring different approaches. What is driving the change, and how should the services adapt to the new recruitment landscape?

**Gen Z presents unique challenges for military recruitment.**

Spoehr, Thomas. "Bad Idea: Relying On The Same Old Solutions To Meet The Military Recruitment Challenge." Defense360. March 10, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://defense360.csis.org/bad-idea-relying-on-the-same-old-solutions-to-meet-the-military-recruitment-challenge/>>.

The current recruiting challenges are largely driven by a generational shift in the dynamics and values of the target recruitment population. The characteristics of Generation Z, or "Gen Z," (born between 1997 and 2012) require the services to rethink their approaches to meet their recruiting goals. The services aim to recruit individuals between the ages of 17-24, meaning that the bulk of the potential recruit population in FY 2023 was born between 1999 and 2005. Research suggests that Gen Z represents a more significant change in preferences from previous generations such as Gen X (born 1965-1980) and Millennials (born 1981-1996). These changes include: A preference for working in industries or with companies with which they are familiar. A desire for a range of diverse opportunities over the course of a career within a safety net of stable employment. Gen Z employees will remain loyal to an employer if such conditions are met. An emphasis on working at an organization whose values align with their own. A desire for work flexibility and health and wellness programs

**Recruitment key to maintaining military power.**

Sofrep. "US Military Recruitment Crisis: Is National Security At Risk?" July 01, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://sofrep.com/news/us-military-recruitment-crisis-is-national-security-at-risk/>>.

The consequences of low recruitment numbers are far-reaching and could have severe implications for national security. With fewer operational capabilities due to fewer personnel, there will be increased workload strain on existing personnel which could lead to burnout and decreased morale among troops. This could also lead to longer deployments and less time at home with family members, which can further decrease morale and cause retention issues within the ranks. Additionally, fewer personnel could mean that certain missions may not be able to be completed or that they will take longer than expected due to a lack of manpower or resources. Lower recruitment numbers can lead to a weaker military that cannot defend against threats and ensure the safety of its citizens. Without a well-trained and well-equipped military force, the United States will be less secure and vulnerable to attack from foreign enemies. The US military faces numerous challenges when it comes to recruiting new soldiers. From lack of qualified applicants and lengthy commitments required for service to financial considerations and difficulty readjusting after deployment, many obstacles stand in the way of potential recruits signing up for service. This has led to decreased recruitment numbers, which can severely affect national security and operational capabilities within the armed forces. The government must ensure that the military has the personnel necessary to keep our nation secure and protect its citizens.

**Not all branches of the military are facing equal shortages but the Army, Navy and Airforce all missed their targets by wide margins; problem is only worse for reserve and guard units.**

Davidson, Joe. "Military Recruitment Lapses Lead To 'challenges To National Security.'"

Washington Post. April 21, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/04/21/military-recruitment-lapses-national-security-gao/>>.

The most recent Pentagon data indicates the Army, at 69 percent of its stated recruitment goal, and the Navy, at 60 percent, have fallen well short of their targets this fiscal year, though February. The Marines and the new Space Force each reached 100 percent, while the Air Force hit 87 percent. Recruiting goals for the services ranged from 23,478 new enlistments for the Army to 172 for the Space Force. These percentages compare unfavorably to those for fiscal 2019 through 2021, when each of the branches — excluding the Space Force, which was not yet created — hit 100 percent of their targets for recruits. Reserve and National Guard units generally fell further behind recruiting goals than the active military during the same period: Navy Reserve 67 percent, Air Guard 57 percent, Air Reserve 62 percent, Army Reserve 58 percent and Army Guard 90 percent. Marine Reserve recruiters beat the competition by far, scoring 120 percent. The fiscal 2019 record was much better. Each Reserve and Guard component achieved or exceeded goals, except the Army and Navy Reserves, which did well at 98 percent and 91 percent, respectively. Even when active-duty units meet their goals, that could be misleading if reserve and guard units don't. "If a reserve component did not meet its goal, that is significant as the reserve components deploy with active forces," said Brenda S. Farrell, GAO's defense capabilities and management director, by email. "Reserve components are not used just for backfill. They are working/fighting alongside the active components."

**DEI, wokeness, and Covid vaccines aren't to blame; people just don't want to willingly enlist in what young people view as a poor career path and institutionally unsafe for women and minorities.**

Baldor, Lolita C. "Don't Blame 'wokeness' For The Army's Recruitment Woes, Says The Army."

Fortune. February 13, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://fortune.com/2023/02/13/wokeness-army-military-recruitment-failures-trouble-young-people-attitudes-survey-data>>.

While some Republicans blame the COVID-19 vaccine or “wokeness” for the Army’s recruiting woes, the military service says the bigger hurdles are more traditional ones: Young people don’t want to die or get injured, deal with the stress of Army life and put their lives on hold. They “just don’t see the Army as something that’s relevant,” said Maj. Gen. Alex Fink, head of Army marketing. “They see us as revered, but not relevant, in their lives.” Addressing those longtime issues has taken on greater urgency as the Army tries to recover from its worst recruiting year in decades, a situation aggravated by the tight jobs market. The Army is offering new programs, advertising and enticements in an effort to change perceptions and reverse the decline. One incentive gives recruiters bonuses of up to \$4,500 per quarter if they exceed their baseline enlistment requirement. A pilot program allows young enlisted soldiers — those in the three lower ranks — to get a promotion if they refer someone who enlists and goes to basic training. Only one promotion per soldier is allowed. The Army fell about 15,000 soldiers, or 25%, short of its 60,000 recruitment goal last year, when all the branches struggled to meet recruiting goals. Army Secretary Christine Wormuth said the Army has set a difficult goal for this year: aiming to bring in 65,000 recruits, which would be 20,000 more than in 2022. It’s difficult to predict how it will go, she said, adding that recruiters need to do all they can to surpass last year’s numbers. “I would say it is a stretch goal,” she said. Wormuth said she and Gen. James McConville, the Army’s chief of staff, believed they needed to set a big goal. “I think we are seeing some forward momentum. But it is still too early to tell where we will likely land at the end of this fiscal year. I know we will do better than we did last year,” she said. Guiding the Army’s efforts

are surveys intended to help pinpoint why young people dismiss the Army as a career. Those surveys were conducted over four months last spring and summer. They involved about 600 respondents, ages 16 to 28, per month. The Army discussed the general findings with The Associated Press but declined to provide detailed methodology, saying the surveys were done by a private research contractor and that licensing agreements limited the public release of some data collection details. Officials said that based on the surveys, young people simply do not see the Army as a safe place or good career path, and believe they would have to put their lives and careers on hold if they enlisted. Army leaders said very few say they are deterred from enlisting due to “wokeness.” In fact, concerns about discrimination against women and minorities is seen as a bigger issue, along with a more general distrust of the military. “Wokeness” is a slang term that originally described attentiveness to issues of racial and social justice. Some people and groups, especially conservatives, now use it in a derogatory sense implying what they see as overreactions.

**Compulsory military service is necessary and more economically efficient.**

Congressional Budget Office. "The All-Volunteer Military: Issues And Performance." CBO. July 01, 2007. Web. August 25, 2023. <[www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/110th-congress-2007-2008/reports/07-19-militaryvol\\_0.pdf](http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/110th-congress-2007-2008/reports/07-19-militaryvol_0.pdf)>.

During the Vietnam era, supporters of an all-volunteer force acknowledged that, at times, conscription might be either necessary or less expensive than an AVF, although they expected those circumstances to be relatively unusual. Since then, theoretical models have identified the conditions under which the full costs to society of using conscription to procure military personnel may be lower than relying entirely on volunteers.

**All-Volunteer Force (AVF) allow citizens to bi-stand service to their country while allowing other people to do the ground work.**

Glaston , William. "A Sketch Of Some Arguments For Conscription." Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly. August 26, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/A-Sketch-of-Some-Arguments-for-Conscription-Galston/0f1a9dd1025ea9a47145bad813ec4c38a2cd5203>>.

Second, the AVF contributes to what I call spectatorial citizenship—the premise that good citizens need not be active but can watch others doing the public’s work on their behalf. This spectatorial outlook makes it possible to decouple the question of whether we as a nation should do X from the question of whether I would do or participate in X. In a discussion with his students during the Gulf War, philosophy professor Cheyney Ryan was struck by “how many of them saw no connection between whether the country should go to war and whether they would ...be willing to fight in it.” A similar disconnect exists today. Young adults have been more supportive of the war against Iraq than any other age group (with more than 70 percent in favor), but recent surveys have found an equal percentage would refuse to participate themselves.

## **Hegemony maintains peace – key to global economic stability and preventing war.**

Paudel, Sirish. "Decline In US Hegemony: Will This Result In Hegemonic War Or Not?" Modern Diplomacy. September 03, 2020. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2020/09/03/decline-in-us-hegemony-will-this-result-in-hegemonic-war-or-not>>.

So, on viewing the world from the lens of socialization, it can be argued that the expansion of US normative principles on liberal economic norm to its former allies and enemies aftermath the second world war that led to the formation of the current liberal economic world order provides an explanation as to why in spite of US' relative decline there is continuity for America's liberal economic order. The rising challenger China can be considered to have been socialized – it has accepted US led international norms, and participates in various International Organizations. Thus, it makes less sense for China to wage war against the hegemon whose ideals it has internalized. According to this theory, a hegemon creates a stable international economic order characterized by market openness but its decline results in global instability. This hegemonic effect of open trade benefits all participants, especially, weaker states that do not have any burden of public goods. In this sense, global economic stability is born out of hegemony and provides provision of collective public goods and in doing so facilitates a stable international system. The motivation to create an economic openness lie in the interest of the hegemon – it has the largest economy and so benefits most from open markets. In addition, only hegemons have the material capability (political and military) to provide public goods and induce other states to embrace open trade. By virtue of the Hegemonic Stability Theory, the hegemon is an important element in creation and maintenance of the international system. As stated earlier, open trade benefits all participants, even the rising challengers that are accommodated in the system. In contemporary world politics, China is the fastest rising power and it is also reaping the benefits of the open economic order created by the US. By participating in the globalized economy, China has earned a comparative advantage in labor-

market and its economy has been growing. On top of that China is an export-based economy and thus, it has very little incentive to jeopardize this benefit by engaging with the hegemon and thereby disrupting the order. In his article, Artur Stein has argued that decline in hegemony does not bring about a complete collapse of the trade regime as long as hegemonic power is committed to economic openness. Taking these two points in consideration, it can be argued that it is not in the interest of China to challenge US hegemony. On account, likelihood of war is averted.

**US hegemony key to sustaining world order.**

McTague, Tom. "What America's Great Unwinding Would Mean For The World." The Atlantic.

August 12, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2022/08/europe-america-military-empire-decline/670960/>>.

A peculiar cognitive dissonance seems to have taken hold in the world. The Western response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine—led and propped up by the United States—has reminded the world that the international order is, if anything, more dependent on American military, economic, and financial might now than only a few years ago. Yet everywhere you turn, there is a sense that the U.S. is in some form of terminal decline; too divided, incoherent, violent, and dysfunctional to sustain its Pax Americana. Moscow and Beijing seem to think that the great American unwinding has already begun, while in Europe, officials worry about a sudden American collapse. "Do we talk about it?" Michel Duclos, a former French ambassador to Syria who remains well connected within Europe's diplomatic network, told me, somewhat indignantly, after I asked whether an American implosion was ever discussed at the highest levels of government. "We never stop talking about it." Again and again, when I spoke with officials, diplomats, politicians, and aides in Britain and Europe over the past few weeks, the same message came back. "It's weighing on people's minds, big time," one senior European Union official told me, speaking, like most of those I interviewed, on condition of anonymity to freely discuss their concerns. From outside the U.S., many now see in America only relentless mass shootings, political dysfunction, social division, and the looming presence of Donald Trump. All of this seems to add up in the collective imagination to an impression of a country on the brink, meeting all the conditions for a descent into civil unrest. Many Europeans have long considered American decline an inevitability and have looked to prepare themselves for such an eventuality. Pushed by Germany and France, the EU has sought out trade and energy deals with rival global powers, including Russia and China. The idea was that as the U.S. disengaged from Europe, the EU would step up. But then Russia invaded Ukraine, and everything changed.

Suddenly, Europe's grand strategy was in tatters, and American strength seemed to reassert itself. Europe discovered it had not become more independent from the U.S. but more dependent on it. In fact, Europe was dependent on everyone: Russia for its energy, China for its trade, America for its security. In pursuing a slow, cautious disengagement from the U.S., Europe found itself in the worst of all worlds. And in a desperate bid to reverse out of the mess, it was forced to rush back into the arms of the very leviathan it fears might be not only slowly losing its power but in danger of suddenly imploding. This, then, is the difficult situation of America's protectorates today. Worried about the decline of the U.S., much of the American-led world has clung even more tightly to Washington than before. In Asia, the U.S. remains the only power capable of balancing against China's bid for regional hegemony. In Europe, something similar is true with regard to Russia. To the continent's eternal shame, as one senior British official told me, the apparently divided, dysfunctional, and declining power of the U.S. has still managed to send drastically more lethal aid to save a European democracy than any other NATO power. Such is America's continuing dominance, in fact, that the world's fixation on the idea of its impending demise seems both a dramatic overreaction and a dramatic underreaction. The depth of America's military-industrial complex and the scale of its imperial bureaucracy mean that they are simply too heavy for a single president or Congress to remove in one go. To an extraordinary degree, American power has been vaccinated against its own political dysfunction, as Trump's time in office showed. And yet the very weight of this Pax Americana means that if the vaccine ever stopped working, the consequences would be globally historic. In Poland and Japan, Taiwan and Ukraine, the very basis of the world order today rests on American supremacy. But besides talking about the fragility of these foundations, no one is actually doing anything to secure them.

## **Effective hegemony based on US military power solves nuclear war- AND- de-escalates all conflict.**

Barnett , Thomas. "The New Rules: Leadership Fatigue Puts U.S., And Globalization, At Crossroads." World Politics Review. March 07, 2011. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/8099/the-new-rules-leadership-fatigue-puts-u-s-and-globalization-at-crossroads>>.

Let me be more blunt: As the guardian of globalization, the U.S. military has been the greatest force for peace the world has ever known. Had America been removed from the global dynamics that governed the 20th century, the mass murder never would have ended. Indeed, it's entirely conceivable there would now be no identifiable human civilization left, once nuclear weapons entered the killing equation. But the world did not keep sliding down that path of perpetual war. Instead, America stepped up and changed everything by ushering in our now-perpetual great-power peace. We introduced the international liberal trade order known as globalization and played loyal Leviathan over its spread. What resulted was the collapse of empires, an explosion of democracy, the persistent spread of human rights, the liberation of women, the doubling of life expectancy, a roughly 10-fold increase in adjusted global GDP and a profound and persistent reduction in battle deaths from state-based conflicts. That is what American "hubris" actually delivered. Please remember that the next time some TV pundit sells you the image of "unbridled" American military power as the cause of global disorder instead of its cure. With self-deprecation bordering on self-loathing, we now imagine a post-American world that is anything but. Just watch who scatters and who steps up as the Facebook revolutions erupt across the Arab world. While we might imagine ourselves the status quo power, we remain the world's most vigorously revisionist force. As for the sheer "evil" that is our military-industrial complex, again, let's examine what the world looked like before that establishment reared its ugly head. The last great period of global structural change was the first half of the 20th century, a period that saw a death toll of about 100 million across two world wars. That comes to an average of 2 million deaths a year in a world of approximately 2

billion souls. Today, with far more comprehensive worldwide reporting, researchers report an average of less than 100,000 battle deaths annually in a world fast approaching 7 billion people. Though admittedly crude, these calculations suggest a 90 percent absolute drop and a 99 percent relative drop in deaths due to war. We are clearly headed for a world order characterized by multipolarity, something the American-birthed system was designed to both encourage and accommodate. But given how things turned out the last time we collectively faced such a fluid structure, we would do well to keep U.S. power, in all of its forms, deeply embedded in the geometry to come.

**AFF: Social Contract AC**

The Social Contract AC argues that mandatory national service is most consistent with the social contract, or the hypothetical compact between a government and the citizenry. Citizens agree to submit to the authority of a government in exchange for the protection of their rights and physical security. The typical social contract case focuses upon government's failure to uphold their end of the bargain (which entitles the citizenry to replace that government). But this case focuses more upon the civic duties of citizens, and how mandatory national service would foster the fulfillment of those duties. Living in a democratic political community obliges citizens to serve others and contribute to the common good, as opposed to "opting out" of society by living a highly privatized, self-centered life. Political philosophers have argued that democracy, and the civic duties which maintain the social contract, can only survive with robust public institutions – more public parks than gated communities, and more thriving public schools than private schools. These institutions are meant to bring diverse people together in a way that encourages them to identify with the common good, and mandatory national service may achieve the same goal by requiring all young people, regardless of race or class, to uphold their end of the social contract.

The Social Contract AC has two weaknesses. First, social contract frameworks can be difficult to justify because there is no historical evidence of any society agreeing to a "contract" of this kind, although there are constitutions which perform the actual function of establishing governments' duties to their people. The Negative could emphasize this point if they were arguing for the preferability of a constitution framework (for the Constitution NC). And second, the AC may rely on empirical evidence that mandatory national service would change young people's attitudes toward civic duty, for which there is no consensus in the literature.

**Mandatory national service flows from the foundations of the social contract.**

Sawhill, Isabel. "It's Time To Make National Service A Universal Commitment." Brookings Institution. November 30, 2017. Web. August 24, 2023.  
<<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/its-time-to-make-national-service-a-universal-commitment/>>.

In the past, Republicans joined the parade of support for national service. In 1990, William F. Buckley called for a government-funded system of national service in "Gratitude: Reflections on What We Owe to Our Country." The idea received support from both Presidents Bush, from Senators John McCain and Orrin Hatch, and from Governors John Kasich and Mitt Romney. There are many reasons why national service appeals to conservatives. It can be seen as an obligation or responsibility of citizenship, as well as an important part of the social contract. It relies not on government agencies to deliver services, but primarily on states, communities and the nonprofit sector. It requires only modest federal funding, but generates substantial funds from the philanthropic sector.

**The social contract, according to which individuals form social institutions whose rules are based on mutual consent, is a prerequisite to justice.**

Rummel, R.J. "The Social Contract Model." Chapter 5, Vol. 5: The Just Peace (1981). 1981. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TJP.CHAP5.HTM>>.

My purpose is to use the social contract model to determine what principles of social justice individuals would adopt voluntarily and fairly were their judgments not biased by self interest.<sup>1</sup> Treating people with dignity and as ends, not means, is treating them according to principles they would unanimously and impartially choose for themselves.<sup>2</sup> These ideal just principles constitute a social contract against which the justice of current institutions can be assessed<sup>3</sup> and to which social reforms can be directed. Here I add that the principles of justice also must be selected so as to minimize social violence. My overall purpose is thus to define principles of a just peace. I will model a hypothetical bargaining situation in which individuals must adopt principles to establish and govern their social institutions. Within limits set by the nature of justice, we can freely select the conditions establishing this bargaining situation and its framework and rules in order to logically entail or make most probable a particular social contract. Presumably, this situation will manifest, even explicate, our fundamental beliefs and feelings about justice and our perspective on humanity and society. The model is then an integrated whole consisting of initial conditions, bargaining situation, the actual proposals and arguments, and the resulting bargain or social contract.<sup>4</sup> To use Rawls' terms, as a whole it is a "reflective equilibrium"<sup>5</sup> between its various parts, and should be evaluated as such. In this way a particular social contract, or peace, is given a clear context and explicit, even systematic, framework and argument. It provides a clear normative model for accepting a social contract. To be sure, this is not a form of proof, any more than a mathematical theory of society provides proof for the social "laws" deduced from it. The empirical confirmation of a mathematical theory, which is always and necessarily contingent,<sup>6</sup> is based on testing its deductions or predictions against reality. Likewise, the test of the social contract is the general

reasonableness and persuasiveness of its particular social consequences. If the consequences are undesirable, then the ethics or justice of the social contract are in serious question.<sup>7</sup> Although I have argued that universality, prescriptiveness, and morality are necessary metaethical properties of ethics, and thus justice, I do not believe that these properties can so restrict the social contract model as to entail a specific ethical or just social contract.<sup>8</sup> In so far as the social contract constrains fundamental ethical or just principles, therefore, the final appeal is to our common feelings and emotions--in sum, to our attitudes,<sup>9</sup> as developed through experience and thought and as imbued with the historical lessons embodied in our culture and society. The social contract model I will develop here, therefore, is to my theory of a just peace as the mathematical structure of social field theory<sup>10</sup> is to the empirical perspective of previous volumes. Moreover, the specific conditions, framework, and rules establishing the bargaining situation are then comparable to the specification and interpretation of the concepts within an empirical theory (model). The outcome of the contract model is the social contract; that of an empirical theory is an explanation or prediction. Surely, this ability to model the choice of just principles is a powerful reason for selecting the social contract approach, But there are several other important reasons. First, the model enables me to establish a bargaining situation whose outcome is a just social contract, which is consistent with my view of (a) society and peace as a social contract,<sup>11</sup> and (b) social contracts formed out of a balancing-of-powers (bargaining) situation.<sup>12</sup> I can thereby rationalize and justify the choice of a particular kind of society. Second, the social contract lends itself easily to individualism: as developed in Vol. 1: The Dynamic Psychological Field, my psychological perspective is individualistic;<sup>13</sup> my fundamental unit for analyzing and evaluating a community is the individual.<sup>14</sup> Third, the social contract model is consistent with my own attitude toward justice. I believe in the autonomy, dignity, and freedom of the individual. Therefore, a situation in which all people choose and commit themselves to the fundamental principles under which they will live expresses a basically just process. And if the bargaining situation guarantees impartiality and fairness, then I believe the principles that free people would thus select and assent to are just. (I hasten to add for devotees of other ideologies that their position also will be considered in the bargaining situation, and that the outcome will allow free scope for their

perspectives on justice.) But why should anyone accept such an admittedly personal outcome? Because, readers should accept my propositions on justice in the same way they accepted the empirical propositions in Vol. 4: War, Power, Peace: the logic, reasonableness, and evidence should convince. Similarly, if one grants my metaethics, then one should be persuaded by the logic of the social contract model, one's attitude toward the basic just premises, and the truth of whatever empirical premises are used.<sup>15</sup> In the final analysis, I appeal to the reader's reason, understanding, attitudes.<sup>16</sup> But this is no less true of empirical claims than it is of ethics.<sup>17</sup>

## **Mandatory national service increases young people's sense of civic responsibility, which is key to the social contract's balance of rights and responsibilities.**

Craft, Victor. "Mandatory National Service Would Strengthen America." Honolulu Star Advertiser. September 21, 2016. Web. August 24, 2023.  
<<https://www.staradvertiser.com/2016/09/21/editorial/island-voices/mandatory-national-service-would-strengthen-america/>>.

Why? Citizenship may appear to expand with every new law but ironically, it is shrinking. Everyone is focused on the cult of "Where's mine!" Interconnectivity has many advantages but it also seems to increase political pessimism. Our sense of community is reduced to laws to be obeyed, votes to be harvested, and taxes to be paid. Is there a cure? A new social contract with tangible expectations and opportunities could be a start. Having ourselves volunteered during a different era of American politics, we can see how those experiences shaped new disciplines and habits. Even though we come from different traditions, one military and the other civilian, it created a shared civic experience. Here is a better example. In 1939, a law passed by Congress and Franklin Roosevelt changed the temperament of America. It created what would soon become the Works Projects Administration, an ambitious service program that put millions of men and women to work to carry out projects that included the construction of parks, roads, bridges and buildings. Many of those constructions endure today, but there were other, maybe even more important legacies: life-changing odysseys for young people; tangible work that got done with pride; and the direct involvement in what politicians now call "The American Dream." Congress also passed the Selective Training and Service Act, the first peacetime conscription in U.S. history. Selective Service required men between 21 and 35 to register with local draft boards and be ready for call-up. Two decades later the original architects of Kennedy's Peace Corps program envisioned the same. A Peace Corps draft. Today, we need an experience of direct citizenship to help counter the loss of faith in our institutions. Citizenship without meaningful participation makes us lazy. It becomes a constant assertion of "rights"

devoid of “responsibilities.” There is much that needs to be done. Our state and national infrastructures are in dire need of maintenance. Schools need additional teachers. Poorer communities could use assistance from young lawyers, MBAs and social workers. Parks and trails need to be fixed and start-up minority businesses and social service agencies need entrepreneurial help. To stay healthy, we need fresh imagination and political willpower and a focus on “doing” rather than talking. There are plenty of options available: any branch of the military, Teacher Corps, Vista, AmeriCorps, Peace Corps, and YouthBuild. More can be invented. Hawaii with its general civic apathy could especially benefit from programs that motivate 18- to 25-year-olds to do something for the community. We can also create “carrots” — college debt relief; post-volunteer career or college scholarships; hiring preferences; re-adjustment allowances after volunteered time. The long-term payoff could be profound. “The best way to find yourself,” said Gandhi, “is to lose yourself in the service of others.” Much of this comes down to inspired and brave leaders who will insist on a service requirement and deliver up projects and programs that people can touch.

## **Civic health is declining---mandatory national service is necessary to solve.**

Bridgeland, John. "Will America Embrace National Service?" The Brookings Institution. October, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023.

<[https://hasbrouck.org/draft/FOIA/NationalService\\_FullText\\_Clean.pdf](https://hasbrouck.org/draft/FOIA/NationalService_FullText_Clean.pdf)>.

Making Civic Deserts Bloom America's civic health is in significant decline. For example, Americans have lost trust in each other and in major civic institutions. Such trust is critical to a functioning democracy. The percentage of Americans who say others can be trusted fell from 46 percent in 1972 to just 31 percent in 2016, with 36 percent of Whites and 17 percent of Blacks expressing such trust. In recent years, trust in the media, government, and the courts have fallen to historic lows.<sup>22</sup> The relationship between this decline in trust and the rise in the number of hate groups (up more than 200 percent since 1999) <sup>23</sup> might or might not be causal, but it is probably no mere coincidence. Over the last quarter-century, much of the best biogenetics research and neuroscience has indicated that human beings are probably more hard-wired than not by evolution to empathize, cooperate, and coalesce.<sup>24</sup> From the mid-nineteenth century – from the Americans who Alexis de Tocqueville witnessed peripatetically creating or joining religious and secular “societies” that serve civic purposes,<sup>25</sup> to the armies of American soldiers, voters, volunteers, neighbors, and charitable donors of the mid-20th century– anyone looking for a society-wide Exhibit A for the proposition that we are pro-social animals might have done worse than to look to America. Today, however, only 28 percent of Americans say they belong to any group with leaders they consider accountable and inclusive; and four large-scale, integrating civic institutions built up during the 1900s have shrunk significantly since the turn of the century: churches and other religious congregations; unions; metropolitan daily newspapers; and political parties for grassroots participation that persisted past particular campaigns.<sup>26</sup> It remains unclear what institutions, if any, are taking their place, but universal national service programs could help us to regain civic ground. Americans are also less active in important ways that undergird a healthy democracy. Regular volunteering

decreased from about 30 percent of the population in the aftermath of 9/11 through 2005 to less than one-quarter of Americans in 2016, a drop that occurred despite numerous natural disasters that typically inspire Americans to lend a hand.<sup>27</sup> A recent uptick in volunteering seems to be related to the anxiety Americans are feeling at government dysfunction at the national level. By the same token, no matter how one measures it or which variables one uses to explain it, “voter turnout is lower today than it was in the early twentieth century,” and in recent national elections, some 80 million eligible voters did not vote, a remarkable statistic for a system built on such participation.<sup>28</sup> When trends in social fragmentation, cultural narcissism, political polarization, and economic inequality are examined together since the beginning of the twentieth century, those trends have moved in virtual lockstep. There was increasing economic equality, political comity, social cohesion, and cultural solidarity from about 1900 to 1965, with a sharp U-turn in the 1960s, followed by plunges toward inequality, polarization, fragmentation, and narcissism, and figuring in today’s majority view that the country “is on the wrong track,”<sup>29</sup> and in half of all Americans doubting that “ordinary citizens can influence government if they make an effort.”<sup>30</sup> We know from history that national service can play a transformational role in knitting the country back together in common purpose and promoting a stronger culture of “we.” As the “Pluribus” in “E Pluribus Unum” becomes ever more diverse, we need civic bridges that span our nation’s demographic divides and socioeconomic fault lines. Universal national service can help to build or rebuild our civic bridges.

## **Mandatory national service brings people together in a civic rite of passage.**

Widmer, Mark. "Understanding American Identity: An Introduction." Naval Postgraduate School. December, 2017. Web. August 24, 2023.

<[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e5/Understanding\\_American\\_identity-\\_an\\_introduction\\_%28IA\\_understandingame1094556843%29.pdf](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e5/Understanding_American_identity-_an_introduction_%28IA_understandingame1094556843%29.pdf)>.

National service forces people from all different walks of life to be bored together. Shared boredom leads to dialogue. In *The Sovereignty Solution*, Simons et al. makes this point when arguing on behalf of mandatory national service: One advantage to making participation in some kind of national service mandatory is that it would automatically become an all-American rite-of-passage. That alone would help broaden, deepen, and mature America's youth. Indeed, for all the recent attention accorded the "Greatest Generation," many Americans forget that one of the most useful things World War II-era conscription did was force individuals who never would have had to interact with one another, to interact as codependents. Hollywood has probably over-romanticized just how diverse the stereotypical combat platoon really was—with a Pole, an Italian, an Ivy League blueblood, and a southerner all serving side by side as brothers in arms. But the great public works projects undertaken during the Depression did much the same thing. They not only exposed young people to new places and new experiences, but required them to pitch in and invest sweat equity in their country. But would such a program actually be supported by a majority of Americans?<sup>250</sup> Simons and her co-authors wonder how national service might be incentivized to encourage broad participation if it cannot be made mandatory.<sup>251</sup>

## **Mandatory national service inculcates civic responsibility and encourages people to value the common good.**

Sandel, Michael. "Justice: What's The Right Thing To Do?" Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2009. Web. August 24, 2023.

<[https://archive.org/stream/JusticeWhatIsTheRightThingToDoByMichaelSandel/Justice+What+is+the+Right+Thing+to+Do+by+Michael+Sandel\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/JusticeWhatIsTheRightThingToDoByMichaelSandel/Justice+What+is+the+Right+Thing+to+Do+by+Michael+Sandel_djvu.txt)>.

What might a new politics of the common good look like? Here are some possible themes: 1. Citizenship, sacrifice, and service If a just society requires a strong sense of community, it must find a way to cultivate in citizens a concern for the whole, a dedication to the common good. It can't be indifferent to the attitudes and dispositions, the "habits of the heart," that citizens bring to public life. It must find a way to lean against purely privatized notions of the good life, and cultivate civic virtue. Traditionally, the public school has been a site of civic education. In some generations, the military has been another. I'm referring not mainly to the explicit teaching of civic virtue, but to the practical, often inadvertent civic education that takes place when young people from different economic classes, religious backgrounds, and ethnic communities come together in common institutions. At a time when many public schools are in a parlous condition and when only a small fraction of American society serves in the military, it is a serious question how a democratic society as vast and disparate as ours can hope to cultivate the solidarity and sense of mutual responsibility that a just society requires. This question has recently reappeared in our political discourse, at least to some extent. During the 2008 campaign, Barack Obama observed that the events of September 11, 2001, stirred in Americans a sense of patriotism and pride, and a new willingness to serve their country. And he criticized President George W. Bush for not summoning Americans to some form of shared sacrifice. "Instead of a call to service," Obama said, "we were asked to go shopping. Instead of a call for shared sacrifice, we gave tax cuts to the wealthiest Americans in a time of war for the very first time in our history." — Obama proposed to encourage national service by offering students help with college tuition in exchange for one hundred hours of public service. "You

invest in America, and America invests in you,” he told young people as he campaigned across the country. The proposal proved to be one of his most popular, and in April 2009, he signed legislation to expand the AmeriCorps public service program and provide college money for students who volunteered in their communities. Despite the resonance of Obama’s call to national service, however, more ambitious proposals for mandatory national service have not found their way onto the political agenda.

**Making national service a social expectation is key to cultural transformation that restores communities and fosters civic responsibility.**

Brown, Khari. "Why We Need A Mandatory Year Of Service." The Hill. July 26, 2021. Web.

August 24, 2023. <<https://thehill.com/changing-america/opinion/564848-why-we-need-a-mandatory-year-of-service/>>.

Although service programs in the United States have long existed, the idea of mandatory civilian service resurfaced in a mainstream way through The Aspen Institute's Franklin Project. Now merged with other service organizations to form Service Year Alliance, their goal is to make a year of paid, full-time service a common expectation and opportunity for all young Americans. Data shows service years have led to improved education outcomes, career advancement and higher wages, and even crime reduction in some cities. While service requires more from all of us, it does not take much. One of my favorite Martin Luther King Jr. quotes is, "Everybody can be great...because anybody can serve. You don't have to have a college degree to serve. You don't have to make your subject and verb agree to serve. You only need a heart full of grace. A soul generated by love." It is the willingness to give of yourself to a greater purpose that can renew our connections to one another that have been lost. Our country has seen increased commitments to service during times of war, and this moment of heightened division and income inequality requires a similar investment from our citizens. We have an opportunity through service to repair the fractures in our society if our leaders create the systems for more robust national service and ask more of us once again. Let us once again imagine service as an extension of our fundamental values. Through compulsory national service, we can build a culture of empathy, understanding, and giving that empowers individuals and strengthens communities. The good in all of us can truly be realized when we recommit to extending it to others.

**Mandatory national service is consistent with the social contract because obligating young people to serve the public is key to the most ethical practice of citizenship.**

Dionne, Jr., EJ. "United We Serve?: The Debate Over National Service." Brookings Institution.

September 01, 2002. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/united-we-serve-the-debate-over-national-service/>>.

Citizenship and Service Citizenship cannot be reduced to service. And service-good works whether of faith communities, the private sector, or "communities of character"—cannot replace the responsibilities of government. Service can become a form of cheap grace, a generalized call on citizens to do kind things as an alternative to a genuine summons for national sacrifice or a fair apportionment of burdens among the more and less powerful, the more and less wealthy. But when service is seen as a bridge to genuine political and civic responsibility, it can strengthen democratic government and foster the republican virtues. Lenkowsky made this connection when he urged attendees at a Corporation for National and Community Service conference to turn "civic outrage into civic engagement" by increasing the reach and effectiveness of volunteer programs. No one can dispute visionaries like Harris Wofford and Alan Khazei, who have shown how AmeriCorps, VISTA, the Senior Corps, and the Peace Corps have transformed communities. But Paul Light questions whether this transformation is sustainable. Can episodic volunteerism build the capacity and effectiveness of public and nonprofit organizations? And to what extent can we separate respect for service through volunteerism from a genuine respect for those who make public service a way of life—in the military, the local uniformed services, the schools and the hospitals, and (dare one even use the word) the bureaucracies? As Alice Rivlin notes, "recreational government bashing" "saves us from facing up to how hard it is to make public policy in a free market economy." Will the new respect for service make government bashing less satisfying as a hobby? It's possible, but we are not holding our breath. Underlying the debate over national service is an argument

over whether service is necessary or merely “nice.” If service is just a nice thing to do, it’s easy to understand why critics, well represented in these pages by Bruce Chapman and Tod Lindberg, express such strong reservations about government-led service programs. But is it possible that service is something more than nice? What if it is—as Bob Litan, Harris Wofford, Carmen Sirianni, and Charlie Cobb suggest in different ways—a means to strengthen the ties that bind us as a nation? What if it creates bridges across groups in our society that have little to do with each other on any given day? What if service, as the New Left’s Port Huron Statement put it 40 years ago, can mean “bringing people out of isolation and into community”? What if it fosters civic and political participation in a society that seems not to hold the arts of public life in the highest esteem? In sum, what if service is not simply a good in itself, but a means to many ends? Service and a New Generation Surely one of these ends is the engagement of young Americans in public life. As Peter Hart and Mario Brossard argue here, the evidence of many surveys suggests that young Americans are deeply engaged in civic activity. In his 2000 campaign, Senator John McCain—initially a skeptic of national service, now a strong supporter—won a wide following among the young by urging them to aspire to things “beyond your own self-interest.” Service learning, increasingly popular in our public schools, has been linked with a heightened sense of civic responsibility and personal effectiveness. If the new generation connected its impulses to service with a workable politics, it could become one of the great reforming generations in our nation’s history. And service could become a pathway to a stronger sense of citizenship. As Jane Eisner argues, service “must produce more than individual fulfillment for those involved and temporary assistance for those in need.” It should, she says, “lead to an appetite for substantive change, a commitment to address the social problems that have created the need for service in the first place.” Eisner suggests that as a nation, we should celebrate the First Vote cast by young people with the same fanfare that greets other moments of passage to adult responsibility. The goal would be to encourage a new generation that is gravitating toward national service to make the connection “between service to the community and the very process that governs community life.” A focus on service and the links it forges between rights and responsibilities of citizenship could also offer new ways out of old political impasses. For example, Andrew Stern, the president of the Service

Employees International Union, suggests that a two-year commitment to national service could become a pathway for undocumented workers to legalize their status and for legal immigrants to speed their passage to citizenship. And former felons now denied voting rights might “earn credits toward restoration of full citizenship” through service. Jeff Swartz, the CEO of Timberland, offers practical proposals for business at a moment when the public demand for responsible corporate behavior is rising. He suggests that obligations to shareholders, to employees, and to the community are linked. One reason his company is on Fortune magazine’s list of the 100 “Best Companies to Work For” is its program of service sabbaticals through which employees can spend up to six months working at existing or start-up nonprofits. Their purpose is not simply to do “good works,” but also to build the capacity of the organizations that promote social change. At its best, service is not make-work but what Harry Boyte and Nancy Kari, in *Building America*, have called “public work.” It is work that “is visible, open to inspection, whose significance is widely recognized” and can be carried out by “a mix of people whose interests, backgrounds, and resources may be quite different.” Service as public work is the essence of the democratic project. It solves common problems and creates common things. Public work entails not altruism, or not only altruism, but enlightened self-interest—a desire to build a society in which the serving citizen wants to live.

## **The social contract requires a balance between rights and responsibilities.**

Nyabola, Nanjala. "Towards A Social Contract For Tomorrow." NYU Center on International Cooperation. September, 2021. Web. August 24, 2023. <[https://cic.nyu.edu/wp-content/uploads/1662/65/cic-towards\\_a\\_social\\_contract\\_for\\_tomorrow-2021.pdf](https://cic.nyu.edu/wp-content/uploads/1662/65/cic-towards_a_social_contract_for_tomorrow-2021.pdf)>.

Creating societies that people want to live in is central to stemming the tide of protest, conflict and exit that has characterized the twenty-first century. Strengthening the social contract by reinforcing the rights and responsibilities of citizens and the obligations of leaders and the state restores political balance. Significantly a social contract that explicitly covers the rights of those who are most removed from power as well as the middle citizenry offers promise for all citizens of a specific state. The social contract of the future must therefore be inclusive, recognize that poor decision making by the present generation creates challenges that future generations will have to live with, and include the natural environment as be part of our calculations. Ideally, such a social contract would draw lessons from global philosophical traditions to develop as broad a conception as possible of the citizen, to theorize their relationship to the state, and to imagine different ways of organizing our societies in service of better futures for all. In practical terms, a social contract for the future must: 1. Restore balance between citizens, states, and their leaders. It must protect citizens from excesses of either the bureaucracy or the sovereign. It creates a set of civic responsibilities on the citizen—including obeying the law and paying their taxes—that are in balance with the obligations that the state has towards citizens. Thus, it is not just punitive or extractive towards citizens, but is a balance between what they put into the system and what they get out of it. This social contract creates avenues for deliberation and protects freedom of speech, expression, and association. It also reinforces the notion of collective action for transnational challenges, urging greater coordination at national and international levels.

**Mandatory national service is essential to restoring social trust.**

Liu, Eric. "Mandatory National Service." Politico. 2019. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.politico.com/interactives/2019/how-to-fix-politics-in-america/polarization/mandatory-national-service/>>.

The unraveling of our social fabric and political institutions didn't happen overnight. It took decades, during presidencies of both parties and amid the hostile takeover of everyday life by markets and hyper individualism. We are a self-absorbed, self-centered, self-seeking society whose civic muscles are atrophying rapidly and whose sense of common purpose is disappearing. We are easily divided by foreign adversaries. We are tweeting and texting our way to disunion. Fortunately, there's a single fix that can reverse this atrophy and generate an inclusive sense of shared destiny: mandatory national service. Let's require that every young person, upon reaching age 18, serve community and country by spending at least a year in civilian or military service. Whether they join the Marine Corps or AmeriCorps, the state National Guard or a regional conservation corps, the members of America's most diverse generation will learn habits of mutual aid. They will build bonds of trust and affection across lines of race, class, region and ideology—not by talking about themselves but by doing stuff together: building, training, repairing, healing, rescuing, solving. They will celebrate not just their diversity but what they do with it. Give tens of millions of young Americans that kind of cross-pollinating, solutions-oriented, stereotype-busting, face-to-face experience year after year. In a single generation our political climate will be detoxified and the body politic rejuvenated. We can serve our way out of this mess by remembering the message of the World War II bond drive posters: "Now. All Together."

## **Mandatory national service is essential to the democratic, common good.**

Satz, Debra. "In Defense Of A Mandatory Public Service Requirement." Royal Institute of Philosophy. April 04, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/royal-institute-of-philosophy-supplements/article/abs/in-defense-of-a-mandatory-public-service-requirement/6295E214BDB0127926A83D37C34918AB>>.

It is here, first and foremost, that I believe an argument for a universal service requirement arises. There are few bridging institutions – at least in the United States – that bring individuals together across their differences in contexts where they can relate to one another as equals. Schools and neighborhoods are deeply segregated by race and class. White nationalism is on the rise. Rural communities do not interact with urban ones; workplaces are hierarchically organized and the lives of managers and CEOs more isolated and different than ever from those of their employees. People congregate in on-line bubbles with the like-minded; there are separate lines at airports; private and public schools; in the US there are even public roads with faster traffic that are available for a fee. The rules of the game have been tilted to favor elites. The idea that we are all in this together has a hollow ring. A carefully constructed national service program can respond to these problems. It can bring citizens together, across their differences, by mixing service groups across race, class and geographic divisions. Decades ago, the social psychologist Gordon Allport, showed that racial and other prejudices flourish in ignorance, but that close interracial contact can reduce stereotyping and hostility – if the contact is of a type that leads people to do things together (Allport, 1954). Allport also posited that the effects of such contact are greatly enhanced if ‘sanctioned by institutional supports’. Allport’s contact hypothesis is one of the most widely tested claims in social psychology. Meta-analyses of hundreds of studies show strong support for the hypothesis as applied to numerous group divisions. My proposal is to establish a mandatory year of national service for all US citizens between the ages of 18 and 25, with an exemption only for those doing military service

or those with underlying conditions that make it impossible for them to serve. This program would involve participants in the creation of public goods – whether maintenance of public lands; work on infrastructure projects; work in education; work with the elderly, or other kinds of public projects. Rigorous studies have shown that America’s voluntary service corps – from the Depression’s Civilian Conservation Corps to the Great Society’s Peace Corps and VISTA provided young people with the time and space to gain experience and acquire useful work skills and directions. These are important private benefits to individuals. (They do have a public benefit as well in contributing to the economy.) The voluntary service programs that today operate in this space, such as AmeriCorps, do good work and have stunningly high approval ratings<sup>3</sup> from their alumni: Ninety-four percent say they gained a better understanding of differing communities; eighty percent say the program helped their careers. But the argument I am offering is not based in the private goods to individuals that service offers, but the democratic good it produces.

**Mandatory national service is essential to shoring up democracy.**

Satz, Debra. "In Defense Of A Mandatory Public Service Requirement." Royal Institute of Philosophy. April 04, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/royal-institute-of-philosophy-supplements/article/abs/in-defense-of-a-mandatory-public-service-requirement/6295E214BDB0127926A83D37C34918AB>>.

The third reason to focus on national service is deeper and goes back to the limits of relying on economic and legal incentives alone to shore up democracy. Without some degree of 'trust and solidarity' democratic societies are difficult to maintain. And trust and solidarity depend on certain social conditions – that reciprocity is not being violated, that free riders are held to account, that relevant information is shared – which are difficult to maintain in large and diverse societies. Writing over four centuries ago, Thomas Hobbes thought only an absolute sovereign with the power of life and death over us could forge unity between individuals with differing values and interests. While Hobbes was wrong about this, it remains true that uniting diverse individuals with differing ways of life and values into a social union in which they are regarded as each other's equals is an achievement. Doing so depends not only on institutions but also on dispositions and attitudes.

**Mandatory national service is key to civic engagement.**

Steinberg, Julia. "The Case For Mandatory National Service." The Stanford Review. April 15, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://stanfordreview.org/the-case-for-a-mandatory-national-service-program/>>.

As an alternative to teaching citizenship, I propose the implementation of a national service requirement for all American citizens once they turn eighteen. A national service requirement is the best way to teach citizenship to young Americans because they will work with their community, for their community. This 'national service' would not be a draft: service would not be limited to military service (although military service would be an option), and all 18-year-olds would be required to work. Students could fulfill the requirement in a variety of ways: working on infrastructure, assisting teachers and doctors in underfunded American schools and hospitals, and working on national parks. These programs could be modeled on AmeriCorps or Teach for America, two highly successful programs that promote public service for young adults. A larger, united American community must be cultivated amidst the greatest political polarization seen in the United States since the Civil War. In national service programs, eighteen-year-olds from all states and demographics will be required to work together, put aside their differences, and learn to tolerate one another. The dark cloud of political polarization threatens the political cohesion of young people. Traditional civics curricula are not sufficient to unite a fracturing country, especially because the curricula themselves have become the subject of seemingly endless political debates in recent elections. Those who are most in need of civic education are the least likely to seek it out as they have not internalized values of civic engagement. By making national service mandatory, all young people will reap the benefits. Young people in national service programs will largely be working on tangible issues rather than abstract debates, meaning that they will see their peers as peers, rather than as a caricatured enemy. Cultivating an understanding that people of different groups and identity markers can work together will demonstrate the purpose of a diverse community such as the United States. Only then can any meaningful civic engagement begin. Research has found

that Americans who have completed national service programs as young adults are more civically engaged than their peers who have not. This interest in national service—and serving the country at large—is especially pertinent given the national labor shortage, low voter turnout, and falling support for democracy. As participants in a mandatory national service program progress in their careers and have children, they will develop a community oriented mindset that promotes civic engagement and democracy. It is dangerous to put the blame for our failing democracy onto politicians alone. Without a meaningful civic education system that brings Americans of all backgrounds together and forces them to collaborate and truly understand differences, our country will only continue to delve deeper into polarization. Fewer engaged Americans means a lack of accountability for our representatives. Asking a young person to support a mandated national service program is to ask them to give away some of the most important time of their life. But, it is an ask that is necessary to achieve full political cohesion: robust studies have shown that both individuals and nations profit once national service programs are implemented.

**AFF: Virtue Ethics**

The Virtue Ethics AC argues that mandatory national service is key to fostering civic virtue in the next generation. The contention-level offense is like the Social Contract AC in its focus on civic duty, but there is a slightly different emphasis about the importance and implications of civic duty. With a value criterion of “fostering virtue” or “consistency with virtue ethics,” this AC argues that morality should be concerned with ethical motivation (doing the right thing for the right reasons) and the character traits conducive to human flourishing. One of the most accepted virtues is altruism, or doing good for others, and mandatory national service may inspire altruistic behaviors in young people. Although volunteerism may appear to be more consistent with virtue ethics because people would be serving for the right reasons (instead of being coerced), there is extensive Affirmative literature about the mindset shift that mandatory national service would produce. Requiring young people, in a formative year of their lives, to serve their fellow citizens across the country may inspire them to adopt more civic virtues and a generally benevolent disposition. Virtue ethics is a strategic framework because it contrasts strongly with utilitarianism, which focuses upon consequences, and deontology, which focuses upon abstract moral rules.

The Virtue Ethics AC has two weaknesses. First, there are compelling objections to virtue ethics based on the premise that the framework is circular – it begs the question of what the virtues look like, and determining what counts as virtuous in the first place may require using another framework. And second, the Libertarianism and Volunteerism NC both pair well against the Virtue Ethics AC because the Neg can argue that it should not be the state’s responsibility to inculcate the virtues in the populace. Voluntary national service may be more consistent with virtue ethics because we can guarantee that whenever people serve, it is for the right reasons.

**Virtue ethics is the best moral framework---we should always act with ethical motivations.**

Kawall, Jason. "In Defense Of The Primacy Of The Virtues." *Journal of Ethics & Social Philosophy*. August, 2009. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://philpapers.org/archive/KAWIDO.pdf>>.

One line of response available to virtue ethicists would draw attention to the fact that when we consider such cases more closely, we find that we often need to appeal to the motives and character of an agent in order to fully determine the moral status of the actions. For example, in the case of torturing children, we cannot explain the wrongness simply in terms of causing suffering in an innocent – after all, surgery might cause such suffering, too. The motives and intentions of an agent can be relevant to assessments of rightness and wrongness (even in apparently obvious cases). Similarly with our earlier case of giving someone flowers – if done out of certain appropriate motives, the act is loving and presumably right. But if the action is intended to set off the recipient's allergies, the action is no longer loving (and, indeed, could be quite cruel or hateful). It seems that we often cannot fully characterize actions as right (or wrong, or praiseworthy, or loving, etc.) independently of an agent's motives. If so, we would thus avoid a pure primacy of the right: instead, characterizing actions as right would (often) require appeal to such things as virtuous motives and intentions.<sup>21</sup> More broadly, the virtue theorist can grant that we seem to simply see some actions as right "directly," without complicated reasoning about what virtuous people would do. But, crucially, when we do our moral thinking or respond morally to situations, we do not do so as blank slates. Ordinary people possess various virtues to at least some degree. We may see torturing puppies as wrong immediately, but this is because we possess a basic compassion, sense of justice, and so forth. We see promising as providing a prima facie duty, but this is because we respect others and value the truth. Our responses depend, of course, on the kind of creature that we are and the kind of character that we possess. Perhaps there are Martians or robots who would not respond in these ways when presented with tortured puppies. It is far from clear that when we (basically decent, ordinary) humans respond to certain actions as wrong (or right) immediately,

that we are responding to some prior, independent rightness to the actions themselves. Rather, it is quite plausible to hold that our responses are the result of training, natural tendencies to sympathy, anticipating the responses of those around us, etc.<sup>22</sup> And, if this is correct, there is no difficulty in maintaining that the virtues are explanatorily basic, even in these cases.

**The virtues are connected to human nature, and therefore human flourishing.**

Kawall, Jason. "In Defense Of The Primacy Of The Virtues." *Journal of Ethics & Social Philosophy*. August, 2009. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://philpapers.org/archive/KAWIDO.pdf>>.

The question, then, is whether we can give an account of the virtues (including a story about what makes given traits virtues) that does not boil down to having a concern for independently (and explanatorily prior) right actions, principles, or good states of affairs. Here I would argue that such independent accounts are clearly possible, while conceding that most of the accounts that have in fact been offered would be inadequate for current purposes. Thus, appeals to developing human nature (or leading a flourishing human life) have been frequently endorsed, where the virtues are taken as essential to human nature (or leading a eudaimon life).<sup>33</sup> On such accounts we might hold that benevolence is a virtue as it is essential to developing our human nature (as social, rational animals), or because it is necessary to leading a flourishing human life. Notice that we would not necessarily need to appeal to prior morally right actions or good states of affairs in establishing the virtues. As such, we would have an independent account of the virtues that would anchor the responses to the objections discussed throughout this paper. On the other hand, most proponents of such accounts (including Hursthouse) explicitly appeal to moralized accounts of human nature; such accounts would likely not serve our present purposes of avoiding Frankena's charge.<sup>34</sup> Still, we might find a satisfactory account along these lines, as philosophers continue to develop and refine such approaches.<sup>35</sup>

**Mandatory national service inspires people to help others.**

Holloway, Jonathan. "To Unite A Divided America, Make People Work For It." The New York Times. July 02, 2021. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/02/opinion/compulsory-national-service-america.html>>.

At its core, we need to heed the call for citizenship. We need to take the natural inclination to help out our friends and families and turn it into a willingness to support strangers. We need to inspire people to answer the call to serve because in so doing, they will discover ways to have their voices heard and their communities seen and respected. This is neither a new nor a partisan idea. This call to serve and inspire is written into the preamble of the United States Constitution. When the founders sought to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," they were talking about establishing an ethos of citizenship and participation. Compulsory national service is not a panacea, but neither is it a mere placebo. It could be a very real solution to a very real problem that already has wrought havoc on our democracy and that threatens our future as a nation, our viability as a culture and our very worth as human beings. This nation and its democratic principles need our help. We can and must do better.

**Civic virtue is essential to human flourishing.**

Banyan, Margaret. "Civic Virtue." Britannica. March 04, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.britannica.com/topic/civic-virtue>>.

civic virtue, in political philosophy, personal qualities associated with the effective functioning of the civil and political order, or the preservation of its values and principles. Attempts to define civic virtue vary, as different political systems organize public life around alternative visions of the public good and the demands of citizens commensurate with this good. Understanding civic virtue has become increasingly urgent as scholars seek to identify the causes of declining levels of civic engagement and the virtues that will reverse this trend. Most discussions of civic virtue centre on the obligation of citizens to participate in society by performing the minimally necessary activities in support of the state, such as paying taxes. However, political theorists agree that the sum total of a person's well-being is not solely attributable to his or her own talents but is a product of social cooperation, or civic virtue. Even those who take a less-demanding view recognize that in a radically individualistic society, all people benefit from publicly supported goods, such as a transportation infrastructure or schools. To promote cooperation, Aristotle argued that civic virtue involved citizens taking part in ruling and being ruled. Others have highlighted the essential virtues of justice, courage, or honesty. However, specifically what counts for civic virtue depends on the kind of political order one aspires to create. To illustrate the centrality of the state's purpose in civic virtue, it is useful to compare two dominant political traditions: the liberal and civic republican traditions. The liberal tradition makes minimal demands of citizens, on the assumption that pursuing one's interests in the private sphere is more important than living a public life. It is sufficient under the liberal tradition for citizens to vote. The republican tradition demands that citizens be active, on the assumption that high levels of civic engagement are necessary to protect against government abuses and to provide citizens with an outlet to satisfy their human yearning of creating a shared public good. Both the liberal and republican traditions share the view that civic virtue is not an inherent human quality but needs to be developed.

**Mandatory national service will create a culture built upon civic duty.**

Wofford, Harris. "Can National Service Become Integral To Our Culture?" *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*. June, 2014. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://democracyjournal.org/magazine/33/can-national-service-become-integral-to-our-culture/>>.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, it seemed to be widely accepted that national service by young Americans had become a lasting dimension of volunteering in the United States. Forty-nine governors signed a letter to Congress supporting the reauthorization and strengthening of AmeriCorps. The September 11 attacks ushered in a period of patriotic nonpartisanship and additional momentum for national service. In his 2002 State of the Union address, President Bush called for 4,000 hours of service—or two years—by every American, the doubling of the Peace Corps, and an increase in AmeriCorps positions from 50,000 to 75,000. He created the USA Freedom Corps White House Council to coordinate federal support for national service and appointed John Bridgeland to lead it. At that point, with the Republican President asking Congress for a 50-percent increase in national-service positions, and the chairman of the Republican Party, former Governor Marc Racicot of Montana, strongly in agreement, there was reason for supporters of national service to believe that the Republican Party was starting on a new journey toward a national consensus for large-scale national service. But while AmeriCorps did grow, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan divided the nation on political lines, and momentum stalled. During his 2008 presidential campaign, Senator Obama proposed a goal of 250,000 national-service positions. That idea and the bill that made it reality—the 2009 Serve America Act, sponsored by Senators Kennedy and Hatch, and supported by Senators McCain and Clinton—was the most recent high point for the idea of national service. Obama signed the bill into law with strong bipartisan support during his first hundred days. Once again, the road forward seemed clear. But yet again, events intervened. The 2010 midterm elections changed the political landscape. As in 1995, the House of Representatives voted to eliminate funding for AmeriCorps. At this writing, the new budget proposed by the House leadership would

terminate not only AmeriCorps but all the programs of the Corporation for National and Community Service, including the Senior Corps. In the current political stalemate, President Obama has done what he can to stave off a quantum leap backward for national service. His limited power for executive action is already being tapped by the White House Task Force on Expanding National Service, which asks all federal departments and appropriate agencies to explore and report how the engagement of national service volunteers can help them accomplish their missions. With the fifth anniversary of the Serve America Act this spring, it seems clear that further expansion of full-time national service through major new appropriations from Congress is unlikely. Indeed, the continuation of federal support for national service may be in danger, despite the support of the hundreds of nonprofit organizations benefitting from the service of AmeriCorps members, and the work of the outstanding new CEO of the corporation, Wendy Spencer, a Republican and longtime leader on the issue of national service. While Congress stalls, there is an opportunity to give new life to the idea of national service. Gen. Stanley McChrystal and a group of former generals, veterans of all ranks, and like-minded civic leaders are stepping forth with a new initiative, focused on the independent sector, to make a service year at home or abroad an opportunity for all young Americans. They foresee a time when the numbers of young Americans in civilian service years will equal the one million volunteers in military service. Then the “goods to the commonwealth” that William James envisioned will become an integral part of the education of Americans as self-governing citizens.

## **Only mandatory national service can build empathy and bring young people together across the country.**

Reff, Annika. "Make Civil Service, Not Civil War." Brown Political Review. November 06, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://brownpoliticalreview.org/2022/11/make-civil-service-not-civil-war/>>.

The United States currently faces the highest level of political polarization since the Civil War. Partisan animosity is reaching a boiling point and national disunity is pervasive. Mandatory national service could be the solution. A required year of civil or military service for all 18-year-olds would not only build empathy among young people: It would fundamentally change the relationship young Americans have with their country. A bipartisan civilian or military service program would bring together young people from across the nation, regardless of education level or economic class, and foster a lasting tradition of civic engagement. A mandatory service program would offer young adults a wide array of service opportunities. Participants could partake in specialized programs like AmeriCorps, national parks services, the military, or a variety of other civil and community-oriented service options. Additionally, participants could help in critically understaffed fields, such as the healthcare industry. President Biden has pioneered a subprogram within AmeriCorps—"United We Serve"—with the aim of "calling for a new era of national service to foster stronger communities and bridge divides in our society." Programs like United We Serve are a strong start, but it is crucial to expand opportunities like it to a wider number of Americans. While Biden increased the AmeriCorps budget by 16 percent this year to \$1.34 billion, AmeriCorps can currently only accommodate 13 percent of the young people who want to participate. Similarly, the military only accepts roughly 20 percent of potential recruits. By expanding existing service pathways into a mandatory national program, young Americans could identify the service opportunity that best suits their interests, skills, and career path. During the year of service, participants would earn small stipends, have their living expenses covered, and receive credit toward future community and public college tuition. This reduction in education costs for young Americans would expand access to higher education,

paving a post-service path to the middle class for lower-income Americans. Further, through the Public Service Loan Forgiveness Program, adults with outstanding loan debt could earn relief by voluntarily participating in the service program. A national service program would bring together different backgrounds, perspectives, and visions for the future—regardless of potential college plans. This stands in contrast to the actual role played by our current higher education system. This system, featuring state-run public schools and expensive private schools, frustrates true American integration. Nationwide, 73 percent of college students attend schools in their home state, while private schools often lack socioeconomic and racial diversity.

**AFF: Climate AC**

The Climate AC argues that mandatory national service is essential to combatting the climate crisis. As the consequences of global climate change intensify, advocates have proposed creating a Civilian Climate Corps – inspired by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of the New Deal era – to recruit youth for work on clean energy, sustainable retrofitting, and energy efficiency projects. The Civilian Climate Corps could theoretically be voluntary, but Affirmative authors argue that mandatory national service is essential to harnessing the labor power necessary to achieve the rapid changes that the problem of climate change demands. The framework for this AC would be utilitarianism, because climate change is a threat to lives and well-being around the world, but you could also introduce an environmental ethic (humans are interdependent with nature and thus have a special moral obligation to preserve the environment). The strength of the Climate AC is that climate change is a large impact that can easily outweigh Negative impacts like the economy, and you can also argue against shorter timeframe impacts on the basis that the inevitability of extinction from climate change – unless we act – makes short-term preoccupations useless.

There are a few weaknesses of the Climate AC which the Negative, and the Affirmative debater defending this case, will need to consider. First, the Climate AC is most susceptible to the Incentives CP, which may be sufficient to solve – the Aff will need a strong defense of the mandate. Second, the Negative can introduce advantage counterplans that solve climate change more directly, such as a carbon tax, so the Affirmative will need to be prepared to argue for the unique necessity of mandatory national service. And third, the Affirmative may also consider having additional impacts besides climate change that they can leverage against other Negative positions (versus having your eggs in one basket).

## **Establishing a National Climate Service Corps is essential to combatting the climate crisis.**

Office Of Congresswoman Judy Chu (D-CA). "Rep. Judy Chu Introduces Legislation To Create A National Climate Service Corps." Press Release. June 29, 2021. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://chu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/rep-judy-chu-introduces-legislation-create-national-climate-service>>.

Today, Representatives Judy Chu (CA-27) and Jimmy Panetta (CA-20) introduced the National Climate Service Corps and Careers Network Act of 2021 to create a National Climate Service Corps within AmeriCorps. The corps would allow Americans to serve their communities through public service projects focused on community adaptation, mitigation, and resiliency. Participants will earn a living wage of no less than \$15 per hour, and Environmental Justice Taskforces will ensure that project prioritization and program recruitment reflect local needs. The bill would also create a Climate Careers Network to help connect corps alumni and other interested Americans to long-term, good-paying career opportunities in the green economy. U.S. Senator Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV) has introduced companion legislation in the U.S. Senate. This legislation is supported by The Corps Network, Environmental Defense Fund, Defend our Future, and Evergreen Action. "Our country faces unprecedented challenges from climate change," said Rep. Chu (CA-27). "For far too long, we have not given the climate crisis the attention and resources needed to mitigate the worst effects. And that is having serious consequences for us as, today, California is facing an historic drought and preparing for another devastating fire season. That is why I am introducing legislation to create a National Climate Service Corps to help climate-vulnerable communities adapt to, mitigate, and overcome the worst climate-related crises. Further, this bill will create a Climate Careers Network to connect corps alumni to good-paying career opportunities in the new green economy. "During the height of the Great Depression, the Civilian Conservation Corps mobilized millions of young people to build infrastructure that we still use now. In the face of our current climate crisis, our National Climate Service Corps can do the same today." "President Biden laid out a bold vision for a \$10 billion investment in a civilian climate corps initiative as part of the American Jobs

Plan proposal,” said Rep. Panetta. “Our legislation builds on this vision through the establishment of a National Climate Service Corps and a Climate Careers Network, both of which will support resiliency projects in communities that are disproportionately impacted by climate change and severe weather events. These programs will not only help Americans return to work in our growing green industries but also help ensure our communities are better prepared to respond to and help mitigate the climate crisis.” “A climate service corps will help protect Nevada’s environment, combat climate change, and jumpstart the careers of young Nevadans looking to give back to their communities and gain experience for the green jobs of the future,” said Senator Cortez Masto. “We must ensure the next generation has the tools, experience, and support they need to lead the charge in protecting our Nevada families, combatting climate change, and preserving our public land.” “National service programs address challenges ranging from food insecurity, to illiteracy, to the backlog of maintenance needs on our public lands. With this bill, we see a path to engage more national service programs in addressing the very real challenges of climate change and environmental injustice. It will also ensure that participants are on a pathway to successful careers,” said Mary Ellen Sprenkle, President and CEO of The Corps Network. “We thank Rep. Chu for her leadership on this issue and look forward to working with her and our partners at AmeriCorps to make climate resiliency projects a greater priority for Conservation Corps and other national service programs.” “Fighting climate change, building resilience in our communities and creating jobs are all essential to America’s future,” said Elizabeth Gore, Senior Vice President for Political Affairs of the Environmental Defense Fund. “This bill will help advance real, practical solutions to climate impacts in communities around the country. Critically, it will bring resources to underserved, frontline communities that already face the worst impacts of climate change.” “As record-breaking heat waves bear down across the American West, it’s never been more clear that we need to invest in tackling the climate crisis and building a clean energy economy that works for all communities,” said Jamal Raad, Executive Director of Evergreen Action. “Congresswoman Chu’s vision for a National Climate Service Corps is exactly the kind of catalyst we need—training a 21st century workforce to prepare our communities for climate impacts, all while giving these workers a pathway to stable, good-paying careers in the clean economy.”

## **National service for the environment would be modeled after the Civilian Conservation Corps, implemented during the New Deal era.**

Marley, Jack. "National Service For The Environment And A Green New Deal To Fight Climate Change – Imagine Newsletter #1." The Conversation. March 28, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://theconversation.com/national-service-for-the-environment-and-a-green-new-deal-to-fight-climate-change-imagine-newsletter-1-114168>>.

A conservation army of millions was active in 1930s America. The idea of enlisting millions of young people in conservation work is not new. It has origins in a public work relief programme from the 1930s. During the depths of the Great Depression and while the Dust Bowl ravaged rural America, US president Franklin Roosevelt implemented a series of reforms as part of the New Deal to implement a more sustainable land policy and revive economic growth. One of those reforms was the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). It enlisted 3m young men who planted over two billion trees on more than 40m acres of land between 1933 and 1942. Their aim was to repair ecosystems throughout the US with hundreds of projects in forestry and conservation. A national service for the environment would see individuals taking a direct role in mitigating climate change, but there is also an emerging political project aiming to capitalise on public support for action.

## **Mandatory national service solves the climate crisis through mass mobilization.**

Santucci, Jeanine. "Marianne Williamson Wants A National Mandatory Service For People Ages 18-26 To Combat Climate Change." USA Today. September 19, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023.

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2019/09/19/marianne-williamson-proposes-mandatory-national-service-climate-forum/2376414001/>.

At a presidential climate change forum on Thursday, author and Democratic presidential hopeful Marianne Williamson floated the idea of a national mandatory year of service for young adults to tackle climate change. "I would like to ask your opinion, I think during the 'season of repair,' we should have a mandatory national service, one year, for people between 18 and 26 because we need you," Williamson said. "We need to fix this climate. We need to fix this country." MSNBC's Ali Velshi asked the audience, which consisted mainly of students, to raise their hands if they liked the idea. "A few, alright." Williamson smirked at the crowd's reaction. "To save the country. It's not just the climate," she said. The climate forum was hosted by MSNBC and Georgetown University's Institute of Politics and Public Service, giving college students the opportunity to ask candidates questions. This is not the first time Williamson has mentioned of national service for young people. Her campaign website includes an outline of a program that would "be a way that every American citizen spends one year of their youth in service to the repair of our nation." She lists service projects including helping in small businesses, schools, hospitals, the military, the Peace Corps and work on sustainability and to "combat the climate crisis." The paid service she details on her website, however, appears to be voluntary: Williamson's administration would start a program where young adults "can perform one year of National Service." She said at the climate forum that Americans need to come together in a "World War II mass mobilization." She later added, "During World War II, it wasn't Democrats vs. Republicans, left vs. right. We are all Americans. And we are going to mobilize."

## **Mandatory national service to address climate change will teach young people valuable experiences and knowledge about climate change.**

Kang, Jay Caspian. "The Case For Mandatory National Service." The New York Times. August 04, 2022. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/04/opinion/mandatory-national-service.html>>.

An admittedly too-broad and unpopular opinion I, myself, am an AmeriCorps alumnus. I did an environmental restoration program in Seattle when I was 19 years old. I was not an ideal employee by any means, but I did plant some trees and learn quite a bit about forestry, climate change and park maintenance. I also learned that there is a value to service, which was an invaluable lesson during a dark time in my life when the thought of going to college and pursuing some sort of career seemed like an impossibility. Some of these revelations came from just growing up a bit, but I do think that there was something about the almost conscripted feel of the organization that provided me with a sense of duty to the city of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest. I joined AmeriCorps as a teenager because I did not have any other plans with my life, nor did I have any skills. It was, in effect, the only place that would take me and give me something to do. Today's young people are dealing with much more than I did back around the turn of the millennium. Many feel hopeless and depressed. National service is not a panacea for these ailments, nor can it change the economic precarity that many young people feel, but it can provide a sense of community and a meaningful pathway into a career that falls outside of the clogged and ultracompetitive pathways that exist today. I do not support compulsory military service, but it seems clear to me that many of the problems with political polarization and the atomization of the individual in this country come from the fact that there are increasingly few places where people from different economic backgrounds can work together for a good cause. Among the elite classes, the idea of service has mostly been reduced down to a line item on a college application. The much-discussed divides in this country, whether economic, racial or educational, cannot be solved through some feat of wonkery or through

pretty speeches by politicians. What needs to exist is some place that can pool a lot of different young people together. College will never accomplish any of that in the way that two years of service — hopefully eventually two mandatory years of service — could. The good news is that AmeriCorps already exists. It's time to turn it into something much more ambitious and hopefully let its example pave the way for a national service requirement.

## **Only mandatory national service can bring people together to address collective, societal threats like climate change.**

Lioz, Randy. "The Case For National Service." Braver Angels. May 31, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://braverangels.org/the-case-for-national-service/>>.

Since the collapse of our collective foe, the threats to our wellbeing have become much more diffuse and difficult to identify. They range from the impersonal threat of catastrophic climate change, to the economic threat of rising powers like China and India, to the threat of violence from powers like North Korea and Iran, and violence by non-state actors like terrorist groups, both domestic and international, motivated by a wide variety of creeds, including religion, ethnic and racial animus, and economic insecurity. It clearly takes a wide-ranging approach to meet all of these threats, and so the sort of sacrifice that's needed is equally broad. One element that should definitely be included is a requirement that all of our young people serve their country in some formal capacity. There are several countries around the world that require some sort of national service from their young people, though most of them require that service to be rendered within the military. Military leaders in the United States, however, have generally argued against the reinstitution of a draft, given that it would be both expensive and logistically difficult to implement. And beyond that, there simply wouldn't be enough room or need within our military services to accommodate everyone under a certain age. Instituting a requirement to serve in some capacity, which could certainly include the military, but could also include the large number of other service organizations that exist here, like AmeriCorps and Peace Corps, would be a much more effective way to go. This is an idea that was introduced on the floor of Congress multiple times by former Rep. Charles Rangel of New York. While it failed to garner enough support in the past, the case for "Universal National Service" has become even stronger in the years since. It's not just that the sacrifices we share help to bind us together. It's also that the act of coming together to meet our challenges literally brings us into contact with people whom we would otherwise have never met. One of the main requirements of national service could be to engage in that service outside of our own communities. When we're exposed to people from other regions and backgrounds, it naturally expands our conception of who is like us, and who should be included in our circle of concern.

**While mandatory national service is an ambitious proposal, it is necessary to achieve meaningful, incremental gains on climate change.**

Apodaca, Patrice. "Compulsory National Service Is A Long Shot, But Let's Talk About The Idea."

Los Angeles Times. July 27, 2022. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/opinion/story/2022-07-27/apodaca-compulsory-national-service-is-a-long-shot-but-lets-talk-about-the-idea>>.

I'm not suggesting that an experiment of our own into mandatory national service would be problem-free, or that complicating factors would not arise. Certainly a lot of study, negotiation and sustained effort by policy makers would be required to craft a program that is creative, flexible, fair (or at least fair-ish), effective and, of course, as safe as possible. We could start gradually, perhaps with a task force that would propose various models aimed at some of our most pressing issues — homelessness, climate change or crumbling infrastructure, for starters. Such an initiative might actually be a rare opportunity for bipartisan cooperation and — dare I suggest it? — compromise. As I mentioned, it's a long shot. We've become unaccustomed to taking big policy risks, and we spend a lot more time talking about what's wrong and who's to blame than trying to craft bold, inventive solutions. Call me an idealist — that's almost a pejorative these days — but if at least we could agree that mandatory national service is an interesting idea that's worthy of discussion, then maybe, who knows? We might take a small but meaningful step toward working together again. Imagine that.

## **A youth-driven Climate Conservation Corps is key to tackling the climate crisis.**

Prakash, Varshini. "Enlist Young Americans In The Fight To Stop Climate Change." New York Daily News. July 21, 2021. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/ny-oped-enlist-young-americans-climate-change-20210721-u724tqwrfdt5lgsdn2iiunvdi-story.html>>.

There is an entire generation that will do whatever it takes to stop the climate crisis and improve our communities. We understand that the task that lies before us is historic: There are millions of buildings that need to be retrofitted, homes to be rewired, miles of shoreline to be prepared for rising waters, and forests and parks to be conserved. We are ready to take on the responsibility. It's time for the federal government to put us to work solving the climate crisis and rebuilding our economy. President Biden has an opportunity to harness the energy of our generation and meet his administration's priorities by putting a generation of young people on pathways to well-paying union jobs. He has the opportunity to take action at the scale of the crisis and young people are ready to get to work serving their communities. It's time for a bold investment in national service and climate resilience, and the Civilian Climate Corps (CCC) is a perfect place to start. Biden's proposed CCC is hugely popular, with support from 77% of likely voters. It captures the readiness of the next generation of young Americans and takes a long-term and hands-on approach to tackling climate change. We have done this before. The New Deal-era Civilian Conservation Corps was one of the most popular programs of its time and mobilized millions of unemployed Americans to plant trees, construct trails and build wildlife refuges during the Great Depression. A modern-day CCC — one that engages diverse Americans, prioritizes resources in underserved communities and puts youth on pathways to jobs and successful futures — can mobilize a generation of young people in the highest-stakes fight of our age. By developing today's CCC as an interagency program built upon the existing AmeriCorps infrastructure, this idea could become reality quickly and cost-effectively. A January 2021 survey conducted by the Serve America Together campaign on Americans' attitudes

toward national service found that 44% of young people ages 18-28 — and 60% of young people of color — are interested in participating in national service. That’s more than 1.7 million young people who would serve if given the opportunity. If the ability to tackle climate challenges and the strong desire to serve aren’t compelling enough cases for a robust CCC, the economic case should do the trick. Youth unemployment is nearly twice the national rate. And young people of color are faring even worse. National service would give young people the chance to build real-world professional and leadership skills and put them on pathways to good, union jobs in high-need sectors. To truly address this economic crisis, it is essential to ensure equitable access to national service. This requires a commitment to valuing the experience appropriately, offering benefits and living wages and expanding wraparound services that meet the needs of people from historically underrepresented communities who might otherwise be unable to serve. With President Biden’s leadership, national service has the potential to transform our climate, our nation’s young people and our economy. And best of all, there’s plenty of political will and support behind it. That 77% of Americans who support Congress passing legislation that expands national service includes 56% of Republicans and 93% of Democrats. The bipartisan CORPS Act to expand national service to boost pandemic recovery was reintroduced this year with bipartisan support from eight Republican senators and nine Democratic senators. We’ve now seen CCC bills introduced in Congress by Sen. Ed Markey and Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez; Sens. Chris Coons, Martin Heinrich, and Ray Lujan and Rep. Joe Neguse; Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto and Sen. Dick Durbin, among others. Earlier this month, Sen. Chuck Schumer committed to including a “big, bold” Civilian Climate Corps in the upcoming American Jobs and Families Plans. And just this week, over 80 members of Congress signed on to a letter urging a new CCC to be included in the budget reconciliation package. A bold Civilian Climate Corps is exactly the type of highly visible policy that this administration should invest in to transform young people’s lives and sustain the enthusiasm of this next generation. What are we waiting for?

## Climate change will increase natural disasters, and the worst projections for warming risk extinction.

Moseman, Andrew. "Why Do Some People Call Climate Change An 'existential Threat'?" MIT Climate Portal. July 12, 2021. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://climate.mit.edu/ask-mit/why-do-some-people-call-climate-change-existential-threat>>.

In recent years, not only climate scientists but also major world leaders—including the U.S. Secretary of Defense, major American presidential candidates, and the United Nations secretary general—have labeled climate change an “existential threat.” But what does an “existential threat” really mean, and why are so many people in positions of responsibility now echoing this phrase? Kieran Setiya, an MIT professor of philosophy who co-teaches a course on the ethics of climate change, offers a basic and a more nuanced definition. First: In the worst-case scenarios in scientists’ climate models, human-caused climate change is a threat to the continued existence of our species. If humans do nothing to slow climate change, then global temperatures may increase by 4 degrees Celsius or more by the year 2100<sup>1</sup>. This may not sound like much, Setiya says, but “it is quite cataclysmic.” Earth has not been that warm in millions of years, and such temperature spikes in our planet’s history are connected to mass extinction events that killed off a large percentage of species that existed at the time<sup>2</sup>. “There is a genuine possibility that within the coming century, we will hit temperatures that are deeply incompatible with the continued existence of human life,” he says. Even if humanity does reduce greenhouse gas emissions enough to stave off the worst effects of climate change—and learn to adapt to some warming that is already inevitable—Setiya says that climate change remains an existential threat to a host of human cultures, traditions, and languages. One example he gives is the Inuit peoples who are indigenous to Arctic regions, and whose cold-weather culture is under threat as the amount of ice in polar regions continues to decline. Residents of low-lying islands face an immediate, existential threat to their cultures as rising sea levels could submerge their homelands. “Their entire way of life is going to be changed,” Setiya says. “And that is going to happen whether or not we get close to the kinds of temperature

changes that threaten human extinction. Ways of life that have been stable for hundreds of years or longer will start collapsing.” To a philosopher like Setiya, the term “existential” has another meaning. It refers to big questions about the meaning of life or humanity’s place in the cosmos, which are often the domain of religion and spirituality. “There’s a kind of emotional reaction people have when they think about the totality of human history and our place in our little corner of the universe,” he says. “And I think that sense is brought into play in a disturbing way by climate change.” Whether or not human-caused climate change becomes a literal extinction threat, it has already changed our relationship with the planet we live and depend on, which Setiya says will forever alter the way we feel about human existence. How the human species responds to this crisis, Setiya says, will not only guide our future but also reveal much about our nature. Climate change could worsen worrying trends such as anti-democracy uprisings and migrant crises as people flee areas that are increasingly hit by natural disasters that will be exacerbated by climate change—rising sea levels, more frequent powerful hurricanes, and droughts that threaten freshwater supplies, for example.

**Mandatory national service is key to fight climate change---voluntary service fails to distribute burdens equally.**

Carpenter, Charli. "America Needs A National Service Draft Now To Fight The Coronavirus  
America Needs A National Service Draft Now To Fight The Coronavirus." Foreign Policy.  
April 07, 2020. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/04/07/america-needs-national-civilian-service-draft-to-fight-coronavirus/>>.

But that only proves the point that service may need to be mandatory, not voluntary, and distributed by lottery in order to allocate the burden equally. The U.S. government should pay and train young citizens well, mitigate their risks in every way possible, offer them additional benefits on completion of their service, and honor them as heroes the same way we honor young people who fight in war. There are increasingly urgent and convincing reasons to enlist the energy, talents, and very low vulnerability of the young now in the fight against the pandemic. A national civilian service would help win this fight, protect the vulnerable, and provide a lasting service to society that goes far beyond the current emergency. Perhaps more importantly, it could empower young people to address their generation's own goals, which for my son Liam and many in his age group is action to mitigate climate change. As Jamie Margolin, an 18-year-old climate activist, wrote in the Washington Post "My generation is giving up our youth—our schooling, our fun and our freedom—so that you can see next year. When this is over, you may have to keep giving something up so that we can see the next century." If young people saved the day right now, there would be no stopping them in the years to come.

**Mandatory national service in a National Climate Corps is key to clean energy expansion and awareness about sustainability.**

Delaney, John. "My Grandfather's Story Reminds Me About What We Owe America." CNN. July 30, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://www.cnn.com/2019/07/28/opinions/john-delaney-2020-mandatory-national-service/index.html>>.

There are four components of my national service program. The first two build off of what we already have in place. First, serving in the military would meet the requirement. The details and specifics around military service wouldn't change, but with a renewed emphasis on national service we can expect that more people, from a wider spectrum of backgrounds, would consider serving in our armed forces – and I think that's a good thing. Second, we would scale up and expand our existing community service programs like AmeriCorps. My national service program also includes two exciting new components: a National Infrastructure Apprenticeship program and a National Climate Corps. After decades of underinvestment in infrastructure and in the face of the new challenge of climate change, we need to rebuild, reboot and reinvent our local infrastructure. For these new initiatives, we will work closely with state governments. For infrastructure, the government would enter into public-private partnerships with businesses and unions to offer apprenticeships. Upon completion, participants would receive a professional certificate. For the Climate Corps, participants would assist in clean energy projects, including solar installation, improving building efficiency, developing community gardens and increasing awareness about sustainability.

## **Mandatory national service has economic benefits---the turn is wrong.**

Satz, Debra. "In Defense Of A Mandatory Public Service Requirement." Royal Institute of Philosophy. April 04, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/royal-institute-of-philosophy-supplements/article/abs/in-defense-of-a-mandatory-public-service-requirement/6295E214BDB0127926A83D37C34918AB>>.

There is no doubt that a national service program would have costs. It would involve oversight and planning. Participants should also be paid a modest income, and possibly receive benefits not unlike the GI bill – a law that provides educational and training benefits for military veterans. At the same time, there are economic benefits: there is a great deal of valuable work that is not currently being done, and that could be done through public service. The New Deal yielded the Civilian Conservation Corps, which mobilized, with the leadership of a young George Marshall, 3 million unemployed Americans who planted some 3 billion trees between 1933 and 1942. An analysis commissioned by the National Park Service<sup>4</sup> found if the government were to try and reduce the backlog of maintenance on public lands using conservation corps (made up of 18- to 25-year-olds considering land management as a career) rather than contractors of National Park Service crews, it would save more than 80% per project.

**Utilitarianism is best for policymakers.**

Eggleston, Ben. "Professor Studies How Utilitarianism Provides Framework For Major Policy Decisions." University of Kansas. June 16, 2014. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://today.ku.edu/2014/06/02/professor-studies-how-utilitarianism-provides-framework-major-policy-decisions>>.

LAWRENCE — Critics have decried the use of utilitarianism to justify major American policy changes, like the Affordable Care Act and raising the minimum wage, instead arguing both fail the “do no harm” test. But a University of Kansas researcher who recently edited *The Cambridge Companion to Utilitarianism* says the theory based on the maximization of overall well-being is the most well-suited way of thinking in political philosophy to make sound large-scale policy decisions. “It doesn’t make sense to insist on ‘do no harm’ when the status quo presents us with problems that need to be addressed,” said Ben Eggleston, associate professor of philosophy. “The status quo has real shortcomings, and it is worth looking into whether we can make improvements. All major policy decisions involve tradeoffs, and utilitarianism provides a framework for making those tradeoffs and trying to do so in the way that promotes the common good the most.” Jeremy Bentham in the 18th century and John Stuart Mill in the 19th century pioneered utilitarianism, and it remains influential in contemporary moral philosophy. Eggleston, who co-edited the book with Dale E. Miller, a professor of philosophy at Old Dominion University, said one argument against using utilitarianism to justify policies, such as increasing the minimum wage or instituting mandatory health insurance coverage under the Affordable Care Act, centers on some unusual hypothetical cases instead of considering broader, more complex policy questions. N. Gregory Mankiw, a Harvard University economics professor, in a March New York Times column criticized both policies, saying they would have unintended consequences and do harm to business, for example. He argued against using utilitarianism as a public policy framework and mentioned the ethical dilemma of a doctor weighing harvesting the organs of one healthy patient to save four dying patients. “At this point, almost everyone balks,” Mankiw wrote. “Sometimes, respecting natural rights trumps

maximizing utility.” Eggleston said while that scenario is useful to discuss in introductory-level ethics courses when talking about utilitarianism, it's less applicable when trying to decide large-scale policy decisions. “You don't have to endorse forcibly removing some people’s organs, such as in that hypothetical example, in order to think that when it comes to large-scale economic planning, we ought to choose the policy that maximizes benefits and minimizes harms,” he said. He said when Congress debates issues like the Affordable Care Act or raising the minimum wage, it's to address existing harm or problems with the status quo, such as people not being able to secure health insurance due to pre-existing conditions or still living below the poverty line despite working a full-time job. “At that scale it's much more plausible to think in terms of figuring out what's the policy that will maximize the balance of benefits minus harms,” Eggleston said. “Acknowledging that any policy you choose is going to have some harm and some benefit, you've just got to try to pick the best one.” He said utilitarian ideas have been appealed to in the advocacy of both liberal policies — such as Roosevelt’s “New Deal” and Johnson’s “Great Society” — and conservative principles, such as the free-market idea that a rising tide lifts all boats. “In many ways, utilitarianism is very intuitive. I would hope that when we think about the plausibility of utilitarianism in public-policy situations, we don't get distracted by unrealistic, hypothetical examples, even though they can be fun to think about,” Eggleston said. “They shouldn't cause us to reject the whole idea of trading off between costs and benefits, which is essential if we are to think intelligently about public-policy decisions.” In addition to co-editing the book, published in March by Cambridge University Press, Eggleston co-wrote the introduction and composed a chapter on act utilitarianism, an ethical theory that argues in any situation a person acts rightly if he or she maximizes overall well-being and wrongly if he or she does not.

**AFF: AmeriCorps AC**

The AmeriCorps service affirmative is like the other ends-based card sets in this brief (Peace Corps, Climate etc.) in that it seeks to utilize the American populace to fix a substantial issue. AmeriCorps is a domestic service program and is the largest non-military national service program in practice. The AmeriCorps cards here present 2 case options: infrastructure and the environment.

AmeriCorps seeks to address local infrastructure issues including trail preservation, erosion prevention, road repair, building construction, etc. AmeriCorps' expansion is a great topical starting point because the impacts can be extrapolated to virtually anything. Because AmeriCorps lends volunteers to other nonprofits such as Habitat for Humanity or the Red Cross, you shouldn't have an issue finding an impact that suits the case you want to read. Rebuilding infrastructure can also have many positive implications on the environment. Public rail and energy infrastructure can all benefit the environment albeit not maybe as much as affirmatives like a Climate Corps.

The environmental part of the affirmative is nice because there is no shortage of impact literature from climate change to soil erosion there are plenty of impact areas to pick out. If you do not feel like specifying a specific group to use to perform service it is also possible that you could read arguments that just mandate 'citizens do environmental services,' which will give you access to even more impact ground.

The Infrastructure part of the affirmative argues that there just aren't enough construction workers to complete the needed work. Infrastructure plays a vital role in supporting a country's economy by providing the physical framework necessary for economic activities to thrive, encompassing transportation, communication, energy, and other critical systems. A well-developed infrastructure can enhance productivity, attract investments, and enable efficient movement of goods and people, thereby contributing significantly to economic growth and development.

Many of the counter arguments to this case are going to be impact oriented (America can't solve, funding threats, etc.) so you will want to be ready for those. Additionally, like most

ends based cases, the impacts discussed in this brief disproportionately affect communities of color, impoverished communities, and foreign nations, so there are alternative ways to engage the debate without just having to focus on a plan or big impacts. This case should be simple in premise - 'save the environment/economy with national service' – however, it allows a lot of flexibility on the impact and methodological levels.

## **Groups like AmeriCorps spill over after involvement and increase community engagement later.**

Martin, Andrea. "How Significant And For Whom? Investigating The Influence Of Conservation Corps Programs On Environment." Evergreen State College. June, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023. <[https://archives.evergreen.edu/masterstheses/Accession86-10MES/Martin\\_A2013.pdf](https://archives.evergreen.edu/masterstheses/Accession86-10MES/Martin_A2013.pdf)>.

Simon and Wang (2002) conducted a study on the influence of AmeriCorps service on participants. The AmeriCorps program was implemented in 1994 and has become a well-known and respected government initiative that provides valuable work experiences for young people after high school or college. AmeriCorps does not focus specifically on environmental issues; however, many of its programs focus on disaster management and preparedness, natural resources conservation or sustainability education. The study found that AmeriCorps service was influential in increasing participant's interest in joining community groups. Additionally, participants demonstrated shifts in personal and social values; notably they ranked survey items about personal freedom and friendship higher after their service than they had before it. Similarly, Frumkin et al. (2009) and Nesbit and Brudney (2010) found that AmeriCorps participants showed increased interest in community involvement, civic activities such as voting and volunteering, and showed greater interest in working in the public sector and for government organizations in the future.

**organizations in the future. AmeriCorps climate change divisions are suited for success because they focus on local level.**

Obama Administration White House. "Resilience AmeriCorps Announces Ten Cities For Its Pilot Program To Support Communities In Building." The White House. August 19, 2015. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/08/19/resilience-ameri-corps-announces-ten-cities-its-pilot-program-support>>.

Providing Better Support to Communities. Resilience AmeriCorps supports the Administration's community-level approach for climate resilience by aligning with EPA's Making a Visible Difference in Communities program. EPA is focused on providing better support to communities, especially in environmentally overburdened, underserved, and economically distressed areas where the needs are greatest. Resilience AmeriCorps supports EPA's efforts to coordinate technical assistance and other resources to support communities as they pursue environmental improvements that enhance economic opportunity and quality of life. Making Federal Tools and Training More Accessible. Resilience AmeriCorps VISTA members will facilitate the use of federal tools, such as those available through the U.S. Climate Resilience Toolkit, to assess risk and counter the effects of extreme weather events and other climate-related impacts on communities and vulnerable populations, including low-income residents. NOAA's partnership in curriculum development, building coastal resilience capacity, and training allows AmeriCorps VISTA members to provide feedback to the agency, ultimately improving the utility and accessibility of federal tools to local communities. NOAA will lead the federal inter-agency partnership in curriculum development, building coastal resilience capacity, and training and ensure VISTA members provide feedback to the agencies, ultimately improving the utility and accessibility of federal tools to local communities. Fostering Greater Community Resilience. The Resilience AmeriCorps program will help communities identify and prepare for climate-related risks by developing community preparedness plans. AmeriCorps VISTA members will help local leaders as they plan for and address the impacts of extreme

weather events while helping local governments and communities develop the programs, relationships, and capacity needed to catalyze change to support greater community resilience. The public-private partnership was announced last month, along with a set of other new actions announced by the Obama Administration to support vulnerable communities in preparing for the impacts of climate change.

## **Government policy in motivating citizen strategies is key to helping the environment.**

Romolini, Michele. "What Is Urban Environmental Stewardship? Constructing A Practitioner-Derived Framework." United States Department of Agriculture Research Note. 2012. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265622255\\_What\\_Is\\_Urban\\_Environmental\\_Stewardship\\_Constructing\\_a\\_Practitioner-Derived\\_Framework](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265622255_What_Is_Urban_Environmental_Stewardship_Constructing_a_Practitioner-Derived_Framework)>.

Scientific and popular publications highlight many landscape-scale environmental concerns and challenges, particularly in urban areas. The human impacts in such situations are often assumed to be negative. Many ecologists describe human populations as somehow separate from ecosystems, and identify them as the source of negative anthropogenic effects. Yet solutions and remedies for declining ecological systems, particularly in cities, must involve and be integrated with human systems. Government agencies identify and formulate policy to address environmental issues and concerns, but lack adequate resources (particularly in current economic conditions) to comprehensively restore or mitigate environmental systems. Citizen-based stewardship activity is increasingly acknowledged by scientists and policy-makers as a viable strategy to address ecological concerns (Brinkley et al. 2010, Wolf and Kruger 2010). Agencies often endorse stewardship (such as the Puget Sound Partnership and the Environmental Protection Agency's Everyday Choices) as a means to promote and conserve ecosystem health.

## **Mandatory service requirements are effective at increasing participation and civil engagement.**

Brown, Steven Donald. "The Impact Of High School Mandatory Community Service Programs On Subsequent Volunteering And Civic Engagement." Knowledge Development. January, 2007. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/253520018\\_The\\_Impact\\_of\\_High\\_School\\_Mandatory\\_Community\\_Service\\_Programs\\_on\\_Subsequent\\_Volunteering\\_and\\_Civic\\_Engagement](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/253520018_The_Impact_of_High_School_Mandatory_Community_Service_Programs_on_Subsequent_Volunteering_and_Civic_Engagement)>.

Throughout this report, we have sought to answer our initial questions about the effects of high school mandatory community service programs. For the most part, our answers reflect positively on these programs. First, our research suggests that mandating community service in high school draws students into the voluntary sector. With our university-bound population, the magnitude of this effect is significant and substantial. Using students who had not been mandated to volunteer as a comparison group, we estimate that about 20% of students would not freely choose this route. Second, mandating community service in high school does not appear to have "poisoned the well," as some have feared it might. Fifteen months after leaving high school, the students who had been mandated to volunteer in high school were almost indistinguishable from the students who had freely chosen to contribute their time. The high school volunteering experiences of both groups were very similar, and their levels of civic engagement since high school, which we assessed in a variety of ways, were also virtually identical. Third, our research suggests that the impact of high school volunteering on subsequent civic engagement is conditional. Doing any volunteering at all in high school does not have much effect on future civic engagement. Rather, high school volunteering tends to have strong and consistent impacts when it is a positive experience for the student and, almost as consistently, when it involves a sustained commitment to one organization.

## **National Forest Service are backlogged on projects-Corps can help problem solve.**

Huffington Post. "What Cutting AmeriCorps Would Mean For Public Lands." Huffington Post. April 20, 2017. Web. August 25, 2023. <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/what-cutting-ameri-corps-would-mean-for-public-lands\\_us\\_58f8ef12e4b0de26cfeae18b](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/what-cutting-ameri-corps-would-mean-for-public-lands_us_58f8ef12e4b0de26cfeae18b)>.

Our federal land and water management agencies have limited funding and staff capacity. Due to budget cutbacks in recent years, many general upkeep projects have been deferred. As a result, the National Park Service currently has a maintenance backlog totaling close to \$12 billion. The U.S. Forest Service and Fish and Wildlife Service also have backlogs in the billions. Postponing important work threatens the integrity and accessibility of our parks and forests. By partnering with Corps, our resource management agencies can begin to address this issue. A study conducted by the National Park Service found that the agency could save an average of 50 percent or more on project costs by partnering with Corps. What's more, another study showed that virtually all federal land managers would partner with Corps again, citing the work completed by Corps as "good" or "excellent." In other words, Corps enable the Park Service to complete twice as much work for the same amount of money without sacrificing quality. If AmeriCorps is cut, however, most Corps would have drastically fewer participants, and some would cease operation entirely.

**Corps members can help fill the employment holes in conservation divisions.**

Huffington Post. "What Cutting AmeriCorps Would Mean For Public Lands." Huffington Post. April 20, 2017. Web. August 25, 2023. <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/what-cutting-ameri-corps-would-mean-for-public-lands\\_us\\_58f8ef12e4b0de26cfeae18b](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/what-cutting-ameri-corps-would-mean-for-public-lands_us_58f8ef12e4b0de26cfeae18b)>.

By engaging Corps in public lands maintenance, our resource management agencies chip away at the maintenance backlog in an economical fashion and prepare a new generation of skilled job candidates. Over 35 percent of the Department of the Interior's workforce is eligible for retirement. The same is true at the state and local level. Through their service, AmeriCorps members in Corps gain experience and hard skills needed to succeed in resource management jobs in both the public and private sectors. Training a new generation of lands managers and keeping our public lands in top condition is good business. In 2015, visitors spent \$16.9 billion in communities surrounding national parks. This generated \$32 billion in economic impact and supported nearly 300,000 jobs. Every year, America's outdoor recreation industry as a whole generates an estimated \$646 billion and 6.1 million direct jobs. Allowing parks to deteriorate also erodes local economies.

**In 2023 the 4 major federal land management agencies have over 35.53 billion in deferred maintenance projects.**

Congressional Research Service. “Deferred Maintenance Of Federal Land Management Agencies: FY2013-FY2022 Estimates And Issues.” Congressional Research Service. August 08, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R43997>>.

Each of the four major federal land management agencies maintains tens of thousands of diverse assets, including roads, bridges, buildings, and water management structures. These agencies are the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS), National Park Service (NPS), and U.S. Forest Service (FS). Congress and Administrations have continued to focus on the agencies’ deferred maintenance and repair of these assets—in essence, the cost of any maintenance or repair that was not done when it should have been or was scheduled to be done. Deferred maintenance and repair sometimes is called the maintenance backlog. In FY2022, the most recent year for which estimates are available, the four agencies had combined deferred maintenance estimated at \$35.53 billion. This figure includes approximately \$21.09 billion (59%) in deferred maintenance for NPS, \$7.66 billion (22%) for FS, \$4.77 billion (13%) for BLM, and \$2.02 billion (6%) for FWS. Estimates reflect project costs.

## **National service spills over and creates similar acts of service after term ends- research shows.**

[Jeffery L.] [Brudney], Rebecca Nesbit. "At Your Service? Volunteering And National Service In 2020." Public Administration Review. December, 2010. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40984104>>.

A rigorous study by Abt Associates and CNCS (2008) reports the results of a longitudinal analysis of the long-term impact of national service based on more than 2,000 former, full-time AmeriCorps State and National and AmeriCorps National Civilian Community Corps members and a comparison group of individuals who expressed an interest in AmeriCorps but did not enroll in the program. The results of this study show that AmeriCorps alumni were more likely than the comparison group to volunteer after their service ended. They were also more connected to their communities and more likely to feel that they could work with state or local government to meet community needs. Alumni were also more likely than their counterparts to express trust in public officials, to participate in community activities and public meetings, and to express their opinions publicly (Frumkin et al. 2009).

**Past public national service/works projects were able to overhaul existing infrastructure.**

Blitz, Matt. "When America's Infrastructure Saved Democracy." Popular Mechanics. January 23, 2017. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<http://www.popularmechanics.com/technology/infrastructure/a24692/fdr-new-deal-wpa-infrastructure>>.

The establishment of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) by presidential act in 1935 was the crowning jewel of the New Deal. Led by the ambitious and pragmatic Harry Hopkins, the WPA's original intention was to be a jobs program, meant to put millions of people back to work. But with Hopkins at the helm and FDR's support, the WPA became much more. Unlike the majority of PWA and CCC proposals, all WPA projects were requests from local and state governments and had to be submitted for approval. The deal was that the federal government would pick up a big chunk of the project's tab, provided it was of public interest and employed the maximum amount of people. As archivist Bill Creech explains, "The basic idea [was] to use local materials and as much of the out-of-work local workforce as possible." This initially led to small, localized tasks like roads, bridges, schools, community parks, and drainage ditches. But Hopkins believed that the WPA could do more with a workforce that reached nearly 3.2 million by 1938. Oregon's Timberline Lodge, the Riverwalk in San Antonio, and New York's LaGuardia Airport are just a few of the iconic and soaring projects that have come to best exemplify the efforts of the WPA. The overall numbers are staggering. According to statistics compiled in American-Made, the agency covered the U.S. with 650,000 miles of road, built 78,000 bridges, erected 125,000 civilian and military buildings, and constructed or improved 800 airports. More than infrastructure, the laborers of the WPA worked in schools, serving up 900 million hot lunches to hungry children and operated 1,500 nurseries.

## **Infrastructure is the backbone of the country-supports jobs and the economy.**

Puentes , Robert. "Why Infrastructure Matters: Rotten Roads, Bum Economy." Brookings Institute. January 20, 2015. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/why-infrastructure-matters-rotten-roads-bum-economy/>>.

Concrete, steel and fiber-optic cable are the essential building blocks of the economy.

Infrastructure enables trade, powers businesses, connects workers to their jobs, creates opportunities for struggling communities and protects the nation from an increasingly unpredictable natural environment. From private investment in telecommunication systems, broadband networks, freight railroads, energy projects and pipelines, to publicly spending on transportation, water, buildings and parks, infrastructure is the backbone of a healthy economy. It also supports workers, providing millions of jobs each year in building and maintenance. A Brookings Institution analysis Bureau of Labor Statistics data reveals that 14 million people have jobs in fields directly related to infrastructure. From locomotive engineers and electrical power line installers, to truck drivers and airline pilots, to construction laborers and meter readers, infrastructure jobs account for nearly 11 percent of the nation's workforce, offering employment opportunities that have low barriers of entry and are projected to grow over the next decade.

**Good infrastructure can help the environment, reliable mass transit and good transportation systems are key to reducing energy emissions.**

Puentes , Robert. "Why Infrastructure Matters: Rotten Roads, Bum Economy." Brookings Institute. January 20, 2015. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/why-infrastructure-matters-rotten-roads-bum-economy/>>.

Important national goals also depend on it. The economy needs reliable infrastructure to connect supply chains and efficiently move goods and services across borders. Infrastructure connects households across metropolitan areas to higher quality opportunities for employment, healthcare and education. Clean energy and public transit can reduce greenhouse gases. This same economic logic applies to broadband networks, water systems and energy production and distribution. Big demographic and cultural changes, such as the aging and diversification of our society, shrinking households and domestic migration, underscore the need for new transportation and telecommunications to connect people and communities. The percentage of licensed drivers among the young is the lowest in three decades, as more of them use public transit and many others use new services for sharing cars and bikes. The prototypical family of the suburban era, a married couple with school-age children, now represents only 20 percent of households, down from over 40 percent in 1970. Some 55 percent of millennials say living close to public transportation is important to them, according to a recent survey by the Urban Land Institute. Yet unlike Western Europe and parts of Asia, the United States still has a growing population. We've added 25 million people in the past 10 years. This tremendous growth, concentrated in the 50 largest metropolitan areas, will place new demands on already overtaxed infrastructure. Metropolitan areas must be ready to adapt not only to serve millions of new customers but also to help poorer residents, many of whom are jobless, have the best chance possible to find work. A recent Brookings analysis found that only a quarter of jobs in low-skill and middle-skill industries can be reached within 90 minutes

by a typical metropolitan commuter. Successful cities will be those that connect workers to jobs and close the digital divide between high-income and low-income neighborhoods. The White House notes that broadband speeds have doubled since 2009 and that more than four out of five people now have high-speed wireless broadband, adoption rates for low-income and minority households remains low (about 43 and 56 percent, respectively.)

## **Federal government action is necessary for anything to be accomplished in infrastructure.**

Puentes , Robert. "Why Infrastructure Matters: Rotten Roads, Bum Economy." Brookings Institute. January 20, 2015. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/why-infrastructure-matters-rotten-roads-bum-economy/>>.

The federal role should not be exaggerated. American infrastructure is selected, built, maintained, operates and paid for in a diverse and fragmentary fashion. For certain sectors, such as transportation and water, federal spending is relatively high, averaging \$92.15 billion each year from 2000 to 2007. But even there, according to the Congressional Budget Office, Washington's share of spending never topped 27 percent. For other sectors, such as freight rail, telecommunications, and clean energy, the federal role is more limited. So what does all this mean and how are we going to pay for what we need? Roads, bridges and transit must be paid for largely from public funds. Ballot measures have been important for fund raising, particularly at the local level, because general obligation bonds require popular approval. That's how regions and municipalities pay for public transit systems, bridges, road construction, water and sewer improvements and a host of other infrastructure projects. Many cities are following this trend. Those places, especially in Western cities such as Los Angeles, Phoenix and Salt Lake City, are taxing themselves, dedicating substantial local money and effectively contributing to the construction of the nation's infrastructure.

**Programs like the CCC and AmeriCorps show how national infrastructure service could be successful.**

Stone, James. "The Case For Universal National Service." Ed Week. September 13, 2016. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2016/09/14/the-case-for-universal-national-service.html>>.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps was the closest our country has come to accepting this notion. The CCC was voluntary, but at one time arranged for close to 3 million corps members to work in its more than 4,000 camps. They planted something in excess of 3 billion trees and developed many hundreds of parks that remain in full use today. Later came John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps. Like the CCC, it was less than universal. By the late 1960s, at its peak, the Peace Corps had around 15,000 volunteers. When President Bill Clinton established AmeriCorps in 1993, 49 governors offered their bipartisan support to the program's strengthening and reauthorization; today, there are 75,000 AmeriCorps service engagements every year.

**National service comes in a variety of ways but all would be beneficial to infrastructure.**

Stone, James. "The Case For Universal National Service." Ed Week. September 13, 2016. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2016/09/14/the-case-for-universal-national-service.html>>.

My notion of universal national service would call for every young person between the ages of 17 and 22 to perform at least one year of service in an approved field. A second-year re-enlistment would be available on a voluntary basis. The work to which the young people could choose to be assigned would be in one of three areas: "Universal national service offers the only workable answer to the major issues in American education compatible with cultural realities." 1) Military: On the military side, where compensation would almost surely be highest and a two-year enlistment likely required, the need is obvious. The military is one of the most ethnically diverse organizations in the country. Measured by family income, however, the military is far less diverse. The national service program would make it far more so. 2) Infrastructure: Potentially useful work on the maintenance and creation of American infrastructure is not hard to identify. Many young hands could be used to build roads and bridges, assist in hazardous- and solid-waste disposal, assure safe drinking-water supplies, and even revitalize crumbling school facilities. They could also help "green" the economy for independence, efficiency, and sustainability. Strengthening infrastructure represents an investment in future economic prosperity; our parents' and grandparents' generations understood and acknowledged this better than we seem to. 3) Social Services: The opportunities are legion on the social-services side. Service-commitment jobs under the umbrellas of AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, Learn and Serve America, the Peace Corps, Teach For America, and other initiatives are already doing much of what a universal program would encourage-and there is always more to be done. The nexus between universal national service and education may not be obvious at first. However, universal national service offers the only workable answer to the major issues in American education compatible with cultural realities.

The right program would trade service for financing in the case of the college-bound contingent and provide the absent vocational training for those ending their academic training after high school. It would give a boon to the rest of us, in the form of useful military, infrastructure, and social-service enhancements. It would also enhance patriotism and our sense of inclusive common purpose.

## **On the job training programs can be implemented to fix Americas infrastructure.**

Jacoby, Tamar. "Fixing America's Infrastructure Is A Once-in-a-lifetime Opportunity To Build A Better Workforce." LA Times. June 14, 2017. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-jacoby-combing-infrastructure-plan-and-job-training-20170614-story.html>>.

The Obama administration experimented with using federal financial aid to encourage more job training. The Educational Quality through Innovative Partnerships initiative, or EQUIP, allows colleges to partner with nontraditional, unaccredited training providers to offer programs that prepare students for jobs — and allows students to use federal financial aid, loans as well as Pell Grants usually reserved for credit-bearing courses at degree-granting institutions, to pay for the instruction. Tinkering with federal financial aid for education is sure to be controversial, and EQUIP is tiny: just eight sites nationwide, almost all of them computer-coding boot camps or online-education providers. An infrastructure initiative would have to be bigger and bolder. After all, rebuilding America's infrastructure is going to involve hundreds of thousands of workers doing many different kinds of jobs. Here's how it could work in practice: A construction contractor specializing in bridge repair might need to ramp up fast to bid on a contract — and need to hire dozens of welders to get the job done. The company could create an in-house training program, or it could contract out to a union or to a training center affiliated with a contractors association. Programs would combine in-class hours with on-the-job training — like an apprenticeship, only shorter and more focused. Company, union or employer association would offer most or all the instruction but partner with an educational institution — most likely a community college — that would monitor quality and handle the government paperwork. Trainees would learn new skills and earn college credit, along with industry credentials certifying their new skills. The contractor would be responsible for covering part of the cost, including wages for trainees. But the taxpayer would help, just as we help cover the cost of college for many young people — with federal financial aid.

**AmeriCorps is successful in environmental and infrastructure projects.**

Wofford, Harris. "AmeriCorps The Beautiful?" Hoover Institute. September, 1996. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://www.hoover.org/research/americorps-beautiful>>.

AmeriCorps members help solve problems. According to partial results from a study by Aguirre Associates, an independent consulting firm, 1,353 AmeriCorps members in 12 states restored 24 beaches, enhanced 338 miles of river banks, planted 200,000 trees, constructed 440 dams, and cleaned up 139 neighborhoods. In all, they estimated these Corps members working on environmental issues in those states "affected the lives" of 469,000 people. Three separate independent evaluations of the cost-benefit ratio of the program predict measurable returns between \$1.54 and \$2.60 for every AmeriCorps dollar invested. Each study concluded that AmeriCorps's full value is understated because the benefits of safer streets, better schools, stronger communities, and more active citizens are difficult to quantify and not seen immediately. The high return is part of the reason that more than 600 companies -- from Microsoft to G.E. to local grocers -- have supported local AmeriCorps programs. Stanley Litow, an officer of the IBM International Foundation, summed up his company's satisfaction by stating, "IBM expects a return on investment, and it bases its funding decisions on demonstrable results... This program works."

\*Ellipsis from source

**AmeriCorps programs have a 3:1 return on dollar invested in stipends.**

Fournier, Ron. "How Obama And Congress Failed AmeriCorps, And Failed America Again." The Atlantic. August 01, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/08/how-obama-and-congress-failed-ameri-corps-and-failed-america-again/461322>>.

Founded in 1994 and operated by the Corporation for National and Community Service, AmeriCorps includes several service programs that pay volunteers stipends. Those programs include Teach for America, City Year and Vista. (Disclosure: My daughter was a City Year volunteer in Detroit.) At a time of high unemployment and slow economic growth, non-profit organizations are having trouble meeting people's needs. A 2012 survey by the NonProfit Finance Fund showed that 85 percent of organizations serving the needy expect an increase in demand for their services. Yet only 40 percent can meet the needs, the survey showed, due to a lack of workers. For every federal dollar invested, national service members deliver as much as \$3 of services. By refusing to fund AmeriCorps, Congress is missing a chance to engage Millennials who are volunteering in record numbers. AmeriCorps alone received more than 582,000 applications in 2011, a 62 percent increase over 2009. That means a half-million young Americans are being turned away.

**AmeriCorps is good at working on a local level-it filters into other charities.**

Wofford, Harris. "AmeriCorps The Beautiful?" Hoover Institute. September, 1996. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://www.hoover.org/research/americorps-beautiful>>.

. Some conservatives argue that even if the charitable sector has limits, governmental solutions will only make matters worse. "Paying" AmeriCorps members, the argument goes, subverts the idea of volunteerism -- labor given for love, not money. In an article for the January-February 1996 issue of Policy Review, John Walters of the New Citizenship Project argued that AmeriCorps's "very premise -- using federal resources to promote voluntarism -- contradicts the principle of self government that lies at the heart of citizenship." Paid volunteerism, he wrote, would sap the strength of the nonprofit sector at precisely the moment when it most needs to flourish. This argument ignores the experience of the past two years. Many of America's most respected nonprofits, from Big Brothers/Big Sisters to the YMCA to the American Red Cross, participate in and staunchly support AmeriCorps. A year ago, leaders of 24 volunteer groups wrote that AmeriCorps is an "enormously beneficial addition to the traditional voluntary sector. This program has not undermined our position, rather it has enhanced our efforts and strengthened our institutions." To understand why, consider the case of Habitat for Humanity, one of the most successful faith-based volunteer groups. The founder, Millard Fuller, was wary of any involvement with AmeriCorps precisely because he feared a government program would distort the religious nature of his effort. But on the urging of his board, Habitat brought in some AmeriCorps members.

**AmeriCorps can help address public health needs.**

AmeriCorps. “AmeriCorps And CDC Award \$90 Million To Public Health AmeriCorps Programs.”

AmeriCorps. April 25, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://americorps.gov/newsroom/press-release/americorps-cdc-award-90-million-public-health-americorps-programs>>.

Public Health AmeriCorps grants help communities address broader public health needs that have been revealed or exacerbated by the pandemic, including mental health, preventive care and more. The program builds on expertise, best practices and lessons learned from existing AmeriCorps, CDC and other public health programs. “In order to ensure we have a public health workforce that truly serves American communities, we need many diverse career pathways that lead from those communities to public health,” said Leslie Ann Dauphin, PhD, director, CDC’s National Center for State, Tribal, Local, and Territorial Public Health Infrastructure and Workforce. “AmeriCorps helps us recruit and train public health workers that might not have previously considered a career in public health.” Public Health AmeriCorps is an example of a whole-of-government approach to address the nation’s most pressing challenges. The partnership between AmeriCorps and the CDC leverages the expertise of both agencies, capitalizing on AmeriCorps’ experience managing some of the most prominent public service and workforce development programs in the nation while benefitting from CDC’s technical expertise as the country’s leading public health agency.?

**Money isn't the problem finding workers is.**

Yang, Mary. "Where Did The Workers Go? Construction Jobs Are Plentiful, But Workers Are Scarce." NPR. April 06, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.npr.org/2023/04/06/1158576556/where-did-the-workers-go-construction-jobs-are-plentiful-but-workers-are-scarce>>.

When President Biden inked the \$1 trillion deal to give roads, bridges and transit systems a boost, union officials and business leaders said a large scale investment in infrastructure was long overdue. But nearly a year and a half later, and about a third of the way through the funding's lifetime, economists and hiring managers point out that all that infrastructure money won't do any good if there aren't enough people qualified to do the work. Where have all the workers gone? The construction industry faces a dire labor shortage. The number of construction job openings jumped by 129,000 in February, even as hiring decreased by 18,000, according to a report from the Labor Department released Tuesday. Sponsor Message That stands in contrast to the overall job market, where total job openings dipped to 9.9 million in February (down 632,000 from January). Even with more money to repair rundown roads and build new bridges, worker shortages loom over an industry already strapped for people. And, with fewer workers, projects could take longer to complete, becoming more expensive as they drag on.

**AFF: Peace Corps AC**

This is an option if you'd like to read a plan. The advantages should isolate important missions of the Peace Corps that will not succeed unless more people get involved, and your solvency has to do with why only compulsory service will solve. The other impact area is soft power. This is power gained from good will missions that the Peace Corps operates. This power is often considered to be the power to influence other countries without threats. This aff needs a good solvency story to beat the counterplans that just incentivize volunteering. Otherwise none of the aff's offense justifies compulsion. You'd have to read evidence that not enough people will join the Peace Corps on their own volition, even with incentives, and that there are benefits to involving everybody in this service. This should either be read with a utilitarian framework or can be read with a cosmopolitanism framework.

The cosmopolitan version of this aff would be interesting. Your argument would be that US citizens have an obligation to assist people in need overseas, as borders are arbitrary and we have to prioritize our obligations to humanity. This aff would be great against a team that loves to read the citizenship K, as you'd argue that your version of citizenship via national service is extraordinarily consistent with the alt. We have not provided that evidence within the novice brief as it may be a bit too complicated but if you think you're ready to take the next step feel free to incorporate that evidence into the case.

The negative has 2 options for response. This first is that the mandatory nature of service required by the resolution undermines the Peace Corps operations. These arguments are fairly well warranted with empirical examples from the field. The other route negatives can take is arguing against soft power. Evidence for both tactics have been provided.

**Peace Corps is key to HIV/AIDS and malaria prevention in Africa.**

McCain, John. "Expand Opportunities For Young Americans To Serve Their Country." CNN.

August 10, 2015. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<http://www.cnn.com/2015/08/10/opinions/mccain-mcchrystal-national-service-legislation/index.html>>.

Today's youth are serving our nation in remarkable ways -- overseas in our military and here at home in communities across the country. They are in inner-city schools teaching through AmeriCorps programs such as Teach for America; assisting with hurricane and other natural-disaster relief through FEMA Corps; and working on HIV/AIDS and malaria prevention in Africa through the Peace Corps. But much more needs to be done. National service is an issue that political leaders on both sides of the aisle -- from President Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps during the Great Depression to President George W. Bush's USA Freedom Corps after 9/11 -- have embraced and promoted.

**Peace Corps is effective--it's not too bureaucratic--Peace Corps trains people to effectively collaborate with locals.**

Robinson, Holly. "Is The Peace Corps Still Relevant." WBUR. September 28, 2016. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://www.wbur.org/cognoscenti/2016/09/28/peace-corps-in-the-21st-century-holly-robinson>>.

The arguments against the relevance of the Peace Corps are similar in nature to what you might hear in opposition to other international aid projects: there's not enough accountability, and there is too much governmental red tape for volunteers to be effective. I disagree with all of these points now that I've seen the Peace Corps in action. In Senegal, most of the projects being implemented by Peace Corps volunteers are collaborative efforts with the local people. Each volunteer has a counterpart from the host country, and the organization trains them both to do the jobs they're given. The organization's fiscal budget for 2016 was about \$410 million — a pittance, compared to most organizations. Some wonder whether the Peace Corps is still relevant now that all countries produce their own skilled college graduates and everyone is connected by technology. But there are skills that American college graduates have that are still needed, and the Peace Corps trains their volunteers in the specific skills and languages they'll need for their sites. It's true that even people in the remote villages of Senegal have cell phones, but there is no substitute for person-to-person communication.

**Peace Corps is key to promoting understanding between nations.**

Robinson, Holly. "Is The Peace Corps Still Relevant." WBUR. September 28, 2016. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://www.wbur.org/cognoscenti/2016/09/28/peace-corps-in-the-21st-century-holly-robinson>>.

In an age when religion, refugees, terrorism, and nationalism are such hot button political issues, living in a foreign culture, and truly becoming part of it, is the surest way to promote understanding between nations. The people we met in Senegal constantly reminded us, through words and gestures, that my daughter (and, by extension, us, her American family) are welcome. What little they had to offer — a shade tree, a cup of raw milk, a bowl of rice — they offered to share, always asking, "Is your family in peace?"

## **Peace Corps key to expanding U.S. soft power –helps decrease anti-American sentiment.**

Palmer, Matthew T. "U.S. Peace Corps: An Effective Public Diplomacy Strategy In Critical Global States." December, 2020. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://shareok.org/handle/11244/329969>>.

This study finds that the Peace Corps meets public diplomacy objectives of shaping and improving positive opinions of the U.S. among the international partners in which they serve. Based on OLS, probit, and logistics regressions, results indicate that Peace Corps volunteers contribute to increased U.S. soft power potential as evident in increasing positive attitudes toward the U.S among participating states at rates that are statistically significant. Based on these findings, the decision to indefinitely withdraw Peace Corps programming from China suggests a poor leveraging of U.S. soft power potential. Regression analysis also indicates that the act of exiting a program adversely affects the favorability of the U.S. among that state's population, further decreasing positive attitudes. The introduction of the Peace Corps Mission Accountability Act (2019), if enforced, will likely result in the reduction of U.S. soft power in countries that are determined to be adversarial by the Secretary of State. Adversarial states that do not pose health, safety, or security risks to participating Peace Corps volunteers, however, may pose the highest need and opportunity for improving U.S. favorability. The Peace Corps must determine the best means of allocating scarce resources to effectively meet their mission as well as the broader interests of the U.S. 72 government. Seeking out partnerships among states that are less favorable will pose increased opportunities toward improving a foreign audience's opinion of the U.S. As global tensions rise, the Peace Corps and similar public diplomacy programs will continue to gain relevancy. During historical periods of heightened global confrontation, Peace Corps volunteers often questioned their role in larger U.S. objectives, having envisioned themselves during wartime as "the smile on the face of the imperial American tiger" (Meisler, 2012, p. xi). Rooted in a looming war with the USSR, the organization has always sought to serve larger U.S. interests. The first director of the Peace

Corps, Sargent Shriver understood the importance of building partnerships that serve both the international community and the U.S. During the Cold War, Shriver's emphasis on opening programs in 'non-aligned nations' or those states that did not ally with either the U.S. or USSR reveals the need for strategic friendship building globally (Meisler, 2012). Limiting the potential of Peace Corps partnerships to states that demonstrate favorability may effectively sustain those relationships but stunts the agency's potential for growth as it aims to ensure global stability in a rapidly changing and dynamic global landscape. A post-9/11 environment and increases in anti-Americanism demonstrates the crucial need to generate positive narratives and favorable attitudes toward the United States. While the Peace Corps may require adaptation in its approach to resource allocation, future program exits and entries, as well as targeting audiences critical to U.S. interests, its fundamental role as a public diplomacy strategy remains increasingly applicable. The measurable and positive impact of their operations on favorability demonstrates their capacity to effectively serve the needs of the U.S. government in their public diplomacy efforts.

**Leveraging effective US soft power is key to prevent a laundry list of existential scenarios, including terrorism, disease, proliferation, alliances and genocide.**

Lagon, Mark. "The Value Of Values: Soft Power Under Obama." World Affairs Journal.

September, 2011. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/wrldaf174&div=37&id=&page=>>.

Despite large economic challenges, two protracted military expeditions, and the rise of China, India, Brazil, and other new players on the international scene, the United States still has an unrivaled ability to confront terrorism, nuclear proliferation, financial instability, pandemic disease, mass atrocity, or tyranny. Although far from omnipotent, the United States is still, as former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright called it, "the indispensable nation." Soft power is crucial to sustaining and best leveraging this role as catalyst. That President Obama should have excluded it from his vision of America's foreign policy assets—particularly in the key cases of Iran, Russia, and Egypt—suggests that he feels the country has so declined, not only in real power but in the power of example, that it lacks the moral authority to project soft power. In the 1970s, many also considered the US in decline as it grappled with counterinsurgency in faraway lands, a crisis due to economic stagnation, and reliance on foreign oil. Like Obama, Henry Kissinger tried to manage decline in what he saw as a multipolar world, dressing up prescriptions for policy as descriptions of immutable reality. In the 1980s, however, soft power played a crucial part in a turnaround for US foreign policy. Applying it, President Reagan sought to transcend a nuclear balance of terror with defensive technologies, pushed allies in the Cold War (e.g., El Salvador, Chile, Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines) to liberalize for their own good, backed labor movements opposed to Communists in Poland and Central America, and called for the Berlin Wall to be torn down—over Foggy Bottom objections. This symbolism not only boosted the perception and the reality of US influence, but also hastened the demise of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. For Barack Obama, this was the path not taken. Even the

Arab Spring has not cured his acute allergy to soft power. His May 20, 2011, speech on the Middle East and Northern Africa came four months after the Jasmine Revolution emerged. His emphasis on 1967 borders as the basis for Israeli-Palestinian peace managed to eclipse even his broad words (vice deeds) on democracy in the Middle East. Further, those words failed to explain his deeds in continuing to support some Arab autocracies (e.g., Bahrain's, backed by Saudi forces) even as he gives tardy rhetorical support for popular forces casting aside other ones. To use soft power without hard power is to be Sweden. To use hard power without soft power is to be China. Even France, with its long commitment to realpolitik, has overtaken the United States as proponent and implementer of humanitarian intervention in Libya and Ivory Coast. When the American president has no problem with France combining hard and soft power better than the United States, something is seriously amiss.

**Soft power is key to international cooperation – that solves disease, terrorism, and warming.**

Nye, Joseph S. "Security And Smart Power." American Behavioral Sciences. May, 2008. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0002764208316228>>.

Etzioni is correct that a successful policy of security first will require the combination of hard and soft power. Combining the two instruments so that they reinforce rather than undercut each other is crucial to success. Power is the ability to get the outcomes one wants. In the past, it was assumed that military power dominated most issues, but in today's world, the contexts of power differ greatly on military, economic, and transnational issues. These latter problems, including everything from climate change to pandemics to transnational terrorism, pose some of the greatest challenges we face today, and yet few are susceptible to purely military solutions. The only way to grapple with these problems is through cooperation with others, and that requires smart power—a strategy that combines the soft power of attraction with the hard power of coercion. For example, American and British intelligence agencies report that our use of hard power in Iraq without sufficient attention to soft power has increased rather than reduced the number of Islamist terrorists throughout the past 5 years. The soft power of attraction will not win over the hard core terrorists but it is essential in winning the hearts and minds of mainstream Muslims, without whose support success will be impossible in the long term. Yet all the polling evidence suggests that American soft power has declined dramatically in the Muslim world. There is no simple military solution that will produce the outcomes we want. Etzioni is clear on this and highly critical of the failure to develop a smart power strategy in Iraq. One wishes, however, that he had spent a few more pages developing one for Iran.

**Soft power key to stop terrorism.**

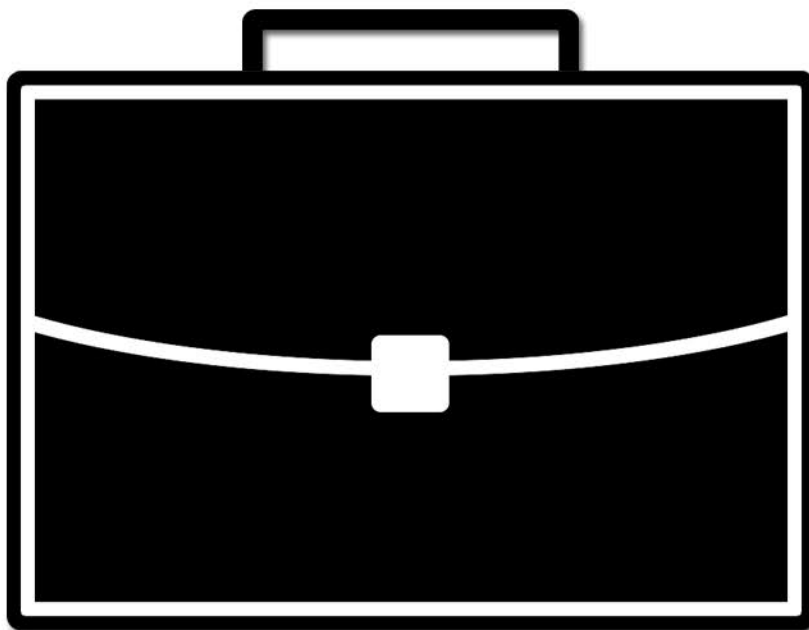
Nye , Joseph. "U.S. Power And Strategy After Iraq." Foreign Affairs. July, 2003. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20033649>>.

THE WILLINGNESS of other countries to cooperate in dealing with transnational issues such as terrorism depends in part on their own self-interest, but also on the attractiveness of American positions. Soft power lies in the ability to attract and persuade rather than coerce. It means that others want what the United States wants, and there is less need to use carrots and sticks. Hard power, the ability to coerce, grows out of a country's military and economic might. Soft power arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. When U.S. policies appear legitimate in the eyes of others, American soft power is enhanced. Hard power will always remain crucial in a world of nation-states guarding their independence, but soft power will become increasingly important in dealing with the transnational issues that require multilateral cooperation for their solution.

# Champion Briefs

## Novice Topic 2023

### Lincoln-Douglas Brief



Affirmative Responses  
to Negative Cases

## A/2: Korsgaard NC

**Even if agency is inescapable, that is not a reason we care about its importance.**

Enoch, David. "Agency, Shmagency." *The Philosophical Review*. 2006. Web. August 26, 2023.  
<[https://www.jstor.org/stable/20446897?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/20446897?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)>.

For agents need not care about their qualifications as agents, or whether some of their bodily movements count as actions. They can, it seems, be perfectly happy being shmagents – non-agent things that lack the thing purportedly constitutive of agency, but that are as similar to agents as is otherwise possible – or perhaps being something else altogether. If so, constitutivism cannot make good on its promises: For when [the] Korsgaard repl[y]ies to the agent who asks, say, "Why should I care about the hypothetical and categorical imperatives?" with "Well, [is because] otherwise you wouldn't even count as an agent, you wouldn't even be in the game of performing actions.", the skeptic can discard this reply with a simple "So-what?". What is it to her, as it were, if she qualifies as an agent or not? She would be analogous not to the chess-player who asks why she should play according to the rules, but to someone who enjoys the aesthetic qualities of (what we call) the chess board and pieces. If we tell this person that he must not move his king to a certain position because it's against the rules, and if he breaks them he won't count as playing chess, he can shrug us off with a simple "So-what?". He doesn't care whether his manipulation of the chess pieces qualifies as chess-playing. And at this point the objectivity Velleman hopes for also collapses, because the practical reasons whose objectivity Velleman wants to secure will not reach the person who is happy being a shamgent-rather-than-an-agent, or perhaps something else entirely. The general point here is that the status of being constitutive of agency does not suffice for a normatively non-arbitrary status.

**We have no internal motivation to be an agent rendering rationality self-defeating.**

Enoch, David. "Agency, Shmagency." The Philosophical Review. 2006. Web. August 26, 2023.  
<[https://www.jstor.org/stable/20446897?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/20446897?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)>.

Suppose you somehow find (when) yourself playing chess (or, if we are going to be tententiously picky about what qualifies as actually playing chess, seemingly playing chess), but you do not care about the game and about who wins, nor do you have any reason so to care. It seems rather clear to me that you have no reason whatsoever to attempt to checkmate your opponent. And if a meta-normative (or metachess) theorist then comes along, explain(s)ing to you that attempting to checkmate your opponent is constitutive of the game of chess, so that unless you engage in such attempts (without it) your activity will not be classifiable as chess playing, it seems to me you are perfectly justified in treating this information as (is) normatively irrelevant. After all, what is it to you how your activity is best classified? If you have no reason to be playing chess, then that some aim is constitutive of playing chess gives you no reason at all, it seems to me, to pursue it, and this whether or not you are in fact playing chess. (Analogously: If you have no reason to be building a house, then that some standard is constitutive of being a house gives you no reason at all to measure up to it, and this whether or not you are in fact building a house.

**The aim of being an agent is nonuniversalizable which fails to generate a normative obligation to follow the principle of agency.**

Enoch, David. "Agency, Shmagency." *The Philosophical Review*. 2006. Web. August 26, 2023.  
<[https://www.jstor.org/stable/20446897?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/20446897?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)>.

Perhaps I cannot be classified as an agent without aiming to constitute myself. But why should I be an agent? Perhaps I can't act without aiming at self-constitution, but why should I act? If your reasoning works, this just shows that I don't care about agency and action. I am perfectly happy being a shmagent- a non-agent who is very similar to agents but who lacks the aim (constitutive of agency but not of shmagency) of self-constitution. I am perfectly happy performing shmactions-non-action events that are very similar to actions but that lack the aim (constitutive of actions but not of shmactions) of self constitution." Has Korsgaard put us in a better spot vis-a-vis this why-be-an-agent (rather than a shmagent) problem than we were vis-a-vis the why-be-moral or why-be-rational challenges with which we-or at least Korsgaard-started? Consider again the example of the house and the shoddy builder, and suppose we manage to convince him that certain standards-standards he previously did not care about and regularly failed to measure up to-are constitutive of being a house. It seems he is entitled to respond: "Very well then, I guess I am not engaging in the project of building a house but rather in the project of building a shmouse, of which these standards aren't constitutive. At times Korsgaard writes as if she thinks no such retort-either in the house case or in the metaethical or metanormative case-is possible. In Lewis's (1996, 60) terms, at times Korsgaard writes as if she believes that the threat that your inner (and outer) states will fail to deserve folk-theoretical names (such as "action") is indeed a threat that will strike terror into the hearts of the wicked.<sup>25</sup> But no support is offered for this surprising claim. And notice that Korsgaard's problem here is not merely that the skeptic is unlikely to be convinced by such a maneuver. The problem runs deeper than that because the skeptic should not be convinced.<sup>26</sup> However strong or weak the reasons that apply to him and require that he be moral, surely they do not become stronger when he realizes that unless he complies with morality his bodily movements

will not be adequately described as actions. Notice that the problem is not that action does not have a constitutive aim, or that there are no motives and capacities constitutive of agency. Indeed, I am here granting these claims for the sake of argument. Nor is the problem that such constitutive aims, motives, and capacities are philosophically uninteresting. For all I am about to say, they may be able to explain much that is philosophically important as well as interesting.<sup>27</sup> The problem is just that it is hard to see how the constitutivist strategy can serve to ground normativity or to solve the meta-normative problems it was supposed to solve.

## In communities' people aren't ever 'forced' they yield to actions to accept communal benefits.

Gauthier, David. "Morals By Agreement." 1986. Web. August 26, 2023.

<[https://books.google.com/books?id=rH\\_h\\_Pb28\\_oC&pg=PA9&lpg=PA9&dq=Morals+by+agreement+offer+a+contractarian+rationale+for+distinguishing+what+one+may+and+may+not+do.+Moral+principles+are+introduced+as+the+objects+of+fully+voluntary+ex+ante+agreement+among+rational+persons&source=bl&ots=e8z6YuTNmA&sig=ACfU3U3EgeVmXhba8YpFUCE7MmEcvgRkBA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwirlvuFxPmAAxVtADQIHctjApwQ6AF6BAgGEAM#v=onepage&q=Morals%20by%20agreement%20offer%20a%20contractarian%20rationale%20for%20distinguishing%20what%20one%20may%20and%20may%20not%20do.%20Moral%20principles%20are%20introduced%20as%20the%20objects%20of%20fully%20voluntary%20ex%20ante%20agreement%20among%20rational%20persons&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=rH_h_Pb28_oC&pg=PA9&lpg=PA9&dq=Morals+by+agreement+offer+a+contractarian+rationale+for+distinguishing+what+one+may+and+may+not+do.+Moral+principles+are+introduced+as+the+objects+of+fully+voluntary+ex+ante+agreement+among+rational+persons&source=bl&ots=e8z6YuTNmA&sig=ACfU3U3EgeVmXhba8YpFUCE7MmEcvgRkBA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwirlvuFxPmAAxVtADQIHctjApwQ6AF6BAgGEAM#v=onepage&q=Morals%20by%20agreement%20offer%20a%20contractarian%20rationale%20for%20distinguishing%20what%20one%20may%20and%20may%20not%20do.%20Moral%20principles%20are%20introduced%20as%20the%20objects%20of%20fully%20voluntary%20ex%20ante%20agreement%20among%20rational%20persons&f=false)>.

The institutions and practices of society play a coordinative role. Let us say, without attempting a precise definition, that a practice is coordinative if each person prefers to conform to it provided (most) others do, but prefers not to conform to it provided (most) others do not.<sup>19</sup> And let us say that a practice is beneficially coordinative if each person prefers that others conform to it rather than conform to no practice, and does not (strongly) prefer that others conform to some alternative practice. Hume's example, of two persons rowing a boat that neither can row alone, is a very simple example of a beneficially coordinative practice.<sup>20</sup> Each prefers to row if the other rows, and not to row if the other does not. And each prefers the other to row than to act in some alternative way. It is worth noting that a coordinative practice need not be beneficial. Among peaceable persons, who regard weapons only as instruments of defence, each may prefer to be armed provided (most) others are, and not armed provided (most) others are not. Being armed is a coordinative practice but not a beneficial one; each prefers others not to be armed. The coordinative advantages of society are not to be underestimated. But not all beneficial social practices are coordinative. Let us say that a

practice is beneficial if each person prefers that (almost) everyone conform to it rather than that (most) persons conform to no practice, and does not (strongly) prefer that (almost) everyone conform to some alternative practice. Yet it may be the case that each person prefers not to conform to the practice if (most) others do. In a community in which tax funds are spent reasonably wisely, each person may prefer that almost everyone pay taxes rather than not, and yet may prefer not to pay taxes herself whatever others do. For the payments each person makes contribute negligibly to the benefits she receives. In such a community persons will pay taxes voluntarily only if each accepts some constraint on her pursuit of individual interest; otherwise, each will pay taxes only if coerced, whether by public opinion or by public authority.

## A/2: Constitutionality NC

### **Mandatory national service is constitutional.**

Bridgeland, John. "Will America Embrace National Service?" The Brookings Institution. October, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023.

<[https://hasbrouck.org/draft/FOIA/NationalService\\_FullText\\_Clean.pdf](https://hasbrouck.org/draft/FOIA/NationalService_FullText_Clean.pdf)>.

Instead, recognize that even judges willing to take such pro-service arguments and evidence at face value, and even jurists ready to stipulate that massive and positive social and civic benefits flow from such programs, are unlikely to attach much importance to a given program's real or perceived pro-social and pro-civic benefits when deciding whether it violates the 13th Amendment's prohibition on "involuntary servitude." Rather, the courts have hitherto focused far more on the nature of the work itself—the amount of work required, the conditions under which the work is to be performed, and so forth. The federal judiciary has long recognized that national defense against foreign enemies and combatants is a core and compelling state interest. By the same token, federal judges have recognized that military service may require an individual, whether conscripted or recruited, to do work that is extremely demanding, dangerous, and discomfiting, up to and including risking loss of life. With respect to non-military service mandates, however, the court have yet to sort out the conditions, if any, under which mandated civilian service that involves more than incidental or trivial work-related hardships (for example, a government-subsidized program assigning a mild asthmatic to his or her "second choice" city for a job that exposes him or her to marginally greater air pollution) passes constitutional muster. On the one hand, while mandatory civilian national service remains a type of labor distinct from the labor the amendment was ratified to prevent, and while mandatory, non-military service still does not fit neatly into any of the specifically constitutional categories the Court has utilized in its 13th Amendment jurisprudence. On the other hand, mandatory national service so structured as to avoid unduly burdening the citizen with work that is unreasonably demanding, dangerous, and discomfiting, that wantonly deprives the

citizen-conscript of his or her otherwise protected and freely enjoyed civil rights and civil liberties, offers job options and choices, and is dedicated to a critical public purpose, would likely prove constitutional.

**Constitutional rights are not, and cannot, be absolute.**

Hale, Michael. "Even The Constitution Isn't Absolute." The Advocate. May 05, 2013. Web.

August 24, 2023. <[https://www.theadvocate.com/baton\\_rouge/opinion/letters/even-the-constitution-isn-t-absolute/article\\_010739d7-2d88-5c34-9ce2-35dc4b57815e.html](https://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/opinion/letters/even-the-constitution-isn-t-absolute/article_010739d7-2d88-5c34-9ce2-35dc4b57815e.html)>.

Karl Duckworth's letter of April 26 shows that his view of "the rule of law" is myopic at best. I think that it is vital that everyone understand a very basic constitutional concept that is apparently not widely taught. Here it is: there is no such thing as an absolute right. Our Constitution does not protect any action by anyone unconditionally. Duckworth cites what he refers to as "eloquent" language in the Second Amendment that absolutely prevents the government from taking any action to stop anyone from having whatever weapon or ammunition they desire. This view indicates a total lack of understanding of our Constitution, its history and its interpretation by our courts. There is other "eloquent" language in our Bill of Rights that also sounds absolute. The First Amendment says that Congress shall pass "no law" abridging the freedom of speech, but there are all kinds of laws that prohibit or limit speech. You can't defame someone. You can't give a speech in a Wal-Mart parking lot without Wal-Mart's permission. Even if you want to speak in a public place, you generally have to get a permit. You can't incite a riot. Judges place gag rules on trial participants every day. We all know that you can't falsely yell "fire!" in a crowded theater. Our courts decided long ago that, even though the First Amendment says "no law," reasonable laws can be passed that regulate the time, place and manner of speech or that limit speech in order to protect other interests, such as public safety. The same is true of our Second Amendment rights. Laws can be passed that work to keep weapons out of the hands of criminals and lunatics. Although our courts have sometimes overturned broad weapon bans, background checks and other reasonable limits on the availability of weapons or ammunition are necessary, proper and undoubtedly constitutional.

**Mandatory national service can withstand Constitutional scrutiny.**

Pauwels, Andrew. "Mandatory National Service: Creating Generations Of Civic Minded Citizens." Notre Dame Law Review. June 01, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1684&context=ndlr>>.

Using these limitations as guidance, a system of mandatory national service is clearly a close constitutional call under the Thirteenth Amendment's prohibition of involuntary servitude. Mandatory service is a type of labor distinct from the labor the amendment was ratified to prevent. However, it does not fit neatly into any of the specifically constitutional categories the Supreme Court has addressed. The closest issue is what the Second Circuit refers to as "ruthlessness." If a balancing test is employed, weighing conditions of work against volume of work, mandatory service should survive scrutiny. The draft was a novel concept at the time it was first adopted, and it has become so entrenched in our history that the Supreme Court has refused to hear further challenges as to its legitimacy. The power of the federal government is broad, allowing for adaptive measures to meet the evolving demands of an ever-changing world. One need look no further for a testament to this than the Supreme Court's recent health care decision.<sup>214</sup> While one cannot say definitively either way, a program of mandatory service, so structured as to avoid the pitfalls discussed above, could survive scrutiny under the Thirteenth Amendment.

## **Mandatory national service is Constitutional so long as it is not onerous or exploitative.**

Pauwels, Andrew. "Mandatory National Service: Creating Generations Of Civic Minded Citizens." Notre Dame Law Review. June 01, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1684&context=ndlr>>.

Finally, Congress could create a program requiring all Americans to perform a minimum term of civilian service independent of the infrastructure of the pre-existing selective service system. There are reasons to separate military and civilian conscription. From a philosophical standpoint, opposition to war or the buildup of the military industrial complex might lead one to desire severing a service from the military, so that the civilian program could be expanded while the military is contracted. In addition, military leaders may want to continue to operate with an all-volunteer army. Pragmatically, military training costs a great deal, and military leaders want to reap the longest return from this investment. Thus, with an all-volunteer army, the military is likely able to secure longer commitments.<sup>198</sup> A program of compulsory service devoid of any connection to the military presents a wholly novel question of constitutional law: The "public need" exception, discussed in the conscientious objector cases, has never been applied to a full-scale national service requirement which was not related to the military .... None of the other non-military requirements have involved anything remotely comparable to the commitment that a fullscale national service project would require. Moreover, the language in the decisions ... suggests that a public service requirement must be "traditional" ELLIPSIS.<sup>199</sup> Charles Black, writing two decades earlier, concluded that such a program would be constitutionally dubious.<sup>200</sup> The trio of circuit court decisions<sup>201</sup> from the 1990s addressing the issue of community service graduation requirements can be looked to for additional clarity, as these cases fill some of the doctrinal gaps left open in attempting to analogize to the conscientious objector cases. Community service programs fall outside both the "public need" in times of war exception as the courts have addressed it<sup>202</sup> as well as outside the "traditional civic duties" exception as characterized by cases such as *Butler v. Perry*.<sup>203</sup> The circuits upheld

the community service programs, but provided three warnings regarding the validity under the Thirteenth Amendment which lend clarity to this discussion.<sup>204</sup> First, the Third Circuit in *Steirer* upheld the service requirement, but refused to follow the lower court's reasoning that service requirements can be justified solely on the grounds that the program provides for "the public, and not private, interest and benefit."<sup>205</sup> Essential to the court's analysis was not the benefit received by the public, but the "stark differences" between what the students were required to do and what the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified to eliminate. From the outset, the Supreme Court has held that involuntary servitude incorporates "those forms of compulsory labor akin to African slavery which in practical operation would tend to produce like undesirable results."<sup>206</sup> While the "general spirit"<sup>207</sup> of the phrase fails to definitively answer the question, it provides the context in which advocates of compulsory service should present the program, whether before the courts, Congress, or the American people. Such a program would bear little resemblance to the institution of African slavery. Presumably, any such program would include job training, provide minimal health, salary, and living benefits, and be aimed towards broad public ends. Additionally, it should be noted that such service is much more akin to—though much broader in scope than—the constitutionally valid "traditional" civic duty exceptions<sup>208</sup> than it is to slavery. Second, in *Immediato*, the Second Circuit indicated an inclination to find the program unconstitutional under the Thirteenth Amendment if it became "ruthless" in terms of volume of work and conditions in which the work is to be done.<sup>209</sup> The court provided little insight as to what constituted ruthless volume, only finding the conditions at issue to be "hardly onerous" and the forty hour requirement over four years to not be severe; the court did indicate approval as well of the options students had in terms of where and how to serve.<sup>210</sup> Arguments could be made that mandatory service reaches a "ruthless" volume; any such program would mandate full-time service for a period of time, probably one or two years, amounting to a significant portion of a young person's life. Perhaps the "ruthlessness" could be tempered by allowing flexibility in terms of when to serve.<sup>211</sup> The conditions would clearly not be "ruthless" if some sort of living stipend and other benefits, like training, were provided. Choice between types of service, based on interest and qualification, would further temper the onerousness of the conditions. Further, the Second Circuit did not

indicate as to how these factors would be weighed against each other; it is possible that, despite a high volume of hours, conditions could be such as to not create a ruthless environment. Finally, the Second Circuit warned against exploitative service programs.<sup>212</sup> In light of the somewhat ridiculous example the court provided— basically, high school students performing personal chores for teachers<sup>213</sup>— this limitation is not much of one. Proponents of mandatory service simply must avoid exploitation or the appearance of exploitation. In the national service context, this would seem to encompass anything from the ridiculous—chores for Congressmen—to the slightly more realistic—assigning of volunteers to states/jurisdictions as some sort of political favor. By relying on existing national structures—AmeriCorps and the National Parks, to name only two, as well as various private organizations—to place volunteers in legitimate service opportunities, this concern should be easy to avoid.

\*Ellipsis from source

**Mandatory national service is constitutional---service is not servitude.**

Satz, Debra. "In Defense Of A Mandatory Public Service Requirement." Royal Institute of Philosophy. April 04, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/royal-institute-of-philosophy-supplements/article/abs/in-defense-of-a-mandatory-public-service-requirement/6295E214BDB0127926A83D37C34918AB>>.

This is an important concern, that relates to how we see our relationship with government and with one another. But I think we should reject Friedman's too quick analogy between a service obligation and servitude. [FOOTNOTE 5 BEGINS] In 1918, the Supreme Court held in *Arver v United States* that the Thirteenth Amendment is compatible with the existence of a military draft. [FOOTNOTE ENDS] A service obligation is delimited in time and it is also delimited in scope. Serving my country doesn't mean, for example, that I can't speak up against it. Nor is this a one-sided arrangement: citizens reap many benefits from living in society, benefits that would not be possible without society (e.g., rule of law). Additionally, not all politically imposed obligations are unjust. For example, if an obligation is imposed for the sake of justice (e.g., like paying taxes), then it's hard to see how it constitutes an unfair form of compulsion such as a situation of servitude.

## **Mandatory national service does not violate the Thirteenth Amendment because it involves duties to government.**

Reff, Annika. "Make Civil Service, Not Civil War." Brown Political Review. November 06, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://brownpoliticalreview.org/2022/11/make-civil-service-not-civil-war/>>.

Critics will argue that compulsory service infringes upon American civil liberties. However, Americans already engage with several forms of required civil service. Serving on juries and paying taxes, for example, are both mandatory forms of civic participation. Both requirements are social norms today, just as a mandatory year of service would be after several decades. Others argue that the 13th Amendment's prohibition of "involuntary servitude" makes mandatory service unconstitutional. However, the courts have found the Thirteenth Amendment inadmissible to block the "enforcement of those duties that individuals owe the government," duties including serving "in the army, militia, on the jury, etc." A mandatory national service requirement would fall into such a category.

## A/2: Libertarianism NC

### **Mandatory national service respects persons as free and equal---not all coercion is unjust.**

Satz, Debra. "In Defense Of A Mandatory Public Service Requirement." Royal Institute of Philosophy. April 04, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/royal-institute-of-philosophy-supplements/article/abs/in-defense-of-a-mandatory-public-service-requirement/6295E214BDB0127926A83D37C34918AB>>.

There is an apparent tension between this proposal and liberal values which seek to shield individuals from undue interference by the state. This is the reason why most proposals for public service are voluntary. Milton Friedman's argument that compulsory military service is a form of labor bondage resonates with many. Is the premise of individuals as free and equal – the basis of modern citizenship – really compatible with compulsory service? This is an important concern, that relates to how we see our relationship with government and with one another. But I think we should reject Friedman's too quick analogy between a service obligation and servitude.<sup>5</sup> A service obligation is delimited in time and it is also delimited in scope. Serving my country doesn't mean, for example, that I can't speak up against it. Nor is this a one-sided arrangement: citizens reap many benefits from living in society, benefits that would not be possible without society (e.g., rule of law). Additionally, not all politically imposed obligations are unjust. For example, if an obligation is imposed for the sake of justice (e.g., like paying taxes), then it's hard to see how it constitutes an unfair form of compulsion such as a situation of servitude. Moreover, I have tried to frame my argument for national service in a particular way that is consistent with respecting individuals as free and equal. In the first place, my argument does not rest on paternalistic or moralistic grounds. I am not arguing for national service because I think it's good for individuals to engage in service – although I do. I am not

arguing that it makes them morally better people – although it may. Nor am I claiming that there is a direct link between national service and justice. Instead, I have tried to show that democracy is an ongoing project which requires certain attitudes and dispositions among its members if it is to be stable over time. That is, I am arguing – on the hypothesis that the lack of a robust common experience tackling problems together is undermining democracy – that we all have an obligation to do our part in upholding the conditions that make our democracy workable and stable.

## **Libertarianism ignores the unequal power dynamics that undermine freedom.**

Chappell, Richard. "Libertarian Vs. Utilitarian Justice." Philosophy, et cetera. June 08, 2005. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.philosophyetc.net/2005/06/libertarian-vs-utilitarian-justice.html>>.

Such complaints can serve to motivate the libertarian 'entitlement theory', which comprises three principles of justice.[4] The first concerns initial acquisition, or how one becomes entitled to previously unowned things. Then comes the principle of transfer, specifying how titles may pass from one person to another. The idea is that repeated application of these two principles will yield a distribution in which everyone is entitled to their holdings. As Nozick puts it: "Whatever arises from a just situation by just steps is itself just".[5] Lastly, a principle of rectification governs the treatment of injustice, that is, violations of the first two principles. Note that whereas utilitarian justice aims at a particular 'end-state' without regard for how it got there, libertarianism is concerned exclusively with the operation of just procedures, without regard for what 'pattern' of distribution results from them.[6] The principle of transfer enjoys much intuitive appeal when explicated in terms of voluntary exchange. This is seen in Nozick's famous 'Wilt Chamberlain' thought experiment, where we begin with a just distribution D1, and a million basketball fans each choose to pay Wilt to see him play, thus giving rise to an inequalitarian distribution D2. Nozick asks, "If D1 was a just distribution, and people voluntarily moved from it to D2, transferring parts of their shares they were given under D1 (what was it for if not doing something with?), isn't D2 also just?"[7] Nozick claims that third parties to the exchange are not affected – "their shares have not changed"[8] – but this is not entirely accurate. What someone can achieve with their resources will depend, in part, on what others have and how this is distributed.[9] Moreover, concentrations of wealth may lead some people to have an unacceptable amount of power over others.[10] This is not to deny that the fans should be allowed to spend their allocated resources. But their right to do so need not imply that Wilt has a right to receive the payment. As an extreme example, even Nozick concedes

that an individual cannot justly purchase all the drinkable water in the world.[11] Justice may require interference in voluntary exchanges so as to prevent accumulations of power that risk making many subservient to a privileged few.

**Libertarianism sustains institutions that relegate people to second-class citizenship---freedom is the ability to have a voice in your community.**

Pettit, Philip. "Freedom With Honor: A Republican Ideal." Social Research. 1997. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40971159>>.

Let us grant, then, that honor is a basic human good and that decency is a social value of the first importance; let us endorse the basic message of Avishai Margalit's book. Starting from that assumption, what I wish to show is that the orthodox, liberal, and libertarian conceptualization of freedom is consistent with a serious lack of decency and that this argues for returning to what I think of as an older, republican way of understanding freedom. If we are to make something important of the value of decency in our political thinking, as I believe we should, then we need to reappropriate the republican approach to politics that was sidelined by classical liberalism in the early nineteenth century (Pettit, 1997). The paper is divided into three sections. In the first section, I show that under the orthodox understanding of the ideal, freedom is consistent with a lack of honor; it is possible for someone to be fully free in this sense, it is possible even to have a constitutional arrangement supporting the person's freedom, without their enjoying much honor. Liberation in the modern sense is consistent with humiliation, in particular with humiliation by the society's institutions. In the second section, I argue that under the older, republican way of construing freedom- under a construal of freedom as nondomination rather than noninterference- the ideal is not consistent in this way with humiliation and a lack of honor; some plausible assumptions ensure that if people enjoy freedom as nondomination, then they will also enjoy honor. At least so far as its citizens are concerned- and that will be my focus here- the free republic is bound to be a decent society. In the third and final section, I offer some historical reflections on the shift from the republican way of thinking about freedom and politics to the classical liberal approach and I speculate about a connection between that shift and a diminished concern with honor and decency.

Honor under Freedom as Noninterference Since the word liberalism was introduced in the early

nineteenth century, it has been used in a great variety of senses and with connotations that vary wildly from extremes of political minimalism to endorsement of the welfare state. But with only a few salient exceptions, such as the “modern liberalism” of T. H. Green and his disciples, almost all brands of liberalism endorse a conception of liberty as the absence of interference. This is the concept of negative liberty, in Isaiah Berlin's (1958) phrasing, or the liberty of the moderns as Benjamin Constant (1988) had described it in 1818. The various approaches that claim an affiliation with nineteenth-century liberalism differ on many questions related to liberty. Some treat negative liberty as an axiomatic value, others as a value whose worth appears only in a deeper perspective. Some treat it as an intrinsic value, others as a value that is wholly instrumental in character. Some treat it as the only value that is relevant in politics, others see it as one in a wider set of political values, which may include related values such as autonomy and distinct values such as equality and the removal of poverty. Finally, some treat negative liberty as a constraint that binds the hands of any moral agent- a constraint that cannot be breached even for the sake of its more general satisfaction- while others see it as a goal for overall maximization. But whatever their differences in these respects, I think it is fair to say that almost all contemporary descendants of nineteenth-century liberalism agree on the equation of liberty with negative liberty. All agree that I am free “to the degree to which no human being interferes with my activity” (Berlin, 1958, p. 7). All agree that freedom entails nothing less than the absence of interference; freedom just is noninterference. Such thinkers take interference to be intentional or at least quasi-intentional: interference is something done by people, and done with at least some degree of intentionality, not something imposed by things. A minority think that interference means nothing more than physical obstruction of choice, but most extend it to include also the frustration of choice by the imposition of penalties or by the threat of imposing penalties: they extend it to include coercion of the will as well as coercion of the body. In what follows I go along with that majority view. Perhaps the main reason for the wide consensus on the understanding of liberty is that it has been customary since the time of Constant to think that there is only one broad alternative to the negative construal of liberty. This alternative is the positive conception of liberty under which I must be master of myself, in particular master of my lower or partial selves, in order to be free.

I am positively free, Berlin (1958, p. 19) says, to the extent that I achieve “self-mastery, with its suggestion of a man divided against himself.” On the most hallowed interpretation, I am positively free to the extent that I achieve the self-mastery implicit in having a voice in the self-determining decisions of my community; this form of positive freedom is what Constant described as the freedom of the ancients, contrasting it with the negative freedom of the moderns. If the choice is between negative and positive freedom, in particular between negative freedom and the participatory freedom that Constant ascribed to the ancients, then most will side with modern liberal approaches in endorsing the negative understanding of liberty and in giving primacy, at least for purposes of politics, to this value. Most will go along with Berlin in thinking that, while negative liberty holds out possibilities of individuality and initiative for citizens, positive liberty represents the specter of a highly interventionist, even tyrannical state: the specter of a state that may feel obliged, in Rousseau's famous phrase, to force its citizens to be free. Despite the attractions that negative liberty displays against the foil of positive freedom, however, it has a downside that too often escapes notice. We shall be in a position to appreciate that downside fully only when we consider the republican conception of freedom that the negative/positive dichotomy serves to put out of the picture. But even at this stage we can derive the results advertised in my introduction. We can see that negative freedom is conceptually and constitutionally consistent with a lack of honor; it can be realized, even under a constitution for the overall advancement of freedom, in the presence of serious institutional humiliation. The conceptual consistency of negative freedom with institutional humiliation is readily established. To be negatively free is to enjoy the absence of interference. To be humiliated institutionally is to live under institutions that undermine or jeopardize your grounds for self-respect. But it is clear that institutions may undermine or jeopardize someone's grounds for self-respect without actually interfering with the person's choices and without even allowing others to interfere with those choices. The institutions may represent the person as a second-class citizen in other respects, for example, while working actively for their freedom as noninterference. Thus it should be clear that negative freedom is quite consistent with humiliation. Isaiah Berlin (p. 43) is explicit on the point. While admitting the propriety of speaking about freedom from servility and fear, for example, he insists that the value in

question- ultimately the value of not being subject to humiliation- is distinct from the value of negative, or indeed positive, freedom. When I demand to be liberated from, let us say, the status of political or social dependence, what I demand is an alteration of the attitude towards me of those whose opinions and behavior help to determine my own image of myself... Yet it is not with liberty, in either the “negative” or in the “positive” senses of the word, that this desire for status and recognition can easily be identified. Like Berlin, many devotees of negative liberty worry about the good involved in freedom from servility and fear, but the point is that they have to think of that good as something detachable and detached from the good of liberty itself, as that is properly understood (Weinstein, 1965, pp. 156-57; Shklar, 1989, p. 28; but see Holmes, 1995, p. 245). Thus they have to admit that it is possible to have negative liberty without yet having that other good; they have to admit that it is possible to get rid of interference without yet getting rid of humiliation, even humiliation that is institutionally based. So much for the claim that negative liberty is conceptually consistent with institutional humiliation. My other claim is that negative liberty is also constitutionally consistent with such humiliation. Despite the conceptual consistency, it might be the case that the best scheme for establishing freedom as noninterference overall would be more or less bound to rule out institutional humiliation. It might be that, though the two are conceptually consistent, they are not constitutionally consistent.

\*Ellipsis from source

**Coercion is non-unique because of taxes and jury duty---mandatory national service is essential to forging common purpose.**

Mitchell, Maureen. "Could Mandatory National Service Bring Down The Walls That Divide Us?"

America Magazine. December 26, 2018. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2018/12/26/could-mandatory-national-service-bring-down-walls-divide-us>>.

How can Americans get to know each other better and renew our sense of national unity? We vote, pay taxes, obey laws and serve as jurors. But what other obligation, what other common experience, binds us as a nation? I believe that a year of mandatory national service—an obligation regardless of gender and economic class—would preserve our heritage of individuality while forging a badly needed sense of common purpose. I imagine a diverse program with many options for fulfilling requirements, federally run and organized around the concept of shared service within the United States. Military or National Guard service would certainly qualify. Civil service programs involving national parks, infrastructure, education, poverty or other community-based programs would also be natural options. Mandating completion by a certain age would capture a more energetic and impressionable mindset, with the potential for greater long-term impact. A requirement to work outside of one's own community would also mitigate entrenched "ZIP code bias" while fostering a national identity. Of course, programmatic goals, logistics, governance, management, oversight and costs would all have to be debated—and weighed against outcomes, both tangible and intangible.

**Mandatory national service built upon local control is sufficiently pluralistic to balance individual freedom with civic duty.**

Phillips, Luke Nathan. "The Conservative Case For Expanded National Service." Real Clear Policy. January 24, 2020. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://www.realclearpolicy.com/articles/2020/01/24/the\\_conservative\\_case\\_for\\_expanded\\_national\\_service\\_308363.html](https://www.realclearpolicy.com/articles/2020/01/24/the_conservative_case_for_expanded_national_service_308363.html)>.

Local Projects and Initiatives Nevertheless, to the degree possible, new national service projects should be coordinated at local, municipal, county, and regional levels. And initiative for projects — and general guidance for organizational management — should come from the local levels as well. There are plenty of reasons to prefer localism for the administration of national service projects. The most obvious reason is that local governments tend to be more attuned to the specific problems of their localities than civil servants in Washington D.C. ever can be, so it makes managerial sense to decentralize administration. But the primary reason to prefer localism is community investment. If part of the mandate for a national service program is to help American young adults have more connectivity and dedication to their communities of residence, it follows that the primary opportunities for service projects should be in these communities as well. People working part-time, in particular, are more likely to be capable of balancing service work with their professional and social obligations, if their service opportunities are in the same area in which they live. There are a variety of types of service work that could be done through a decentralized, part-time national service program, thanks to the diversity of America and its natural and social landscape. National service participants could: do conservation work and habitat restoration; work in public education in underserved communities; form disaster-response platoons to assist in responses to hurricanes, wildfires, floods, and other natural disasters; construct basic public works like parks, roadways, and bridges; participate in emergency health clinics and search-and-rescue teams; or serve the mentally ill and the homeless. A unifying theme, however, is that national service programs should be public-interest projects that would otherwise go undone. And, of course, local

authorities typically have better understandings of what needs to be done than national ones. A side benefit of such part-time, decentralized national service is that it could help with the old national cause of “preparedness.” While that term’s roots are in Progressive Era military readiness levels, it can also be applied to the public’s general ability to meet non-military emergencies. In particular, broader participation in FEMA or Red Cross-like crisis response operations could help America develop a robust and hyper-localized capacity for disaster preparedness, and help save lives and ease the recovery for everything from natural disasters to terrorist attacks to public unrest. A similar preparedness capacity could be useful to develop in public health.

**Civil Society Preeminence** It should be noted that currently there are many nonprofit civic organizations that mobilize, train, and employ volunteers and part-time workers in such public-interest projects. The American Red Cross and any number of religious charities do disaster relief and medical services; the Pacific Crest Trail Association and the Appalachian Trail Conservancy do conservation and trail maintenance work on their eponymous national scenic trails; there are lots of educational associations, public-health associations, and local service clubs that do good work in their own fields as well. Sometimes these groups are well-funded; often times they are not. A key to this new national service administration’s flexibility and breadth would be its aggressive courting of public-interest nonprofits of any size that provide service opportunities for young adults. The aim would be to establish a broad network of service organizations that could coordinate and pool resources and projects. The federal side of this would be general vision-setting, significant funding assistance, and administrative help; the nonprofit side would be program administration, recruiting, and groundwork. In fact, the Corporation for National and Community Service, the agency that manages AmeriCorps and various other federal service programs, operates this way to some degree already. But the civil society-centric approach would work to forge even deeper institutional partnerships. A policy analogue might be the New Deal’s National Recovery Administration, which partnered with businesses, unions, agencies, and other stakeholders in public-interest-oriented economic management and gave participating organizations the “Blue Eagle” sign and associated benefits. A new national service administration might partner with local governments, nonprofit service organizations, universities, and local charities in formulating new projects for

national service participation, and bestow each with a similar symbol and set of benefits. The preeminence of civil society actors over bureaucratic actors would lend an element of flexibility and efficiency to individual projects. Civil society groups have natural levels of expertise and experience in their particular project areas that the federal government would be wise to take advantage of. Many of them also have solid reputations and broad networks of activists and volunteers. If providing more opportunities for service work to young Americans is partly a matter of sheer scale, then civil-society partnerships offer an effective way to get there.

Another Call to Service? Done properly, the organization and establishment of a national service coordination agency in the federal government could help organize national and local responses to a variety of civic issues in the 21st century. Most important, it would give hundreds of thousands or even millions of young Americans the opportunity to develop closer connections to their fellow citizens and their civil and governmental institutions. The pluralistic vision of this program — local, but with national support; part-time, but compensated; civic and voluntary, but supported by the federal government — is quintessentially American. In mixing different sectors of the American government and society, in reforming our current national service system along communitarian lines, in harnessing the powers of civic engagement and public authority to give lost and lonely Americans more opportunities to contribute to the common good, national service can help to rebuild the fraying American social fabric starting at the local level. A panacea for the loneliness and polarization affecting Americans in the 21st century? No. But a small way for young Americans to serve their communities and their country, and find meaning in the mundane? Why not?

**Just as taxes and jury duty are essential to a functioning democratic society, mandatory national service is compatible with freedom---there is no libertarian objection.**

Gobry, Pascal-Emmanuel. "The Libertarian Case For National Military Service." CATO Unbound. September 09, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.cato-unbound.org/2013/09/09/pascal-emmanuel-gobry/libertarian-case-national-military-service/>>.

Service and Legitimacy An objection sometimes heard from libertarians about military service is that it is illegitimate, i.e. that military service implies a use of a government power that is not within government's rights. As we've seen, for literally thousands of years, most libertarians would have seen this as backwards: only through military service can men truly secure freedom. But let's take the argument on its merits and see whether it holds up. What powers of the state do libertarians think are legitimate? Libertarians think the state should provide for the national defense. They think it's legitimate for a state to have a military. Libertarians think it's legitimate for the state to use violence to take people's money. If you don't think taxation is legitimate, you are an anarchist, not a libertarian. Well, military service is a form of in-kind taxation. Money is time. That's what it is. When I buy a loaf of bread, I exchange a little bit of my time for a little bit of the baker's time. Perhaps it's only legitimate for the state to take our time in the form of money and not in its original form, but we know that it's not true. We think it's legitimate for the state to mandate children to be educated for approximately twelve years of their life. Twelve years! Not the one or two years of conscription in most countries.

Libertarians are very rightly adamant about defending choice in how and where children may be educated, but few libertarians have a problem with the idea that it should be mandatory to educate children. Some libertarians oppose mandatory schooling, but supporting mandatory schooling is hardly libertarian heresy. And the reason why schooling is mandatory is very much the logic for military service: it was thought in the Enlightenment era that education is a prerequisite for freedom just as soldierdom is. Another instance of mandatory work that

libertarians are fine with jury duty. Libertarians, at least in the Anglophone world, very much like the institution of the trial by jury, and this institution couldn't endure without jury duty. Even if there were enough volunteers to man all juries, volunteer juries would not be a "jury of one's peers" due to selection effects. It is the random (and, therefore, mandatory) selection of the members of the jury that is thought, under the institution's logic, to ensure its neutrality. In other words, libertarians are actually fine with the state taking people's money and time and work if there is a sufficiently compelling interest. Even under the libertarian worldview, if we think carefully, military service might well be unadvisable, but it is not illegitimate.

## A/2: Nationalism NC

### **Service is a good way to boost individual wellbeing.**

O'Brien, Keith. "How To Make Time Expand." Boston Globe. September 09, 2012. Web. August 26, 2023. <<http://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2012/09/08/how-make-time-expand/26nkSfyQPEetCXXoFeZEZM/story.html>>.

Researchers in the 1990s gave this familiar, if dreadful, feeling a name: time famine. More recently, they coined a term to describe the opposite: time affluence, that elusive feeling of being rich in time. Time affluence, it appears, has real benefits in our lives. If time famine can create a state of rolling personal crisis, studies have shown that feeling "time affluent" can be powerfully uplifting, more so than material wealth, improving not only personal happiness, but even physical health and civic involvement. The problem, of course, is that time is fixed. Unlike money, friends, or Twitter followers, time isn't something that we can expand through harder work, increased effort, or better connections. No matter how much we organize, delegate, plan, or abbreviate, the resource in question remains decidedly finite: There are just 24 hours in the day. It is one of the world's immutable limits. Now, however, an intriguing strain of research is suggesting that time may be a more flexible asset than we realize — that even if we can't add more hours into our days, we can actually affect how time-rich we feel. The findings — being published in two separate studies in the journal *Psychological Science* by different groups of leading researchers — seem to echo what anthropologists, psychologists, and economists have long believed: that we can exert control over our perceptions of time. What's interesting about the new evidence, the researchers explain, is what it says about how we can gain that control. The studies suggest that people need not quit their jobs, leave the city, or make other major lifestyle changes. According to the findings, we can achieve that same feeling through small acts, simple emotions such as awe, and even counterintuitive measures like spending time doing tasks for someone else — essentially giving time away. And the payoff appears to be big. "It's not just that people felt less impatient, which I guess you could say was sort of a

predictable finding,” said Jennifer Aaker, the General Atlantic professor of marketing at the Stanford University Graduate School of Business and a coauthor of one of the two studies, “but...they reported higher levels of subjective well being, that they actually felt better in their lives.”

**Turn-National service decreases national cohesion over political boundaries.**

Chapman, Bruce. "A Bad Idea Whose Time Is Past: The Case Against Universal Service."

Brookings Institute. September 01, 2022. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/a-bad-idea-whose-time-is-past-the-case-against-universal-service>>.

Universal service (indeed any national service scheme that achieves demographic heft) is a case study in unintended consequences. One surprise for liberals might be a growing disillusionment with the government and the way it wastes money. Today's youth trust the government and are immensely patriotic, but bureaucratized service requirements could cure that. Another unintended consequence might be instruction in how government make-work is a tax on one's freedom and an irritating distraction from education goals and serious career development. Conservatives of a sardonic nature might come to appreciate the prospect of generations growing to adulthood with firsthand experience of government's impertinence. It would not be necessary thereafter to exhort the veterans of such unnecessary compulsion to resist the claims of government over the rest of their lives. Universal service likewise would be an invitation to scandal. The military draft was bad enough, dispatching the budding scientist to pick up paper on a base's roadsides and sending the sickly malcontent to deliver meal trays to patients in base hospitals. People with powerful parents got cushy positions, while the poor got the onerous tasks. When labor is both free and abundant, it will be squandered and abused. If that was true in eras when mass armies were raised, what can one expect in a time when only a small fraction of the population is needed to operate our high-tech military?

**Turn-Nationalism decreases the chance of war; deference of conflict through threat by outside countries.**

Mearsheimer, John. "Kissing Cousins: Nationalism And Realism." Yale Workshop. May 05, 2011. Web. August 26, 2023.

<[http://www.sneps.net/t/images/Articles/11Mearsheimer\\_nationalism%20and%20realism.PDF](http://www.sneps.net/t/images/Articles/11Mearsheimer_nationalism%20and%20realism.PDF)>.

There are two important ways in which nationalism lessens the probability of war. First, because nationalism makes war more deadly by pushing it toward its absolute form, it makes war less likely. The reason is simple: states are unlikely to start wars that they think will be costly. This is why nuclear weapons are the ultimate deterrent; it is difficult to imagine winning a nuclear war at some reasonable cost. A similar logic applies to nationalism, although a state still might conclude that it can avoid a costly war by devising a clever strategy.<sup>57</sup> Still, leaders know that in the age of nationalism the war will probably turn into a protracted bloodbath if the strategy fails to achieve its aims. The prospect of that awful outcome will make policymakers reluctant to initiate a war, which is not to deny that they will sometimes be willing to bet that the clever strategy will work as designed. That strategy, however, will have to be designed to decisively defeat the adversary, not to win a limited victory. The problem with a limited aims strategy is that the victim is unlikely to accept defeat, however limited, and the war is therefore likely to turn into a protracted and costly conflict. Not surprisingly, there is an abundance of evidence which shows that since 1800, when nationalism first began to have an impact on international politics, great-power wars have become much less frequent, but much more deadly.<sup>58</sup> Of course, limited wars were the norm before 1800, which is why they were less lethal, and I would argue, more frequent. Since then, however, great powers have often sought decisive victories over each other, which has driven the costs of war up, but the likelihood down. Second, even if one state conquers another state, nationalism makes it difficult for the victor to occupy the vanquished state.<sup>59</sup> As the United States learned in Vietnam and more recently in Afghanistan and Iraq, nation-states worship at the altar of self-

determination, which means that a substantial portion of the population in an occupied country is likely to rise up against the occupying forces and try to push them out of their country. In such cases, the occupier invariably ends up bogged down fighting against insurgents, who are usually hard to defeat.

**No Link- The Affirmatives arguments are about patriotism not nationalism because it's about relation to the group not the nation, patriotism lacks the element of otherization.**

Druckman, Daniel. "Nationalism, Patriotism, And Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective." *Mershon International Studies Review*. April, 1994. Web. August 26, 2023. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/222610>>.

The findings and recommendations made by Feshbach and his colleagues are consistent with the argument that we should be able to distinguish among kinds of ingroup orientations and identifications. Certain types of ingroup orientations are associated with a tendency to denigrate outgroups, while others are not (Berry, 1984). This distinction is also made in the well-known work of Adorno, et al. (1950) on the authoritarian personality. They note a difference between a healthy patriotic love of one's own country, not associated with prejudice against outgroups, and an ethnocentric patriotism (like Feshbach's nationalism) which was associated with such prejudice. More recently, Duckitt (1989) indicated that ethnocentric patriotism was associated with insecure group identifications, and patriotism was related to secure group identifications. The more secure individuals felt in the groups to which they belonged, the more healthy their relationship to the group and the lower their need for distancing their group from others. This set of studies calls into question the overall relationship between ingroup and outgroup attitudes, that is, the notion that attitudes toward ingroups explain attitudes toward outgroups. But Feshbach's interpretation is only one among a number of theories that can be applied to these data. Another interpretation is that nationalism is merely a more complex form of patriotism. Thus, patriotism is commitment-a readiness to sacrifice for the nation-while nationalism is commitment plus exclusion of others, a readiness to sacrifice bolstered by hostility toward others. Patriotism is the simpler relationship between the individual and group, in this case, the nation. Nationalism requires a more elaborate matrix embedding one's own nation into a set of nations and differentiating among those nations. In this interpretation, patriotism would be the orientation acquired earlier in the socialization process and, as a consequence, the stronger feeling.

## **National service programs like AmeriCorps don't create common goals and attitudes they are just 'paid volunteering'.**

Spalding, Matthew. "Compulsory National Service Would Undermine The American Character."

Heritage Foundation. October 19, 2010. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<http://www.heritage.org/commentary/compulsory-national-service-would-undermine-the-american-character>>.

Government programs, like AmeriCorps, do not encourage sacrificial giving of time and resources, which has the character-forming effect of teaching compassionate responsibility. Instead, they suggest that "volunteerism" could just as well mean a paid job with benefits—or worse, a mandatory obligation. Such government-directed "volunteerism," by encouraging individuals and associations to look to the state as the provider of assistance, belittles authentic volunteerism, the process by which individuals choose without economic benefit to help their neighbor. It also threatens the independence of the private associations that have always been the engine of moral and social reform in America. The American way. The call to service is best answered not by government, but by the citizens in voluntary associations, local communities, and private organizations that are at the heart of American charity. Last year alone, 63.4 million Americans volunteered, well exceeding the 500,000 involved in national service. Total private giving is estimated to exceed \$300 billion a year, with individuals accounting for 75 percent of that, overwhelming the Corporation for National and Community Service's budget of just under \$1 billion. One organization, the Knights of Columbus, made charitable contributions of over \$150 million and generated some 70 million volunteer service hours. The depth of private American charity and the vast potential to expand these great activities ought to be highlighted and strongly encouraged. These private voluntary organizations thrive today precisely because their work is privately organized, highly decentralized, and directly focused on community needs and local conditions. At a time when Americans are volunteering in unprecedented numbers (and ways), policymakers should reject the model of government-centered national service, which undermines the American character and threatens to weaken private

associations. The better course is to bolster the call to service by encouraging a true and voluntary citizen service that is consistent with principles of self-government, is harmonious with a vibrant civil society, and promotes a service agenda based on personal responsibility, independent citizenship, and civic volunteerism.

**National Service increases democratic engagement and bridges social divides.**

Yamaguchi, Ryoko. "Still Serving: Measuring The Eight-Year Impact Of AmeriCorps On Alumni." Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS). May, 2008. Web. August 26, 2023. <<https://www.nationalservice.gov/impact-our-nation/evidence-exchange/Still-Serving>>.

Political scholars and researchers have advanced many arguments regarding the value of engagement in civic and political affairs (Bennett & Resnick, 1990; Habermas, 1984-1987; Verba, Schlozman, Brady, & Nie, 1993). Generally speaking, civic engagement is a fundamental requirement for a healthy democracy (Barber, 1984; Hutchins, 1952), and where participation rates are too low, democracy may no longer be viable (Powell, 1982). Widespread civic participation guarantees that all voices and viewpoints are heard in the public sphere, which may not happen if fewer people participate (Piven & Cloward, 1988; Schlozman, 1984). Civic engagement also has positive benefits for the active participant, including the development of civic skills that encourage more effective participation (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995). Finally, civic engagement can promote "bridging" social capital, which leads to stronger, more diverse social networks (Briggs, 2003) and ultimately a healthier society.

## **National Service (Military) doesn't create a nationalist sentiment- South Korea shows.**

Kim, Stella. "A Dreaded Rite Of Passage: South Korea's Mandatory Military Service." Brown Political Review. December 01, 2013. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<http://www.brownpoliticalreview.org/2013/12/a-dreaded-rite-of-passage-koreas-mandatory-military-service>>.

Dreaded and virtually inescapable, it is chore that has become the primary rite of passage for young Korean men who are transitioning from adolescence to adulthood. There are several reasons that may qualify an individual for exemption, but they are either too difficult to prove or hold repercussions far too long-lasting to be worth the hassle. Serious medical and psychological conditions may lead to exemption, but ultimately it is up to the rather arbitrary discretion of military physical examiners whether a medical condition is debilitating enough to interfere with military training. Holders of dual citizenship under the age of 18 can renounce Korean citizenship. Giving up one's citizenship usually doesn't get more complex than signing a form, but reclaiming it is not as simple. A male who gave up Korean citizenship before military service age, and whose situation makes it evident that this was done for the purpose of skirting conscription, will find it nearly impossible to retrieve his citizenship. This is hardly an issue for young men who expect to settle down abroad, but for those who want to live and work in Korea, abandoning Korean citizenship may lead to bigger problems in the future. Korea's employment and residence laws make it extremely difficult for non-citizens to enjoy the same privileges and protection that citizens do, and even relatively trivial things like buying a phone become much more complicated for non-citizens. While legal ways out of conscription exist, it's difficult to either meet the requirements or to deal with the longer lasting cultural repercussions. Young working class men who were born and raised in Korea may speak of skirting conscription, but they really have no choice. Without having served in the military, a 20- or 30-something-year-old man is rarely accepted as a "man." As a result, a young man who aims to work in an office environment with male superiors, who themselves will have served in the

military, feels not only legally, but also culturally obligated to serve. “If you don’t behave in a manly manner, they might ask you, ‘Have you been to the military yet?’” a 40-year-old Korean man told CBS in 2009. Older men tend to look back on their service years with a strange tinge of nostalgia and pride, but those younger than 18 and those in the 18–35 age group worry about the prospect of being conscripted. It’s an unusual part of “becoming a man” that requires men to put quite literally every aspect of their lives — their education, their careers — on hold for nearly two years. When these men reenter and readapt to civilian society, they are two years behind their peers. Even here at Brown, many male undergraduate students with Korean citizenship leave after their first or second years and return two years later as sophomores or juniors, while their former classmates are seniors or have already graduated. Scandals involving government officials whose sons are exempted from conscription reflect the cultural disapproval of not serving in the military, legally or illegally. Most recently, a lawmaker of the opposition party revealed that the sons of 16 high-ranking officials of the ruling party opted for U.S. or Canadian citizenship, allegedly in order to dodge conscription. Although their renouncement of citizenship is perfectly legal, public condemnation of such revelations is particularly harsh. When a government official — whose occupation is, in essence, to serve the country — allows his or her son to skirt military conscription, the public sees it as akin to violating individual civic duty. Insufficient post-service compensation measures are another reason young men may feel like military service is a waste of time. In the past, when the service requirement was closer to three years, viable incentives made conscription a less harrowing prospect. For example, a civil service candidate would get additional points on his civil service exam if he had completed his military service. And for a man who had completed three years of service and was employed by a civilian firm, three years in the military would count toward three years of experience within a firm. These incentives were discontinued after the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family took serious issue with them, claiming that the government was condoning and even perpetuating gender discrimination in the workplace. Every Korean, male or female, is aware of how exhausting, long, and inescapable military service is. Of the 27 countries with mandatory military service laws, Korea has one of the longest service periods at 21 months. Service members are compensated, but the sum is lower than the national

minimum wage, with entry-level soldiers being paid the equivalent of \$90 a month. Training exercises are purposely designed to recreate the physically taxing conditions of conventional and chemical warfare. The psychological stress of adapting to the military's hierarchical and disciplinary culture is just as exhausting, if not more. A spike in suicides among new service soldiers may be an indication of the difficulty that young men face in adjusting to a new lifestyle, in which they are expected to obey their superiors' every command and in which maltreatment is disguised as a norm of military barracks culture. They have no option to disobey, their emotional and mental distress is of little concern to their superiors and there is no legal way out once they are in.

**Most Americans don't feel a sense of debt to a country-negates the creation of nationalist ideals.**

Dionne, E.J. "United We Serve?: The Debate Over National Service." Brookings Institute.

September 01, 2002. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/united-we-serve-the-debate-over-national-service/>>.

And in truth, many Americans doubt that they or their fellow citizens actually “owe” anything to a country whose main business they see as preserving individual liberty, personal as well as economic. In a free society, liberty is a right owed to all, worthy and unworthy alike. Finally, Americans differ widely over which kinds of national service are genuinely valuable. Many who honor military service are skeptical of voluntarism that might look like, in Armeý’s terms, “social activism.” Supporters of work among the poor are often dubious of military service. Most Americans honor both forms of devotion to country, and we have included here powerful testimonials to the varieties of civic dedication. But in our public arguments, the skeptical voices are often the loudest. Our divisions about the meaning of service are rooted deeply in history. At the founding of our nation, liberal and civic republican ideas jostled for dominance. The liberals viewed personal freedom as the heart of the American experiment. The civic republicans valued freedom, too, but stressed that self-rule demanded a great deal from citizens. The liberals stressed rights. The civic republicans stressed obligations to a common good and, as the philosopher Michael Sandel has put it, “a concern for the whole, a moral bond with the community whose fate is at stake.” In our time, the clash between these older traditions lives on in the intellectual wars between libertarians and communitarians. When it comes to national service, the libertarians lean toward skepticism, the communitarians toward a warm embrace.

**Service doesn't simplify the concept of citizenship but rather is a nuanced act meant to create positive connections.**

Dionne, E.J. "United We Serve?: The Debate Over National Service." Brookings Institute. September 01, 2002. Web. August 26, 2023.  
<<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/united-we-serve-the-debate-over-national-service/>>.

Citizenship cannot be reduced to service. And service-good works whether of faith communities, the private sector, or "communities of character"—cannot replace the responsibilities of government. Service can become a form of cheap grace, a generalized call on citizens to do kind things as an alternative to a genuine summons for national sacrifice or a fair apportionment of burdens among the more and less powerful, the more and less wealthy. But when service is seen as a bridge to genuine political and civic responsibility, it can strengthen democratic government and foster the republican virtues. Lenkowsky made this connection when he urged attendees at a Corporation for National and Community Service conference to turn "civic outrage into civic engagement" by increasing the reach and effectiveness of volunteer programs. No one can dispute visionaries like Harris Wofford and Alan Khazei, who have shown how AmeriCorps, VISTA, the Senior Corps, and the Peace Corps have transformed communities. But Paul Light questions whether this transformation is sustainable. Can episodic volunteerism build the capacity and effectiveness of public and nonprofit organizations? And to what extent can we separate respect for service through volunteerism from a genuine respect for those who make public service a way of life—in the military, the local uniformed services, the schools and the hospitals, and (dare one even use the word) the bureaucracies? As Alice Rivlin notes, "recreational government bashing "saves us from facing up to how hard it is to make public policy in a free market economy." Will the new respect for service make government bashing less satisfying as a hobby? It's possible, but we are not holding our breath. Underlying the debate over national service is an argument over whether service is necessary or merely "nice." If service is just a nice thing to do, it's easy to understand why critics, well

represented in these pages by Bruce Chapman and Tod Lindberg, express such strong reservations about government-led service programs. But is it possible that service is something more than nice? What if it is—as Bob Litan, Harris Wofford, Carmen Sirianni, and Charlie Cobb suggest in different ways—a means to strengthen the ties that bind us as a nation? What if it creates bridges across groups in our society that have little to do with each other on any given day? What if service, as the New Left’s Port Huron Statement put it 40 years ago, can mean “bringing people out of isolation and into community”? What if it fosters civic and political participation in a society that seems not to hold the arts of public life in the highest esteem? In sum, what if service is not simply a good in itself, but a means to many ends?

## **National service is a question of personal gratitude and debt not blind following.**

Dionne, E.J. "United We Serve?: The Debate Over National Service." Brookings Institute.

September 01, 2002. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/united-we-serve-the-debate-over-national-service/>>.

It is possible to be cynical about the new call to service. It can be a terribly convenient way for politicians to seem to be calling for sacrifice without demanding much of citizens. At little cost to themselves, advocates of both conservative and liberal individualism can use service to shroud their real intentions in the decent drapery of community feeling. Service, badly conceived, can distance citizens from public problems. Those who serve can help people "out there," as if the problems "they" have are disconnected from the society in which the server lives. The sociologist Michael Schudson has argued that President Bush's ideal citizen is a "Rotarian, moved by a sense of neighborliness, Christian charity, and social responsibility, but untouched by having a personal stake in public justice." His point is not to knock Rotarians. It's to argue that self-interest in pursuit of justice is a virtue. As Schudson notes in describing the civil rights movement, the most dramatic expansion of democracy and citizenship in our lifetime was brought about by citizens "driven not by a desire to serve but by an effort to overcome indignities they themselves have suffered." It's an important point. But it's also true that Rotarians are good citizens. Neighborliness, charity, and social responsibility are genuine virtues. It is both good and useful to assert, as Rabbi Chaim of Volozhin did, that "my neighbor's material needs are my spiritual needs." It's just possible that a nation responding to the call to service would, over time, become a nation deeply engaged in questions of public justice. The debate over national service is a debate over how we Americans think of ourselves. It's a debate over how we will solve public problems and what we owe our country and each other. If our nation is to continue to prosper, it's a debate we will have in every generation. For if we decide there are no public things to which we are willing to pledge some of our time and some

of our effort—not to mention “our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor”—then we will have quietly abandoned our nation’s experiment in liberty rooted in mutual assistance and democratic aspiration.

**Nationalism can be dangerous but modern Europe proves that it isn't inevitable.**

Schmemmann, Serge. "Fostering National Identity But Not Nationalism." New York Times.

September 25, 2014. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/26/opinion/fostering-national-identity-but-not-nationalism.html>>.

Still, "nationalism" has some troubling echoes in Europe. The 20th century demonstrated what nationalism gone wild can wreak, and post-Soviet national conflicts like the Balkan wars in the 1990s or Vladimir Putin's aggressive irredentism today have revived old fears. In the wake of World War II, Jean Monnet, later hailed as the architect of the European project, concluded that only European unity would preclude another cataclysm. "Make men work together," was his mantra. "Show them that beyond their differences and geographical boundaries there lies a common interest." Yet the same Western governments that saw the European Union as the solution for centuries of tribal bloodshed have not been consistent in their attitudes toward supranational groupings elsewhere. They cheered the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia into 22 separate countries, but condemned efforts by Abkhazians and Ossetians to break out of Georgia. The fact is, nationalism — as national history, language, culture, myth and faith — is an integral part of people's identity, for good or ill. It can bond people in noble endeavors like resistance to tyranny, and it can foster xenophobic hatred of the "other." It is not always rational, as the Scots demonstrated when so many of them defied prophecies of economic hardship to vote "yes" — but then their dream of joining Europe as an independent state may be no more irrational than the Euroskeptics in England demanding that Britain quit the union.

**Nationalism facilitates effective democracy-doesn't necessarily lead to otherizations but can be constructed to value outside support and understanding.**

Sandelind, Clara. "Constructions Of National Identity And Attitudes To Immigration." ECPR Joint Sessions. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Constructions-of-National-Identity-and-Attitudes-to-Sandelind/1770afe71eb0858add10398b3109394ee7d25e4>>.

On the instrumental nationalist account, a shared national identity increases trust and understanding necessary for deliberative democracy. "Democratic politics", argues Kymlicka, "is politics in the vernacular" (Kymlicka 2001, p. 213). In addition to facilitating deliberative democracy national identity is thought to support the advancement of social redistribution by instilling mutual trust and solidarity. "A shared identity carries with it a shared loyalty, and this increases confidence that others will reciprocate one's co-operative behaviour" (Miller 1995, p. 97). The kind of social solidarity that is necessary for large-scale redistribution to take place can develop within a nation state because people who otherwise would have very little in common feel connected and will therefore be more willing to make the kind of sacrifices social solidarity involves (Spinner-Halev 2008, p. 609). In sum, for instrumental nationalism the nation is not valued in its own right, but in terms of its instrumental value in realising democracy and social justice. Should this instrumental value turn out to be empirically non-valid, there is nothing further that commits instrumental nationalism to the nation (Stilz 2009, p. 149). This conditional commitment to nationalism is an important presumption when discussing the issue of immigration. Instrumental nationalism is not committed to wider notions of obligations between co-nationals that are not grounded in the instrumental role of specific identity relationships in securing cooperation in the democratic, redistributive state. If alternative shared identities to the nationalist one can be constructed, which can secure the motivational basis of the democratic welfare state yet that is associated with inclusionary attitudes to immigration, these accord with the normative aims of instrumental nationalism (which are directed towards democratic governance and social justice).

## **A/2: Volunteerism NC**

### **National service strengthens volunteerism.**

Maurin, Zach. "America Needs Universal Civilian National Service." CATO Unbound. September 13, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.cato-unbound.org/2013/09/13/zach-maurin/america-needs-universal-civilian-national-service/>>.

Myth #2 — National service is in conflict with traditional volunteerism and charity. Fact: National service strengthens traditional volunteerism and charity. One of the biggest returns on the federal investment in service is the fact that national service members recruit, train, and manage millions of traditional volunteers. Don't just take my word for it. This fact is one of the aspects of national service that won over Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah: We recognize that national service programs give Americans opportunities to serve for a full year or more to tackle tough problems and they, in turn, can leverage the federal investment in them to mobilize more traditional volunteers to help... National service programs have a multiplying effect," Based on past patterns, the 250,000 AmeriCorps members called for in the 2009 Serve America Act would help recruit or manage seven million unpaid volunteers.

**National service is the essence of good citizenship.**

McCain, John. "Expand Opportunities For Young Americans To Serve Their Country." CNN.

August 10, 2015. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<http://www.cnn.com/2015/08/10/opinions/mccain-mcchrystal-national-service-legislation/index.html>>.

President Theodore Roosevelt once said, "We have fallen heirs to the most glorious heritage a people ever received, and each one must do his part if we wish to show that the nation is worthy of its good fortune." Taking personal responsibility for our nation's well-being is the essence of good citizenship. The habits of citizenship are not innate -- they are learned as lessons throughout life. For the two of us, our sense of citizenship developed at a young age and continued through our 57 years of collective military service.

**National service, and a commitment to the public good, is key to freedom and democracy.**

Dionne, E.J. "United We Serve?: The Debate Over National Service." Brookings Institute. September 01, 2002. Web. August 26, 2023.  
<<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/united-we-serve-the-debate-over-national-service/>>.

The debate over national service is a debate over how we Americans think of ourselves. It's a debate over how we will solve public problems and what we owe our country and each other. If our nation is to continue to prosper, it's a debate we will have in every generation. For if we decide there are no public things to which we are willing to pledge some of our time and some of our effort—not to mention "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor"—then we will have quietly abandoned our nation's experiment in liberty rooted in mutual assistance and democratic aspiration.

**Freedom can't be achieved outside of a community defined by the roles of the citizen.**

Waltman, Jerry. "Civic Republicanism, The Basic Income Guarantee, And The Living Wage."

USBIG Discussion Paper. March, 2002. Web. August 26, 2023.

<[www.usbig.net/papers/025-Waltman.doc](http://www.usbig.net/papers/025-Waltman.doc)>.

The aim of the civic republican polity is maintaining the liberty of its citizens. Since liberty cannot be achieved outside a community-a wild animal can be "free" but it cannot be said to have "liberty"-the individual citizen must be intimately connected to the community. He must believe that his interests are inseparable from those of the community, and that the role of citizen is a natural part of life. The state can rely on its citizens, who after all are the state, to exercise civic virtue and to consider the needs of the community along with their own. The citizenry governs itself by the process of deliberation, a deliberation devoted to finding and pursuing the public interest. To this end, political institutions in a republic should evidence a certain balance and be rather slow acting, at least under ordinary circumstances.

Representative democracy, which allows republics to be larger than city-states, is a method for the further protection of liberty. It is not, pointedly, an end in itself.

## **A/2: Incentives Counterplan**

**Incentives fail to encourage people to feel connected to their fellow citizens in the same way that mandatory service does.**

Satz, Debra. "In Defense Of A Mandatory Public Service Requirement." Royal Institute of Philosophy. April 04, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/royal-institute-of-philosophy-supplements/article/abs/in-defense-of-a-mandatory-public-service-requirement/6295E214BDB0127926A83D37C34918AB>>.

While it has sometimes been thought that good incentives (including the threat of punishment) can make self-interested individuals into good citizens – in the words of the 17th century philosopher Bernard Mandeville, ‘private vices, public benefits’ – we now know that in many cases, self-interested motivations are not sufficient to produce publicly oriented behaviors, even in the face of strong incentives. Market incentives, undersupply civic values and, in some cases, undermine them. Consider the following example. In Haifa, six day care centers imposed a fine on parents who were late in picking up their children at the end of the day. Parents surprised the day cares in how they responded to the fine – they doubled the amount of time that they were late! Even, when, after 12 weeks, the fines were revoked, the parent’s enhanced tardiness persisted. Putting a price on lateness likely undermined the parent’s sense of an ethical obligation to avoid inconveniencing the teachers; instead they now treated the extra time as a commodity to be bought (Gneezy, 2000). This finding, that market incentives can crowd out pro-social attitudes – such as concern for others – has been repeated in a great many studies. (Indeed, there are replicated studies that show that merely studying economics decreases student’s ability to solve collective action problems.) I have little doubt that if the fine had been sufficiently high – one thousand dollars a minute – the parents would have responded differently. But it’s not always easy to find the right prices, and furthermore, it

is not a good idea to put a price on everything (Satz, 2010). What about legal incentives like the threat of punishment for breaking the law – can't that generate the pro-social behaviors needed for democratic citizenship? Not alone. One problem is that pro-social motivation won't be well sustained in cases where many people are flouting the rules and getting away with it: no one wants to be a sucker. Another problem is that it's often costly to ascertain whether citizens are following the rules or not – and as society becomes more complex the costs go up, making the monitoring of compliance difficult. So trust becomes especially important. A final and perhaps key problem is that it is especially hard to sustain prosocial motivation in a society that is cleaved along racial, ethnic or class lines, where people's unequal circumstances and limited knowledge about one another undermine the existence of a democratic 'we'. Under such circumstances it's too easy to see another's fate as outside my responsibility. Even if I comply with the letter of the law, that doesn't mean I will stand up for your rights under the law. Market incentives and the threat of punishment are not sufficient for pro-social motivations and behaviors in many circumstances. And democratic societies require a special kind of pro-social motivation – the motivation to endorse and to comply with democratic processes, even in cases where one might be better off by subverting the rules or going around them. Members of society need to see each other as passengers on the same ship, sharing a common fate. And it's especially hard to build a cooperative and solidaristic ethos when, to continue with my metaphor, rich members of society, can easily sail away on their yachts.

## **Incentive programs can't achieve cultural change because elites can opt out.**

Satz, Debra. "In Defense Of A Mandatory Public Service Requirement." Royal Institute of Philosophy. April 04, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/royal-institute-of-philosophy-supplements/article/abs/in-defense-of-a-mandatory-public-service-requirement/6295E214BDB0127926A83D37C34918AB>>.

A number of proposals have been offered for national service in the last several years but few of them advocate mandatory service. In fact, there is a timidity about most such proposals given the proponents' diagnosis of the problem. While there are reasons for this caution, which I will discuss below, allowing exit is problematic from the perspective defended here. Volunteer programs cannot deliver their desired cultural effects if select groups (e.g., the wealthy and privileged) can easily opt out and if service opportunities are unequally distributed. It is by helping to dismantle racial, socio-economic and geographical barriers between people, and by creating common experiences, that national service creates its most important public good – enhancing the relationships and mutual understanding among the participants themselves. An integrated military draft once played a similar role. And even before the military was racially integrated, it did mix people up by social class. Consider President John F Kennedy's PT boat in World War 2; Kennedy was the son of one of the richest men in America. But on his boat – in the same boat – were the sons of a farmer, a plumber, an artist, and an auto mechanic.

**Voluntary national service tied to incentives exploits the poor.**

Sudo, Phil. "Mandatory National Service? The Debate Over Teens And Civic Duty." Scholastic

Update. February 23, 1990. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=googlescholar&id=GALE|A8560277&v=2.1&it=r&sid=AONE&asid=592b9896>>.

LITTLE BACKING At the moment, though, the idea of required participation has little political backing. Labor organizations fear the program would lead to layoffs for their paid workers. The military doesn't want another government program competing for its pool of young people. And many legislators believe a mandatory program would be too costly to set up and too massive to manage. An alternative suggested by two Democratic lawmakers would not make national service mandatory, but would strongly tie it to aid for college. The proposal by Sen. Sam Nunn, of Georgia, and Rep. Dave McCurdy, of Oklahoma, would require any high school graduate seeking federal student aid to serve in either the military or a "citizens corps." Those who join the citizens corps would be required to serve full time for one or two years. They would receive \$100 per week in pay, and a voucher worth \$10,000 for each year served. They could later convert the vouchers into funds to pay for college, job training, or even a down payment on a home. The proposal is designed to show that "freedom and democracy are not free," McCurdy says. But critics say the proposal discriminates against the poor. Rich students can skip out of volunteer service because they can afford college tuition on their own. But poorer students need federal aid for college, so they'll be forced to volunteer. "It holds the educational aspirations of the poor hostage to public service," says Rep. William D. Ford, a Michigan Democrat. McCurdy responds, "Our legislation is not perfect, but it's better than the status quo. Frankly, the status quo stinks. As opposed to being discriminatory, we're trying to expand opportunities.

**Mandatory national service will have bipartisan support, and voluntary programs will fail to change social norms.**

Reff, Annika. "Make Civil Service, Not Civil War." Brown Political Review. November 06, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://brownpoliticalreview.org/2022/11/make-civil-service-not-civil-war/>>.

Even if the program is instituted gradually, it must ultimately become a mandatory requirement. While partially expanded national service benefits both the country and those who serve, truly addressing toxic American partisanship requires total youth participation. Any loopholes that would allow the wealthy or ultra-partisan to opt out would defeat the program's long-term goal. A potential means of integrating mandatory national service as a social norm would be to make it a high school graduation requirement or even a college prerequisite. Employers could also make a prospective employee's year of service a key consideration in job interviews. A national service program could enjoy bipartisan support. Democrats have traditionally valued community engagement and have upheld President John F. Kennedy's ethos of "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country" in support of public and civil service. Recently, prominent Democrats have endorsed mandatory national service programs. While running for president, Secretary of Transportation Pete Buttigieg made his service program proposal a fundamental part of his campaign. Now in the Biden administration, Buttigieg continues to advocate for national mandatory service to address partisan threats to democracy, recently proposing a service program overseen by the National Security Council.

## **A/2: Spending Disadvantages**

**The US has the financial resources to pay for mandatory national service.**

Judd, Donald. "Delaney Proposes Ambitious Mandatory National Service Plan." CNN. July 28, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.cnn.com/2019/07/28/politics/john-delaney-mandatory-national-service-plan/index.html>>.

Still, the campaign was careful to note that Delaney's proposal did not constitute a draft, pointing to "three other paths for Americans to serve," outside the military. As for paying for his national service plan? "Yeah, I mean, it's going to be expensive," Hopkins told CNN. "But you know, when you're pushing transformational change, you find ways to pay for it. I mean, budgets are moral documents, so you can prioritize whatever you want. We're the United States of America, the most powerful country in the world. We will find a way to pay for it, because it's that important."

## **Mandatory national service would be less than one-fifth the cost of the military budget.**

Cohen, Steve. "The Need For A Mandatory National Service Program." US Naval Institute. April, 2021. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2021/april/need-mandatory-national-service-program>>.

When Would People Serve? Most countries that have mandatory national service programs require everyone to begin their service at a set time—either in the year of their 18th birthday, or immediately after graduating from high school. At first glance, that seems like a pretty reasonable way to structure an American program. But it may not be the best way. An alternative would be to require registration before one's 18th birthday, and then have a more flexible opt-in start date at any time before a person's 22nd birthday. There are reasonably plausible rationales for this approach. The first is flexibility. Not everyone will be doing the same service job. Some people may join the military—which would remain a completely voluntary "branch" of the mandatory program. And the military's training pipeline would benefit from a bit of flexibility. Second, some people would benefit from serving when they are at the younger end of the age range while others might do better with a year or two of college (or work experience) under their belts. And having some people who are a bit older—and presumably more mature—could be a good thing. But, again, the operative principle is that everyone is going to serve, and there can be a bit of flexibility for the common good. How Long Will People Serve? I propose 18 months. Why 18 months? Because it is longer than a year and less than two years—the two other most commonly suggested time commitments. Compulsory service models generally reflect this timeline. Some of the most demanding countries, such as Israel, require several years of service. The Israeli Defense Force requires a 30-month obligation for men. Others, such as France, require just one month of service for high school students during the summer. But most countries, such as Finland, Norway, and Singapore, require service in the one- to two-year range. Eighteen months gives people time to learn their jobs and

make substantive contributions doing them. It is long enough to break bad (or nonexistent) work habits and develop new routines and skills. Yet, it is not so long to be so disruptive to people's educational or professional plans. What Would People Be Doing? Should people be cleaning neighborhoods, caring for the elderly, assisting in pre-k classrooms, building low-income housing or ... fill in the blank? What is not mentioned in the above—and in any anticipated list of priorities—is military service. It is a fundamental precept that service in the military should continue to be voluntary and would, of course, constitute one of the options available for satisfying a national service commitment. AmeriCorps already has a model of service priorities in the United States. They fall into six priority areas: disaster services, economic opportunity, education, environmental stewardship, healthy futures, and veterans and military families. In the most recent year, AmeriCorps volunteers focused their efforts heavily on the COVID-19 response. Volunteers ran contact tracing, staffed testing sites, and worked in food banks. The climate crisis has been another focus of AmeriCorps service in the recent years. Members work in environmental conservation. They respond to and help prepare for natural disasters. America's needs are always evolving and priorities are often forced to shift. As we decide what issues are most pressing—and where national service participants should be assigned—AmeriCorps' existing model can serve as a framework to place young people in service roles around the country. Where Would People Serve? For the most part, it would be better for people to work as far away from their hometowns as possible; and in environments different from their neighborhoods. People from large cities would benefit from working in rural areas. Kids who have never (or rarely) set foot in big cities would benefit from being assigned to jobs in the inner city. The rationale for suggesting this non-comfort-zone approach is simple: Participants would be better off being exposed to people and environments unlike their own. If an important objective of the program is to give people an opportunity to meet, work with, and hopefully understand people different from themselves—and create the basis for future common ground—people need to get out of their comfort zones. That means physically, emotionally, socially, and geographically. Would People Have a Choice about What Work They Did? The answer to this question should be yes, but with the realistic expectation that most people will not get the job they request. In fact, there is a strong argument to be

made—and a temptation to say—that jobs should be randomly assigned. There would be less gaming of the system. Men who opt for civil service in Switzerland organize their own assignments. Once a citizen’s application for civil service is approved, conscripts apply to positions that interest them, and they organize the terms of service with their host organization or institution. AmeriCorps is similar. In the application process, people identify specific programs, positions, and locations they are interested in. (They do not always get their choice.) Could this level of choice be maintained in a scaled and mandatory version of the system? It seems unlikely. Would People Get Paid? Yes, people would receive a subsistence allowance, in addition to room and board. But it should not even approach minimum wage. In addition, a small payment of \$100 per week should be put aside into a mandatory, untouchable savings account that would become available to the participant on completion of service. (That amount saved would yield \$10,000.) In its present form, AmeriCorps offers a small allowance and benefits to all who serve. Members are paid a living allowance of approximately \$13.00 per day and are paid biweekly a sum of \$181.44. Other benefits include housing, meals, limited health care benefits, childcare options, and uniforms. On successful completion of service, AmeriCorps members also are eligible for an education award of \$4,725. This award is intended to pay for qualified school expenses or to repay qualified student loans. What if Someone Did Not Serve or Successfully Complete Service? There should be consequences for failing to serve or successfully complete service. When the basic plan was surveyed in the fall of 2020, the “stick” that was suggested for failing to serve was the person would be ineligible for any federal student loan or mortgage guarantee program. Since then, several people have commented that such punishment would only really impact less affluent people. Kids from rich families are far less dependent on government loan programs. Consequently, the consequences would be expanded to include ineligibility to attend any college or university that receives federal funds. What Will this Cost? A rough, “back of the envelope” calculation of the cost of an 18-month program in which everyone participates; are paid a small \$100 per week allowance and an additional \$100 per week goes into a savings account; live in college-like dormitories and eat college-quality food; and receive health care is approximately \$133 billion annually. Table \$132 billion is a lot of money. But, it is less than one-fifth the cost of annual military spending. The

Department of Agriculture is the closest in size, spending \$129 billion in fiscal year 2021. The 2021 budget for the Department of Veterans Affairs is \$235 billion, and the budget is \$60 billion for the Department of Homeland Security.

\*Ellipsis from source

**While mandatory national service is expensive, it will be a drop in the bucket compared to the trillions spent on COVID relief.**

Cohen, Steve. "Hard Times In America Renew The Call For Mandatory National Service." The Hill. April 22, 2020. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/493178-hard-times-in-america-renew-the-call-for-mandatory-national-service/>>.

The cost of a mandatory national service program will not come cheap. There are about 4 million young people in each one-year age cohort from 18 to 22. Last year, for example, 3.7 million students graduated from high school. To train, house, feed and supervise 4 million young people for a year might cost \$5,000 per person, or \$20 billion annually. Even if we double the amount by putting aside another \$5,000 for each young person in a savings account, a \$40 billion annual expense is pretty small potatoes when compared to the trillions of dollars already appropriated for the coronavirus recovery.

**Mandatory national service will make government more efficient, which makes the additional spending worth it.**

Barnard, Julian. "It's Time For A National Service." The Michigan Daily. September 27, 2021.

Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.michigandaily.com/opinion/columns/its-time-for-a-national-service/>>.

Some critics cite this kind of program's financial cost. But the cost of this program, even if it reaches the \$75 billion mark, will be worth it several times over. It doesn't just benefit the participants; it also enhances the ability of the federal government to get things done. We absolutely can expect that the government will be able to utilize these millions of young people doing their national service to all areas of the government. For example, the price of running the CDC will go down because the custodian will be someone doing their national service, or the price of getting seniors their social security payments will fall because the front desk assistant at the social security office will be someone serving their country. This hopefully wouldn't displace current, often unionized, government workers, but instead, would add on to the capacity of the government to do good.

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**Mandatory national service is financially net-beneficial---it generates a higher return for the federal government.**

Bridgeland, John. "Will America Embrace National Service?" The Brookings Institution. October, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://hasbrouck.org/draft/FOIA/NationalService\\_FullText\\_Clean.pdf](https://hasbrouck.org/draft/FOIA/NationalService_FullText_Clean.pdf)>.

Still, a promising start has been made in deciphering whether certain federal government-supported national service programs have net benefits. For example, in *The Economic Value of National Service*, a 2013 study prepared for the Franklin Project and Civic Enterprises in association with Voices for National Service, Clive Belfield, a researcher with the Center for Cost-Benefit Studies in Education at Columbia University, cites the aforementioned 2004 study by Perry and Thomson, and estimates the benefits of CNCS programs that mobilize youth via AmeriCorps and senior citizens via Senior Corps.<sup>47</sup> With a grand total of 125,750 Full-Time Equivalents (FTEs), these CNCS programs and all of their respective partners (City Year, Youth Build, the Senior Companion Program, and many others), the Belfield study reports a benefit-cost ratio of \$3.9:\$1. Essentially, this 4-to-1 bottom-line finding is derived by dividing the roughly \$2 billion it costs to field the 125,750 FTE national service members by the \$7.9 billion in social benefits that their service is estimated to generate. But, as might be expected, the reported net benefits of national service vary by program. For example, the reported "net fiscal benefits" of national service by youth in AmeriCorps are 2.47. The calculations behind that bottom-line are captured in the present paper's Table 1 (see below), and the corollary calculations associated with it, as explicated in the Belfield study's appendices, involve estimates of the "social gains" ascribed to program participation including reductions in crime, welfare dependency, joblessness, ill health, and more.<sup>48</sup>

**Higher debt will be serviceable for the government because of low interest rates.**

Boak, Josh. "Lots Of Sound And Fury On US Debt, But Not A Crisis — Yet." Associated Press. January 28, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://apnews.com/article/biden-politics-united-states-government-center-national-debt-deab5331ae441718bc35a7c7aef6ea18>>.

So, why aren't more economists sweating the debt right now? First of all, the costs of servicing the debt have fallen over time. Investors are charging less to lend to the federal government. This has occurred even as the national debt has climbed almost nine-fold since 1991. How did that happen? Interest rates are dramatically lower. The interest on a 10-year Treasury Note in December 1991 was 7.09%, compared to 3.62% last month. That means the U.S. government is spending less money as a share of the total economy to repay the interest now than it did more than 30 years ago.

## **Biden has already made a substantial budgetary request for national service.**

Schmelzer, Ranit. "Administration's Budget Recognizes The Value Of AmeriCorps And AmeriCorps Seniors." Voices for National Service. March 09, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023. <[https://voicesforservice.org/news/administrations-budget-recognizes-the-value-of-ameri-corps-and-ameri-corps-seniors/#:~:text=Washington%2C%20DC%20\(March%209%2C,programs%2C%20AmeriCorps%20and%20AmeriCorps%20Seniors.>](https://voicesforservice.org/news/administrations-budget-recognizes-the-value-of-ameri-corps-and-ameri-corps-seniors/#:~:text=Washington%2C%20DC%20(March%209%2C,programs%2C%20AmeriCorps%20and%20AmeriCorps%20Seniors.>).

Washington, DC (March 9, 2023) – The fiscal year 2024 budget released by President Biden today calls for \$1.5 billion in funding for AmeriCorps, the federal agency that oversees national service in the United States, and its two biggest programs, AmeriCorps and AmeriCorps Seniors. The Administration's request is \$166 million over the fiscal year 2023 enacted budget. It proposes to make important targeted, investments in the programs, including increasing the living allowance provided to AmeriCorps members so that national service is a more accessible pathway to success; and creating opportunities for Americans to serve together in common purpose. In addition, the budget provides \$20 million for the Department of Labor to partner with AmeriCorps and other agencies to establish a Civilian Climate Corps program to help communities address the climate crisis by creating service opportunities and job training programs in emerging industries. "President Biden's budget request for AmeriCorps is a positive step in the right direction," said AnnMaura Connolly, President of Voices for National Service. "At a time when the vital service AmeriCorps provides is needed more than ever to solve local challenges, it is critical that resources are provided to support service at the appropriate scale and with benefits that enable Americans of all backgrounds to serve. There is no shortage of need in our communities, and we must make sure that AmeriCorps is funded at the level required to attract and mobilize the talent and skills needed to meet that need." "We look forward to working with the bipartisan national service champions in Congress to ensure that AmeriCorps has the resources it needs to meet this moment."

**Federal investment in national service would be modest, and worth it.**

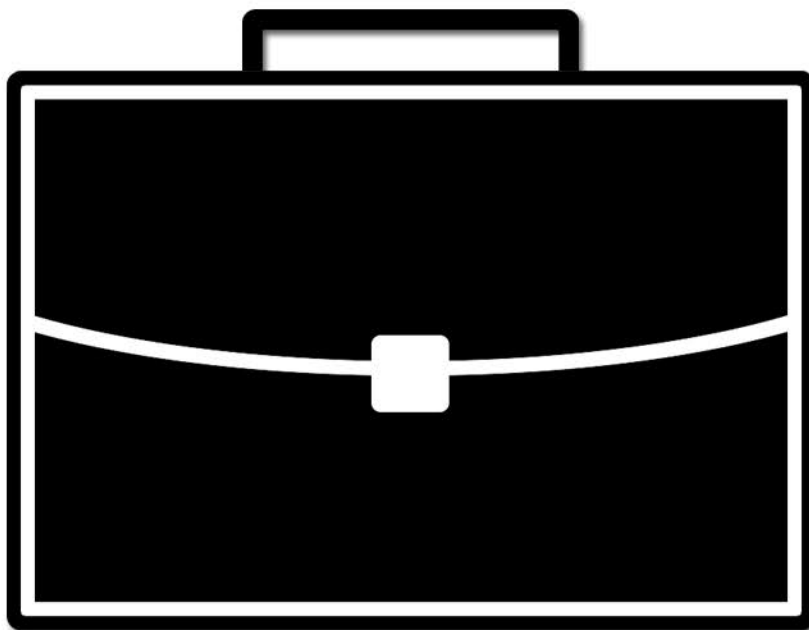
Tannenblatt, Eric. "Trump Budget Ends US National Service Tradition." The Hill. May 24, 2017. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/economy-budget/334979-trump-budget-ends-us-national-service-tradition/>>.

All told, national service programs total just \$1.03 billion. CNCS's budget accounts for only one-third of one single percent of the federal budget. That's \$1.03 billion that we could invest in the care of our veterans and their families, in chronically-failing schools, and economic upliftment of our nation's inner cities and rural communities. And, according to a study by Columbia University economists, every dollar spent on national service generates a return of four for society. Said another way: that's billions and billions lost in higher wages, better schools, and stronger communities. Presidential budgets are as equal parts grandstanding political demonstrations and sincere policy positions. Policy overlaid with politics. This budget was intended to make clear the days of profligate Washington spending are over. Good. But to strip funding for national service is to do a disservice to American patriotism, the tax payer, those who serve, and those served. National service is just that: service to the nation. The young people who invest their time and talents are drawn to AmeriCorps and its partners by the same thread that tugs so many into the military: their desire to give of themselves to their country. National service is an investment. And investments, by nature, are often hazy propositions, but we already know that national service programs reap huge returns — not only for those serving, but for those served, like children in struggling schools, those impacted by natural disasters, and our veterans. These programs do the hard, often thankless work of making America great. If anyone should understand that, it should be the president.

# Champion Briefs

## Novice Topic 2023

### Lincoln-Douglas Brief



## Negative Cases

**NEG: Korsgaard NC**

Korsgaard is a Kantian philosopher who believes in absolute rules and duties of ethics. Her arguments are grounded in practical reason. What this means is that obligations, values, morals etc. all stem from an internal source – each person decides what is a rational obligation/value. Thus, the only inexcusable action is one that violates another person's practical reason because it does not allow them to execute their will (think murder, coercion etc.). Mandates, laws, orders etc. would also violate practical reason because they are forcing a person into an action which may conflict with what they believe is an obligation or value. The cards in this brief speak to that when they argue that morality stems from the individual and thus an individual can't be forced into an action on moral grounds.

Many affirmative arguments on the subject say this is wrong because citizens/individuals passively concede to agreements by entering contracts (such as citizenry). Additionally, a person's practical reason isn't violated because 1) they aren't forced to service and 2) they aren't forced to be citizens and can revoke their status if necessary.

**Identifying yourself as the cause of your actions is contained in the idea of rational agency.**

Korsgaard, Christine. "Self-constitution In The Ethics Of Plato And Kant." *Journal of Ethics*.

September 15, 1999. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~korsgaar/CMK.Self-Constitution.Essay.pdf>>.

The first step is this: To conceive yourself as the cause of your actions is to identify with the principle of choice on which you act. A rational will is a self-conscious causality, and a self-conscious causality is aware of itself as a cause. To be aware of yourself as a cause is to identify yourself with something in the scenario that gives rise to the action, and this must be the principle of choice. For instance, suppose you experience a conflict of desire: you have a desire to do both A and B, and they are incompatible. You have some principle which favors A over B, so you exercise this principle, and you choose to do A. In this kind of case, you do not regard yourself as a mere passive spectator to the battle between A and B. You regard the choice as yours, as the product of your own activity, because you regard the principle of choice as expressive, or representative, of yourself. You must do so, for the only alternative to identifying with the principle of choice is regarding the principle of choice as some [a] third thing in you, another force on a par with the incentives to do A and to do B, which happened to throw in its weight in favor of A, in a battle at which you were, after all, a mere passive spectator. But then you are not the cause of the action. Self-conscious or rational agency, then, requires identification with the principle of choice on which you act.

**Rational Agency is Inescapable.**

Ferrero, Luca. "Constitutivism And The Inescapability Of Agency." Oxford Studies in Metaethic. August 18, 2017. Web. August 26, 2023. <<https://philpapers.org/archive/FERCAT.pdf>>.

Agency is special under two respects. First, agency is the enterprise with the largest jurisdiction. All ordinary enterprises fall under it. To engage in any ordinary enterprise is ipso facto to engage in the enterprise of agency. In addition, there are instances of behavior that fall under no other enterprise but agency. First, intentional transitions in and out of particular enterprises might not count as moves within those enterprises, but they are still instances of intentional agency, of bare intentional agency, so to say. Second, agency is the locus where we adjudicate the merits and demerits of participating in any ordinary [other] enterprise. Reasoning whether to participate in a particular enterprise is often conducted outside of that enterprise, even while one is otherwise engaged in it. Practical reflection is a manifestation of full-fledged intentional agency but it does not necessary belong to any other specific enterprise. Once again, it might be an instance of bare intentional agency. In the limiting case, agency is the only enterprise that would still keep a subject busy if she were to attempt a 'radical re-evaluation' of all of her engagements and at least temporarily suspend her participation in all ordinary enterprises. // (3.3) The second feature that makes agency stand apart from ordinary enterprises is agency's closure. [Second,] Agency is closed under the operation of reflective rational assessment. As the case of radical re-evaluations shows, ordinary enterprises are never fully closed under reflection. There is always the possibility of reflecting on their justification while standing outside of them. Not so for rational agency. The constitutive features of agency (no matter whether they are conceived as aims, motives, capacities, commitments, etc.) continue to operate even when the agent is assessing whether she is justified in her engagement in agency. One cannot put agency on hold while trying to determin[ing]e whether agency is justified because this kind of practical reasoning is the exclusive job of intentional agency. This does not mean that agency falls outside of the reach of reflection. But even reflection about agency is a manifestation of agency. // Agency is not necessarily self-reflective

but all instances of reflective assessment, including those directed at agency itself, fall under its jurisdiction; they are conducted in deference to the constitutive standards of agency. This kind of closure is unique to agency. What is at work in reflection is the distinctive operation of intentional agency in its discursive mode. What is at work is not simply the subject's capacity to shape her conduct in response to reasons for action but also her capacity both to ask for these reasons and to give them. Hence, agency's closure under reflective rational assessment is closure under agency's own distinctive operation: Agency is closed under itself. // (3.4) To sum up, agency is special because of two distinctive features. First, agency is not the only game in town, but it is the biggest possible one. In addition to instances of bare intentional agency, any engagement in an ordinary enterprise is ipso facto an engagement in the enterprise of agency. Second, agency is closed under rational reflection. It is closed under the self-directed application of its distinctive discursive operation, the asking for and the giving of reasons for action. The combination of these features is what makes agency [normatively] inescapable.

**Conscription is an unnecessary violation of individual choice.**

Carle, Ellorine. "Conscription Is An Unnecessary Violation Of Individual Choice." The Press

Democrat. December 01, 2013. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<http://teenlife.blogs.pressdemocrat.com/12577/military-draft-conscription-violates-ideals-of-freedom>>.

Since America's birth, men and women have taken up arms to defend the country to ultimately defend their rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Although military drafts have been deemed necessary for large-scale wars, for the most part, serving the country's military has been a choice. This makes sense, considering that the purpose of the American army is to defend America's freedom; if all citizens were forced to serve, then this basic right would simply not exist, and the country would take a giant step backward in time, revisiting a practice similar to slavery. Required military service is not only an infringement on our fundamental freedoms, but also on our ideals. The current U.S. military budget is over \$660 billion. That's about six times greater than China's military spending. If America were to enlist all its 18-year-old citizens, an already inflated military budget would have to be increased. Although this is simply not possible, considering that Congress cannot even put together a budget under the current financial circumstances of the country, allocating more funds toward the military instead of essentials like education and infrastructure would reshape our already misdirected goals. Is improving our massive military more important than adequately educating our children? Is training troops for virtually non-existent threats a bigger priority than subsidizing research for disease? For better roads? For more jobs? The biggest argument for required conscription may be that it would prevent future wars. By forcing all young men to fight, rather than drafting only volunteers, the U.S. population may think twice before diving into a war. However, history has demonstrated the exact opposite: conscription during the Civil War and both World Wars did not keep America from participating, or even lessen our involvement. The Vietnam War draft — and the protests which spurred from it — eventually helped the U.S. withdraw from the region, but it greatly disrupted social unity at home. Before we can even consider requiring military

service, we must define our purpose for warfare. Is it to ensure our safety at home, even though our military spending tops every country in the world? Is it to prevent future wars, even though history has indicated otherwise? Is it to maintain our fundamental right to freedom, even though conscription would take away freedoms from our own citizens? Mandatory conscription would force our ideals a step backward in time: a step that we have no reason to take.

## People must be able to freely exercise their rationality to foster normative evaluations.

Korsgaard, Christine. "Reflections On The Evolution Of Morality." Harvard University. 2010.

Web. August 26, 2023.

<<https://www.philosophy.northwestern.edu/community/nustep/10/papers/Korsgaard.pdf>>.

I am sympathetic to the worry, and yet, I must also confess that I am inclined to believe that something I call "reason," one of whose manifestations is something I call "morality," is a distinctively human attribute, and one that might explain(s) a lot of what seems to be so different about human beings. But it is important to be clear about what I mean by "reason" here, and about its implications for the question of evolution. The primatologist Frans de Waal, in *Primates and Philosophers*, distinguishes two schools of thought about morality. According to one of them, he tells us, morality is "a cultural innovation achieved by our species alone," where this is supposed to imply that "our ancestors became moral by choice." The other, his own theory, "views morality as a direct outgrowth of the social instincts we share with the other animals." He associates the two views loosely with the rationalist and sentimentalist traditions in moral philosophy, and suggests that according to proponents of the rationalist view, morality is not something about which it is appropriate to tell an evolutionary story at all. In fact I know of no philosophical view according to which human beings "became moral by choice," as De Waal puts it. But we might take De Waal's description of the rationalist position as a rough characterization of the sort of neo-Hobbesian or contractarian view according to which morality is founded on something like a social contract, entered into for reasons of self-interest. Such views take it for granted that "reason" is the standard of doing what is in your own best interests, and argue that morality is "rational" in the sense that it promotes those interests. When I talk about morality being a manifestation of reason, I am not talking about that sort of thing, but rather about views according to which moral laws are themselves principles of reason – such as rational intuitionist views, or Kant's view that the categorical

imperative is a principle of reason. And I do think that “reason,” in the sense that supports those theories, is something that must have evolved. So when I suggest that morality is a manifestation of reason, I do not mean to suggest that there is no evolutionary story to tell about its origins. But I do mean to register one source of my dissatisfaction with some of the current attempts to trace the evolution of morality, which is that I think that what they are trying to explain – which is characteristically altruism, cooperation, sharing, and so forth – is not quite the thing that needs to be explained. Morality, as treated in these kinds of accounts, is defined by its characteristic content, which has something to do with, say, social relationships which take the interests of others into account. Marc Bekoff and Jessica Pierce, in their book *Wild Justice*, say, for example, “We define morality as a suite of interrelated other-regarding behaviors that cultivate and regulate complex interactions within social groups.” And De Waal, in *Primates and Philosophers*, claims that the essence of human morality is taking “the interests of the entire community into account.” In the discussion following the lectures that make up that book, at which I was present, De Waal remarked that he regarded morality as “a system of conflict resolution.” But to someone working in the tradition of Plato, Aristotle, and Kant – or for that matter, as we will see, of Hume and Adam Smith – the characterization of morality as “a system of conflict resolution” or of a tendency to good social behavior is bound to sound a little thin. These philosophers, or so I want to protest, had something rather grander in mind. They were talking about what they took to be our unique human capacity to take responsibility for ourselves, to give shape and form to our own identities or characters, and to make laws for our own conduct. They were talking not just about a relation in which we stand to others, but about a relation in which we stand to ourselves, which it does not seem very tempting to attribute to any of the other animals. Morality so regarded is one manifestation of the human capacity for what I am calling “normative self-government.” Normative self-government is our capacity to assess the potential grounds of our beliefs and actions, to ask whether they constitute good reasons, and to regulate our beliefs and actions accordingly. In the theoretical realm, the capacity for normative self-government is expressed in the deliberate construction of systems of belief, employing consciously held standards of good evidence and valid argument. In the practical realm, it is expressed most obviously in the capacity to act from what

we familiarly call “a sense of obligation,” grounded in consciously held principles of good or right action. To be morally motivated in this sense is not just to have motives with a certain characteristic content. Moral motivation has a distinct – and I believe a distinctively human – form. I think that that, the human capacity for normative self-government, and not just good social behavior, is the thing whose evolution needs to be explained. Of course, everyone involved in these discussions grants that morality is not merely a tendency to good social behavior. If altruistic and cooperative behavior were the essence of morality, the ants and bees would be our moral heroes, and no one supposes that they are. Everyone also agrees that what these thinkers call “human morality” plainly involves something over and above altruistic or cooperative dispositions: some cognitive element such as the ability to follow explicit rules; or the self-conscious use of moral concepts; or the related capacity to make and be motivated by moral judgments. But explaining how that capacity arose is not usually part of the biologist’s enterprise. In my commentary on De Waal in *Primates and Philosophers*, I claimed that the essence of morality rests in normative self-government rather than in altruism or cooperation. Bekoff and Pierce, commenting in part on those remarks, say that they regard such matters as being motivated by conscious moral judgments as “relatively late evolutionary additions to the suite of moral behaviors.”<sup>8</sup> De Waal himself, in his response to the commentaries, suggested that the human capacity for “internal dialogue” “lifts moral behavior to a level of abstraction and self-reflection unheard of before our species entered the evolutionary scene.”<sup>9</sup> I don’t know exactly what these authors have in mind, but such remarks may suggest the idea that what is distinctive about “human morality” is the result of adding some kind of advanced intellectual faculties onto sociable instincts or desires. But exactly which advanced intellectual faculties are supposed to be involved and how adding them to social instincts is supposed to produce a normatively self-governing animal is left rather vague. So something more needs to be said.

**Individual autonomy is the basis for government action.**

Pendlebury, Michael. "Individual Autonomy And Global Democracy." NCSU. 2004. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<http://www.ncsu.edu/chass/philo/pendlebury/documents/IndivAutonomyandGlobalDemocracy.pdf>>.

Individual autonomy is, therefore, an important human good. There are several reasons why it should also be regarded as a fundamental political value given the ideals of democracy and human rights, which I will take for granted. In terms of the ideal of democracy, the legitimacy of the state depends upon the rational consent of its citizens, and this in turn presupposes autonomy on their part. At the same time, given that institutionalized government is essential in all but very small scale societies, the claims of democracy are underpinned by the value of autonomy, for democracy is the form of government most compatible with and acceptable to autonomous citizens.

## Agreements contain implied actions and thus do not violate practical reason.

Gauthier, David. "Morals By Agreement." 1986. Web. August 26, 2023.

<[https://books.google.com/books?id=rH\\_h\\_Pb28\\_oC&pg=PA9&lpg=PA9&dq=Morals+by+agreement+offer+a+contractarian+rationale+for+distinguishing+what+one+may+and+may+not+do.+Moral+principles+are+introduced+as+the+objects+of+fully+voluntary+ex+ante+agreement+among+rational+persons&source=bl&ots=e8z6YuTNmA&sig=ACfU3U3EgeVmXhba8YpFUCE7MmEcvgrKBA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwirlvuFxPmAAxVtADQIHctjApwQ6AF6BAgGEAM#v=onepage&q=Morals%20by%20agreement%20offer%20a%20contractarian%20rationale%20for%20distinguishing%20what%20one%20may%20and%20may%20not%20do.%20Moral%20principles%20are%20introduced%20as%20the%20objects%20of%20fully%20voluntary%20ex%20ante%20agreement%20among%20rational%20persons&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=rH_h_Pb28_oC&pg=PA9&lpg=PA9&dq=Morals+by+agreement+offer+a+contractarian+rationale+for+distinguishing+what+one+may+and+may+not+do.+Moral+principles+are+introduced+as+the+objects+of+fully+voluntary+ex+ante+agreement+among+rational+persons&source=bl&ots=e8z6YuTNmA&sig=ACfU3U3EgeVmXhba8YpFUCE7MmEcvgrKBA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwirlvuFxPmAAxVtADQIHctjApwQ6AF6BAgGEAM#v=onepage&q=Morals%20by%20agreement%20offer%20a%20contractarian%20rationale%20for%20distinguishing%20what%20one%20may%20and%20may%20not%20do.%20Moral%20principles%20are%20introduced%20as%20the%20objects%20of%20fully%20voluntary%20ex%20ante%20agreement%20among%20rational%20persons&f=false)>.

Morals by agreement offer a contractarian rationale for distinguishing what one may and may not do. Moral principles are introduced as the objects of fully voluntary ex ante agreement among rational persons. Such agreement is hypothetical, in supposing a pre-moral context for the adoption of moral rules and practices. But the parties to agreement are real, determinate individuals, distinguished by their capacities, situations, and concerns. In so far as they would agree to constraints on their choices, restraining their pursuit of their own interests, they acknowledge a distinction between what they may and may not do. As rational persons understanding the structure of their interaction, they recognize a place for mutual constraint, and so for a moral dimension in their affairs. That there is a contractarian rationale for morality must of course be shown. That is the task of our theory. Here our immediate concern is to relate the idea of such a rationale to the introduction of fundamental moral distinctions. This is not a magical process. Morality does not emerge as the rabbit from the empty hat. Rather, as we shall argue, it emerges quite simply from the application of the maximizing conception of rationality to certain structures of interaction: Agreed mutual constraint is the rational response to these structures. Reason overrides the presumption against morality.

## **We are our own source of normative values so to violate the will of someone is immoral.**

Korsgaard, Christine. "Fellow Creatures: Kantian Ethics And Our Duties To Animals." Tanner Lecture on Human Values. February 06, 2004. Web. August 26, 2023.

<[https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/\\_resources/documents/a-to-z/k/korsgaard\\_2005.pdf](https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_resources/documents/a-to-z/k/korsgaard_2005.pdf)>.

I believe that when Kant claims that the conception of ourselves as ends-in-ourselves is a "subjective principle of human action," he means that we human beings regard ourselves as capable of conferring value on the objects of our choices.<sup>41</sup> That is, we take our choices to be the source of legitimate normative claims, claims we make on all rational beings. As he makes clear in the text leading up to this argument, Kant does not believe that the ends that human beings pursue have, in and of themselves, some sort of objective value that is prior to our interest in them. He says, "The ends that a rational being proposes at his discretion as effects of his actions (material ends) are all only relative; for only their mere relation to a specially constituted faculty of desire on the part of the subject gives them their worth."<sup>42</sup> More generally, Kant rejects a certain form of value realism, which holds that certain states of affairs or objects just are intrinsically valuable, and that it is rational to desire or promote them because they have that value. According to Kant, we do not desire things because they are valuable; rather, we take them to be valuable because we desire them. We desire things because they satisfy our appetites, please our senses, stimulate our curiosity, arouse our faculties, make us feel interested and empowered and alive. We desire things because, given our psychology, they are suited to satisfy, arouse, or please us.<sup>43</sup> Yet as rational beings, who are conscious of our choices and the grounds of those choices, we can pursue our ends only if we are satisfied that doing so is good – that is, that our ends are worthy of pursuit. Since our ends are not good in themselves, but only relative to our own interests, it must be that we take our own interest in something to confer a kind of value upon it, sufficient to make it worthy of rational choice. And that means that we accord a kind of value to ourselves. "What matters to

me,” the human being in effect says to himself, “really matters, and is worth pursuing, because I matter.” And he embodies this conception of himself in his actions, both by pursuing the things he cares about as genuine goods, and by demanding that others help him to pursue them when he is in need.<sup>44</sup> That is the sense in which the conception of ourselves as ends-in-ourselves is a subjective principle of human action. We regard ourselves as sources of value – that is to say, as sources of normative claims that are binding on ourselves and others.

**We create our own laws because our actions create endorsements of our values thus obligations and values are synonymous.**

Korsgaard, Christine. "Fellow Creatures: Kantian Ethics And Our Duties To Animals." Tanner

Lecture on Human Values. February 06, 2004. Web. August 26, 2023.

<[https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/\\_resources/documents/a-to-z/k/korsgaard\\_2005.pdf](https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_resources/documents/a-to-z/k/korsgaard_2005.pdf)

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It is essential to see that in Kant's system, all genuine value comes from legislative acts of the sorts I've just described. Kant says, "nothing can have a worth other than that which the law determines for it."<sup>45</sup> Importantly, there is a way in which even the special value of humanity as an end-in-itself comes from our own legislative acts. This is because in the very act of treating our own ends as good and worthy of pursuit, in spite of their lack of any inherent value, we in effect confer the status of end-in-itself on ourselves.<sup>46</sup> In other words, value, as Kant sees it, is a human creation, made both possible and necessary by rationality. Because we are rational, we cannot act without at least implicitly endorsing the principles upon which we act, and in that sense willing them as laws. These acts of endorsement or legislation are what transform mere desiring into acts of valuing. And for Kant acts of valuing are the source of all value – all legitimate normative claims - not the other way around. Obligation does not arise from value: rather, obligation and value arise together from acts of the legislative will.

**Because humans are rational they must be self-governing in their behaviors and can't have forced obligations or values.**

Korsgaard, Christine. "Fellow Creatures: Kantian Ethics And Our Duties To Animals." Tanner

Lecture on Human Values. February 06, 2004. Web. August 26, 2023.

<[https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/\\_resources/documents/a-to-z/k/korsgaard\\_2005.pdf](https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_resources/documents/a-to-z/k/korsgaard_2005.pdf)

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What all of this means is that rationality, for Kant, is the capacity for normative self-government. Rationality makes us capable of assessing and judging the principles that govern our beliefs and actions, and of regulating our beliefs and actions in accordance with those judgments. Rationality also makes it necessary for us to exercise this capacity, for as long as we are conscious of our principles, to some extent we cannot help but assess them. Once they are before our minds, we must decide whether to endorse or reject them, and act accordingly. According to Kant, the fact that human beings live under this kind of normative self-government is the distinctive difference between human beings and the other animals. And it is clear from this account why Kant thinks that we are the only moral animals, in the sense that we are the only animals whose conduct is subject to moral guidance and moral evaluation.<sup>23</sup> We cannot expect the other animals to regulate their conduct in accordance with an assessment of their principles, because they are not conscious of their principles. They therefore have no moral obligations. But it is not obvious why Kant should think that it follows that we have no obligations to them. That is the question to which I now turn.

**Compulsory service is a deprivation of autonomy and choice.**

Smolla, Rodney. "The Constitutionality Of Mandatory Public School Community Service Programs." Law And Contemporary Problems. 2000. Web. August 26, 2023. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1192269>>.

In the specific context of mandatory community service programs, those who invoke the substantive due process doctrine to attack such programs may plausibly point to a longstanding line of substantive due process cases that have paid particular solicitude to the rights of parents and children to make choices for themselves over matters relating to education and child-rearing. For example, a series of decisions in the 1920s established the constitutional rights of parents and teachers to instruct children in the German language,<sup>35</sup> the right of parents to send children to non-public schools,<sup>36</sup> and the right to send children to foreign language schools.<sup>37</sup> Community public service programs, however, do not implicate the wholesale deprivations of autonomy and choice in child-rearing and education that this venerable line of substantive due process cases were created to vindicate. The devil is in the detail, if you will, and there is a world of difference between broad legislative enactments that forbid instruction in private schools or foreign languages and programs that impose specific educational requirements on students attending public schools.

**NEG: Constitutionality NC**

The Constitution NC argues that mandatory national service is unconstitutional under the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment, ratified in 1865, abolished slavery in the United States when it declared, “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.” The thesis of the Constitution NC is that mandatory national service constitutes involuntary servitude, and thereby massively violates the Constitution. The Constitution NC is strategic because it uses a “descriptive standard,” meaning that the contentions answer a straightforward yes/no question posed by the value criterion (“is the Affirmative consistent with the Constitution? No.”). Unlike utilitarian cases where both sides can weigh a variety of impacts, law-based frameworks allow debaters to claim contentions that are heavily weighted towards one side. Although there is Affirmative literature arguing that mandatory national service does not run afoul of the Thirteenth Amendment (because service, especially to the government, is not “servitude” as the amendment’s framers intended), the Negative can make a strong case out of the Constitution in a way that excludes utilitarian impacts.

The Constitution NC has two weaknesses. First, the Affirmative literature I mentioned above makes a compelling case that mandatory national service would be consistent with the Thirteenth Amendment’s history, as well as Supreme Court precedent (when the Supreme Court ruled in 1913 that the military draft was constitutional). The Negative’s contentions will be based upon a plain reading of the Amendment, which might be preferable to the Affirmative’s turns. And second, the Affirmative may compellingly argue that the resolution implies ratifying a Constitutional amendment, which solves the NC’s offense.

**Consistency with the Constitution is a prerequisite to holding government accountable for the respect of individual rights, as well as establishing a stable society.**

Bingham Center For The Rule Of Law. "Constitutional Awareness: Myanmar." Lexis Nexis.

October, 2013. Web. August 24, 2023.

<[https://www.biicl.org/files/6646\\_burma\\_constitutional\\_awareness\\_booklet\\_-\\_english\\_version\\_\(2\).pdf](https://www.biicl.org/files/6646_burma_constitutional_awareness_booklet_-_english_version_(2).pdf)>.

A. WHAT IS A CONSTITUTION? A Constitution is a collection of rules and principles which set out how a state will be governed. It forms the framework for all decisions made by every government official and, particularly the legislature (the law making body), executive (President/Prime Minister/ministers) and the courts. It also sets out the rights of everyone which must be respected by the state and therefore establishes the relationship between the government and the people. Why is a constitution important? A constitution is important because it ensures that those who make decisions on behalf of the public fairly represent public opinion. It also sets out the ways in which those who exercise power may be held accountable to the people they serve. And it sets out where government powers end by guaranteeing individuals' specific rights and freedoms. These rights help to assure the protection and promotion of human dignity, equality and liberty. Constitutions may provide for the division of powers between the central government and the regions. Constitutions should be agreed rather than imposed so as to provide an acceptable framework for the settling of different political views. They help provide for a stable society by ensuring that, although everybody may not agree with the government all the time, the people accept the legitimacy of the system of choosing governments.

**The Constitution prohibits involuntary servitude, and therefore mandatory national service is unconstitutional.**

Bandow, Doug. "Mandatory National Service: A Bad Idea That Won't Die." CATO Institute.

August 08, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.cato.org/commentary/mandatory-national-service-bad-idea-wont-die>>.

It is a remarkably dumb idea. First, there's the constitutional problem—the 13th Amendment clearly proscribes "involuntary servitude," the foundation of Delaney's program. Moreover, as worthy as it might be to encourage others to "begin their adult lives serving their country and working alongside people from different backgrounds," that is a bad reason for what amounts to enslavement. National service requires punishing people—presumably by arresting and jailing them—for resisting the state's social engineering. Under Delaney's plan, conscripts, conveniently excluding people his or Buttigieg's age, would choose between serving in the military, "a new expanded Community Service program," "a new National infrastructure Apprenticeship program," and "a newly created Climate Corps." Conceptually, there's nothing particularly new in his proposal. But subjugating people to provide cheap labor for politically inspired projects is bad both in principle and practice.

## **Mandatory national service clearly violates the Thirteenth Amendment.**

Friedersdorf, Conor. "National Service Is A Terrible Idea." The Atlantic. July 30, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/07/national-service-forced-labor/595012/>>.

The Democratic presidential candidate John Delaney proposed this week that the government partner with private companies and unions to create a national program of forced labor. He calls it "John Delaney's Plan for National Service." "Every American will complete a minimum of 1 year and a maximum of 2 years of mandatory national service when they graduate high school, or turn 18," it states. "No exceptions," a press release clarifies. (Tough luck, pregnant 18-year-olds.) With the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, the Constitution guaranteed that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude ... shall exist within the United States." Delaney obviously doesn't see it this way, but mandatory national service is plainly involuntary servitude.

## **There is no Constitutional basis for mandatory national service, which is prohibited by the Thirteenth Amendment.**

Bandow, Doug. "Mandatory Universal National Service: A Dystopian Vision For A Free Society."

CATO Institute. February 21, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cato.org/testimony/mandatory-universal-national-service-dystopian-vision-free-society>>.

An even more important question is the constitutionality of a mandatory universal program. The Thirteenth Amendment was passed to eliminate slavery, but its reach is broader: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." Mandatory universal national service, at least if legally required and backed by civil or criminal penalties, would fit the definition of involuntary servitude. In 1918, the Supreme Court upheld military conscription from a challenge under the Thirteenth Amendment, but that decision was almost preordained: it took place during a war in which U.S. draftees were then in combat, in a period when protection of civil liberties was at a historical low and exaltation of the executive was at a disturbing high, and when the Supreme Court took an essentially servile attitude toward the other branches of government. Moreover, in the Selective Draft Law Cases the justices declared that "the highest duty of the citizen is to bear arms at the call of the nation" and that obligation "reflects the custom of nations." The Court unsurprisingly ruled that the authority to raise armies and exercise other war powers "includes the power to compel military service." None of these arguments apply to civilian service. First, there is no related, explicit constitutional authority. Second, by the Court's own ruling any civilian citizenship obligations trail military duties. Third, mass civilian "service" would not be performed for "the nation," but rather for people and institutions at the behest of the national government. The difference is subtle but critical. Military service is directed and managed by the state for the benefit of the state. Similar is mandatory jury service, another practice that goes to the essence of state sovereignty. Requiring someone to engage in any number of

civilian tasks to benefit others, however worthwhile, is very different. It is difficult to imagine such a program surviving judicial scrutiny, else the Thirteenth Amendment would be a dead letter.

**NEG: Libertarianism NC**

The Libertarianism NC argues that mandatory national service is government coercion and therefore inherently unjust. Libertarian political philosophers adhere to the view that government should have limited powers and refrain from interfering with free-market capitalism. Libertarians argue that their perspective on freedom is best supported by the importance of preserving “negative rights” over “positive rights” (the latter do not exist, according to libertarians). Negative rights are freedoms “from” something, such as our rights against being killed or stolen from, and positive rights are freedoms “to” something, such as food and healthcare. Libertarianism posits that attempting to guarantee positive rights will inevitably coerce people into providing those rights, and therefore violate those other people’s negative rights. The slogan that “taxation is theft” originates from libertarianism because of its position that taxation by the government is inherently a violation of individual freedom. The Libertarianism NC could have a multi-pronged contention against mandatory national service, not only against the idea of government requiring people to do jobs that are better left to volunteers and the private sector, but also against the increased taxation that may result from the spending commitments of the Affirmative. The Libertarianism NC is strategic because it clashes well with utilitarian cases, and ultimately argues that individual rights should not be sacrificed for utility.

The Libertarianism NC has two weaknesses. First, libertarianism’s absolute stance against coercion may be impractical and non-unique, given that the government already taxes people and requires jury duty – two situations in which people would commonly agree that coercion is justified. And second, the NC will need strong evidence that the private sector and volunteerism is sufficient to solve the Aff’s impacts like climate change, or else the Affirmative will have a compelling argument in favor of government coercion for the greater good.

## **Mandatory national service is forced labor mandated by the government, which is inherently immoral.**

Tuccille, J.D. "Mandatory National Service Is A Morally Bankrupt Idea." Reason. August 12, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://reason.com/2022/08/12/mandatory-national-service-is-a-morally-bankrupt-idea/>>.

This isn't your grandfather's military draft (though some advocate reviving that, too, in response to recruitment shortfalls). Instead, it's eagerness to force people not just to defend the country, but also into clerical roles, law enforcement, tutoring, and janitorial work on behalf of the state. Advocates for mandatory service seem to think they've stumbled on an innovative way to bring Americans together, but as is so often the case these days, they're dusting off an authoritarian idea better left in the past: *corvée*. That's "forced labor imposed by a conqueror on the conquered, or by a government on the citizens under its jurisdiction," according to Encyclopedia.com. Since the use of forced labor is old, so are objections to the practice. "What is freedom? It is the right to choose one's own employment. Certainly it means that, if it means anything," responded Frederick Douglass, the escaped slave and prominent reformer, to the U.S. Army's Civil War-era policy in Louisiana of extracting one year of forced (though compensated) labor from freedmen on behalf of the federal government. "And when any individual or combination of individuals, undertakes to decide for any man when he shall work, where he shall work, at what he shall work, and for what he shall work, he or they practically reduce him to slavery." So, advocates of mandatory national service in jobs assigned by the government propose a policy long-ago rejected by one of this country's greatest advocates of liberty as indistinguishable from the slavery he had experienced first-hand. Most recent proposals wave away objections; Kang acknowledges such concerns without ever really addressing them. "Last year, my colleagues on the editorial board asked if young Americans should be required to do a year of service," he wrote. "The issue, as the editorial board pointed out, is that it's difficult, potentially illegal, and perhaps even morally wrong to compel young Americans into a period of service." Those are pretty serious barriers to compelling people to

work in jobs to which they're assigned by bureaucrats under (never specified) penalty of law. That would seem to necessitate serious consideration of philosophical and practical objections, and to address the likely prospect of widespread defiance of a policy historically linked to slavery. But while Kang mentions that mandatory service might be morally wrong, he then suggests a “real test run for universal national service” without offering a reply. Carden sniffs that “prioritizing the rights of citizenship over its obligations, is one of the main reasons the program is needed in the first place.” Patel doesn't even acknowledge moral concerns, insisting that “the main argument against mandatory national service comes from the military” because the all-volunteer force satisfies its needs. At least the Times editorial board conceded last year that “these are serious arguments, and no doubt one reason mandatory service has been relegated to the fringes of legislative effort.” Unsurprisingly, a national *corvée* remains most popular with those who will never have to surrender time and effort to the state. Advocates of the idea like to point to a 2017 Gallup poll that found 49 percent of respondents favoring mandatory national service, with 45 percent opposed. But that same poll found “a majority (57 percent) of the group most likely to be affected—those under the age of 30—oppose the idea.” An August 2022 Rasmussen poll asking specifically about restoring military conscription found just 23 percent in favor, with a majority objecting. Of course, even if conscription of any sort were popular among those on the receiving end, it would still be unacceptable as a violation of individual liberty. Until Kang and other advocates of mandatory national service seriously engage with and answer moral objections to compelled labor, their proposal will remain one whose time has not come and, in a just world, never will.

## **The rights of individuals cannot be sacrificed for what the institutions of society decide to be the social good.**

Mack, Eric. "Robert Nozick's Political Philosophy." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. May, 2018. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/nozick-political/>>.

To counter the contention that, at the outset, practical rationality calls for the minimization of net costs (or the maximization of net benefits), Rawls and Nozick need to hold that what makes it practically rational for a given individual to incur some cost to herself (or forego some benefit for herself) is the avoidance of some greater cost to herself (or the attainment of some greater benefit for herself). They need to hold that (at least absent further argument) the rational balancing of costs incurred (or benefits foregone) and costs avoided (or benefits attained) must take place within lives and not across lives. And this does seem to be part of the intended force of Rawls' invocation of a "plurality of distinct persons with separate systems of ends"[6] and of Nozick's insistence that there are "only individual people, different individual people, with their own individual lives" (33). In Nozick this stance is most explicit when he parses "the fact of our separate existences" as, ... the fact that no moral balancing act can take place among us; there is no moral outweighing of one of our lives by others so as to lead to a great overall social good. There is no justified sacrifice of some of us for others. (33) Note, however, that this last sentence is ambiguous. It may mean simply that there is no moral balancing across individuals that requires individuals to sacrifice for others or that justifies others in imposing such sacrifices. However, that sentence may also mean that "no one may be sacrificed for others" (33) in the sense that those who impose such sacrifices wrong the individuals who are subjected to those losses. That is, it may also mean that there is (in Rawls' terminology) a "correct regulative principle" that forbids and condemns the imposition of such sacrifices. It is clear that Nozick intends to assert this further claim even though he does not explicitly recognize that it is a further and distinct proposition. For, according to Nozick, one will not "sufficiently respect and take account of the fact that he [i.e., any given individual] is a separate

person, that his is the only life he has” (33) unless one morally condemns and eschews uses of that person—in particular, impositions of losses on that person for the sake of (what purports to be) the social good.

## **Only negative rights exist---coercion for the sake of positive rights is immoral.**

Powell, Aaron Ross. "What Are Negative And Positive Liberty? And Why Does It Matter?"

Libertarianism.org. December 20, 2012. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<http://www.libertarianism.org/blog/what-are-negative-positive-liberty-why-does-it-matter>>.

If we want to start very simple, keeping our definitions to just two words each, negative liberty means "freedom from," while positive liberty means "capacity to." Another way of thinking about the difference—though again, it's a rough one—is to see negative liberty as being about the absence of external limits, while positive liberty is about the absence of internal limits. Let's look at an example. Jack's living in New York. He'd like go to California to visit family. Under a negative conception of liberty, Jack is free to go to California if nobody is actively preventing him from doing so. Thus his negative freedom would be violated if his neighbor locked Jack in the basement, or if someone stole his car. But what if Jack's so poor that he can't afford a car or a plane ticket? What if Jack is sick and so not physically up to the trip? In these instances, no person prevents Jack from going to California, so Jack's negative liberty remains intact. Yet he lacks the capacity to fulfill his desire and so, from a positive liberty standpoint, he is unfree. Within the context of political philosophy—within the context of what the state is permitted to do and what it ought to do—a government protects Jack's negative liberty by preventing the neighbor from locking Jack up and preventing the thief from stealing Jack's car. If the state is unable to prevent these specific acts, it may punish the perpetrators, thus (we hope) reducing the likelihood of other, similar liberties violations. In addition to—or instead of—punishing violations, the state might force the violator to compensate Jack, striving to make him whole. On the other hand, a state tasked with directly promoting Jack's positive liberty might tax its citizens in order to buy Jack the car he couldn't otherwise afford. Or it might use that revenue to pay for the medical care Jack needs to get back on his feet so he can travel. A positive liberty focused state would take active steps to assure Jack isn't just free to pursue his desires, but also

has the resources to attain them. Typically, libertarians believe the state should only concern itself with negative liberty and should never undertake to actively promote positive liberty. In part this is because we recognize that, in order to give some people the resources they need to get what they want, it must take those resources from others. The money Jack uses to buy a car or pay his medical bills is money someone else now doesn't have to pay for his or her own car or medical bills. (In a sense, this means the state has stolen a car from one person in order to give it to another, a violation of the victim's negative liberty.) If the state tries to avoid this by, for instance, forcing the doctor to give Jack medical care for free, it has violated the doctor's negative liberty to use his time as he sees fit. Beyond this, libertarians often argue that a state aiming at positive liberty will not only result in less negative liberty, but in less positive liberty as well. By allowing people to keep the products of their own labor, for example, we grow the economy, meaning more resources for everyone to pursue their desires. States that put positive liberty above negative liberty simply end up poorer. This means, we libertarians argue, if you really care about the positive liberty of the poor, you'll setup a government that does nothing but protect negative liberty.

**Government service is not better than private service.**

Bandow, Doug. "Mandatory Universal National Service: A Dystopian Vision For A Free Society."

CATO Institute. February 21, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cato.org/testimony/mandatory-universal-national-service-dystopian-vision-free-society>>.

Government service is inherently better than private service. "Public service" has a nice ring to it, but service comes in many forms. Being paid by the government to shelve books in a library, whether as a normal employee or as an AmeriCorps member, is no more laudable or valuable than being paid to stock shelves in a private bookstore. A host of private-sector jobs provide enormous public benefits — consider healthcare professionals, medical and scientific researchers, business entrepreneurs and inventors, and artists. Many of these people work much harder and earn much less than they could in alternative work; they have chosen to "serve" in their own way. Yet MUNS would effectively denigrate service through private employment. Nor is there any reason to believe, a priori, that a dollar going to MUNS would yield more benefits than an additional dollar spent on medical research, technological innovation, or any number of other private and public purposes. Being a civilian "service" conscript would not necessarily generate more social benefits than working for a private charity or hospital. Indeed, a mandatory universal program would delay the entry of millions of people into the workforce every year, losing the benefit of their labor for the rest of us. Thus, the opportunity cost of diverting young people into extraneous educational pursuits and dubious social projects would be high. What of essential needs which only government can address? MUNS would be like using a blunderbuss to hit a fly. Narrowly targeted responses to particularly important human needs would remain the most effective answer. That is, it would be better to find a way to attract several hundred or thousand people to, say, help care for the terminally ill, whether through public or private agencies, than to lump that task with teaching, painting buildings, cleaning bedpans, clearing undergrowth, and a plethora of other jobs performed by a cast of untrained millions. Nor are local organizations likely to efficiently use a

massive influx of “free” labor from the federal government. Many tasks not performed today are not viewed as worth the cost. If the price of labor falls to zero that will change. A similar problem is evident in federal grant programs that allow states to use national money for local projects. Observed David Luberoff of Harvard’s John F. Kennedy School of Government: “One of the lessons of the interstate project is that in general ... if you don’t require that states put up a reasonable amount of the cost, you run the risk of building stuff that is probably not that cost-effective.”

## **Mandatory national service destroys freedom in the name of protecting it, which is contradictory and immoral.**

Hornberger, Jacob. "Destroying Freedom To Protect Freedom." CATO Unbound. September 16, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.cato-unbound.org/2013/09/16/jacob-hornberger/destroying-freedom-protect-freedom/>>.

The ultimate issue for those who advocate government programs that involve the initiation of force is: Are you personally willing to support the government's killing of those people who choose to violently resist when the government initiates force against them? In his endorsement of mandatory military service for the American people, Pascal-Emmanuel Gobry, while touching on the issue of coercion, does not directly confront that central issue. So permit me to address the critical question to him directly. Let's assume that the Cato Institute has just hired an 18-year-old intern named Stephanie Jones, a young woman who is passionately committed to libertarianism. A couple of months after she's hired, Stephanie receives a notice from the Department of Defense saying that she'll have to resign her position at Cato to fulfill her mandatory commitment to the U.S. military. Stephanie politely refuses, saying that as a free person she has decided to stay at Cato, not because she has any conscientious objection to serving in the military but simply because she doesn't want to. She prefers staying at Cato serving the cause of freedom. Oh, one more thing: As the proud owner of an AR-15, Stephanie announces that she intends to resist with all the force necessary if anyone from the government tries to take her away to work for the military. A team of well-armed U.S. Marshals and U.S. soldiers is dispatched to take her into custody. When they enter onto her property, she fires at them. So the big question arises for Gobry. Does he say, "Shoot her!" or does he say that the gendarmes should just retreat and leave her alone? If he says that Stephanie should be left free (and alive) to make her own choice, then what purpose does his mandatory military service law serve? It's interesting that Gobry compares his mandatory military service idea to public (i.e., government) schooling. He makes the shocking suggestion that "it's legitimate for the state to mandate children to be educated for approximately twelve years of their life." He

says that “few libertarians have a problem with the idea that it should be mandatory to educate children” and that “supporting mandatory schooling is hardly libertarian heresy.” Is he kidding? What libertarians is he hanging out with? With the exception of the military itself, it would be difficult to find a better example of a socialistic program than government schooling, especially considering its top-down central-planning system, its funding by taxation, its government-approved textbooks and curricula, its government schoolteachers, and its compulsory-attendance laws. In fact, government schooling can easily be considered “army-lite,” given how both systems are committed to inculcating people with a mindset of obedience, conformity, and deference to authority. Is Gobry really telling us that educational socialism is consistent with libertarian principles? I would respectfully refer him to Sheldon Richman’s great book, *Separating School & State: How to Liberate America’s Families*, along with all the articles on education that The Future of Freedom Foundation has published since its inception in 1989, all of which correctly hold that compulsory education is, to use Gobry’s term, as “heretical” to libertarianism as, say, compulsory religion is. Given Gobry’s belief in educational socialism, however, another question naturally arises: Why not mandatory educational service at the state and local level? After all, doesn’t he say that education is as important and beneficial to a society as military service is? Under his reasoning, why shouldn’t the state governments and local governments wield the legal authority to force everyone to undergo mandatory education service as teachers, principals, janitors, clerks, librarians, bus drivers, or teachers’ aides? Gobry spends a large part of his essay arguing the importance and benefits of military service. But that’s not the critical issue. We can concede his arguments in favor of military service. The real issues, however, are whether people should be forced to work in government programs no matter how their important and beneficial they are, and whether a society can be considered truly free when people are forced to do so. For anyone who places a high value on freedom, there can be only one answer: Freedom entails the right of one to live his life any way he chooses so long as he doesn’t forcibly or fraudulently interfere with the right of other people to do the same. If people aren’t free to make their own peaceful choices in life, then there is no way that that they can be considered genuinely free. Thus Cato’s 18-year-old intern, Stephanie Jones, has the moral right to say no when the military comes calling, regardless of her reasons,

just as others have the right to say yes. That's what freedom is ultimately all about. Neither the military nor Gobry has the moral authority to kill Stephanie for refusing to work for the military and instead choosing to remain employed at Cato. The issue of mandatory military service — or, for that matter, mandatory service of any kind — ultimately involves the issue of sovereignty. Either the individual is sovereign over his life or the state is. Under what moral authority does a government seize a free person and compel him to serve the government or to serve others? How can people living in a society in which the state wields that sort of sovereignty over them be considered truly free? Indeed, isn't that what slavery is all about — the legal authority of some to force others to serve them? Throughout his piece, Gobry exudes a lack of faith in free men and women. It's clear that he honestly believes that in a free society, people must be compelled by force to come to the defense of their freedom. You especially see this in his analysis regarding Switzerland. He's convinced that if the Swiss weren't forced to join the military, they would never voluntarily come to the defense of their country in the event of an attack. As an aside, we of course hear that argument all the time from welfare-statists — that the state needs to provide people with their retirement, health care, education, food, and other essentials because free people and a free market simply cannot be trusted to provide them on a voluntary basis. As Gobry points out, the Swiss have a centuries-old tradition of fiercely opposing invasions of their homeland. The notion that they need to be forced to do so is ridiculous. The problem is that, like Gobry, the Swiss have convinced themselves that they need to be forced to do so. But the truth is that if Switzerland's mandatory military service laws were repealed today, most Swiss citizens would maintain their fierce allegiance to freedom and independence and be willing to volunteer to defend them in times of peril. It's no different with Americans or anyone living in a genuinely free society. If the United States were actually invaded by a foreign army seeking to subjugate the American people, who really doubts that most American men and women would eagerly volunteer to defend their homes, their families, their communities, and their country? In addition to government schooling, Gobry points to two other examples of government coercion to justify his mandatory military-service proposal — taxation and compulsory jury service. He suggests that since libertarians support at least some level of taxation, they cannot in principle oppose some level of mandatory military

service. The problem lies, once again, in his incorrect understanding of libertarianism, a philosophy that is guided by the nonaggression principle — the principle that holds that it is morally wrong to initiate force against another person. Since taxation at any level necessarily involves the initiation of force against others, it cannot be reconciled with the principles of a free society. Does opposition to taxation necessarily mean that a person is an anarchist, as Gobry says? Of course not. There is no inherent reason that people can't have a government of limited powers that is voluntarily funded — that is, one whose expenditures are limited to the monies that are voluntarily sent in to the government by people who believe that government is an essential and important institution in society. Of course, the concept of voluntary funding does become a problem for those who lack faith in free men and women. With respect to mandatory jury service, a simple solution would be to eliminate the coercion and raise the rate of pay from the nominal amount that is paid today to a much higher level, to the point where a sufficiently large number of people from across society are induced to add their names to the jury pool. Ultimately, the issue of mandatory military service — or mandatory service for anything — involves freedom. Because he's convinced that free people cannot be trusted to do the right thing, Gobry believes they must be forced to do the right thing. What he fails to recognize is that in forcing people to do the right thing, he destroys the very freedom he claims to want to protect.

**NEG: Nationalism Disadvantages**

Nationalism is the concept of seeking an identity based on a unified country, often involving feelings of superiority over others (or other countries). The Nationalism Disadvantage's structure is as follows: National Service creates nationalist sentiments because it makes everyone bonded by a common activity, this causes otherization based on (race, citizenship, ability, etc.), or alternatively nationalism is bad because it leads to war (or other large impacts).

The nationalism DA is interesting because a lot of the link literature is cut from pro national service writers arguing that it can unify our country (in a similar way that military service unifies service members to each other). When everyone performs towards the same impact, there is a sort of bond created that forces those people to view others as lesser if they haven't participated in that bond.

The nationalism DA can be read with a variety of impacts from critical (otherization, structural violence, etc.) to more utilitarian impacts like war. There is a lot of existing literature as to why nationalism is bad. There is also a lot of existing literature as to how performing communal activities (both in the context of national service and not) can lead to sentiments that are like nationalism. The concept that all members of a country must perform an action is nationalist when it comes to defining who is and is not part of a country, which provides a whole alternative route for this argument.

The main argument people will likely make against this DA is simply that nationalism is good (because it is likely that one of their affirmative arguments is that National service increases community bonds) so be prepared for an impact debate as many people will likely concede that national service creates bonds and 'patriotism'.

**Mandatory national service creates a divide based on citizenship where rights can be denied based on refusal to participate in the nationalistic call to duty.**

Chapman, Bruce. "A Bad Idea Whose Time Is Past: The Case Against Universal Service."

Brookings Institute. September 01, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/a-bad-idea-whose-time-is-past-the-case-against-universal-service>>.

Universal service advocates such as Litan are on especially shaky ground when charging that citizens should be "required to give something to their country in exchange for the full range of rights to which citizenship entitles them." This cuts against the grain of U.S. history and traditions. Citizens here are expected to be law-abiding, and they are called to jury duty—and to the military if absolutely necessary. They are encouraged (not forced) to vote and to render voluntary service—which Americans famously do. But to require such service before the rights of citizenship are extended is simply contrary to the purposes for which the country was founded and has endured. The Founders had a keen awareness of the ways that the state could tyrannize the people, and taking the people's liberty away to serve some specious government purpose unattached to national survival is a project that would horrify them. I also raise this practical question: exactly which citizenship rights will Litan deny those people who decline to perform government-approved national service? What will be done to punish the activist who thinks he can do more to serve humanity through a political party than through prescribed government service? Or the young religious missionary who would rather save souls than guard a pier for a few months? How about at the other end of the virtue spectrum—the young drug dealer who is only too happy to help guard the pier? Will you keep him out of the service of his choice and compel him to do rehab as his form of "service"?

**Civic engagement down now-low sense of national connection.**

Yamaguchi, Ryoko. "Still Serving: Measuring The Eight-Year Impact Of AmeriCorps On Alumni." Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS). May, 2008. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.nationalservice.gov/impact-our-nation/evidence-exchange/Still-Serving>>.

Unfortunately, there is some indication that Americans may be less involved in their communities than in the past, turning into passive observers rather than active participants (National Conference on Citizenship, 2006). Over the past 30 years, Americans have reduced public meeting attendance by 35 percent and their participation in civic organizations has decreased by half (Putnam, 2000). As civic engagement diminishes, so do the social networks, norms, and institutions that strengthen the civic health of the country (National Conference on Citizenship, 2006).

**Link- National Service’s purpose is to cut across diversity and to unify goals toward national responsibility.**

Ross, Tracey. “Utilizing National Service As A 21st Century Workforce Strategy For Opportunity Youth.” Center for American Progress. March, 2016. Web. August 25, 2023. <

<https://www.americanprogress.org/article/utilizing-national-service-as-a-21st-century-workforce-strategy-for-opportunity-youth/>>

Over the past 50 years, leaders from both sides of the aisle have supported service to meet goals of national significance. As a result, national service has been instrumental in tackling important challenges facing families and communities, such as addressing underperforming schools and rehabilitating housing for low-income families. National service also has helped foster important civic goals by bringing together diverse groups of individuals in a common purpose and building their sense of civic responsibility and community spirit. One of the most significant impacts of national service, however, is on the very people who perform the service.

## Communal service towards common goal bridges the existing divides of American politics.

Klein, Joe. "In Search Of Common Cause." Time. June 18, 2012. Web. August 25, 2023. <

<https://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2116697,00.html>>

But we were all Americans, I'd remind both sides. How were we going to get to know each other better, find some common ground? And then--eerily--someone would blurt it out: We need something like the draft. Maybe not military service but public service. At a sunset meeting in the beautiful Inn at Montross, in Virginia, a retired FBI investigator named I.C. Smith said, "Too many people just live our lives in contact with a narrow sliver of people. Now, we can't bring back the draft--the military doesn't want it, and we don't need it. But some form of mandatory national service that throws people from different parts of the country together might help." Bob Quinn, an audiovisual expert who'd moved to Virginia from the Northeast, quickly agreed: "I went to a private school where the students did all the cleanup work ourselves, except for the heavy-duty plumbing and electrical work, and it created a real camaraderie. I just went to my 50th high school reunion, and that spirit was still there. And I'll tell you what else, we didn't have very much destructive behavior or graffiti in our school, because we had to clean it up ourselves." The other topic that kept coming up on the road was the Affordable Care Act--or Obamacare, if you must--but, oddly, it wasn't long before health care and national service converged in my mind in a completely unexpected way. I spent an evening at a successful recovery program in Richmond, Va., called the McShin Foundation. Most of the people around the table were recovering addicts. A woman named Tammie Noey, a former heroin addict who had done time in jail for a felony, told her story. She started injecting herself when she was 9. She was 47 now, and clean for 21 months, and the only job she could get was as a waitress. But she had a friend who owned a farm and was willing to let her grow vegetables on part of it. She had pre-existing conditions as a result of her years of addiction; there was no way she could get health insurance. "I'm not in a position to have this bill shot down," she said. "If I break my toe and can't push the clutch pedal on the tractor, I'm done." I asked if anyone around the table was opposed to Obamacare. "I am," said Terry Kinum, 69, a recovering alcoholic, retired from the Navy, who now works with addicted veterans. "I'm sick and tired of all these welfare and socialist-type Marxist programs we're being inundated with." Others disputed that vehemently, and the situation threatened to get raw. But then I had a thought, which had been percolating since my meeting with the veterans: I asked Kinum about the people he had served with. I asked if he trusted them. Well, of course. They had served and sacrificed together. "And you believe they have a right to health care, right?" Kinum started to get up in my face, but I was headed in a different direction: Would he have as much trouble with Obamacare if he knew that the people receiving it had also served, in some way, like his Navy brothers? He nodded his head yes. I asked the addicts in the room about their responsibilities--not just to themselves but also to the communities they had burdened. "I would be happy to pay back with some sort of service," said Chris Phillips, 25,

who may face a felony charge because of three DUI violations, “if I thought I could clean the slate and get accepted to Virginia Commonwealth University, despite my record.” I’m not sure that Kinum was entirely convinced. And I’m not sure he should be. We have drifted a long way from civic rigor in this country. We’ve had a period of intense prosperity and intense immigration and intense growth of government programs for those in need, followed by an economic crash. We don’t know each other very well anymore, and it’s hard to trust people you don’t know. Throughout history, civilizations have built a common cause through coming-of-age rituals. But we don’t do that anymore. Maybe we should think about that. It could be something as simple as kids’ cleaning up their schools together, as Bob Quinn did--yes, Newt Gingrich was right about that--or it could be full-blown national service, including boot camp. But unless we start getting to know each other better, our chances of coming to a consensus about the important things we have to do together as a nation are going to be pretty slim.

## **Nationalism creates in-group vs out group which threatens immigration.**

Sandelind, Clara. "Constructions Of National Identity And Attitudes To Immigration." ECPR Joint Sessions. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Constructions-of-National-Identity-and-Attitudes-to-Sandelind/1770afe71eb0858add10398b3109394ee7d25e4>>.

A specific form of nationalism, which is only committed to the function of a shared national identity, has in recent years become rooted in the literature discussing social cohesion and the identity basis for liberal, democratic, welfare states. This so called instrumental nationalism maintains that in order for the democratic welfare state to function it needs the sense of solidarity, loyalty and mutual commitment that can come about through sharing a common national identity (Miller 1995; Barry 1999; Goodhart 2013; Collier 2013; see also Freeman 1986).<sup>1</sup> (The classification of an array of scholars as instrumental nationalists does extrapolate parts of some nationalist accounts while bracketing other parts that hold national identity to have intrinsic value, or value for other purposes such as individual autonomy.) National identity has instrumental value in realising the normative goals of redistributive justice and democratic deliberation and thus has not value independent of these goals. To the extent that immigration is seen as a threat to a cohesive and stable national identity able to perform its instrumental role, it can, on the instrumental nationalist view, be restricted. Immigration is thus conditioned on its ability to conform to a national identity: "On this view, egalitarian liberals cannot have their cake and eat it too; instead, they must choose which commitment – increased immigration or redistributive programs – takes precedence and accept that they will have to abandon the other" (Pevnick 2009, p. 148). I will argue below that this may indeed be, to an extent, a false choice: It depends on the extent to which the shared political identity constructs immigration as a threat.

**Concepts of nationalism are rooted in a ‘contribution’ to the government of question- in the case of the resolution this could be service.**

Sandelind, Clara. "Constructions Of National Identity And Attitudes To Immigration." ECPR Joint Sessions. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Constructions-of-National-Identity-and-Attitudes-to-Sandelind/1770afe71eb0858add10398b3109394ee7d25e4>>.

The first of these, found predominantly amongst the British respondents, is “contribution”. Those who share the contribution view understand the identification relationship of the political community to be based less on family-like ties and more on an evaluative reciprocity; belonging to the community depends on whether one is contributing to it or not. Contributions can be economic, social, cultural or political, thus if one is unable to contribute economically there are still pathways for belonging. Economic contributions are, however, stressed more than other forms of contribution by the respondents. The contribution category is also connected to ideas of shared values and shared culture, though these notions are less important than for the nationalist category and, regarding shared values, than for the institutionalist category. Importantly, contribution itself is held as the sole criteria for belonging by many respondents in this category and it is sometimes seen as more important than citizenship itself:

## **Nationalism increases the threat of war when out groups threaten in-group solidarity.**

Mearsheimer, John. "Kissing Cousins: Nationalism And Realism." Yale Workshop. May 05, 2011. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[http://www.sneps.net/t/images/Articles/11Mearsheimer\\_nationalism%20and%20realism.PDF](http://www.sneps.net/t/images/Articles/11Mearsheimer_nationalism%20and%20realism.PDF)>.

Nationalism's effect on the outcome of a war is greatest when one side uses it to build a powerful military and the opposing side does not. As noted, France capitalized on nationalism in the wake of its revolution (1789) and created the most powerful army in Europe by far. Clausewitz, an officer in the Prussian military who fought against that French army, writes that after Napoleon fine-tuned it, "This juggernaut of war, based on the strength of the entire people, began its pulverizing course through Europe. It moved with such confidence and certainty that whenever it was opposed by armies of the traditional type there could never be a moment's doubt as to the result."<sup>46</sup> Another case in which nationalism played to the advantage of one side over another is the 1948 war between Israel and its Arab rivals. That conflict was actually comprised of two separate wars: 1) a civil war between the Zionists and the Palestinians that began on November 29, 1947 (the date of the UN decision to partition Mandatory Palestine) and ran until May 14, 1948, when Israel declared independence; 2) an international war between Israel and five Arab armies that began on May 15, 1948 and lasted until January 7, 1949. There were about 650,000 Jews in Mandatory Palestine during this time and roughly 1.3 million Palestinians, which means that the Zionists were outnumbered by the Palestinians by about 2:1.<sup>47</sup> The surrounding Arab countries that went to war against Israel had roughly 30 million people, which meant they outnumbered the Jews by about 46:1.

## **Classification of common goals leads to stereotyping of those that don't meet demands or fall outside goals.**

Druckman, Daniel. "Nationalism, Patriotism, And Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective." *Mershon International Studies Review*. April, 1994. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/222610>>.

The bias toward one's own group that comes with loyalty appears critical to defining who one is and occurs in both cooperative and competitive intergroup situations. In fact, people have been shown to favor their own group even when they could lose substantially in the process. This ingroup bias, however, generally is more extreme in competitive situations where there is incentive to favor one's own group. It also appears to increase when there is consensus among group members about their goals and strategies-not only are they loyal to the group but they all define the problem, what they want to do, and how they want to do it in a similar manner. There is little chance for discrepant information to filter into the group or for them to consider reasons for change. Loyalty includes both emotional and cognitive aspects that interrelate to form images of groups. When these images are shared among members of a group, they become stereotypes. The emotional aspects of an image indicate whether there is any desire to seek information about another group based on one's evaluation of the other as friend or foe; the cognitive aspects denote the information one possesses about the other group. As a result, stereotypes become a means for maintaining one's images because there is little desire to gain information about disliked nations and, thus, the tendency to keep them at a distance, easy to describe and classify.

**National Service is meant to create good ‘citizens’.**

Eisner, Jane. “United We Serve: National Service And The Future Of Citizenship.” THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION-Transcript of Talk. July 30, 2003. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.brookings.edu/events/united-we-serve-national-service-and-the-future-of-citizenship>>.

In my mind, the link to national service is crucial and the greatest challenge, in fact, that we face in defining citizenship for the next generation. Let me explain. I’ve been fascinated by the service movement for probably a decade now as a journalist and as a citizen myself. I saw firsthand how the King Day of Service in Philadelphia began, grew from a sort of barely organized, hapless attempt at cleaning up a small spot in North Philadelphia to now a massive, very well-run, yearly event. I covered the President’s Summit on Volunteerism with great hope. I have dragged my kids to church clean-ups and to soup kitchens, and I’ve watched as they have on their own now chosen their own ways to serve, working in a needy public school or in a nursing home. Like others, I’m sure, I was certain that this growing spirit of service would translate into the more traditional habits of citizenship and help reverse the dangerous decline in voting and other forms of civic engagement. It looks like I was wrong. Young people are serving in record numbers, especially among the elite--the truth is you can scarcely be accepted to a school like Penn without having umpteen hours of community service on your resume--yet their voting rate is abysmal. And I don’t think that we can dismiss this as just a sign of the times.

## **National Service is a propaganda sentiment meant to homogenize people under the falsity of ‘citizenry duties’.**

Stanley McChrystal. “Why America Needs National Service.” News Week. January 23, 2011.  
Web. August 25, 2023. <

Even the most basic responsibilities of being an American are considered optional by many. In the seeming anonymity of modern life, the concept of community responsibility has weakened, yet is needed more than ever. Responsibility is most easily accepted when the need is clear and expectations are defined by tradition. I saw this up close in Afghanistan. In a harsh environment, agriculture long functioned and flourished through the use of ingenious irrigation systems, often employing extensive and complex underground tunnels called karez that moved water to where it was needed. Because the systems were essential, yet required manpower-intensive upkeep, maintenance was clearly understood to be a responsibility of the community, performed as a shared task without pay. The shared responsibility served to unify the community. The Soviet intervention in 1979 resulted in damage to the systems; subsequently, private individuals acquired wells and pumps, disrupting the community dynamic. What had been a unifying responsibility for all was now a source of wealth for a few—and yet another source of frustration for the rest. discussions of national service typically stall in the transition from general concepts to specific recommendations—because that’s when it gets hard. It is here where we must clearly understand our real objective. A veteran of AmeriCorps’ National Civilian Community Corps described his experience working and living for a year as part of a 10-person team doing projects: “My teammates were conservative and liberal, black, white, Asian, Jewish, Christian, atheist ...We had to get along or be miserable.” Today, 10 years after completing the experience, he finds that his former teammates remain in touch and believes the experience was absolutely instrumental in helping them determine their career trajectories. They feel it helped them develop teamwork skills, confidence, problem-solving abilities, community building, leadership, and communication skills. His favorite response, from a liberal New England-born Jewish woman about a construction project in rural South Carolina: “If I can

learn to use eight different types of saws and work with 10 reverends to build a house, what can't I do?" There has been a genuine effort with programs like AmeriCorps (and its expansion) and the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act to encourage, incentivize, and more effectively manage service to the nation. But despite their value, we have fallen short in mobilizing enough Americans to service. We can always outsource work—hire other people to complete projects—arguably with greater efficiency. But we must understand that our real objective must be in shaping Americans. We must build into our society, and into ourselves, a sense of ability and responsibility. We must recognize that service is typically doing things that you would not choose to do, but that must be done. It can be rewarding; it can also be difficult, onerous, and even dangerous. It cannot rely on short-term volunteers any more than our independence could be won by the people Tom Paine termed "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots." It must have people with a firm commitment, backed by a society that values their contribution. Service need not follow a single model—or feel like the military. It should be voluntary (but expected), fueled by clear incentives. It can be a combination of nongovernment and government programs ranging from public health to the Peace Corps. At its heart, the real value of national service will be more in the effect service has on those who provide it than the work they provide. There must be some common denominators that form a foundation for the program. As a start, I offer three: Service must involve a firm commitment for a specified period of time: at least one year. With few exceptions, that commitment should imply full-time involvement. Participants must be paid. The underlying concept of service and sacrifice (and relative inexperience of most young people) should keep compensation modest and relatively equal across the programs. The primary incentives for service should be a combination of things like education benefits and hiring preferences (similar to military veterans' programs). Building acceptance of a responsibility to serve will require more than rhetoric, or even funded programs. It will demand a true cultural shift in how we view personal and community responsibility. But it is a shift that Americans are ready for. They need only leadership and encouragement. As I saw in serving with the most elite military forces in our nation's history, performance is ultimately driven by the expectations individuals set for themselves. When the best is demanded of us, we rise to the occasion. When our systems adapt to recognize and

honor such service, that process is reinforced and accelerated. Soldiers who have fought for a road, hill, or village understand the value they place on otherwise meaningless foreign ground when they have invested in its protection. Teachers who have worked tirelessly to motivate students understand the value and potential of young people who would otherwise pass them unnoticed on the street. My friend Greg Mortenson, author of *Three Cups of Tea* and *Stones Into Schools*, has proved time again the power of ownership. By assisting Afghans and Pakistanis with materials and assistance in building schools, but demanding their direct commitment and responsibility, Mortenson has seen remarkable success. We shouldn't be surprised—it is predictable. But it is also hard work. At home, more than building schools, we need to build a sense of ownership in, and responsibility for, America.

\*Ellipsis from source

**Violent Nationalism is growing in the US-all strains include being able to otherize groups.**

Sexton, Jared. "Christian Nationalism's Popularity Should Be A Wake Up Call." Time. March 15, 2021. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://time.com/6250769/christian-nationalism-popularity-wake-up-call/>>.

In America, we have seen suffering inflicted on refugees, boldfaced white supremacy and cruelty, attacks on gay and transgender Americans, open anti-Semitism, the destruction of Roe V. Wade, and even an attempted coup. These are all worrying examples of supposedly unthinkable developments this ideology serves. Whether it will enable further losses of civil rights and liberties, oppression, totalitarianism, and even war remains to be seen, but much will depend on our understanding of the very real nature of this threat. This heretical ideology represents an existential crisis. Its gaining popularity and influence should serve as a wakeup call that the danger extends beyond Donald Trump or his cadre of fame-seeking flunkies. The terror that kept me and countless other young people awake at night in the past has escaped the confines of the church and now possesses millions of Americans the same way we once worried a demon might take over our bodies and our souls. And let there be no doubt that history is very clear what the consequences are should we not exorcise this harmful spirit from the body politic.

**National service creates identity and commitment in Americans.**

Grigsby, Carol. "Binding The Nation: National Service In America." US Army. May, 2009. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.army.mil/article/20464/binding-the-nation-national-service-in-america>>.

It is increasingly evident that the military is not well-suited to address the full spectrum of tasks required by the struggle against extremism.<sup>22</sup> Still, the threats America now faces, which are longer-term and more diffuse than the challenges posed by militaristic nations with territorial designs, carry the risk of catching the United States unawares. Similar to the Cold War, this conflict is likely to be an ongoing struggle stretching for decades, requiring the exercise of military and diplomatic power and a renewed mustering of America's fundamental strength as a nation. The Cold War began after a World War that had created a profound sense of community and common purpose among the American people. The potentially lengthy struggle that currently lies ahead, in contrast, has been preceded by a lengthy period during which Americans have been able to pursue their individual dreams and aspirations with little thought for the greater good. Even the memory of 9/11 is beginning to fade from the national consciousness. This moment in history affords an opportunity to recapture the essence of what it means to be American and to ensure that future generations will have a solid understanding of the challenges they will face. In this context, a renewed bipartisan push toward universal national service is appropriate and perhaps essential. Such a program has potential to forge a new sense of national community, rebuild the connection between the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and reestablish a sound civil-military relationship. Bring together young people from different walks of life to forge a renewed sense of American identity and comity.

**Common experiences of military create national bond thus creating nationalism.**

Grigsby, Carol. "Binding The Nation: National Service In America." US Army. May, 2009. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.army.mil/article/20464/binding-the-nation-national-service-in-america>>.

Veterans of any war share a common experience, the intensity of which creates strong and enduring relationships. The limited wars fought by the United States following World War II, however, have not produced enough veterans to have an appreciable impact on the common American experience. The ties that bound those who returned home after World War II are legendary. In that war, 70 percent of American men aged 18 to 35 served in the military.<sup>23</sup> That common experience forged lifetime relationships among WWII veterans, and—affecting as it did such a large proportion of American society—wove a common fabric of understanding and camaraderie for an entire generation. No other conflict, large or small, has come close since then. The current proportion of veterans in the US population is less than 10 percent, and those veterans are derived from several midsize conflicts (Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan) as well as a number of smaller conflicts and emergencies (Grenada, Somalia, and Panama, among others) spanning several generations.<sup>24</sup>

## **Peace Corps and other Corps national service create similar nationalism ideologies to the military by creating common bonds.**

Grigsby, Carol. "Binding The Nation: National Service In America." US Army. May, 2009. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.army.mil/article/20464/binding-the-nation-national-service-in-america>>.

In addition to the military, other life experiences have offered their "veterans" a similar sense of lifetime membership. During almost 50 years of existence, the Peace Corps has developed an important role in US outreach to nations. The Corps has also produced a small but dedicated band of Americans who share an interest in international issues and a common recollection of "the toughest job you'll ever love."<sup>25</sup> This service has transcended the diverse backgrounds of individual participants and built lasting relationships. Despite that degree of commonality, former Peace Corps volunteers represent an increasingly small portion of American society. Other agencies, most notably VISTA and, more recently, AmeriCorps (which now subsumes VISTA and other federal volunteer programs), have created new avenues for domestic service. As of the end of 2008, however, AmeriCorps and the Peace Corps have enrolled less than 750,000 participants.<sup>26</sup>

## **National service-military or not is key to creating nationalism and common identity through camaraderie.**

Bardenwerper, Will. "Best Remedy For Toxic Politics: National Service." Fort Worth Business Press. July 11, 2016. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[http://www.fortworthbusiness.com/opinion/best-remedy-for-toxic-politics-national-service/article\\_13b25416-4552-11e6-a9e7-eb5d6968512a.html?mode=jqm](http://www.fortworthbusiness.com/opinion/best-remedy-for-toxic-politics-national-service/article_13b25416-4552-11e6-a9e7-eb5d6968512a.html?mode=jqm)>.

One powerful step that could begin moving us toward a sense of shared destiny would be a period of national service, either military or civil. The question over whether it should be mandatory, or merely incentivized and encouraged, as the bipartisan Franklin Project is working toward, can be debated. But, as Gen. Stanley McChrystal writes, the "need to create a culture of service where we are all invested in our nation's future and feel a shared sense of responsibility to our nation and to each other" should not require extensive deliberation. Many Americans have just about given up on our political class, sensing that it does little besides raise money and protect incumbency. This political paralysis threatens the health of our republic more than the Islamic State, or ISIS, ever could. Though many have "chosen sides" in this self-defeating political blood sport, how many feel inspired by a sense of a collective national mission? But watching the selflessness of the Band of Brothers soldiers as they jumped into Normandy and endured the Battle of the Bulge reminds us of what Americans are capable of, and that we do not need to resign ourselves to this civic fragmentation. In a society that continues to divide between red states and blue, between the very rich and everyone else, encouraging everyone to spend a year working together to perform a mission focused on the collective good would bridge some of the divides that are weakening us as a country. How often do the "coastal elites" express befuddlement at the support for Donald Trump, confiding to one another that they've "never met a Trump voter"? Likewise, some people in the reddest of counties rarely, if ever, come face to face with a committed progressive. Last month's "Brexit" vote, when Britain elected to leave the European Union, illustrates what happens when socioeconomic elites grow so detached from the rest of the citizenry that a factory worker in

Manchester seems more foreign to a banker in London than a fellow financier in Frankfurt. Throw us all together as bunk-mates in military basic training, though, or in the austere conditions of the FEMA Corps or the Peace Corps, and it is possible that the shared sacrifice could help us see what we have in common and feel more invested in our collective success. Would the experience lead to instant national harmony? No. But it would help us to humanize those whom we may otherwise be conditioned to disdain by partisan insiders and their media enablers who perversely benefit from the increasingly corrosive status quo. Remarkably, the demand of those looking to serve actually exceeds the supply of opportunities. Beyond military service, we need not look far to see domestic problems that could be addressed by a work force of thousands of young people, from our crumbling infrastructure to our deteriorating school systems to widespread homelessness. The benefits of service would go beyond the children taught by Teach for America or homes built by Habitat for Humanity. It would even go beyond the estimated \$4 returned to society in benefits for every \$1 invested in these programs. The most valuable result would be in the volunteers themselves, many of whom would go on to become more productive and engaged citizens, as studies of Ameri Corps have shown of its alumni. My friend's observation about our Army softball game was simple yet profound. It is why so many veterans, when asked what they miss about the military, mention the camaraderie and shared sense of purpose. If we are lucky, circumstances will not soon require the scale of self-sacrifice exhibited by the greatest generation. But the type of brotherhood displayed on that German softball field should not be beyond our reach. National service is an idea whose time has come - assuming it's not already too late

**If national service becomes compulsory it could be a measure of citizenship leaving those who don't serve on the outs.**

Liu, Eric. "Should All Americans Have To Earn Their Citizenship?" The Atlantic. February 02, 2012. Web. August 25, 2023.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/02/should-all-americans-have-to-earn-their-citizenship/252433/>.

All of this begs a question: Why should citizenship be a matter of birth? The premise held by those who want to end birthright citizenship is that some people deserve it and some do not - that the status shouldn't be handed out automatically. Frankly, that's a premise worth considering. What if being born here counted for exactly nothing? How would you earn citizenship if it weren't given conferred by the accident of birth? To put it more sharply: What if, in order to earn citizenship, Americans whose families have been here for generations were subject to the very same requirements as newcomers? As it stands now, those of us who are lucky enough to be citizens by birth don't have to do much. Very little is asked of us. But let's imagine what the content of our citizenship might look like if everyone had to earn it. Service. Under current law, undocumented Americans and nonresident noncitizens can earn citizenship if they enter the armed services - sometimes immediately upon completion of basic training. If service can justify citizenship, then perhaps citizenship should require service, whether military or civilian. National service as a prerequisite to citizenship would make the status more meaningful, and the country more cohesive.

## **Goals of national service attitudes are meant to increase national spirit.**

Huffington, Arianna. "National Service: The Ultimate Shovel-Ready Infrastructure Project."

Huffington Post. June 23, 2014. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/arianna-huffington/franklin-project-national-service\\_b\\_3492226.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/arianna-huffington/franklin-project-national-service_b_3492226.html)>.

Since the 1960s, we have seen a steep decline of the civic spirit and feeling of commonality that were roused again on 9/11. Along with them, as Bridgeland puts it in his book, we began to lose some of "the connective tissue that ensures our country remains a land of opportunity for all." But then came the incredible outpouring after all that followed 9/11 — a yearning not just to rebuild what had physically been destroyed, but to rebuild a spirit of community and service that had been eroding for decades. And so within the Bush White House Bridgeland set about creating USA Freedom Corps, which had the ambitious goal to bring about a dramatic cultural shift that would lead to every American committing at least two years — 4,000 hours over a lifetime — to service. The plan got an enthusiastic response across parties — but, as you may have noticed, we are still a long way from it becoming reality.

**NEG: Volunteerism NC**

This NC is straightforward. In order for people to cultivate a virtuous disposition, in this case an ethic of volunteerism, their actions need to be a voluntary expression of their virtue. We can't force someone to be courageous, for example, nor can we make someone feel selfless. In more simple terms, national service shouldn't be compulsory because it must instead be volunteer work which comes from the heart.

This should be paired with a counterplan that increases support for people who volunteer for national service( the incentives CP), which is mutually exclusive with compulsion. There's a good case to be made that this solves the entire Aff with a net benefit of the volunteerism NC. Any permutation links to the net benefit. The best Aff answer is to show how the need is too great for incentives and that incentives tend to fail. Aff's can also argue that the act of service alone spurs future volunteerism because it creates an ethic of civic responsibility.

**The Aff undermines authentic volunteerism.**

Spalding, Matthew. "Compulsory National Service Would Undermine The American Character."

Heritage Foundation. October 19, 2010. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<http://www.heritage.org/commentary/compulsory-national-service-would-undermine-the-american-character>>.

Government programs, like AmeriCorps, do not encourage sacrificial giving of time and resources, which has the character-forming effect of teaching compassionate responsibility. Instead, they suggest that "volunteerism" could just as well mean a paid job with benefits—or worse, a mandatory obligation. Such government-directed "volunteerism," by encouraging individuals and associations to look to the state as the provider of assistance, belittles authentic volunteerism, the process by which individuals choose without economic benefit to help their neighbor. It also threatens the independence of the private associations that have always been the engine of moral and social reform in America.

**A coerced volunteer is not a good role model.**

Livengood, William. "Serving Strangers: Care, Compassion, And The Volunteer." August, 2014.

Web. August 26, 2023.

<[https://etd.ohiolink.edu/acprod/odb\\_etd/etd/r/1501/10?clear=10&p10\\_accession\\_number=kent1403625788](https://etd.ohiolink.edu/acprod/odb_etd/etd/r/1501/10?clear=10&p10_accession_number=kent1403625788)>.

What emerged as one of my most foundational questions was, what does a service provider have that allows him or her to consistently do excellent service work? What distinguishes the excellent service provider from the mediocre or bad service provider? Outcomes surely have a place in answering such a question, but outcomes do not constitute the whole answer; in spite of the crucial role outcomes play in service work. Simply saying that a good service provider is one who achieves good outcomes in service work is not very explanatory. We evaluate the service provider differently from the service work itself. A more informing question is, what is it within the service provider that allows him or her to consistently achieve good outcomes in their service work? We can start to see a picture emerge in considering real life examples. The begrudging or coerced volunteer may occasionally achieve good outcomes, but we certainly would not expect her or him to consistently do so. Further, there is something left to be desired in the volunteer who accidentally or mistakenly achieves good outcomes due to thoughtless conduct just as there something left to be desired in the volunteer who achieves good outcomes, yet whose concern is not with those he serves, but with gaining popularity or prestige. We do not consider such flawed volunteers to be role models when we aspire to understand what a good service provider is.

**Volunteerism is preferable to compulsory national service for human flourishing.**

Spalding, Matthew. "Compulsory National Service Would Undermine The American Character."

Heritage Foundation. October 19, 2010. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<http://www.heritage.org/commentary/compulsory-national-service-would-undermine-the-american-character>>.

At a time when Americans are volunteering in unprecedented numbers (and ways), policymakers should reject the model of government-centered national service, which undermines the American character and threatens to weaken private associations. The better course is to bolster the call to service by encouraging a true and voluntary citizen service that is consistent with principles of self-government, is harmonious with a vibrant civil society, and promotes a service agenda based on personal responsibility, independent citizenship, and civic volunteerism.

**Compulsory national service undermines volunteerism.**

Bandow, Doug. "A 'National Service' Revival Will Serve The State, Not The People." Forbes. June 01, 2013. Web. August 26, 2023.

<<https://www.forbes.com/sites/dougbandow/2013/07/01/a-national-service-revival-will-serve-the-state-not-the-people/2/#747ffcf37c08>>.

The very fact that community service is so valuable argues against turning it into a federal project. Government funding and control would squeeze voluntarism into a larger social plan implemented and enforced by Washington. The welfare state is the history of public enterprise pushing out private assistance. The impact was largely unintentional, but natural—indeed, inevitable. Increased taxes left individuals with less money to give; government’s assumption of responsibility for providing welfare reduced the perceived duty of individuals to respond to their neighbors’ needs; and the availability of public programs gave recipients an alternative to private assistance, one which made fewer demands for the reform of destructive behaviors and lifestyles. Over time, the welfare state pushed aside charitable enterprises as well as a host of benevolent societies that once served the needs of tradesmen, minorities, and other.

### NEG: Incentives Counterplan

The Incentives Counterplan argues that an expanded system of voluntary national service is preferable to mandatory national service. The purpose of any Counterplan is to present a policy alternative to the resolution and argue that this alternative is the best of both worlds – the counterplan does everything that the Affirmative wants to accomplish, without any of the drawbacks. The evidence in the brief explains that voluntary national service is more effective at inspiring a renewal of civic duty while being less expensive and involving more efficient administration. The expansion of voluntary national service programs through an increased commitment of federal resources is sometimes described as “universal national service” by advocates of the counterplan. The Affirmative can certainly argue that mandating national service is the only way to ensure that service becomes a universally shared duty of young people regardless of class or race, but the Negative can argue that a radically improved voluntary system of national service may be just as effective at achieving the Affirmative’s goals. The Incentives CP is strategic because it allows the Negative to agree that the status quo is ridden with problems and propose a practical solution instead of defending the existing situation.

The Incentives CP has two weaknesses. First, the permutation, which is the Affirmative’s way of explaining that the Affirmative advocacy and the counterplan can occur together. Although voluntary national service appears mutually exclusive with mandatory national service, the Affirmative can argue that mandatory service paired with the incentives of counterplan would mitigate the disadvantages the Negative identified against mandatory national service (such as that young people would resent it). And second, the Negative will need to be careful that their other arguments do not contradict the incentives CP (such as if they read the Libertarianism NC, which may oppose the CP as excessive government interference).

## **Expanding voluntary national service opportunities with incentives for participation is sufficient to solve the Affirmative.**

Bridgeland, John. "Will America Embrace National Service?" The Brookings Institution. October, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023.

[https://hasbrouck.org/draft/FOIA/NationalService\\_FullText\\_Clean.pdf](https://hasbrouck.org/draft/FOIA/NationalService_FullText_Clean.pdf).

Mandatory national service, though constitutionally feasible, administratively workable, and, in the context of present-day federal budgets, hardly a top-fifty budget-buster, is politically impossible, at least for as far into the future as our combined 120-year-old eyes can see. In our view, the centerpiece of any universal voluntary national service recommendations should be the mobilization of young people into full-time, full-year service opportunities; the linkage of military and civilian national service; support for communities that commit to make a year of service a common expectation and opportunity; and federal funding measures to close the 35-year-old national service gap that over the last quartercentury has turned away millions of Americans who wanted to serve their country via AmeriCorps, Peace Corps, and other programs. We prescribe policy proposals that will ensure that:

- 64 ? Everyone has the opportunity to serve;
- ? National service brings together youth of different backgrounds in common purpose;
- ? Everyone can choose how to serve their country, whether civilian or military;
- ? Full-time national service is rewarded with increased opportunity;
- ? Private resources are leveraged and communities are engaged;
- ? Communities lead to ensure that local priorities are honored; and
- ? The infrastructure builds on existing federal, state, and local efforts with significant funding at all levels of government.

Specifically, we prescribe the following policy proposals to provide full, one-year or more service opportunities to all qualified young adult and other applicants to AmeriCorps and other federally-supported service programs:

- ? Dramatically increase the number of new national service opportunities, starting with a short-term goal of increasing the number of service years in civilian national service to 200,000 to match the number of people who enter the military each year. We support increasing such opportunities to 1 million by July 4, 2026 – the 250th anniversary of the signing

of the Declaration of Independence to honor Jefferson’s notion of citizen engagement and the public happiness; ? Link military and civilian national service as two sides of the same coin and provide information on military and civilian national service to all 18-28 year-old men and women; Invest in local communities and drive resources to communities that raise their hands and agree to test the power of national service to solve problems, change lives, and transform their communities; ? Link national service to college access by making the education award equivalent to the full cost of a year of public education in a corps member’s home state for every year of national service performed by the corps member; ? Recognize national service as a “civic apprenticeship” that prepares young people for the workforce and a life of active citizenship, and connects national service to credentials with value in the employment marketplace, including by granting noncompetitive eligibility to everyone who completes at least one year of service; ? Establish Federal and State agency corps by calling on federal agencies to develop civilian national service opportunities that strategically advance their missions and build their workforce pipelines, and by providing incentives for states to do the same;<sup>65</sup> ? Democratize national service opportunities through Service Year Fellowships, which would unleash civil societies for national service by recognizing systems to certify positions created by colleges and universities, nonprofits, and faith-based institutions that are not provided federal funding for national service positions and enable their equitable participation in a universal national service system;<sup>66</sup> ? Strengthen the GI Bill to permit veterans to use a portion of their existing benefits to perform up to a year of civilian national service to help address problems in communities and improve the transitions of veterans back home;<sup>67</sup> ? Expand existing national and international service programs by fully implementing the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act, which authorizes 250,000 AmeriCorps positions annually and establishes various corps to address public challenges; making YouthBuild positions available to meet demand; fully implementing the recently enacted 21st Century Conservation Service Corps legislation; and fulfilling the promise of international service by expanding the Peace Corps, Volunteers for Prosperity, and Global Service Fellowships to a total of 100,000 international service positions annually;<sup>68</sup> ? Expand the traditional appropriations process and identify non-traditional funding sources, such as a voluntary tax contribution option for federal

taxpayers to remind all Americans of their opportunity and duty to serve their nation;<sup>69</sup> and ? Ask local, state and national leaders to issue calls to service to remind young Americans that with rights come responsibilities, and that service can heal divides, solve public challenges, and promote skills relevant to the workforce and a lifetime of civic engagement. Research shows that being asked to serve is a major reason for doing so.

## **There is strong public and political support for voluntary national service.**

Widmer, Mark. "Understanding American Identity: An Introduction." Naval Postgraduate School. December, 2017. Web. August 24, 2023.

<[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e5/Understanding\\_American\\_identity-\\_an\\_introduction\\_%28IA\\_understandingame1094556843%29.pdf](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e5/Understanding_American_identity-_an_introduction_%28IA_understandingame1094556843%29.pdf)>.

Polls indicate that voluntary national service would receive broad support from young and old, liberals and conservatives. A recent Panetta Institute survey found that 59% of U.S. college students expressed interest in a national service program that would consist of two years of service in exchange for monetary help with college. Both political parties support an increase in federal government support to national service initiatives.<sup>252</sup> A 2016 study by the market research firm Target Point revealed that 78% of Republicans, 84% of Independents, and 90% of Democrats want to maintain or increase current levels of federal spending on national service initiatives.<sup>253</sup> At the moment, such initiatives attract volunteers. Perhaps in the near future high levels of bipartisan financial support would lead to even higher rates of volunteerism.

**Expanding incentives is sufficient to solve the Affirmative.**

Pauwels, Andrew. "Mandatory National Service: Creating Generations Of Civic Minded Citizens." Notre Dame Law Review. June 01, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1684&context=ndlr>>.

For those interested in dramatically expanding public service without risking serious constitutional challenges, the easiest solution would be to dramatically expand the currently existing programs, most notably AmeriCorps, and adding additional incentives or, in the alternative, new sanctions to encourage involvement. The problem with expansion by either means is that all Americans would still not be required to participate in service, as neither proposal is in any sense mandatory.<sup>163</sup> Currently, the existing service programs have very little to offer potential applicants in terms of incentives.<sup>164</sup> AmeriCorps, for instance, offers a "modest living allowance,"<sup>165</sup> health coverage,<sup>166</sup> and educational benefits, including loan deferment<sup>167</sup> and grant money.<sup>168</sup> The Peace Corps offers similar educational loan deferments,<sup>169</sup> while providing slightly more in terms of immediate financial benefits.<sup>170</sup> There are also practical benefits in terms of training and job opportunities opened up by both organizations.<sup>171</sup> And, of course, both organizations offer benefits that are more difficult to measure and which typical careers do not offer, such as personal fulfillment.<sup>172</sup> Increased incentives could draw more young people to the existing programs. Expanded living expense programs, for example, could draw people afraid they will be unable to make ends meet on the minimal allowance of either program. AmeriCorps could, borrowing from the Peace Corps program, provide additional incentives by directly covering travel expenditures or living expenses. Of course, increased benefits, without expanded opportunities, could simply create an even larger backlog of applications.<sup>173</sup> The flip side, of course, is that expanded opportunities and expanded benefits will dramatically increase costs of these programs. Expanding the incentives for existing programs would face no non-frivolous constitutional challenge that this author can foresee, as these are nothing more than increased appropriations for longstanding programs.

**A voluntary program is key to genuine service.**

Bandow, Doug. "Mandatory Universal National Service: A Dystopian Vision For A Free Society."

CATO Institute. February 21, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cato.org/testimony/mandatory-universal-national-service-dystopian-vision-free-society>>.

Genuine "service" can be compulsory and national. Service is good. But what is service? It usually is thought to involve some measure of self-sacrifice for the benefit of others. To whom is service owed and provided? Government programs ultimately assume that citizens are responsible not to each other, but to the state. MUNS proposals suggest that as a price for being born in the United States one "owes" a year or two of one's life to Washington. Irrespective of the rhetoric surrounding mandatory universal national service, this approach puts private lives at the disposal of government. However, while Washington can mandate that young people fill particular positions, it cannot force them to compassionately serve. What America desperately needs is a renewed commitment to individual service. People, in community with one another, should help meet the many needs of those around them. They should be encouraged to do so — by a renewed service ethos, not a new compulsory system. Leaders throughout society, ranging from lawmakers to clerics to philanthropists to corporate executives, should emphasize that the initial and principal responsibility to help those in need lies with individuals, families, and communities, not government. These leaders should highlight the great needs around us and promote a more traditional sense of compassion, one that emphasizes personal commitment — volunteering both money and time as well as exercising careful stewardship of resources when doing so. Compassion should be understood to reflect an act of community, not discharge of a legal duty, choosing to know, understand, and suffer with those in need. Moreover, advocates of service should lead by example and encourage an upsurge in participation from the grassroots. People of all ages, not just the young, should be challenged and encouraged, not threatened and penalized. Increased voluntarism should be part time and full time; it should take place within families, churches, and civic and community

groups. Service should occur through charitable institutions and profit-making ventures. There should be no predetermined definition of service, pattern of appropriate involvement, assumed set of “needs” to be met or tasks to be fulfilled, and certainly no de facto monopoly for Washington. America’s strength is its combination of humanitarian impulses, private associations, and dramatic diversity. Americans need service, not national service, and certainly not mandatory universal national service. The most obvious role for government: officials should commit themselves to a strategy of “first, do no harm.” Policymakers should confront public programs that discourage personal independence and responsibility, disrupt families and communities, inhibit employment and education, and hinder opportunities for and efforts by people and groups to respond to problems around them. When government acts, it should train personnel to meet the most serious challenges, rather than submerge such tasks in an omnibus program dragooning millions of untrained youth to paint darkened buildings, plant young trees, or do whatever else strikes an influential politician’s fancy.

**Universal national service does not have to be mandatory---a voluntary program that encourages the next generation to serve is sufficient.**

Maurin, Zach. "America Needs Universal Civilian National Service." CATO Unbound. September 13, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.cato-unbound.org/2013/09/13/zach-maurin/america-needs-universal-civilian-national-service/>>.

Pascal-Emmanuel Gobry and Jason Kuznicki have so far debated different sides of mandatory military service. I'm going to take the debate in a third direction and argue for another big idea about what we owe and what we should expect of each other: universal civilian national service. By that I mean a year of full-time service here at home tutoring in schools, responding to natural disasters, working in health clinics, and helping families climb out of poverty.

Universal does not mean mandatory; it means available to everyone who wants to do it. The target age is 18-30. While military service is certainly the most laudable type of service, it is already well-resourced, well-staffed, and a vibrant part of our culture. What we need from our citizens – especially rising generations of young citizens – is to serve here at home and to make a year of service part of what it means to be an American.

## **Government investment in voluntary national service creates a culture of expectation.**

Maurin, Zach. "America Needs Universal Civilian National Service." CATO Unbound. September 13, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.cato-unbound.org/2013/09/13/zach-maurin/america-needs-universal-civilian-national-service/>>.

Myth #3 – Federal investment in national service is a government handout that supplants private responsibility. Fact: National service embodies principles of both private responsibility and the public good. Organizations that receive AmeriCorps funding must match it with support from foundations, corporations, and individuals. Therefore, the public investment leverages a significant amount of non-government support. How to Grow National Service and Create a Culture of Expectation More supply will require more money from taxpayers, private philanthropy, and corporate philanthropy. To create a culture where a year of service is expected, we should implement a variety of things. Colleges should show preference to applicants who did a year of service after high school. Companies should preference to applicants who did a year of service after graduation. We also need to embed the idea in scripts of TV shows and movies to reach a wider audience. Conclusion Gobry wrote, "The Founding Fathers, full of Enlightenment belief in individual freedom, clearly had in mind a system akin to Switzerland or Athens, where citizenship implied soldierdom." Today, with so many battles to fight here at home from education equity to income inequality, we need a citizenship that implies civic leadership. An expected year of civilian national service is how we will get there.

**Voluntary national service is easier to implement, and more effective.**

Aldridge, Rod. "Responses To Citizenship First: The Case For Compulsory Civic Service."

Prospect. March 24, 2009. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/views/columns/52917/responses-to-citizenship-first-the-case-for-compulsory-civic-service>>.

The idea of compulsory national civic service for young people outlined by James Crabtree and Frank Field MP is interesting, but not new. For many years politicians and policymakers have called for such a scheme, envisaging it as a silver bullet to perceived youth alienation and apathy. While I agree with the authors, that we must do something for the Class of 2009 and to tackle rising youth unemployment, the answer lies in offering attractive and compelling volunteering opportunities that appeal to young people, not bringing back a form of conscription in civic service. The outcome of the last big and considered debate on a compulsory scheme was the creation of 'v', an organisation which I chair. Established in 2006, v is mandated to inspire a new generation to serve society by increasing the diversity, quality and quantity of volunteering opportunities. By bringing together the private sector, government and the community and voluntary sectors, v has built a network of national and grass roots organisations that together have created over 875,000 full-time, part-time and short-term volunteering opportunities in such areas as the environment, fashion, technology, poverty, health, the arts and mentoring. v's new full-time programme, vtalent year, extends these opportunities even further into some of our most disadvantaged communities. What should we learn from this experience- Well, it is clear that the real silver bullet for UK policymakers is tapping into young peoples' passions and interests. This is also the model followed by AmeriCorps, the US organisation so often cited in these discussions; compelling opportunities, not compulsory service. If changing economic and social times are increasing the political attractiveness of a compulsory scheme and reawakening the debate, then young peoples' views and opinions should be central to the discussion. v and its partners will be working to ensure that is the case over the coming months. It is possible to provide young people with compelling

full-time volunteering opportunities that would harness their talents and dynamism and offer a constructive route through this recession. This would need resources and co-ordination, but would cost a fraction of the expensive national 'grande project' imagined by Crabtree and Field. It would also be far more effective.

**NEG: Spending Disadvantages**

The Spending Disadvantage argues that mandatory national service would add multiple billions of dollars each year to an unsustainably large federal budget. Negative evidence in the brief suggests that mandatory national service would require an enormous new commitment of federal spending above existing budgetary outlays for AmeriCorps and other national service programs. The impact of the Spending DA is that the national debt would reach unsustainable levels and thereby risk a global economic crisis, which could trigger a nuclear war. The Spending DA is strategic because it allows the Neg to reach an extinction impact, which outweighs the entirety of the Affirmative on magnitude under utilitarianism. The DA is also strategic because it links to an implementation problem with mandatory national service as opposed to disagreeing with the concept of mandatory national service. The Affirmative may have compelling arguments about civic duty and acting for the common good, but the Negative could outweigh these arguments by speaking to the financial costs of mandatory national service. The Affirmative evidence in the brief argues that mandatory national service will not be that expensive, compared to existing federal spending such as the defense budget, and that new spending will generate a net financial return (young people serving their communities will reduce costs and increase tax revenue over the long term).

The Spending DA has two weaknesses. First, the impacts of the DA are dependent upon utilitarianism, so unless the Affirmative is reading this framework the Negative will have to do their own work to justify util. And second, the Spending DA is an extinction scenario that relies upon multiple improbable claims being true, reflecting the fact that extinction scenarios in debate are generally implausible. That said, the Negative can argue that they're winning a high risk of the scenario based on the quality of their evidence and explanations.

**Mandatory national service costs over a billion a year---France proves.**

Mulrine Grobe, Anne. "Love Of Country: US Ready For Mandatory National Service?" Christian Science Monitor. June 03, 2020. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://www.csmonitor.com/USA/2020/0603/Love-of-country-US-ready-for-mandatory-national-service>>.

Yet a growing number of countries have been adopting mandatory national service for young people. France last year launched a program championed by President Emmanuel Macron that will ultimately train some 800,000 teenagers a year. The aim is to strengthen social cohesion in a country that abolished mandatory military service more than 20 years ago, in 1997, and give young people "causes to defend and battles to fight in the social, environmental, and cultural domains," Mr. Macron said. For one month, 16-year-olds will live communally and give up their cellphones to learn first aid, map reading, and emergency response. After dinner each evening, they'll be encouraged to debate social issues, such as gender discrimination and the roots of radicalization. Then they'll have the chance to use their skills in volunteer jobs. The program will soon be written into the constitution and become mandatory over the next seven years. It is expected to cost \$1.8 billion a year to run.

**Increasing government debt limits society's resources to address multiple challenges, including climate change and poverty.**

Millsap, Adam. "The High Costs Of Too Much Government Spending." Forbes. August 06, 2021. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.forbes.com/sites/adammillsap/2021/08/06/the-high-costs-of-too-much-government-spending/?sh=5f95e04a4ad6>>.

America is engaging in an unprecedented spending spree. The Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget estimates that the infrastructure proposal and the proposed \$3.5 trillion reconciliation spending plan will result in \$2.9 trillion (about \$8,900 per person) of additional government borrowing over the next decade. This debt will not solve our problems. America needs more private sector innovation to solve our biggest challenges—uplifting the poor, healing the sick, and protecting the planet—not more government spending and top-down regulation. If all this proposed spending occurs, the federal debt is likely to hit 109% of GDP by 2031 but could get as high as 125%. This would surpass the debt-to-GDP ratio in the years immediately following World War II. Too much government spending harms society and individuals in several ways. First, it increases the cost of living via subsidies that drive inflation. Government subsidies artificially increase demand. The result is higher prices that disproportionately harm the working poor and middle class. The companies with subsidized offerings get richer, while these higher prices increase demand for larger subsidies. The cycle repeats, and costs head skyward.

**Mandatory national service will cost \$120 billion per year---the direct and indirect costs are enormous.**

Ruschmann, Paul. "Mandatory Military Service." Infobase Publishing. 2009. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://books.google.com/books?id=1CVP8NHbeUwC&dq=%22mandatory+national+service%22+%22expensive%22&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=1CVP8NHbeUwC&dq=%22mandatory+national+service%22+%22expensive%22&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>.

National Service Would Be Expensive and Hard to Administer. Universal national service has never been tried in this country. There are good reasons why. To begin with, it would be an enormous undertaking. It would require creating a huge government agency to oversee the program and hiring thousands of employees to train and keep track of participants. Those participants would number in the millions. Each year, about 4 million Americans turn 18. Assuming that all of them must serve for a year, there would be more people in the national service program than in the active duty military and the reserves combined. A program of that size would be, of course, costly. According to the Discovery Institute's Bruce Chapman, [T]he direct costs of a national-service program would include those for assembling, sorting (and sorting out), allocating, and training several million youth in an unending manpower convoy. Indirect costs include clothing and providing initial medical attention, insurance, the law enforcement associated with such large numbers (no small expense in the army, even with presumably higher discipline), housing, and the periodic "leave" arrangements. Estimates run as high as \$120 billion a year, an investment many consider questionable at best. Chapman estimates that national service would cost \$30,000 a year per participant--an amount higher than entry-level pay in many fields.

**National service will be especially susceptible to waste and abuse, which magnifies spending increases.**

Ruschmann, Paul. "Mandatory Military Service." Infobase Publishing. 2009. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://books.google.com/books?id=1CVP8NHbeUwC&dq=%22mandatory+national+service%22+%22expensive%22&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=1CVP8NHbeUwC&dq=%22mandatory+national+service%22+%22expensive%22&source=gbs_navlinks_s)>.

A national service program would likely pay participants below-market wages, perhaps even less than the minimum wage. Some believe that the combination of underpaid labor and government bureaucracy would make waste and abuse inevitable. According to Doug Bandow: Turning over to Washington the lives of the 4 million men and women who turn 18 every year would guarantee the grossest misuse of enormous human potential. If opportunity cost is not considered, perceived "needs" will be infinite. Control by a federal government engaged in the usual pursuit of political pork would guarantee that national service would become a monumental boondoggle. Because cheap labor would eliminate the necessity to make trade-offs among projects, the result would be a long list of unmet needs requiring national service workers. Even before the September 11 attacks, national service supporters had identified tasks that would require millions of participants.

**Forced work will make young people hostile to national service.**

Howe, Neil. "Will America Implement A Mandatory National Service? NewsWire." Hedgeye. July 18, 2020. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://app.hedgeye.com/insights/86857-will-america-implement-a-mandatory-national-service-newsire?type=%2C>>.

The Commission also recommended that service programs should not be mandatory, fearing forced work would cause youth to be hostile to the whole idea of civil service. But polls suggest a majority of Americans actually support a compulsory service. In 2017, Gallup asked Americans if they supported a mandatory year of either military or volunteer service for young adults. 49% of Americans said they supported the plan, while only 43% said they opposed it. Yet only 39% of 18-29 year-olds, who would be the most affected by the program, supported its implementation.

**The AmeriCorps budget is tight now.**

Howe, Neil. "Will America Implement A Mandatory National Service? NewsWire." Hedgeye. July 18, 2020. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://app.hedgeye.com/insights/86857-will-america-implement-a-mandatory-national-service-newswire?type=%2C>>.

Back in 2016, Congress created a commission to research and recommend policy regarding American public service. They issued their final report last March, and while they recommended reinvigorating existing programs like AmeriCorps, they warned it would be costly. Currently, AmeriCorps is on a tight budget and can only accept a fraction of applicants. (After 9-11, they received 150,000 applications but had only 7,000 open spots.) And while expanding AmeriCorps' budget has been talked about for years, it never seems to happen. In 2017, Trump called to cut AmeriCorps entirely out of the federal budget.

**Additional national service programs will strain the federal budget.**

Levy-Prewitt, Joanne. "National Service Academy An Appealing Idea To Many." Deseret News. February 05, 2007. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://www.deseret.com/2007/2/5/19999824/national-service-academy-an-appealing-idea-to-many>>.

Asch believes that the United States has a looming crisis in public service leadership and that this is a long-term solution. "This will help recruit and retain our top students," he says. USPSA graduates will spend five years post-grad working for such agencies as the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Teach for America, the Peace Corps or others, and students will be paid for their work. "It will be like having a guaranteed job for five years." Asch admits that there will be opponents. He believes that some college administrators fear the possibility of losing top students or federal funding, and there are others who are concerned about adding programs to an already strained federal budget. However, Asch says that this is the best time for such an academy and would like supporters to contact their elected representatives to express support. "We need petitions, letters to Congress and presentations at local clubs and schools to make this happen."

**An American debt crisis will cause global economic decline.**

Berman, Noah. "What Happens When The U.S. Hits Its Debt Ceiling?" CFR. June 27, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-happens-when-us-hits-its-debt-ceiling>>.

What would be the consequences if the United States breaches the debt ceiling? The debate over the debt ceiling has caused economists such as CFR's Brad W. Setser to consider the once unthinkable prospect of a U.S. default—that is, Washington declaring that it can no longer pay its debts. Some experts say that would herald chaos for the U.S. and global economies. Even short of default, hitting the debt ceiling would hamstring the government's ability to finance its operations, including providing for the national defense or funding entitlements such as Medicare or Social Security. Potential repercussions of reaching the ceiling include a downgrade by credit rating agencies, increased borrowing costs for businesses and homeowners alike, and a dropoff in consumer confidence that could shock the United States' financial market and tip its economy—and the world's—into immediate recession. "I think it's pretty safe to say that if we were to default, it makes the odds of a recession almost certain," former Treasury Secretary Jacob Lew said at a CFR event in April 2023. Goldman Sachs economists have estimated that a breach of the debt ceiling would immediately halt about one-tenth of U.S. economic activity. According to center-left think tank Third Way, a breach that leads to default could cause the loss of three million jobs, add \$130,000 to the cost of an average thirty-year mortgage, and raise interest rates enough to increase the national debt by \$850 billion. In addition, higher interest rates could divert future taxpayer money away from federal investments in such areas as infrastructure, education, and health care. "Failure to meet the government's obligations would cause irreparable harm to the U.S. economy, the livelihoods of all Americans and global financial stability," Treasury Secretary and former Federal Reserve Chair Janet Yellen wrote to Congress [PDF] in January 2023. Could breaching the U.S. debt ceiling bring down other markets? Experts say a U.S. default could wreak havoc on global financial markets. The creditworthiness of U.S. treasury securities has long bolstered demand for U.S. dollars,

contributing to their value and status as the world's reserve currency. Any hit to confidence in the U.S. economy, whether from default or the uncertainty surrounding it, could cause investors to sell U.S. treasury bonds and potentially weaken the dollar. "A default of choice would diminish the dollar's appeal as a global currency for payments and finance," writes Setser. Over half of the world's foreign currency reserves are held in U.S. dollars, so a sudden decrease in the currency's value could ripple through the market for treasuries as the value of these reserves drops. As heavily indebted lower-income countries struggle to make interest payments on their sovereign debts, diminished value of foreign currency reserves could threaten to tip some emerging economies into debt or political crises.

**Economic decline causes nuclear war.**

Tonnesson, Stein. "Deterrence, Interdependence And Sino–US Peace." *International Area Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3. 2015. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/2233865915596660?journalCode=iasb>>.

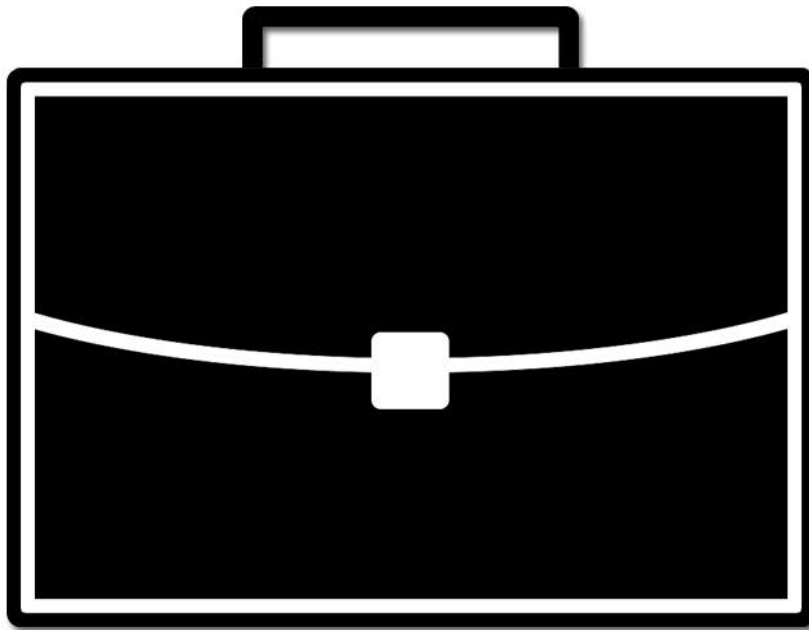
Several recent works on China and Sino–US relations have made substantial contributions to the current understanding of how and under what circumstances a combination of nuclear deterrence and economic interdependence may reduce the risk of war between major powers. At least four conclusions can be drawn from the review above: first, those who say that interdependence may both inhibit and drive conflict are right. Interdependence raises the cost of conflict for all sides but asymmetrical or unbalanced dependencies and negative trade expectations may generate tensions leading to trade wars among inter-dependent states that in turn increase the risk of military conflict (Copeland, 2015: 1, 14, 437; Roach, 2014). The risk may increase if one of the interdependent countries is governed by an inward-looking socio-economic coalition (Solingen, 2015); second, the risk of war between China and the US should not just be analysed bilaterally but include their allies and partners. Third party countries could drag China or the US into confrontation; third, in this context it is of some comfort that the three main economic powers in Northeast Asia (China, Japan and South Korea) are all deeply integrated economically through production networks within a global system of trade and finance (Ravenhill, 2014; Yoshimatsu, 2014: 576); and fourth, decisions for war and peace are taken by very few people, who act on the basis of their future expectations. International relations theory must be supplemented by foreign policy analysis in order to assess the value attributed by national decision-makers to economic development and their assessments of risks and opportunities. If leaders on either side of the Atlantic begin to seriously fear or anticipate their own nation's decline then they may blame this on external dependence, appeal to anti-foreign sentiments, contemplate the use of force to gain respect or credibility, adopt protectionist policies, and ultimately refuse to be deterred by either nuclear arms or prospects

of socioeconomic calamities. Such a dangerous shift could happen abruptly, i.e. under the instigation of actions by a third party – or against a third party. Yet as long as there is both nuclear deterrence and interdependence, the tensions in East Asia are unlikely to escalate to war. As Chan (2013) says, all states in the region are aware that they cannot count on support from either China or the US if they make provocative moves. The greatest risk is not that a territorial dispute leads to war under present circumstances but that changes in the world economy alter those circumstances in ways that render inter-state peace more precarious. If China and the US fail to rebalance their financial and trading relations (Roach, 2014) then a trade war could result, interrupting transnational production networks, provoking social distress, and exacerbating nationalist emotions. This could have unforeseen consequences in the field of security, with nuclear deterrence remaining the only factor to protect the world from Armageddon, and unreliably so. Deterrence could lose its credibility: one of the two great powers might gamble that the other yield in a cyber-war or conventional limited war, or third party countries might engage in conflict with each other, with a view to obliging Washington or Beijing to intervene.

# Champion Briefs

## Novice Topic 2023

### Lincoln-Douglas Brief



Negative Responses to  
Affirmative Cases

## A/2: Utilitarian Logic AC

**Traditional models of national service privilege the well off as they can ‘buy’ or ‘bargain’ their way out of serving.**

Glaston , William. “A Sketch Of Some Arguments For Conscription.” Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly. August 26, 2023. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/A-Sketch-of-Some-Arguments-for-Conscription-Galston/0f1a9dd1025ea9a47145bad813ec4c38a2cd5203>>.

Consider military recruitment during the Civil War. In April 1861 President Lincoln called for, and quickly received, 75,000 volunteers. But the expectation of a quick and easy Union victory was soon dashed, and the first conscription act was passed in March, 1863. The act contained two opt-out provisions: an individual facing conscription could pay a fee of \$300 to avoid a specific draft notice; and an individual could avoid service for the entire war by paying a substitute to volunteer for three years. This law created a complex pattern of individual incentives and unanticipated social outcomes, such as anti-conscription riots among urban workers. Setting these aside, was there anything wrong in principle with these opt-out provisions? I think so. In the first place, there was an obvious distributional unfairness: the well off could afford to avoid military service, while the poor and working class could not. Second, even if income and wealth had been more nearly equal, there would have been something wrong in principle with the idea that dollars could purchase exemption from an important civic duty.

## **Modern national service doesn't live up to promise in terms of cheap effective and utilitarian labor.**

Jarvis, Chris. "Put The People To Work." Stanford Social Innovation Review. 2010. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://ssir.org/books/reviews/entry/serving\\_country\\_community\\_peter\\_frumkin\\_joann\\_jastrzab](https://ssir.org/books/reviews/entry/serving_country_community_peter_frumkin_joann_jastrzab)>.

Frumkin and Jastrzab begin their examination of national service's value by identifying the visions people have of the purpose and impact of national service. After conducting a good number of interviews with leaders in the field, four distinct visions emerge: citizenship and civic engagement, personal growth, social capital, and public work. The authors define and explore each thoroughly, and name the main potential benefits in each category. They also research several national service programs, compare the data collected from those who served against similar groups who did not serve, and tick off which visions are fulfilled by each program. The results of this study are, as the authors put it, "nuanced and at times unexpected. Positive effects are intertwined with negative effects, right alongside findings of no effects at all. Short-term and long-term effects at times coincide and at times conflict." But in the end, national service seems to achieve all four visions in one way or another. And by the end of the book, the authors had provided one of the clearest and most concise examinations of volunteerism I have yet come across. Given the nation's multiple programs, each with distinct yet overlapping objectives and politicians demanding various outcomes as proof of the program's value, we need this book. Yet I was left wondering if the authors hadn't sidestepped the larger question facing national service: "Is it worth the expense?" Compared with the unpaid voluntary service of millions of Americans each year, who really benefits, and to what degree, from paid national service? The authors answer this question only by setting aside the vast quantities of evidence they collected and reviewed and estimating "in a different way what the value of service might be on a national level." They multiply a rather simplistic ratio of volunteer hours by the "conservative independent sector rate for the hourly value of volunteering" (\$20). They then

divide this number by the actual amount each program costs, concluding that “the benefits of national service outweigh its costs.” This summary argument is suspect at best, and at worst may actually argue against programs such as AmeriCorps. For many, national service programs offer “cheap” labor at too high a cost to the taxpayer. Unlike Roosevelt’s CCC, AmeriCorps is not combating the Great Depression, and it lacks the singular focus of environmentalism. It appears to be paying Americans to volunteer to work in communities—something that happens without government intervention or expense. National service’s cost wouldn’t be a problem if it could achieve something above and beyond what traditional volunteering achieves. According to Frumkin and Jastrzab’s own research, however, this is not the case. Their conclusion that AmeriCorps’s greatest value is cheap labor seems to undermine the book’s original premise and may, in fact, arm AmeriCorps’s critics with the ultimate argument: National service costs too much and achieves too little when compared with the greater army of unpaid volunteers in America.

**Though it may be beneficial, Utilitarianism doesn't dictate obligations to others via service.**

Collins, Brian. "A Utilitarian Account Of Political Obligation." The University of Iowa. 2014. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/1307>>.

John Stuart Mill departed theoretically from Bentham on several key details of his utilitarianism in order to avoid the sorts of objections facing an extreme act- utilitarianism. One specific instance of this is Mill's inclusion of "secondary principles" of obligation into his ethical theory. Similar to Hume's "rule of allegiance," Mill argues that these secondary principles are adopted in order to help individuals apply the first and fundamental principle of morality (i.e., utility) (Mill, 1985, Vol. X) (Utilitarianism [U] Ch. 2, paragraph 24-25). But just as there is interpretive debate about how Hume understood the connection between the principle of utility and his rule of thumb, there is a similar debate in Mill scholarship. It is not clear how Mill thought these secondary principles were connected to the fundamental principle of utility.<sup>129</sup> In his work *On Liberty*, Mill does claim that men can be legitimately subjected and compelled by laws to forgo and perform certain actions in order to maximize utility for the society as a whole: I regard utility as the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions; but it must be utility in the largest sense, grounded on the permanent interests of man as a progressive being. Those interests, I contend, authorise the subjection of individual spontaneity to external control, only in respect to those actions of each, which concern the interest of other people... There are also many positive acts for the benefit of others, which he may rightfully be compelled to perform; such as... to bear his fair share in the common defence, or in any other joint work necessary to the interest of the society of which he enjoys the protections. (Mill, 2012, p. 14) (*On Liberty* [OL] Ch. 1) However, just as with Hume's rule of allegiance, it is entirely unclear how this very general rule to obey the state guiding individuals' behavior is supposed to fit within the utilitarian framework. Unfortunately, Mill did not say anything further in defense or explanation of this moral responsibility to society, government, and laws.

## A/2: Military Recruitment AC

### **Universal national service is not required for military recruitment.**

Chapman, Bruce. "A Bad Idea Whose Time Is Past: The Case Against Universal Service."

Brookings. September 01, 2002. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/a-bad-idea-whose-time-is-past-the-case-against-universal-service/>>.

No Military Case Universal service is not needed on military grounds. We eliminated the draft three decades ago in part because the armed services found that they needed relatively fewer recruits to serve longer than conscription provided. As the numbers that were needed shrank, the unfairness of the draft became ever more apparent-and offensive. Youth, ever ingenious, found ways to get deferments, decamp to Canada, make themselves a nuisance to everyone in authority-and make those who did serve feel like chumps. Many of the young people who objected to military service availed themselves of alternative service, but no one seriously believed that most "conscientious objectors" were "shouldering the burden of war" in a way comparable to those fighting in the field. The government took advantage of its free supply of almost unlimited manpower by underpaying its servicemen, thereby losing many recruits who might have chosen a military career. Raising the pay when the volunteer force was introduced changed the incentives and-surprise-eliminated the need for the draft. The all-volunteer force has been a big success. Leaders in today's increasingly sophisticated, highly trained military now are talking of further manpower cuts. They have no interest in short-term soldiers of any kind and give no support to a return to conscription. The idea of using universal service to round up young men and women who, instead of direct military service, could be counted on to guard a "public or private facility," as Litan proposes, is naive. In Litan's plan, youth would be obligated for only a year-slightly less, if AmeriCorps were the model. Philip Gold, a colleague at Discovery Institute and author of the post-September 11 book *Against All Terrors: This Nation's Next Defense*, points out that "if the object is fighting, a person trained only for a few months is

useless. In a noncombat defense position, he would be worse than useless. He would be dangerous.” Litan’s interest in compulsory service grew partly out of recent work on Israel. According to Gold, armed guards in Israel do protect day care centers, for example. But all have had serious military training and two to three years of active duty, followed by service in the active reserves. A population with widespread military training and service can accomplish things that a civilian volunteer program cannot. Litan anticipates nothing comparable from short-term universal servicemen and -women. A one-year obligation, under the AmeriCorps example, works out to only 1,700 hours—roughly 10 months of 40-hour weeks. By the time the compulsory volunteers were trained, it would be time for them to muster out. The system would be roiled by constant turnover. It is surely unrealistic to expect to fill security jobs with youths who will be around for only a few months. Ask yourself, would you rather have a paid and trained person or a conscripted teenager inspecting the seaport for possible terrorists?

## **Conscription is way too expensive and will do more harm to our economy than it is worth.**

Lee, Dwight. "The High Cost Of The Draft." October 01, 1974. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://fee.org/articles/the-high-cost-of-the-draft/>>.

Actually there are strong reasons for believing that an all-volunteer system will involve lower social costs than a system with conscription. Budget outlays will be higher of course, but this is not indicative of true relative social costs. The most important savings to society will come in the form of lower rates of induction of those men with the highest opportunity costs. Those most productive in civilian life are those who earn handsome salaries. These are of course the ones least likely to be attracted by military service, unless the military is willing to offer them comparable salaries. With the exception of medical doctors, however, the military will not generally be interested in paying salaries which would attract those who are unusually productive in civilian life. Movie actors, corporate executives, scientists, and writers, for example, are unlikely to make contributions to the military which are comparable to those made in civilian life, and it would be highly inefficient to have them inducted. There will be additional savings through a more efficient use of all men of draft age, including those threatened by the draft but never inducted. Many men subject to the draft have gone to great lengths to redesign their lives in order to avoid conscription. Enrollment in colleges and seminaries, employment in draft deferred positions, and legal action to avoid the draft cost society \$2.50 for every \$1.00 saved the taxpayers through the draft.<sup>1</sup> The entire social fabric has been strained by military conscription, for in no other sphere of activity in our society do we permit such an arbitrary system of involuntary servitude. Another reason for anticipating lower manpower costs would be that volunteers are likely to have a substantially higher reenlistment rate than draftees. Thus with an all-volunteer force there will be considerable savings in training costs as a result of the lower turnover rates. With a two-year tour of duty involving six months of basic training and a couple of months of processing for discharge, the military actually receives very little benefit from draftees who do not reenlist. Finally, with manpower

costs accurately portrayed by the salaries paid, the branches of the armed forces will have an incentive to utilize men more efficiently. When all inductees, from college graduate to high school drop-out, are paid a token wage of \$115 per month, and when an ample supply of men is guaranteed by conscription, there is virtually no incentive for the service to economize on the use of manpower. Stories of highly skilled or educated draftees being sent off to do menial labor were commonplace in the “old army.” With the military paying the true cost of labor services there will be an incentive to allocate scarce labor resources to lines of activity for which they are most suited. It will also become worthwhile to substitute non-human resources and civilian personnel for military manpower in those cases where such tasks can be performed more cheaply. When the cost to the army of an enlisted man is a nominal \$115 per month, there is little reason to seek ways to economize on the use of this resource.

## **American hegemony already in decline, rise of populism, and far right antidemocratic norms make hegemonic collapse inevitable.**

McCoy, Alfred. "American Hegemony Is Ending With A Whimper, Not A Bang." The Nation. January 29, 2021. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://www.thenation.com/article/world/trump-biden-america/>>.

If that were all, then we could chalk up a few significant wins for China and just wait for Biden's foreign-policy team to try to even the score. But there's far more happening that suggests those treaties were a clear manifestation of deeper, more troubling trends. When empires decline and fall, they seldom collapse in the sort of sudden apocalypse portrayed in a monumental series of paintings entitled "The Course of Empire" by another denizen of the Catskill Mountains, the renowned artist Thomas Cole. His 1836 painting in that series, now appropriately enough hung at the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, shows a "savage enemy" plundering a grand imperial capital whose inhabitants, debased by years of luxurious living, can only flee in terror while women are raped and buildings burn. Empires, however, usually experience a long, less dramatic decline before they fall in the Roman fashion, thanks to events whose logic only becomes apparent years or even decades later, as historians try to sort through the rubble. So it's likely to be in what, until mid-last week, was (and still in many ways remains) Donald Trump's America, where the signs of decline are as erratic as they are omnipresent. The most telling harbinger of that decline, Trump himself, is now in exile at his Mar-a-Lago Club in Florida. Ten years ago in an essay for TomDispatch titled "Four Scenarios for the End of the American Century by 2025," I suggested that US global hegemony would end not with Thomas Cole's apocalyptic bang but instead with the whimper of empty populist rhetoric. "Riding a political tide of disillusionment and despair," I wrote in December 2010, "a far-right patriot captures the presidency with thundering rhetoric, demanding respect for American authority and threatening military retaliation or economic reprisal. The world pays next to no attention as the American Century ends in silence." Trump's election in 2016 made all too real what, until then, had only seemed to me a troubling possibility. With a legerdemain worthy of

that 19th century showman P.T. Barnum's bag of bunkum (like the supposed Cardiff Giant or the Fiji Island Mermaid), Trump's TV show *The Apprentice* presented The Donald as a self-made billionaire of extraordinary financial savvy. Who better to rescue America from the job losses, stagnant wages, and foreign competition brought on by economic globalization? But Trump had cheated his way into an Ivy League college; many of his businesses had gone bankrupt; and his much-vaunted entrepreneurial flair came down essentially to frittering away a \$400 million inheritance from his father. As journalist H.L. Mencken predicted back in 1920, America had finally come to the point where "the plain folks of the land will reach their heart's desire at last and the White House will be adorned by a downright moron." Once in office, Trump soon bent the nation (but not the world) to his will, rupturing time-tested alliances, tearing up treaties, denying incontrovertible climate science, and demanding respect for American authority with a thundering, if largely empty, rhetoric that threatened military retaliation or economic reprisals globally. Despite the manifest inanity of his policies, the Republican Party capitulated, corporate tycoons applauded, and nearly half the American public cleaved to their newfound savior. As with all sellout shows, the best was saved for last. When the Covid-19 pandemic struck with full force in March 2020, Trump turned up at the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta, donning a MAGA hat, to proclaim his "natural ability" when it came to medical science, while distinguished doctors stood by like studio extras in mute testimony to his otherwise risible claims. As the pandemic began climbing toward its terrible, still developing toll, Trump hijacked White House briefings by medical experts to promote a succession of crackpot claims—wearing a mask was merely "politically correct"; Covid-19 was just another flu that "becomes weaker with warmer weather"; hydroxychloroquine was a cure; and shining ultraviolet "light inside of the body" or injecting "disinfectant" were possible treatments. A surprising number of Americans started drinking bleach to protect themselves from the virus, forcing months of public health warnings. After nearly a century in which the United States had been a world leader in promoting public health, the Trump administration, to escape blame for its own escalating failures, walked out of the World Health Organization. Lending the country the aura of a failed state, the CDC itself, once the world's gold standard in medical research, bungled the development of a coronavirus test and so forfeited any serious, nationwide

attempt to successfully track and trace the disease (the most effective means of controlling it). While smaller nations like New Zealand, South Korea, and even impoverished Rwanda effectively curbed Covid-19, by the end of Trump's term the United States already had experienced more than 400,000 deaths and 24 million infections—significantly above any other developed nation's death rate and a full quarter of the world's total cases. Meanwhile, Beijing mobilized a rigorous public health campaign that quickly contained the virus to just 4,600 deaths in a population of 1.4 billion. In only four months, China virtually eliminated the virus (despite periodic new local breakouts) and had its economy humming along with a 5 percent increase in gross domestic product, which accounted for 30 percent of global growth last year. Meanwhile, after 11 months of an incessant pandemic, the United States remained mired in a crippling recession. This striking disparity in state performance only accelerated China's quest to surpass the United States as the world's largest economy and, with all that financial clout, become its preeminent power. A TRAGICOMIC ENCORE It was, however, President Trump's bid for an encore that would prove truly extraordinary when it came to imperial decline. During its 70 years as a global hegemon, Washington's public promotion of democracy has been the signature program that has helped legitimate its global leadership (no matter the CIA-style interventions it launched or the colonial-style wars it continually fought). While the Cold War often compromised that commitment in particularly striking ways, following its end Washington has spent 30 years officially promoting fair voting and democratic transitions, with leaders like former president Jimmy Carter flying off to capitals on five continents to oversee and encourage free elections. Suddenly, the world watched in slacked-jaw amazement as, on January 6 on the White House ellipse, the president denounced a fair American election as fraudulent and sent a mob of 10,000 white nationalists, QAnon conspiracists, and other Trumpsters off to storm the Capitol, where Congress was ratifying the transition to a new administration. Adding to this failed-state aura, the country's once-formidable national security apparatus crumpled like a Third World constabulary as right-wing militiamen breached the frail security cordon around the Capitol and stormed its halls as if they were a lynch mob hunting for congressional leaders. House majority leader Steny Hoyer's desperate calls to a dawdling Pentagon and Maryland Governor Larry Hogan's dangerously delayed mobilization of his state's

National Guard, caused by the US military's compromised chain of command, only seemed to echo the sort of tropical coup scenarios I witnessed in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, during the 1980s. When Congress was finally back in session, the Capitol still rang with Republican calls, in the name of national unity, for forgetting what the president had incited. In that way, Republican congressional representatives seemed to echo the kind of impunity that has long protected fallen military juntas in Asia or Latin America from any accounting for their countless crimes. This attempt, in other words, to perpetuate a would-be autocrat's power through a (failed) coup was the sort of spectacle that many millions living in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have experienced in their own fragile states but never expected to see in America. Suddenly, our supposedly exceptional nation seemed tragically ordinary. The shimmering dome of the Capitol once symbolized the vitality of this nation's democracy, inspiring others to follow its principles or at least acquiesce to its power. This country now looks tattered and tired, caught like others before it between forgetting in the name of unity or demanding the powerful be held accountable for high crimes that will otherwise haunt the nation. Instead of aspiring to America's ideals or entrusting their security to its power, many nations will likely find their own way forward, cutting deals with all comers, starting with China. Despite an aura of overwhelming strength, empires, even ones as powerful as America's, often prove surprisingly fragile and their decline regularly comes far sooner than anyone could have imagined—particularly when the cause is not Thomas Cole's "savage enemy" but their own self-destructive instincts. Today, in the era of a 78-year-old president, a veritable Rip Van Biden, Americans and the rest of the world are, it seems, waking up in a new age. It could well be a daunting one.

## **US hegemony is already decline and the world sees our massive military as a threat.**

Street, Paul. "The World Will Not Mourn The Decline Of US Hegemony." Canadien Dimension. March 01, 2018. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/the-world-will-not-mourn-the-decline-of-u.s.-hegemony>>.

But it isn't just the right-wing that writes and speaks in such terms about how Trump is contributing to the decline of US hegemony. A recent Time magazine reflection by the liberal commentator Karl Vick (who wrote in strongly supportive terms about the giant January 2017 Women's March against Trump) frets that that Trump's "America First" and authoritarian views have the world "looking for leadership elsewhere." "Could this be it?" Vick asks. "Might the American Century actually clock out at just 72 years, from 1945 to 2017? No longer than Louis XIV ruled France? Only 36 months more than the Soviet Union lasted, after all that bother?" I recently reviewed a manuscript on the rise of Trump written by a left-liberal American sociologist. Near the end of this forthcoming and mostly excellent and instructive volume, the author finds it "worrisome" that other nations see the US "abdicating its role as the world's leading policeman" under Trump—and that, "given what we have seen so far from the [Trump] administration, US hegemony appears to be on shakier ground than it has been in a long time." For the purposes of this report, I'll leave aside the matter of whether Trump is, in fact, speeding the decline of US global power (he undoubtedly is) and how he's doing that to focus instead on a very different question: What would be so awful about the end of "the American Era"—the seven-plus decades of US global economic and related military supremacy between 1945 and the present? Why should the world mourn the "premature" end of the "American Century"? It would be interesting to see a reliable opinion poll on how the politically cognizant portion of the 94 percent of humanity that lives outside the US would feel about the end of US global dominance. My guess is that Uncle Sam's weakening would be just fine with most Earth residents who pay attention to world events. According to a global survey of 66,000 people

conducted across 68 countries by the Worldwide Independent Network of Market Research (WINMR) and Gallup International at the end of 2013, Earth's people see the United States as the leading threat to peace on the planet. The US was voted top threat by a wide margin. There is nothing surprising about that vote for anyone who honestly examines the history of "US foreign affairs," to use a common elite euphemism for American imperialism. Still, by far and away world history's most extensive empire, the US has at least 800 military bases spread across more than 80 foreign countries and "troops or other military personnel in about 160 foreign countries and territories." The US accounts for more than 40 percent of the planet's military spending and has more than 5,500 strategic nuclear weapons, enough to blow the world up 5 to 50 times over. Last year it increased its "defense" (military empire) spending, which was already three times higher than China's, and nine times higher than Russia's. Think it's all in place to ensure peace and democracy the world over, in accord with the standard boilerplate rhetoric of US presidents, diplomats and senators? Do you know any other good jokes?

## US hegemony has been in decline and China will eventually overtake the US.

Li, Minqi. "The Collapse Of American Hegemony And The Challenges Of The 21st Century."

Luxemburg. October, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023. <[https://zeitschrift-](https://zeitschrift-luxemburg.de/artikel/the-collapse-of-the-american-hegemony-and-the-challenges-of-the-21st-century/)

[luxemburg.de/artikel/the-collapse-of-the-american-hegemony-and-the-challenges-of-the-21st-century/](https://zeitschrift-luxemburg.de/artikel/the-collapse-of-the-american-hegemony-and-the-challenges-of-the-21st-century/)>.

Measured by market exchange rate, the US share of the global economy declined from 30 percent in 2000 to 25 percent in 2020. During the same period, China's share of the global economy rose from 4 percent to 17 percent (World Bank 2022). It is widely expected that China will overtake the US to become the world's largest economy in the next few years. During the previous hegemonic transitions, the new hegemonic power was able to replace the old, declining hegemonic power only after one or two major wars that involved all the major powers at the time. In the next few decades, we are unlikely to observe "World War Three" in the form of a total war between the declining hegemonic power (the United States) and a major challenger (such as China or Russia). This is partly because in the era of nuclear weapons, the costs of a total war between major powers have dramatically increased to include not only the death of millions but also an almost certain mutual destruction of all the major combatants. Despite the decline of the American hegemony, the US is likely to remain the world's predominant military power in the coming decades (Beckley 2018). This is likely to discourage potential hegemonic challengers from engaging in direct military confrontation against the United States. Even though "World War Three" is not about to break out any time soon, hegemonic decline will have and, in some ways, has already had major consequences. As explained above, in a world system based on inter-state competition, hegemonic power is indispensable to provide "system-level solutions" to "system-level problems." In the past, maintaining system-wide "peace" mainly had to do with preventing major military conflicts between major powers. But in the era of nuclear weapons, maintaining long-term, sustainable system-wide "peace" also requires effective containment of nuclear proliferation

## **US can't keep up with China's modernization- Air Force flies old planes and the Naval fleet is shrinking.**

Eaglen, Mackenzie. "The U.S. Military Is In Decline While China Grows More Powerful." AEI. November 08, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.aei.org/op-eds/the-u-s-military-is-in-decline-while-china-grows-more-powerful/>>.

Among our military's senior brass, the chorus of warnings over Chinese military capabilities continues to grow ever louder. Last week, the Commander of US Strategic Command, Admiral Charles Richard, stated that when it comes to America's ability to deter China, "the ship is slowly sinking." He added, "it is sinking, as fundamentally they are putting capability into the field faster than we are." In other words, America's conventional deterrence is in increasingly rapid decline. This is for a variety of reasons but one of the most prominent is due to the military's lack of margin. There is little slack in the force for deterrence in zero-sum budgeting for winning the warfight. The result is aging, shrinking, less ready troops lacking enough capacity and not modernizing fast enough. The Air Force flies planes with an average age of 29 years old. The Navy is shrinking to 280 ships by 2037. And, the Army continues to grow smaller, missing out on last year's recruiting goal by 25 percent. None of these problems at the root of our flagging conventional deterrence are new. In fact, the brass have been sounding the alarm for a while now. Last September, former Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs said the military was "still moving unbelievably slow" at modernization designed to directly compete with China. General John Hyten lamented how the Pentagon is "so bureaucratic and we're so risk averse." Summing up America's position vis-à-vis China, the former head for military intelligence in Indo-Pacific Command simply commented that the US is "too late." The United States is "too late" in comprehending the deadly purpose of a potential enemy. "Too late in realizing the mortal danger. Too late in preparedness. Too late in uniting all possible forces for resistance." When paired with remarks by the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Mile Gilday recently, the US's ability to deter a Chinese invasion of Taiwan looks increasingly dire. In his words, "When we talk about the 2027 window [for an invasion of Taiwan], in my mind, that has to be a 2022 window

or potentially a 2023 window; I can't rule it out." Both China's willingness to take Taiwan by force and its ability to do so appear to be increasing. It is past due for the Pentagon to break out of neutral and get ready for the "big one" in Asia.

## **Alt causes to decline – aging military tech can’t meet demands of national interests.**

Wall Street Journal Editorial Board. “The US Military’s Growing Weakness.” Wall Street Journal. October 17, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023. <, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/americas-growing-military-weakness-heritage-foundation-index-of-u-s-military-strength-navy-air-force-army-11666029967>>.

Americans like to think their military is unbeatable if politicians wouldn’t get in the way. The truth is that U.S. hard power isn’t what it used to be. That’s the message of the Heritage Foundation’s 2023 Index of U.S. Military Strength, which is reported here for the first time and describes a worrisome trend. Heritage rates the U.S. military as “weak” and “at growing risk of not being able to meet the demands of defending America’s vital national interests.” The weak rating, down from “marginal” a year earlier, is the first in the index’s nine-year history. \*\*\* The index measures the military’s ability to prevail in two major regional conflicts at once—say, a conflict in the Middle East and a fight on the Korean peninsula. Americans might wish “that the world be a simpler, less threatening place,” as the report notes. But these commitments are part of U.S. national-security strategy. Heritage says the U.S. military risks being unable to handle even “a single major regional conflict” as it also tries to deter rogues elsewhere. The Trump Administration’s one-time cash infusion has dried up. Pentagon budgets aren’t keeping up with inflation, and the branches are having to make trade-offs about whether to be modern, large, or ready to fight tonight. The decline is especially acute in the Navy and Air Force. The Navy has been saying for years it needs to grow to at least 350 ships, plus more unmanned platforms. Yet the Navy has shown a “persistent inability to arrest and reverse the continued diminution of its fleet,” the report says. By one analysis it has under-delivered on shipbuilding plans by 10 ships a year on average over the past five years. From 2005 to 2020, the U.S. fleet grew to 296 warships from 291, while China’s navy grew to 360 from 216. War isn’t won on numbers alone, but China is also narrowing the U.S. technological advantage in every area from aircraft carrier catapults to long-range missiles. The Navy wants to build three Virginia-class

submarines a year, and the U.S. still has an edge over Beijing in these fast-attack boats. But the shipbuilding industry has shrunk amid waning demand, and the Navy's maintenance yards are overwhelmed. Maintenance delays and backlogs are the result of running the fleet too hard: On a typical day in June, roughly one-third of the 298-ship fleet was deployed, double the average of the Cold War. It's worse in the Air Force, which gets a "very weak" rating. Aging "aircraft and very poor pilot training and retention" have produced an Air Force that "would struggle greatly against a peer competitor," Heritage says. The fighter and bomber forces are contracting to about 40% of what America had in the 1980s. The service has been slowing its F-35 buys even as it needs modern planes to compensate for the smaller fleet. Aircraft have low mission-capable rates, roughly 50% for the F-22. Heritage says the Air Force has "abandoned even the illusion" that it is working toward an 80% aircraft readiness goal. Munitions inventories "probably would not support a peer-level fight that lasted more than a few weeks," and replacements can take 24 to 36 months to arrive. A pilot shortage "continues to plague the service," and the "current generation of fighter pilots, those who have been actively flying for the past seven years, has never experienced a healthy rate of operational flying." Fighter pilots flew a meager 10 hours a month on average in 2021, up from 8.7 in 2020 but still far below the 200 hours a year minimum needed to be proficient against a formidable opponent. The story isn't much better for the Army, which has lost \$59 billion in buying power since 2018 due to flat budgets and inflation. The Army is shrinking not as a choice about priorities but because it can't recruit enough soldiers—nearly 20,000 short in fiscal 2022. The Marines scored better in the index as the only branch articulating and executing a plan to change, reorganizing for a war in the Pacific in a concept known as Force Design 2030. But the Marines are slimming down to a bare-bones 21 infantry battalions, from 27 as recently as 2011. Mission success for the Marines depends on a new amphibious ship that the Navy may not be able to deliver. Some will call all this alarmist and ask why the Pentagon can't do better on an \$800 billion budget. The latter is a fair question and the answer requires procurement and other changes. But the U.S. will also have to spend more on defense if it wants to protect its interests and the homeland. The U.S. is spending about 3% of GDP now compared to 5%-6% in the 1980s. The Heritage report is a warning that you can't deter war, much less win one, on the cheap.

**Hegemony causes nuclear war---creates a moral hazard for allies to start wars, and creates a security dilemma that causes proliferation.**

Preble, Christopher. "The Problem With Primacy. Our Foreign Policy Choices, Rethinking America's Global Role." CATO Institute. July 18, 2016. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/our-foreign-policy-choices-white-paper.pdf>>.

Another key problem is that primacy inadvertently increases the risk of conflict. Allies are more willing to confront powerful rivals, because they are confident that the United States will rescue them if the confrontation turns ugly, a classic case of moral hazard, or what Barry Posen calls "reckless driving." Restraining our impulse to intervene militarily or diplomatically when Our vital national interests are not threatened would reduce the likelihood that Our friends and allies will engage in such reckless behavior in the first place. Libya and Georgia are only two cases of this problem. Plus, a more restrained U.S. foreign policy would provide a powerful incentive for allies to share the burden of defense. Primacy has not stopped rivals from challenging U.S. power. Russia and China, for example, have resisted the U.S. government's efforts to expand its influence in Europe and Asia. Indeed, by provoking security fears, primacy exacerbates the very sorts of problems that it claims to prevent, including nuclear proliferation. U.S. efforts at regime change and talk of an "axis of evil" that needed to be eliminated certainly provided additional incentives for States to develop nuclear weapons to deter U.S. actions (e.g., North Korea). Meanwhile, efforts intended to smother security competition or hostile ideologies have destabilized vast regions, undermined Our counter- terrorism efforts, and even harmed those we were ostensibly trying to help. After U S. forces deposed the tyrant Saddam Hussein in 2003, Iraq descended into chaos and has never recovered. The situation in Libya is not much better; the United States helped Overthrow Muammar el-Qaddafi in 2011, but violence still rages. The Islamic State, which Originated in Iraq, has now established a presence in Libya as well. It is clear that those interventions were counterproductive and have failed to make America safer and more secure.

**US hegemony causes war, Ukraine proves.**

Ping, Xin. "US Hegemony: The Culprit Of The Ukraine Crisis." Global Times. March 20, 2022.

Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202203/1255314.shtml>>.

That is what is exactly happening during the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Whether it's the people of war-torn Ukraine, sanction-ridden Russia, or insecurity-ingrained Europe, all have suffered greatly. The US, the culprit of the Ukraine crisis, has been constantly taking advantage of others' misfortune to maintain its hegemony. Every why has a wherefore. Edward Carr, a leading British scholar of international relations, reminded people more than 80 years ago that the US was a master in using kindness to disguise selfishness. Boasting abundant resources, strong industry and geographical advantage, Ukraine could have achieved development. While the country pursued a relatively balanced policy in the early years of its independence, the US supported and incited the Orange Revolution in 2004 and the Square Revolution in 2014 to push for a pro-Western agenda, splitting Ukraine politically from within and geopolitically between Russia and Europe. It is really thought-provoking that the "Gateway to Europe" has become one of the poorest countries in Europe, the frontline of NATO's eastward expansion, and the fault line of "color revolutions" and conflicts. In 2014 when the crisis broke out in eastern Ukraine, while Germany, France, Russia and Ukraine held several rounds of consultations and signed two Minsk Agreements to cool down the situation, the US took an opposite direction to fan the flame by inciting the anti-Russian and pro-Western forces in Ukraine to escalate the conflicts on the ground. In the current Russia-Ukraine conflict, the US is reaping the benefits without getting itself involved militarily. It never intended to come to Ukraine's rescue, the idea used as a political tool by the US to trap Russia in a seemingly endless conflict. We might need to go a bit further back into history to conclude how the US hegemony had created all the security trouble for Europe, Russia and Ukraine. It is well known that the US became a global superpower after the two world wars which plunged Europe into chaos and destruction and led to its dependence on the US military hegemony and NATO. Looking for a pathway to common security, Europe and the US signed the Helsinki Accords with the Soviet

Union in 1975, which saw the establishment of the Organization for Security and Cooperation as well as the indivisible, cooperative and comprehensive approach to security. However, after the Cold War, the US overturned the European security agenda and rejected Russia's bid to join NATO four times. The aim was to make Russia the imaginary foe to justify US hegemony. Since 1999, the US launched five major NATO expansions, pushing its borders eastward by more than 1,000 kilometers to include a large number of Eastern European countries, splitting Europe further. It also promised Ukraine, Georgia and other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) NATO membership, posing a realistic threat at the doorstep of Russia. Due to the hegemonic mentality and actions by the US, the vision of indivisible common security broke into pieces, and Russia, Ukraine and Europe were left in a security dilemma and constant conflicts. Former US congressman Tulsi Gabbard stated in a recent interview that President Joe Biden could have ended the crisis by promising not to admit Ukraine to NATO. But he didn't, because the US is seeking an excuse to impose sanctions on Russia, and it could profit from war for the American military-industrial complex.

**US hegemony has been devastating for the world sponsoring a western democratic killing spree around the world.**

Cooper, Ryan. "Why The Global Hegemony Is The Worst Thing That Happened To America." The Week. September 14, 2020. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://theweek.com/articles/937094/why-global-hegemony-worst-thing-happen-america>>.

I disagree. America's status as global hegemon has been devastating for both ourselves and the world. It is high time the U.S. accustomed itself to normal country status — a great power to be sure, but no longer drastically more powerful than any other. The rise of China as the first peer nation we have had in decades just possibly might remind America of the value of diplomacy, international institutions, and minding our own business. However, America remaining physically the most powerful single country is not the most important factor in whether China will be able to dominate the globe in future, or continue to roast the biosphere with greenhouse gases. (It currently emits twice what the U.S. does.) China is a nuclear-armed power, so physical might has only limited influence on it anyway. What matters is the political character of China's closest competitors — namely the U.S., the E.U., and India — plus the functioning of the global economy, and the broader diplomatic context. Absent some kind of disaster, just the historically close bloc of Western Europe and the U.S. could provide an effective counterweight to China for the rest of the century at least. Unfortunately, America has spent the last two decades tearing at the postwar alliance of Western democratic states by going on an international killing spree. China's authoritarianism is indeed terrible, but its behavior outside its borders has not been even close to as bad as the so-called War on Terror. Indeed, with the rise of Donald Trump and an increasingly extremist Republican Party, there is a real danger the U.S. will abandon ties with democratic Europe altogether and become just another authoritarian kleptocracy — like China, except orders of magnitude more incompetent. I submit that winning the Cold War and emerging as by far the world's most powerful country was one of the worst things that has ever happened to America. We spent the 1990s drunk on

our own success and power, believing that neoliberal capitalism marked an “end of history” written on American lines. Then 9/11 happened, and the nation went berserk. As Derek Davison writes at Foreign Exchanges, it was a terrible tragedy, but as far as actual body count not even in the same time zone as, say, the siege of Leningrad, or indeed the several catastrophes America would go on to inflict on the Middle East in a frothing desire to inflict vengeance on somebody, never mind who. The Costs of War project at Brown University recently calculated that the various post-9/11 wars have created 37 million refugees. “The real trauma that America suffered on 9/11 was to its collective self-image, its belief in its own overwhelming power, and control of the rest of the world,” Davison writes. When one country is so strong that it can do basically whatever it wants, its internal pathologies or neuroses become the world's problems. It is not a coincidence that the most decent, best-governed countries in the world — places like Taiwan, New Zealand, or the Nordics — do not have the option of flying off the handle at a minor provocation and turning half a subcontinent into a smoking blood-drenched hellscape. It is also likely not a coincidence that as America has torched international treaties banning wars of aggression and torture, Chinese leaders have felt a freer hand to oppress neighbors or their own population. American hypocrisy is too glaring for any kind of values-based criticism to bite anymore, and we have sowed too much disunity with Europe to present any kind of united front against genuine horrors. “Stand with the U.S. against China?” Germany might say. “What, are they not torturing enough people?”

## A/2: Social Contract AC

**If mandatory national service flows from the social contract, that is just because the Affirmative's ideal of the social contract is coercive and statist.**

DiLorenzo, Thomas. "National Service: A Solution In Search Of A Problem." Foundation for Economic Education. March 01, 1990. Web. August 24, 2023.

<https://fee.org/articles/national-service-a-solution-in-search-of-a-problem/>.

Prominent members of the media also have jumped on the national service bandwagon. One Washington Post writer decries the "appeal to self-interest" and the "selfishness" that he claims was spawned by the election of Ronald Reagan. This Post writer maintains that what is needed is "a counter-appeal to altruism" in the form of a new "social contract." Such a contract would "define not only what our country will do for citizens, but what our citizens will do for our country." The word "contract," as used here, has a rather unique meaning. Millions of youths who would be subjected to a national service plan would have little or no say in the drafting of the contract, nor would they be asked to sign it. The "contract" presumably would be made out by a small group of national service advocates and their Congressional allies. When the government (or the Washington media establishment) starts talking about social contracts, it does not necessarily mean a contract that takes into account the preferences of the society in question. It means a contract constructed by a small group of social engineers who use the power of the state to impose the contract on the rest of society. And on top of all that, the rest of society, namely the taxpayers, are compelled to pay for the government programs created by the new "contract."

**Unlike voluntary national service programs, mandatory national service will not convince people to become more civically engaged just by compelling them to serve.**

Hyunjung Mo, Cecilia. "Civilian National Service Programs Can Powerfully Increase Youth Voter Turnout." PNAS. July 11, 2022. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2122996119>>.

Our work uses a natural experiment unique in its scale and size to study the causal effect of national service participation on youth voter turnout; however, it should not be the last to examine this important topic. Future research is needed to explore questions of external validity. While we established that the effects of TFA participation are positive across many subsets of the population of applicants, we cannot estimate how effects would differ in other populations. This may be especially important, as individuals who apply to national service programs may differ from the general population in important ways. Future work should also explore whether effects like those we document here generalize to other subsets of compliers, like to noncollege graduates and to older citizens (to name a few). That said, scholars doing such work in the future would do well to note that, to a certain extent, all individual voluntary youth service programs—given their voluntary nature—likely experience selection effects into application. Conversely, while mandatory national service programs may cover a broader subset of participants—being mandatory, after all—they may struggle to produce all-else-equal counterfactual comparisons. Moreover, mandatory national service programs may have different effects on participation given differences in the potential attitudinal effects of compelling service. Future research would also do well to see whether we observe similar causal effects of other voluntary service programs beyond TFA, like the Peace Corps. Doing so would allow us to answer questions like whether the effects we document are larger for national service programs that involve teaching, as there is suggestive evidence that under certain conditions, being a teacher increases voter turnout (55) (see SI Appendix, section B.1 for a discussion of how the act of teaching is unlikely to be driving the entirety of our effect). Simply put, the magnitude of effects may differ by the type of service one is charged to provide.

**The social contract is an unhelpful fiction.**

Paz-Fuchs, Amir. "The Social Contract Revisited: The Modern Welfare State." OVERVIEW AND CRITICAL REPORT. The Foundation for Law, Justice and Society in affiliation with The Ce. 2011. Web. August 24, 2023. <<http://www.fljs.org/files/publications/Paz-Fuchs-SummaryReport.pdf>>.

Amongst critics of early social contract theory, David Hume is probably best known.<sup>7</sup> Three strands of Hume's critique are relevant here. First, he argues that historically, no such contractual moment existed. Second, arguments of reason detect flaws in the logic of social contract. His contention against Locke's attribution of tacit consent [is] to citizens illustrates the point. Locke suggested that individuals who do not leave the country should be seen as providing tacit consent to its government's actions. Hume responded by drawing a parallel with passengers on a ship who are invited to jump to sea if they are unhappy with the conditions on board. And, third, arguments of experience suggest that people 'are born to obedience' through education and habit, rather than through consent. Hume, like Hegel,<sup>8</sup> finds consensual theories of political agreement too weak and unstable to serve as the justification for as important and necessary an entity as the state. Following these critiques, many had thought that the era of contractarian methodology had come to a close. Jeremy Bentham observed: 'As to the Original Contract ... I was in hopes ... that this chimera had been effectively demolished by Mr. Hume. I think we hear not so much of it now as formerly'.<sup>9</sup> And so, writing in 1957, J. W. Gough observed that Kant 'brings us within the end of the history of contract theory'.<sup>10</sup>

## **Civic duty and relationship-building should take place through non-coercive methods.**

Wittrock, Jon. "A Human Right To Friendship? Dignity, Autonomy, And Social Deprivation." The International Journal of Human Rights. 2022. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1643247/FULLTEXT01.pdf>>.

In the latter case, we could envisage, for example, public parties and/or festivals at major holidays, or perhaps more frequently than that. Would this not result, however, THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS 13 predictably, in a feeling of shame amongst those who go there, due to lacking other options? Possibly; but the situation here is analogous e.g. to that of public housing, or social welfare in general and the solution might be to maintain an even and high standard of the public option, as well as perhaps to introduce consciousness-raising training, to help the lonely gain a more healthy self-confidence in socialising. Locally but also generally, communal meeting places may be supported, mentorships considered, and transportation to public meeting spaces be guaranteed for those unable to go there by themselves. We could also advocate for publicly supported community centres more broadly, as well as for a universal national service, as suggested by Schwarzenbach,<sup>60</sup> although the degree of coercion and mandatory duties imposed on citizens must be weighed against the perceived severity of problems of social deprivation. Amending existing education systems to put more emphasis on social training and understanding is far less intrusive than a mandatory national service analogous to military service, and publicly supported parties that it is voluntary to attend is a far less intrusive measure than compelling people to work in, or even go to, community centres. Furthermore, we should not disregard the novel possibilities available through technology: there already exists friendship apps, that let people seek out potential friends online, and one could conceive of public support for such or similar virtual spaces, given that they meet certain criteria. Nevertheless, any specific proposals would involve difficult trade-offs between different dimensions of autonomy, and directly coercive measures, that intrude upon people's liberty, would have to be motivated by strong reasons, i.e. that those

measures would be needed, since less intrusive options would not suffice, and since the problems of social deprivation they address, would be severe. In other words, if certain people were severely socially deprived, and suffering intensely from this state of affairs, and if alternative options would not be sufficient to alleviate this situation, direct coercion, e.g. in the form of a mandatory civic duty (e.g. consisting of young persons visiting lonely elderly people) could be called for. Ultimately, this would depend on the perceived severity of the problem, and the perceived inability of less coercive measures to address it effectively. Any measures must be proportional to the perceived extent of the problem to be addressed, implying that a human right to friendship cannot be absolute, and coercive measures beyond taxation and targeting individuals should be restricted to those instances where the problem of social deprivation is perceived to be severe, and incapable of being addressed by other measures. In theoretical terms, this would be a question of a trade-off between the lack of opportunities for social contact of some people, and the reduction of liberty of others, and any reduction of liberty by means of public coercion, should take the safety of everyone involved seriously. In multicultural societies, questions of cultural, religious, ethnic and racial differences may emerge in relation to topics of school and housing segregation, as well as debates concerning the composition and location of publicly financed meeting spaces, but these questions are not unique to a potential right to friendship, but emerge in analogous ways relating to all domains of public intervention in such societies. This would also probably include debates concerning gender and sexuality, and the relations between those topics and cultural differences – but again, this is analogous to already existing debates, and would not be unique to a potential right to friendship. Of course, the exact applications would justifiably vary between and within countries, taking different circumstances, socioeconomic

## **Mandatory national service would not restore the sense of civic duty in the young, a problem which is overblown by any means.**

Bandow, Doug. "Mandatory Universal National Service: A Dystopian Vision For A Free Society."

CATO Institute. February 21, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.cato.org/testimony/mandatory-universal-national-service-dystopian-vision-free-society>>.

Today's problems are unique requiring a unique remedy. Advocates of MUNS typically view selfishness as ascendant and public spiritedness in retreat. In particular, America's young people are said to have lost their sense of civic-mindedness. Indeed, contended the Democratic Leadership Council three decades ago, we live in a "prevailing climate of moral indolence," where "such venerable civic virtues as duty and self-sacrifice and compassion toward one's less fortunate neighbors are seldom invoked." The Potomac Institute even pointed to the disco era, symbolized by the movie Saturday Night Fever. Much can and has been written about the state of American values today. But are we really worse off than during the Gilded Age or the Roaring 20s? What of the tumultuous 1960s, filled with an unpopular war, violent protest, and racial strife? Throughout American history, it seems, youthful radicals in their maturity decried the views and behaviors of the rising generation of youthful radicals. However, such sentiments offer dubious justification for dramatic and draconian policies, so at variance with the founding ethos to which generations of Americans have felt bound. Just as one should not exaggerate America's virtues, one also should be careful not to demonize those who are now entering adulthood and facing the many challenges which inevitably result. Government-mandated service is an effective tool for soul-molding, to turn out virtuous citizens and create a moral society. Much is expected of national service, which long ago became a universal panacea for some, seen as capable of solving a range of society's ills. Most important is the belief that such a program would magically transform selfishness into selflessness. For instance, former general Stanley McChrystal cited the martial virtues, as James put it, in advancing a large-scale though not mandatory universal program: At this scale of one full quarter of an age cohort, serving

together to solve public problems will build attachment to community and country, understanding among people who might otherwise be skeptical of one another and a new generation of leaders who can get things done. I saw these effects for 34 years in the U.S. Army. We need them in civilian life. McChrystal's time in the military came after abolition of the draft, when men and women joined voluntarily, a process of self-selection unlike what is envisioned under MUNS. The volunteer military's numbers pale in comparison to what a mandatory universal program would entail: last year the armed services inducted 171,000 new recruits. In contrast, MUNS would incorporate the roughly four million young people who turn 18 every year, a 23-fold difference. Contrast America's mass conscript army during World War II. It brought diverse people into contact with one another, but its impact varied greatly on the individuals it affected. Moreover, nothing in the civilian world replicates the crucible of war. Mass civilian conscription — a program likely to look to those compelled to serve more political, less essential, and more hypocritical than wartime military service — would be even less likely to generate the positive values desired. The spectacle of the comfortable and privileged old preaching sacrifice to the unsettled and skeptical young probably would generate far more cynicism than idealism. The long-term breakdown in family and community has made it more difficult to inculcate and incubate important moral and social values. However, there is little reason to believe that government, especially through a compulsory mass "service" program, is capable of doing better, especially if many young "servers" found themselves filling roles mundane at best and painful at worst. Despite the exalted rhetoric that characterizes MUNS literature, much of the work involved in any such program likely would be akin to shelving books in a library and handling paperwork for a social service agency; performing such tasks under threat of fine or prison should not be expected to transform lives for the good.

**Achieving civic unity does not justify the coercion of mandatory national service.**

Somin, Ilya. "Why Mandatory National Service Is Both Unjust And Unconstitutional." Reason.

October 19, 2018. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://reason.com/volokh/2018/10/19/why-mandatory-national-service-is-both-u/>>.

Some advocates of mandatory national service claim that it can help us achieve a greater sense of national unity by exposing draftees to people from other backgrounds. Perhaps so. But we could achieve even greater national unity by suppressing dissenting speech and religion. Yet we rightly recognize that unity is not a valid justification for violating these fundamental human rights. The same goes for the right to be free of forced labor. A unity achieved through coercion is not worth the price. Such unity could even be actively pernicious, since it could be used to promote further restrictions on liberty in the name of national solidarity. The better path to curbing civil conflict is not to increase the amount of coercion imposed by the federal government, but to reduce it, thereby diminishing our reasons to fear those with opposing political views.

## **The government should not get to decide what society “needs” and then force people to work on it.**

Bandow, Doug. “Mandatory Universal National Service: A Dystopian Vision For A Free Society.”

CATO Institute. February 21, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cato.org/testimony/mandatory-universal-national-service-dystopian-vision-free-society>>.

National Service would address “unmet social needs.” Mandatory universal national service often is sold as a twofer: making people better and providing essential services. The literature on national service is voluminous, with advocates routinely calculating exact numbers of tasks to be done. For instance, past proponents of national service tossed around figures ranging up to 5.3 million as to the number of jobs that “needed to be done.” According to one study, for instance, libraries across America required 200,000 people; education needed six times as many. But such numbers are meaningless. As long as human wants are unlimited and cost is no object, the number of unfilled “needs,” social or otherwise, is infinite. Labor, however, is not a free resource. Thus, it simply isn’t worthwhile for society to satisfy all “unmet” needs. One benefit of the market process is balancing benefits and costs, thereby enabling people to make tradeoffs. Wages help people assess which activities warrant being undertaken. National service would make such tradeoffs political, treating some jobs as sacrosanct, while most others not. Indeed, at the risk of sounding too much like a professional economist, which I am not, the crux of this issue is opportunity costs. Requiring young people to “paint darkened buildings,” as suggested by President Bill Clinton, or perform other proposed “services” requires forgoing whatever else could be done with people’s time and taxpayers’ money. McChrystal said he wanted to unleash the energy of our young people to tutor and mentor students in low-performing schools; support the elderly so they age with dignity; help communities respond to disasters; assist veterans reintegrating into their hometowns; and perform a thousand different tasks of value to our country. But who decides, and by what standard measures, “tasks of value to our country”? No one with even a passing familiarity with Washington should imagine that

the labor of four million young people — or, if service was two years, eight million at any one time — would be distributed objectively and dispassionately with regard to the economic and social, as opposed to the political, benefits to be achieved.

**Mandatory national service will not be fairly or effectively enforced.**

Bandow, Doug. "Mandatory Universal National Service: A Dystopian Vision For A Free Society."

CATO Institute. February 21, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.cato.org/testimony/mandatory-universal-national-service-dystopian-vision-free-society>>.

National service can be fairly and efficiently enforced. A program with four or eight million people, spending billions of dollars, working with scores or hundreds of agencies, NGOs, local and state governments, and more, and possessing a highly political agenda is unlikely to be nimble, efficient, streamlined, and flexible. Federal employment practices and program administration for existing social service agencies generally receive poor reviews. There is no reason to assume that a new universal national program, which would have to decide what jobs with whom counted as "service," match millions of participants with openings, evaluate the performance of servers, and manage the inevitable conflicts and problems, as well as force angry, recalcitrant youth to participate, would be any better. In fact, far worse seems much more likely. Just as military conscription has been presented as a mechanism to lower defense costs, some advocates of civilian programs contend that compulsory service would save money by lowering salaries for those performing essential services. However, conscription for any purpose shifts rather than reduces expenses. The military draft always operated as an arbitrary tax, abrogating free choice and cutting compensation that recruits otherwise would demand. A mandatory civilian program would do the same. One could save similar amounts by lowering salaries of postal employees, conscripting janitors for federal agencies, or instructing automakers to equip the government's transportation fleet at cut-rate prices. Moreover, MUNS would generate evasion efforts similar to those under military conscription. Government officials presented the military draft as a matter of national security, even survival, but many young men were not convinced that they were morally obligated to fight and possibly die in Vietnam. An entire industry arose dedicated to enabling young men to escape their legal duty. Some faked injuries, others found jobs that exempted them from the draft. A number went

underground or fled. Would-be recruits were aided by sympathetic outsiders, such as doctors who certified nonexistent debilitating injuries. Many men who reported for duty nevertheless resisted while “serving” — doing little work, ignoring or resisting orders, refusing educational and training opportunities, and showing disdain for their supervisors, service, and even country. The military could not discharge malcontents, since that would act as a reward; rather, the armed services were forced to accommodate the discontented to their detriment. Advocates of mandatory universal national service might dress their program in glowing rhetoric and imagine civilian conscripts sharing their enthusiasm for doing good, but a substantial number of the four million men and women turning 18 every year likely would think otherwise. And then, what to do when “servers” refuse to report for duty? How to deal with chronic malingerers, who call in sick, show up late, and more? What if participants consciously, even ostentatiously, do their job badly? To ignore such conduct, relying only on pride and shame for enforcement, would simultaneously undermine the value of service and weaken the legal requirement. But is jail appropriate for someone who would prefer not to spend a year or two cleaning bedpans or managing parkland? Government could rely on financial incentives — say, denying college support or other government benefits for those who don’t serve — but that would be effectively reviving the Civil War practice of allowing conscripts to buy their way out of their legal duty. Those of means would effectively be exempt from service requirements, while those of limited means would feel pressure to conform. To the extent that compulsory universal service succeeded, it almost inevitably would duplicate some jobs already performed in the private and public sectors, and likely at lower cost, assuming compensation for “volunteers” was lower than for “employees.” This prospect led the Clinton administration to promise no job displacement from its volunteer program. However, this is almost impossible in practice. A school district receiving a “free” contingent of teachers and teachers’ aides likely would reduce its independent hiring, no matter what it claimed to Washington. To prevent this from happening the government would have to treat as off-limits for millions of MUNS participants the most worthwhile tasks, those which the public or private sectors already are providing or supporting.

## **Mandatory national service will not change young peoples' attitudes toward the common good.**

Bandow, Doug. "Mandatory Universal National Service: A Dystopian Vision For A Free Society." CATO Institute. February 21, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023.  
<<https://www.cato.org/testimony/mandatory-universal-national-service-dystopian-vision-free-society>>.

Mandatory universal national service would eliminate young people's sense of entitlement. Why should middle-class young people expect taxpayer aid to attend university, it has been asked? To eliminate this "entitlement mentality," some MUNS advocates would tie school aid to service (and make loss of such assistance the principal consequence of refusing to join). Yet a compulsory government program of this sort would reinforce the idea that students have a right to a taxpayer-paid education. This would merely move the entitlement one step back. Students seeking college aid would be entitled to a not-too-challenging public "service" job with a salary and educational grant. For instance, among the tasks funded by the Corporation for National and Community Service: informing people about the availability of FEMA Service Centers, maintaining vehicles, surveying residents about recreational interests, cutting vegetation, and changing light bulbs in dilapidated schools. In contrast, consider the sort of tasks envisioned by William James: young laborers would be sent off "to coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December," and much more. The real solution to the entitlement mentality is to rethink who deserves an educational subsidy and how it should be provided. Indeed, abundant federal educational assistance, especially loans, has made it harder for students to afford college by fueling tuition hikes. The schools know they can raise their prices because students can afford to pay more, and thus are the ultimate beneficiaries of most "student" aid. Of course, America should address the entitlement mentality of those well out of university as well, who have come to expect their own "entitlements," which presently are driving federal expenditures rapidly upward.

**Young people today have a strong sense of civic duty and unity---it's older Americans, whom the Affirmative does not require to serve, that are the problem.**

Gallimore, Dylan. "Mandatory National Service Won't Restore American Unity." Areo. February 10, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://areomagazine.com/2019/10/02/mandatory-national-service-wont-restore-american-unity/>>.

But, while it might sound like a good idea in theory, implementing a mandatory national service program would be deeply misguided. Stripping young adults of a year of their lives and forcing them to perform "national service"—whatever the federal government might deem that to be—in the name of restoring a sense of American unity is neither a reasonable nor a workable policy solution. Rather, it's both a misdiagnosis of a problem and a grave injustice of a solution—a cruel and unusual punishment of the sons for the sins of the fathers. Mandatory national service for young adults is most popular with older Americans, but it is they—not the young adults who'd be forced to serve—who are responsible for the ever-widening sociopolitical rifts in America. If anyone is going to be conscripted in a misguided effort to heal our national wounds, older Americans should be first in line. For decades, the older generations have dominated every influential field—politics, entertainment, journalism, business, academia—and, while their stewardship of our country has undoubtedly led to significant advancements, it has also led to nearly unprecedented levels of resentment and division—the very national ailments that proponents of mandatory service wish to cure. By contrast, young Americans are among the most unified groups in America; millennials and Gen Zers are largely in agreement on a broad swath of political issues and are generally unified in their distrust of both major political parties. Liu, Mason and others contend that mandatory service is needed to boost critical "intergroup contact" between Americans from different backgrounds, but the youngest generations are the most ethnically and racially diverse in history—a fact that makes their general ideological cohesion all the more noteworthy. The sociopolitical rifts that a mandatory service program would allegedly heal do not exist between the youngest Americans

to anywhere near the extent they do between the oldest. For older Americans to force younger Americans into mandatory service in the name of bridging national divides would be the height of hypocrisy. Furthermore, on a fundamental basis, mandatory national service would by definition strip innocent and free people of their liberty. Yes, we've done that to a generation of young people before, but that doesn't mean we should do it again. Our country would be far better advised to strive toward a natural restoration of American identity, rather than a forced one, paid for by years of mandated service on the part of millions of young people who did not contribute to the problem that their labor will supposedly rectify. There is no reason to believe that America's youngest citizens are any less capable of establishing and maintaining a sense of unity than their predecessors: if we were once able to foster a sense of national unity without violating young peoples' freedom and stealing a year of their lives, we can do so again. There's no shortage of ailments plaguing the American soul these days—the dominance of social media, the endless outrage-mongering that defines cable news, the proliferation of identity politics, to name just a few. But the absence of a program that forces young people to surrender a chunk of their lives in hopes that it will solve a problem that they did not create is not among them. Such a program would be a mistake and a cynical, morally disastrous recipe for intergenerational resentment.

## A/2: Utilitarian Framing AC

### **There is no universal set of virtues.**

Lomasky, Loren. "The Impossibility Of A Virtue Ethic." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*. June, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/45217329>>.

Unless some such response is supportable, virtue ethics is a non-starter. A fuller examination of this thesis of Virtue for the Rest of Us will be taken up in the next section. For now it is worthwhile to keep in mind that not everything that is worth doing well remains worth doing at walking, bomb defusing, climbing in the Himalayas, writing exegetical essays on Aristotle; those not expert are advised to stay far away. Even tennis playing is a different activity when pursued professionally rather than as an amateur, most people would be making a serious error if they devote themselves to working toward a Wimbledon appearance.<sup>4</sup> It is, then, not as obvious as it may at first seem how to respond to the question: Is virtue best left to the virtuous? The discussion has proceeded as if we understand with tolerable clarity what it is to be virtuous. That may have been a reasonable presumption for Aristotle and his interlocutors but it is one to which our own entitlement is considerably less secure. Some of the standards in the classical catalog of canonical virtues have survived with their moral prestige intact: courage and temperance probably, justice certainly. Others such as megalopsychia ("greatsouledness", "magnanimity") have fared less well and are almost unrecognizable<sup>5</sup> in contemporary moral discourse.<sup>6</sup> Christian virtues are, of course, excluded from the classical roster as is the central virtue of liberalism, toleration. The term "virtue" has had ups and downs over the past century, although at least in philosophical settings it is once again riding rather high, but the generally honorific force that it possesses does not guarantee that its reference is clear. Indeed, it cannot be so for us as it was for Aristotle because we do not share his commitment to the ideal of the one best mode of life. The tuition drachmas that flowed into the Lyceum were from young well-bom men aspiring to a career of political involvement in the life of the polis. Accordingly, the account of the virtues that they are provided is responsive to the imperatives of this distinctive

mode of life. That does not mean that it is the only significant mode of life in Aristotle's own day; neither women nor menials nor non-citizens could enjoy it.<sup>7</sup> This should not be construed as a lamentable but understandable lack of diversity that is ameliorated by our own more open standards of inclusion. Rather, it underscores the relativity of virtue in the sense that excellence is always excellence in the service of some

**Virtue ethicists fail to account for tradeoffs.**

Lomasky, Loren. "The Impossibility Of A Virtue Ethic." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*. June, 2019. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/45217329>>.

The virtue ethicist can respond that this is no more than a modest theoretical inconvenience. For those who are not themselves virtuous the maxim under which they should place themselves is to act to the extent they are capable as the virtuous person would. Lacking temperance one should nonetheless act as temperately as is within one's power. A timid person should buck himself up to emulate the courageous person. This isn't to pull oneself up by the moral bootstraps but it is to do the best one can with what one has. The chasm between ideal and nonideal theory is thereby elided; one for whom Be virtuous is a bridge too far will instead be subject to the imperative Do as the virtuous person would. Unfortunately, this strategy fails. It sometimes will be good advice for the morally mediocre to emulate virtue but sometimes it will be disastrous. Forcing oneself to abstain from less than virtuous conduct carries costs, and if they are substantial enough then an alternative is indicated. There are innumerable particular strategems that can rationally be pursued, all of which have been characterized here as vice management. There is a danger that in affixing this one term to many cases they will all be supposed to be variations on a common theme. In one sense they are: doing well but less-than-virtuously. There is no reason to suppose, however, that there is only one or a small number of ways to do so. To the contrary, examination of history and literature reveal a multitude of ways in which people attempt to cope with difficulties external but also internal. Most people aren't as adept as Ulysses in using the most advanced technology of his day for binding himself to the mast, but the simple soul who counts to 10 or bites his tongue before responding to a perceived slight is also a practitioner of vice management. Not having the first drink so as not to eventually have the tenth is also a management technique, as is arranging in advance for a designated driver. A technique that works reasonably well for one person may be completely inappropriate for someone else. Living well seems relatively uncomplicated within the ideal theory of virtue ethics because the indicated course is unique, the odd tie at the top excepted. But for human beings who still struggle to do the best they can, tradeoffs are multiple and inescapable.

**Mandatory national service is supported most by those who would not have to be conscripted---the advocacy is built upon selfish motivations.**

Kristian, Bonnie. "Mandatory National Service Is A Terrible Idea." The Week. April 19, 2019.

Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://theweek.com/articles/835755/mandatory-national-service-terrible-idea>>.

"One thing we could do ... would be to make it, if not legally obligatory, then certainly a social norm that anybody after they're 18 spends a year in national service," Buttigieg said, adding that this is "one of the ideas that everybody likes." It's really not. It's an idea liked by people who will never personally be conscripted. It's an idea liked by people who haven't grappled with the implications of giving the state the right to take a year of your life. And it's especially an idea liked by people who haven't thought through the realistic implications of having a few million young people available to do Washington's bidding, a mental exercise that should be exceedingly easy — and troublesome — in what Buttigieg is correct to call a fractured era. First, the question of age. "If national service is so good," notes The Economist, "everyone should do it." But the proposal is never thus universalized. It's always limited to young adults, which is an odd thing if the motivation, as Buttigieg says, is not military defense — where age may be relevant for its link to physical fitness — but renewed social cohesion. Don't older generations need to meet "very different Americans," too? This puzzle isn't difficult to solve. Older adults "conclude, reasonably enough, that the benefit to society is not worth the cost to their personal liberty." Thus polling finds support for mandatory service is related to age in a perfect inverse: The older you are, the more likely you are to endorse Buttigieg's plan — which is to say, the safer you are from losing a year of your youth to the federal government, the more likely you are to say other people should lose a year of theirs. This difference is not the product of wisdom. It is selfishness cloaked in a costless pretense of civic virtue. As for that cost to personal liberty, Buttigieg's focus on domestic over military service only negates some of the ethical dilemma for potential conscripts. All of the offense to the rights of the individual

inherent to the draft remain. A service requirement doesn't have to force anyone to go to war to be an illegitimate seizure of our time and freedom to use it as we choose.

\*Ellipsis from source

**Civic virtue comes from below, not from coercion.**

Bandow, Doug. "The False Promise Of Universal National Service." The Ripon Forum. November 11, 2022. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://riponsociety.org/article/the-false-promise-of-universal-national-service/>>.

America is divided. Some people hope for a simple answer. A few even see war as a model for bringing people together. Over the years there have been many notable universal national service advocates. The 2020 presidential campaign brought forth proposals for civilian conscription from Democratic candidates including South Bend Mayor (now Transportation Secretary) Pete Buttigieg. Susan Rice, of both the Obama and Biden administrations, also is a fan. It's a bizarre idea. America's national government was not given such authority, for good reason. Civic virtue comes from below, not above. As Alexis de Tocqueville famously observed in *Democracy in America*: "I have seen Americans making great and sincere sacrifices for the key common good, and a hundred times I have noticed that, when needs be, they almost always gave each other faithful support." However, voluntarism did not satisfy newer authoritarian, collectivist impulses articulated by the philosopher William James in his famous 1906 speech on *The Moral Equivalent of War*. "Our gilded youths would be drafted off," he declared, "to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas."

**Mandatory national service undermines the national character.**

Spalding, Matthew. "Compulsory National Service Would Undermine The American Character."

U.S. News & World Report. October 19, 2010. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2010/10/19/compulsory-national-service-would-undermine-the-american-character>>.

Americans have always exhibited a strong sense of compassion toward their neighbors and those less fortunate. Volunteerism, what Alexis de Tocqueville called our "spirit of association," is in the national DNA. Policymakers have long recognized the importance of citizen engagement and philanthropic volunteerism to a thriving civil society. But government should not attempt to compel its citizens to engage in these worthwhile endeavors. Its proper role is merely to energize a culture of personal commitment to those in need as a way of strengthening the natural grounds of citizenship and community. The goal of citizen service should be to protect and strengthen civil society. Tocqueville observed that one of American society's great virtues is its tendency to create local voluntary associations to meet the most important needs of the people. Other nations handled these needs through and by government; but in the United States, private individuals of all ages, conditions, and dispositions formed associations. "I have often admired the extreme skill with which the inhabitants of the United States succeed in proposing a common object to the exertions of a great many men, and in getting them voluntarily to pursue it," Tocqueville wrote in *Democracy in America*. "What political power could ever carry on the vast multitude of lesser undertakings which American citizens perform every day, with the assistance of the principle of association?" He added, "The more [government] stands in the place of associations, the more will individuals, losing the notion of combining together, require its assistance." The traditional associations of civil society—families, schools, churches, and voluntary organizations—sustain social order and public morality, moderate individualism and materialism, and cultivate personal character. The concept of national service is altogether different. Government programs, like AmeriCorps, do not encourage sacrificial giving of time and resources, which has

the character-forming effect of teaching compassionate responsibility. Instead, they suggest that “volunteerism” could just as well mean a paid job with benefits—or worse, a mandatory obligation. Such government-directed “volunteerism,” by encouraging individuals and associations to look to the state as the provider of assistance, belittles authentic volunteerism, the process by which individuals choose without economic benefit to help their neighbor. It also threatens the independence of the private associations that have always been the engine of moral and social reform in America. The American way. The call to service is best answered not by government, but by the citizens in voluntary associations, local communities, and private organizations that are at the heart of American charity. Last year alone, 63.4 million Americans volunteered, well exceeding the 500,000 involved in national service. Total private giving is estimated to exceed \$300 billion a year, with individuals accounting for 75 percent of that, overwhelming the Corporation for National and Community Service's budget of just under \$1 billion. One organization, the Knights of Columbus, made charitable contributions of over \$150 million and generated some 70 million volunteer service hours. The depth of private American charity and the vast potential to expand these great activities ought to be highlighted and strongly encouraged. These private voluntary organizations thrive today precisely because their work is privately organized, highly decentralized, and directly focused on community needs and local conditions. At a time when Americans are volunteering in unprecedented numbers (and ways), policymakers should reject the model of government-centered national service, which undermines the American character and threatens to weaken private associations. The better course is to bolster the call to service by encouraging a true and voluntary citizen service that is consistent with principles of self-government, is harmonious with a vibrant civil society, and promotes a service agenda based on personal responsibility, independent citizenship, and civic volunteerism.

## A/2: Climate AC

### **Expanding voluntary national service is sufficient to solve climate change.**

Ismay, John. "Pete Buttigieg Proposes National Service Programs For Climate Change And Mental Health." The New York Times. July 03, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023.  
<<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/03/us/politics/buttigieg-national-service.html>>.

Pete Buttigieg, who is running for the Democratic presidential nomination in part on his experience with national service as a Navy Reserve officer who deployed to Afghanistan, on Wednesday proposed a major expansion of voluntary public service programs that aims to attract 250,000 Americans in the near term and potentially grow to one million a year by 2026. His plan calls for expanding existing national service organizations like AmeriCorps and the Peace Corps and also adding new ones focused on combating climate change, treating mental health and addiction, and providing caregiving for older people. The new programs would prioritize bringing volunteers into predominantly minority communities and rural areas. In an interview, Mr. Buttigieg, the 37-year-old mayor of South Bend, Ind., noted that only a fraction of applicants to AmeriCorps and the Peace Corps are accepted every year for available positions. According to government data, the Peace Corps currently has about 7,300 volunteers and trainees, while AmeriCorps has about 75,000 members. If elected, Mr. Buttigieg's campaign said work on getting 250,000 Americans enrolled in these expanded programs would begin on his first day in office, an expansion which would be more than triple the size of those existing programs. A spokeswoman for his campaign said doing so would cost approximately \$20 billion over 10 years. Mr. Buttigieg said he would create a position on the National Security Council to manage these programs, and that officials would be flexible in addressing challenges as they arise, creating new corps as needed for priorities like resettling refugees or expanding broadband internet access in remote parts of the country. For men and women who perform a

year of service, Mr. Buttigieg’s proposal would credit that time toward student debt relief offered under the Public Service Loan Forgiveness Program, which assists those who work for government or nonprofit organizations. Mr. Buttigieg said his overarching goal was for public service to become a norm in the United States, and that when someone finishes high school, they would be “expected” — but not required — to serve for at least one year in some capacity. Eventually, he said, the first question posed to any job candidate or college applicant would be, “What did you do with your time in service?”

**Mandatory national service has practical limitations---there will not be infinite labor to address problems like climate change.**

Bandow, Doug. "The False Promise Of Universal National Service." The Ripon Forum. November 11, 2022. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://riponsociety.org/article/the-false-promise-of-universal-national-service/>>.

National service is a bad idea. To start, the 13th Amendment bans "involuntary servitude." The Supreme Court sustained military conscription during a war declared by Congress, but there is no similar justification for a civilian draft in peacetime. Nor is there a good policy argument for such a program, especially on a national scale. Political elites possess no unique abilities to diagnose and remedy the failings of the young. Indeed, it would be obscene to exempt the former, who are most responsible for the bitter political divisions in the nation's capital, from serving. Equally important, national service would fail in practice. Advocates of national service typically produce long lists of "unmet needs" with specific numbers of extra workers desired in such areas as conservation, education, health care, and, more recently, COVID and climate change. However, the demand for labor is infinite if treated as free. Nor is impressing millions of untrained, indifferent, and sometime hostile young people—roughly four million turn 18 every year—a sensible way to fulfill specialized tasks. Better to hire qualified and committed people directly. There also is a significant opportunity cost to turning young people's lives over to the state. The real expense is the value of their work or study foregone, and there is no reason to presume that a grand new federal bureaucracy is better qualified than them to run their lives.

**Climate change doesn't cause extinction.**

Farquhar, Sebastian. "Existential Risk: Diplomacy And Governance." Future of Humanity Institute. January 23, 2017. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://www.fhi.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/Existential-Risks-2017-01-23.pdf>>.

The most likely levels of global warming are very unlikely to cause human extinction.<sup>15</sup> The existential risks of climate change instead stem from tail risk climate change – the low probability of extreme levels of warming – and interaction with other sources of risk. It is impossible to say with confidence at what point global warming would become severe enough to pose an existential threat. Research has suggested that warming of 11-12°C would render most of the planet uninhabitable,<sup>16</sup> and would completely devastate agriculture.<sup>17</sup> This would pose an extreme threat to human civilisation as we know it.<sup>18</sup> Warming of around 7°C or more could potentially produce conflict and instability on such a scale that the indirect effects could be an existential risk, although it is extremely uncertain how likely such scenarios are.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the timescales over which such changes might happen could mean that humanity is able to adapt enough to avoid extinction in even very extreme scenarios. The probability of these levels of warming depends on eventual greenhouse gas concentrations. According to some experts, unless strong action is taken soon by major emitters, it is likely that we will pursue a medium-high emissions pathway.<sup>20</sup> If we do, the chance of extreme warming is highly uncertain but appears non-negligible. Current concentrations of greenhouse gases are higher than they have been for hundreds of thousands of years,<sup>21</sup> which means that there are significant unknown unknowns about how the climate system will respond. Particularly concerning is the risk of positive feedback loops, such as the release of vast amounts of methane from melting of the arctic permafrost, which would cause rapid and disastrous warming.<sup>22</sup> The economists Gernot Wagner and Martin Weitzman have used IPCC figures (which do not include modelling of feedback loops such as those from melting permafrost) to estimate that if we continue to pursue a medium-high emissions pathway, the probability of eventual warming of 6°C is around 10%,<sup>23</sup> and of 10°C is around 3%.<sup>24</sup> These estimates are of

course highly uncertain. It is likely that the world will take action against climate change once it begins to impose large costs on human society, long before there is warming of 10°C.

Unfortunately, there is significant inertia in the climate system: there is a 25 to 50 year lag between CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and eventual warming,<sup>25</sup> and it is expected that 40% of the peak concentration of CO<sub>2</sub> will remain in the atmosphere 1,000 years after the peak is reached.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, it is impossible to reduce temperatures quickly by reducing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. If the world does start to face costly warming, the international community will therefore face strong incentives to find other ways to reduce global temperatures.

**Creating a Civilian Climate Corps will be a drag on economic growth.**

Elbaum, Jack. "The Flawed Arguments For A Civilian Climate Corps." Competitive Enterprise Institute. July 22, 2021. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://cei.org/blog/the-flawed-arguments-for-a-civilian-climate-corps/>>.

When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office in 1933, he was faced with a massive economic crisis. To combat it, he embarked on a plan unprecedented in scale to mobilize the federal government through public works programs, welfare expansion, and financial reform. One of the most celebrated public works programs implemented as part of FDR's New Deal was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which aimed to give unskilled young men the opportunity to work on projects such as "the prevention of forest fires ... plant pest and disease control, the construction, maintenance and repair of paths, trails and fire-lanes in the national parks and national forests and such other work." After nine years of operation—in which over 3 million men were enrolled in total—the CCC was discontinued in 1942. Almost 90 years after the program was first implemented, there is now a growing movement to revive the CCC—endorsed by President Joe Biden, along with several Democrats in Congress, and refashioned as the Civilian Climate Corps—to address the effects of climate change and mass unemployment as a consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic. And polling suggests that there is a demand for such a revival. In fact, half of voters under 45 say that they would consider joining the CCC if given the opportunity. In this series of blog posts, I will argue that it would be misguided to implement a new CCC despite its popularity. A review of the effects of such public works programs on unemployment—as well as an understanding of basic economic principles—makes it clear that reviving the CCC would be imprudent. Moreover, the justifications provided for a new CCC do not hold up to the facts when examined carefully. \*\*\* The CCC has long been considered one of the most successful New Deal programs. People often cite the fact the CCC planted 3 billion trees, constructed over 3,000 fire lookout towers, and gave jobs for young men during a time of economic calamity in order to justify their support. But did the CCC—along with the many other public works programs put in place by FDR—actually accomplish their

primary goal of abating unemployment? The answer is No. In March 1933, the month FDR took office, the unemployment rate was 25.3 percent. Over the next few years, his administration would implement New Deal programs that were supposed to stimulate the economy, dramatically reduce unemployment, and effectively end the Depression. But by the start of 1936, unemployment had yet to go below 15 percent. And, by June of 1938, unemployment spiked again and hit 20 percent. Even at the end of 1939, unemployment was still above 15 percent. One could make the case that because unemployment reached the worst of the Depression in 1933, the New Deal generally—and certain public works programs, such as the CCC, in particular—succeeded to some extent. But the fact unemployment stayed as high as it did for as long as it did is that narrative's fatal flaw. Very few people would suggest that programs put in place to combat unemployment, but that ended with an unemployment rate above 15 percent for about seven years—with only one short period where it dipped under—should be classified as a success. \*\*\* The reason for the failure is straightforward and can be explained by basic economics. An article from the Foundation for Economic Education explains: Even though the programs may “create” jobs for some workers, the resources to pay for the programs must be extracted from the private sector. Taxing the private sector reduces its ability to create jobs, so, at best, government jobs programs can only alter the composition of employment, not the total volume. More government jobs are created, but at the expense of fewer private-sector jobs. In other words, for every dollar that the government spends, that is a dollar not used in the private sector to generate economic activity. The piece goes on to explain that the popularity of these various programs “stems from the fact that the jobs ‘created’ are highly visible, whereas the jobs lost are difficult to identify as being caused by the programs.” This is clear when one considers the CCC. It is true that it put over 3 million men to work over the nine years of its existence—and those jobs were highly visible. But what went unseen were the potential jobs lost by taking money out of the private sector, where economic efficiency is often paramount. And so, in the end, despite whatever kind of nostalgia the CCC and other public works programs conjure up for people who romanticize the days of the New Deal, the truth is that they were simply not an effective means of reducing unemployment. Rather, it hamstrung the private sector by depriving it of the capital necessary to promote economic

growth. In the following posts, I will carefully examine the present-day justifications for a new CCC. While the arguments for it sound plausible on the surface, a deeper dive suggests that they are not accurate.

## **The severity of climate impacts is declining---and if climate change is as massive as they claim, mandatory national service will not solve it.**

Elbaum, Jack. "A Civilian Climate Corps Cannot Address A Climate Emergency." Competitive Enterprise Institute. July 23, 2021. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://cei.org/blog/a-civilian-climate-corps-cannot-address-a-climate-emergency/>>.

As a result, they argue, it should be of paramount importance to combat these devastating effects of climate change through a new CCC. But—even though climate change is real and has mostly negative effects—this justification is weak on further examination. First, the letter identifies the increased cost of economic damage caused by “climate disasters” as evidence that we are in the midst of an emergency. But the truth is that economic damage would have gotten worse whether or not more severe natural disasters were taking place because of a phenomenon known as the “expanding bull’s-eye effect.” Commenting on this phenomenon, Bjorn Lomborg, a visiting professor at Copenhagen Business School and a visiting fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution, writes in his book *False Alarm*: [S]imilar climate impacts will result in more costly disasters because an increasing number of people with more and more valuable assets are at risk. The expanding bull’s-eye effect can be thought of as an archery target, with the rings (showing population density) telling us how many people and possessions are at risk of being hit by an imaginary arrow, or natural disaster. As population increases and development takes up a greater proportion of total land—especially in high-risk areas—more natural disasters will inevitably hit somewhere within the bull’s eye, thus causing more economic damage than if there was no development there. A good real-world example that Lomborg uses is in the coastal cities of Florida, where even as recently as 1990 it was not heavily populated. However, since then, “the coastal population of Florida has increased sixty-seven fold.” This means far more homes will now be in the path of any given hurricane. So even if the strength of the hurricanes in 1990 and 2020 were exactly the same, there would still be far more damage done now because of this expanding bull’s-eye effect. Second, even if we were to assume that economic damage of natural disasters is a good measure of their severity,

the facts still don't line up with the letter's narrative. Roger Pielke Jr., professor of Environmental Studies at the University of Colorado, has measured economic damage from natural disasters as a percentage of GDP. He found that, since 1990, economic damage from natural disasters has actually declined. The reason is that it is preferable to measure economic damage as a percentage of GDP, rather than based on raw numbers, because that considers the population and economic growth that has occurred over time. Third, the letter claims that we just experienced our "worst fire season" and a record-breaking cyclone season. Pielke has also compiled data on major hurricanes in the continental United States since 1900. He did not find any dramatic increase, but rather a slight decrease. Their claims about wildfires are similarly misleading. Publicly available data show that the levels of burning we are seeing today are not unprecedented or even close to the worst we have experienced since 1900. Last, the data on deaths as a result of natural disasters should be relevant to the discussion regarding whether we are in the midst of an emergency. Based on data from the International Disaster Database, Lomborg concludes that the individual risk of dying from a climate-related disaster has declined by 98.9 percent since 1920 because of all the advances we have made in terms of technology, infrastructure, and development more generally. Even if everything in the letter was accurate, there would still be little reason to revive the CCC. After all, if the problems were as massive in scale as the signatories claim, then having a few thousand young people combatting it would be a futile effort.

**The Affirmative will face practical difficulties, particularly with training and creating a new agency.**

Friedman, Lisa. "Democrats Want A 'Climate Corps.' They Just Can't Agree How To Create It."

The New York Times. September 10, 2021. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/09/climate/climate-corps-Congress.html>>.

But the biggest hurdle may be Democrats themselves, who have yet to agree on how to design a climate corps. Liberal lawmakers aligned with prominent environmental groups say they want about \$30 billion — three times the amount Mr. Biden suggested — to fund the program under the umbrella of AmeriCorps. Sometimes referred to as the domestic Peace Corps, AmeriCorps is a federally-funded national service program that supporters said could easily expand to take on climate-focused work. But in recent weeks, several senior House Democrats have challenged that plan, arguing billions of dollars should not be rushed out the door to an agency that would be saddled overnight with recruiting and training thousands of workers in clean energy and climate projects. "Everybody I think wants to help the climate," said Representative Robert C. "Bobby" Scott of Virginia, who leads the House Committee on Education and Labor that will oversee creation of the climate corps. But he said, "If the goal is work force development, I think we have more effective ways to do it." He and others have instead advocated expanding existing apprenticeships and job training programs through the Department of Labor and other agencies. The discussion is expected to come to a head Thursday when Mr. Scott's committee debates labor components of the \$3.5 trillion budget package.

**Creating a new Civilian Climate Corps only causes private sector crowd-out, which harms the economy---addressing climate change through other means is vital.**

Bailey, Ronald. "A Jobs-Killing Civilian Climate Corps Is Not The Way To Fix Climate Change." Reason. August 11, 2021. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://reason.com/2021/08/11/a-jobs-killing-civilian-climate-corps-is-not-the-way-to-fix-climate-change/>>.

The backlog of forest restoration projects suggests that there are issues on public lands that really need to be addressed, but that is not an argument for creating a vast new federal bureaucracy with as many as 1.5 million government employees. Public projects, such as roads, ports, schools, sewers, and dikes, are usually built by private companies, not by a new Civilian Construction Corps. But what about the congressional Democrat's other justification: The supposed COVID-19 pandemic unemployment crisis? The Bureau of Labor Statistics just reported that the unemployment rate has fallen from its early pandemic peak of around 15 percent to 5.4 percent in July. Employment is still down by 5.7 million jobs—or 3.7 percent from its pre-pandemic level in February 2020. However, the Department of Labor reported earlier this week that for the first time ever U.S. employers posted a record 10.1 million job openings in June. Filling all of those jobs would boost overall employment well past its pre-pandemic high. In addition, lots of economic research finds that public-sector employment fully crowds out private sector employment. "High rates of public employment, which incur substantial fiscal costs, have a large negative impact on private employment rates and do not reduce overall unemployment rates," conclude International Monetary Fund economists Alberto Behar and Jungwhan Mok in their 2013 IMF working paper. The problem of man-made climate change does need to be addressed, but the creation of a jobs-killing CCC is not a useful way to do that.

## **Economic decline turns climate change---it causes countries to rollback emissions limits.**

ABC News. "Global Recession Could Worsen Global Warming." April 30, 2009. Web. August 24, 2023. <<https://abcnews.go.com/Technology/story?id=7475614&page=1>>.

Under the onslaught of the financial crisis, some European nations have turned skittish on forcing limits in heat-trapping "greenhouse" gas emissions. And stateside, House Minority Leader John Boehner, R-Ohio, has complained that "middle-class families are struggling during this recession," in objecting to similar plans to cap emissions. But the financial meltdown may make the case for addressing global warming stronger, says Eugene Linden, author of *Winds of Change: Climate, Weather, and the Destruction of Civilizations*. A former Time magazine science writer, Linden alternates authoring with a part-time job at a hedge fund, making him the rare environmental writer on Wall Street. He spoke in April at a University of Illinois conference called "Planet U." on "What the Financial Crisis has to teach us about Climate Change." "Climate has been our long and moody companion," Linden says. "When it's nice, it's nice. When it's not, it's a serial killer." Anyone worried about pink slips these days could be forgiven for feeling the same way about the economy, he says. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has projected a roughly 7-degree Fahrenheit rise in average global atmospheric temperatures by 2100 under "business as usual" rates of greenhouse gas emissions. Greenhouse gases, notably the carbon dioxide produced by burning fossil fuels such as coal and oil, are transparent to sunlight, but trap heat in the atmosphere. "The continuing global economic crisis has once again shoved the climate crisis to the back burner," Linden notes. But "it provides a useful analogy that helps us understand the paralysis on climate change. It also provides a useful analogue to how things might play out."

## **The Climate Corps has clear opportunity costs, and duplicates the same work that could be done by the private sector.**

Bandow, Doug. "Mandatory National Service: A Bad Idea That Won't Die." CATO Institute.

August 08, 2019. Web. August 24, 2023.

<<https://www.cato.org/commentary/mandatory-national-service-bad-idea-wont-die>>.

Fourth, the "Climate Corps" is more of the same, namely assisting "in clean energy projects, including solar installation, improving building efficiency, developing community gardens, and increasing awareness about sustainable practices." Apparently running for president has left Delaney almost completely disconnected from American life. Companies send people door-to-door to sell products that cut energy use. Firms fiercely compete to install solar panels on private homes and in commercial operations. People freely create community gardens in their neighborhoods without the assistance of federal conscripts. And there's plenty of lobbying for "sustainable practices." You don't need to threaten to arrest people to force them into the PR business. Perhaps the biggest problem with national service is that neither Delaney nor Buttigieg nor anyone else seems to understand the opportunity costs. That is, drafting people to plant gardens, pick up trash, smile at hospital patients, manage food kitchens, and improve federal facilities costs whatever else the draftees would otherwise be doing: completing their education, helping family members in need, contributing to their communities in their own way, preparing for economically and socially valuable careers, and otherwise using their skills to better meet human needs. Having politicians assign people to an arbitrary mix of tasks, virtually none of which are vital in any sense, is guaranteed to be a grand waste of money, time, and talent.

## **A/2: AmeriCorps AC**

### **Grassroots movements are better at environmental management than government guided action.**

Romolini, Michele. "What Is Urban Environmental Stewardship? Constructing A Practitioner-Derived Framework." United States Department of Agriculture Research Note. 2012. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265622255\\_What\\_Is\\_Urban\\_Environmental\\_Stewardship\\_Constructing\\_a\\_Practitioner-Derived\\_Framework](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265622255_What_Is_Urban_Environmental_Stewardship_Constructing_a_Practitioner-Derived_Framework)>.

While regional or national policy may guide stewardship goals, effective management of local natural resources can be achieved through grassroots involvement (Weber 2000). Research on collaborative natural resources management (Koontz et al. 2004, Ostrom 1990, Wondolleck and Yaffee 2000) suggests that stewardship sometimes takes the form of polycentric governance systems (Andersson and Ostrom 2008, McGinnis 1999), that is, situations in which multiple, diverse institutions and organizations interact in the decision making process to achieve common goals. Community-to-resource interactions can be complex. Processes of collaborative resource management can increase social capital (Mandarano 2009, Schneider et al. 2003, Wagner and Fernandez-Gimenez 2008). In turn, organizations can be used as a proxy to assess social capital in communities (Fukuyama 2000, Kramer 2007). Whether source or consequence of organizational dynamics, greater social capital can lead to successful management and improvement of natural resources (Kramer 2007, Pretty and Ward 2001).

## **Voluntary charity is more effective than AmeriCorps ecological contributions.**

Bandow, Doug. "AmeriCorps Not Necessary, Even Harmful." Cato Institute. October 03, 1996. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/ameri-corps-not-necessary-even-harmful>>.

A public-sector bias is reflected in the fact that 2,800 of the first 20,000 AmeriCorps participants were assigned to federal agencies. The Department of the Interior used these workers to "update geological and hydrological information for the U.S. Geological Survey" and restore wetlands and wildlife habitat. These jobs, while respectable, resemble traditional government employment rather than "service." Such activities are not likely to promote volunteerism around the country. A more subtle problem is the likely long-term effect of federal funding on the volunteer groups and those who normally support volunteer groups. It is, in the abstract, hard to criticize grants to organizations like Habitat for Humanity (which until now refused to accept government funding), Big Brothers/Big Sisters, and the Red Cross. These groups do good work and money given to them is likely to be well spent. Who, however, should do the giving? Should the IRS empty pockets nationwide, give part of that to a government entity, which gives it to charity? No. Individuals should give to charity directly, not through the IRS. And it is understandable that the Habitat for Humanity could use more full-time supervisors for its volunteers, but not that the Habitat should get them from the government. Finally, AmeriCorps may have undesirable consequences on volunteers as the government turns "volunteer service" into a job that pays better-all things considered -than other entry-level work. Some participants have privately admitted that they see national service as remunerative, not as an opportunity to help the community. Indeed, government-funded service plays into what some national-service proponents have denounced as an entitlement mentality-the idea that, for instance, students have a right to a taxpayer-paid education. Some have asked, why should middle-class young people be able to force poor taxpayers to help put them through school? Is the government actually fueling tuition hikes by making this money available? How about

addressing the host of other “entitlements” that riddle the federal budget and sap people’s independence? And, are taxpayers likely to get their money’s worth from the service provided by AmeriCorps members?

**Corps participation doesn't spill over and make better environmental stewards.**

Martin, Andrea. "How Significant And For Whom? Investigating The Influence Of Conservation Corps Programs On Environment." Evergreen State College. June, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023. <[https://archives.evergreen.edu/masterstheses/Accession86-10MES/Martin\\_A2013.pdf](https://archives.evergreen.edu/masterstheses/Accession86-10MES/Martin_A2013.pdf)>.

Based on the data collected, it cannot be said with certainty that conservation corps are significant life experiences in influencing participants' environmental interests and attitudes. The significantly higher score on the Experience and NEP surveys for corps members that had completed more sessions implies an effect of corps participation. However, the high group mean NEP score also implies that corps participants may be more environmentally inclined than average. The qualitative data does suggest that corps participation is seen as a very important experience to many alumni, and implies that corps are significant life experiences for some participants. The results of this study coupled with the small but growing literature on corps suggest that corps have the potential for great influence on participants, and in the current economic recession in the United States, these programs are needed (and are in need of further evaluation and development) just as much as they were back in 1933. Continued research on the influence of conservation corps is needed.

**Environmental impacts on volunteers are hyper specialized and not useful beyond initial work placement.**

JBS International. "National Service Systematic Review And Synthesis Of National Service Literature." JBS International. August 29, 2015. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://www.nationalservice.gov/sites/default/files/evidenceexchange/FR\\_NationalServiceSynthesisReport.pdf](https://www.nationalservice.gov/sites/default/files/evidenceexchange/FR_NationalServiceSynthesisReport.pdf)>.

The outcomes examined for environmental stewardship are limited to demonstrable improvement in specific environmental conditions (i.e., tree survival and health) and promotion of environmental knowledge/skills in the community (i.e., the ability of community residents to actuate knowledge on proper tree care, and increased knowledge among K-12 students about watershed processes). In these limited areas, the preliminary evidence suggests that national service programs have the potential to create positive change for the environment. However, the evidence base is too scant to generalize about the effectiveness of these interventions.

There are a number of potential reasons for the paucity of evidence in the field of environmental stewardship. As noted earlier, the potential evaluand is often a natural setting that may be geographically dispersed and/or lack clearly delineated boundaries (e.g., a watershed or forest); non-human evaluand (e.g., plants and animals) are not amenable to conventional social science data collection methods, such as surveys and interviews; and other natural forces that are beyond human control (drought, flood, fire, etc.) may also contaminate results.

**Volunteering goes up when just asked-no need to make it mandatory.**

[Jeffery L.] [Brudney], Rebecca Nesbit. "At Your Service? Volunteering And National Service In 2020." Public Administration Review. December, 2010. Web. August 25, 2023. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40984104>>.

Empirical research has shown that people are four times as likely to volunteer when they are asked (Wymer 1997). According to the social-adjustive motive for volunteering, people tend to volunteer when someone who is important to them makes the request (Okun and Eisenberg 1992). People try to act in ways that will elicit a positive response from other people who are important to them because such a reaction serves to enhance their own self-concept (Kinch 1963; Picou and Carter 1976). Effective volunteering policies should aim at using people's social connections to influence their volunteering decisions (Light 2002; CNCS 2009). For instance, service policies can reward volunteers for bringing a friend or family member to volunteer with them. Nonprofit organizations can provide more opportunities for people to volunteer with friends and family members rather than serving alone.

**States not federal direction needs to be the guide of infrastructure-  
federal leadership leads to failed projects.**

Edwards, Chris. "Infrastructure Projects To Fix The Economy? Don't Bank On It." Washington Post. October 21, 2011. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/infrastructure-projects-to-fix-the-economy-dont-bank-on-it/2011/10/18/gIQAgZi3L\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.4c4fc167fcfe](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/infrastructure-projects-to-fix-the-economy-dont-bank-on-it/2011/10/18/gIQAgZi3L_story.html?utm_term=.4c4fc167fcfe)>.

The states should be the laboratories for infrastructure. We should further encourage their experiments by bringing in private-sector financing. If we need more highway investment, we should take notes from Virginia, which raised a significant amount of private money to widen the Beltway. If we need to upgrade our air-traffic-control system, we should copy the Canadian approach and privatize it so that upgrades are paid for by fees on aviation users. If Amtrak were privatized, it would focus its investment where it is most needed — the densely populated Northeast. As for Reclamation and the Corps, many of their infrastructure projects would be better managed if they were handed over to the states. Reclamation's massive Central Valley irrigation project, for example, should be transferred to the state of California, which is better positioned to make cost and environmental trade-offs regarding contentious state water issues. Other activities of these two agencies could be privatized, such as hydropower generation and the dredging of seaports. The recent infrastructure debate has focused on job creation, and whether projects are "shovel ready." The more important question is who is holding the shovel. When it's the federal government, we've found that it digs in the wrong places and leaves taxpayers with big holes in their pockets. So let's give the shovels to state governments and private companies. They will create just as many jobs while providing more innovative and less costly infrastructure to the public. They're ready.

**Federal Corps such as the Corps of Engineers display the federal governments lack of success in infrastructure projects-often lead to environmental harm and failed projects.**

Edwards, Chris. "Infrastructure Projects To Fix The Economy? Don't Bank On It." Washington Post. October 21, 2011. Web. August 25, 2023.

<[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/infrastructure-projects-to-fix-the-economy-dont-bank-on-it/2011/10/18/gIQAgZi3L\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.4c4fc167fcfe](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/infrastructure-projects-to-fix-the-economy-dont-bank-on-it/2011/10/18/gIQAgZi3L_story.html?utm_term=.4c4fc167fcfe)>.

The Corps of Engineers has been building levees, canals and other civilian water infrastructure for more than 200 years — and it has made missteps the entire time. In the post-Civil War era, for example, there were widespread complaints about the Corps' wastefulness and mismanagement. A 1971 book by Arthur Morgan, a distinguished engineer and former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, concluded: "There have been over the past 100 years consistent and disastrous failures by the Corps in public works areas resulting in enormous and unnecessary costs to ecology [and] the taxpayer." Some of the highest-profile failures include the Great Mississippi Flood of 1927. That disaster dramatically proved the shortcomings of the Corps' approach to flood control, which it had stubbornly defended despite outside criticism. Hurricane Katrina in 2005 was like a dreadful repeat. The flooding was in large part a man-made disaster stemming from poor engineering by the Corps and misdirected funding by Congress. Meanwhile, the Bureau of Reclamation has been building economically dubious and environmentally harmful dams since 1902. Right from the start, "every Senator wanted a project in his state; every Congressman wanted one in his district; they didn't care whether they made economic sense or not," concluded Marc Reisner in his classic history of the agency, "Cadillac Desert." The dam-building pork barrel went on for decades, until the agency ran out of rivers into which it could pour concrete.

**Private sector is necessary for solving infrastructure problems.**

Puentes , Robert. "Why Infrastructure Matters: Rotten Roads, Bum Economy." Brookings

Institute. January 20, 2015. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/why-infrastructure-matters-rotten-roads-bum-economy/>>.

The best infrastructure projects for private sector involvement are those with a clear revenue stream from rate-payers, such as water infrastructure and toll roads. The private sector can bring in new technologies for metering and billing that can improve services. Thoughtful procurement can also facilitate projects that do not include ratepayers. Nearly any project can be suitable for a private partnership as long as there is a mechanism to spread risk among all parties, even without user fees. So-called availability payment models allow the public sector to pay a recurring user fee for the use of an asset based on its condition and accessibility. These payments are a form of debt since but require continuous public expenditure and a binding budgetary obligation. It would help spur public-private partnerships if there were standard contracts and pricing, risk sharing and returns. In the past, Washington has set these kinds of standards for such vast areas of the consumer market as housing and small business. But the federal government appears unlikely to do so for infrastructure investment. A mix of public, private and civic bodies will have to do so instead.

## A/2: Peace Corps AC

### **Peace Corps workers will get exposed to diseases like Ebola.**

CBS News. "U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers Exposed To Ebola." CBS News. July 30, 2014. Web.

August 25, 2023. <<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/peace-corps-volunteers-in-liberia-isolated-for-ebola-exposure>>.

As a result of the growing spread of the deadly, incurable virus, Peace Corps is temporarily evacuating 340 volunteers from Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, the three worst-hit countries. There are currently 102 volunteers in Guinea working in the areas of education, agriculture and health; and 108 volunteers in Liberia and 130 volunteers in Sierra Leone working in education, according to the Peace Corps. There are at least three U.S. citizens known to have contracted the disease. Two are medical workers in Liberia, Dr. Kent Brantly and Nancy Writebol.

**The perception that the Peace Corps is compulsory undermines trust among the locals.**

Wiggins, Kyle. "National Service Like Peace Corps Or TFA Should Not Be Mandatory In America."

Mic. February 09, 2012. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://mic.com/articles/3988/national-service-like-peace-corps-or-tfa-should-not-be-mandatory-in-america#.GYybOt7cZ>>.

Throughout my entire duration of participating in the Peace Corps in Panama, from the application to my upcoming closing of service in my host country, there has been one, seemingly perpetual question: Why? Not only do sensible minded U.S. citizens ponder why anyone would leave the most powerful and free country in the world to live in the jungle for two years, but the host country nationals and community members find it perplexing as well. Since I started my service in Panama in 2010, I have been asked why I decided to do this, and before I can even answer, I usually get asked the followup question, "Is this a requirement?" I now realize that any answer but a flat "NO" hinders the success I can have in my community.

**Mandatory service dilutes quality of volunteers for the sake of quantity.**

Wiggins, Kyle. "National Service Like Peace Corps Or TFA Should Not Be Mandatory In America."

Mic. February 09, 2012. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://mic.com/articles/3988/national-service-like-peace-corps-or-tfa-should-not-be-mandatory-in-america#.GYybOt7cZ>>.

Another obvious result of required service would be a significant increase in the number of people serving. As with any organization looking to affect positive change, the number of bodies in the field matters greatly. In the early years of the Peace Corps, there were hopes that eventually the number of volunteers in the field would eclipse 100,000. Unfortunately, the peak number was just above 15,000, and this occurred just six years after the organization's founding in 1961. There is no doubt that the number of volunteers in the field would have been accomplished had service been and remained a requirement for college age young adults. However, it is a mistake to value quantity over quality when referring to any type of service that qualifies as human development. The term "human development" is most easily explained through the old adage, "If you give a man a fish you feed him for a day, but if you teach a man how to fish you feed him for a lifetime." In human development, the goal is to accomplish the latter, and frankly, it is both much more rewarding and at the same time difficult to achieve.

**An ethic of volunteerism is essential to the success of the Peace Corps.**

Wiggins, Kyle. "National Service Like Peace Corps Or TFA Should Not Be Mandatory In America."

Mic. February 09, 2012. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://mic.com/articles/3988/national-service-like-peace-corps-or-tfa-should-not-be-mandatory-in-america#.GYybOt7cZ>>.

While there are many complexities to human development, things that can at any point jeopardize any tangible result one may wish to see at the work's end, there is nothing more important than the element of want. The teacher and the student must want to be there in the first place. This is the most critical aspect of development. The teacher must want to teach, and the student must want to learn. Without this integral foundation, there can be little hope of feeding anyone for a lifetime. By making service a requirement, we take away the essential and inherent desire to help people; that desire which is innately rooted in the meaning of the word "volunteer."

**Soft power is useless in practice.**

Gray, Colin S. "Hard Power And Soft Power: The Utility Of Military Force As An Instrument Of Policy In The 21st Century." Strategic Studies Institute. April 01, 2011. Web. August 25, 2023. <<https://press.armywarcollege.edu/monographs/581/>>.

Unfortunately, although the concept of American soft power is true gold in theory, in practice it is not so valuable. Ironically, the empirical truth behind the attractive concept is just sufficient to mislead policymakers and grand strategists. Not only do Americans want to believe that the soft power of their civilization and culture is truly potent, we are all but programmed by our enculturation to assume that the American story and its values do and should have what amounts to missionary merit that ought to be universal. American culture is so powerful a programmer that it can be difficult for Americans to empathize with, or even understand, the somewhat different values and their implications held deeply abroad. The idea is popular, even possibly authoritative, among Americans that ours is not just an "ordinary country," but instead is a country both exceptionally blessed (by divine intent) and, as a consequence, exceptionally obliged to lead Mankind. When national exceptionalism is not merely a proposition, but is more akin to an iconic item of faith, it is difficult for usually balanced American minds to consider the potential of their soft power without rose-tinted spectacles. And the problem is that they are somewhat correct. American values, broadly speaking "the American way," to hazard a large project in reductionism, are indeed attractive beyond America's frontiers and have some utility for U.S. policy. But there are serious limitations to the worth of the concept of soft power, especially as it might be thought of as an instrument of policy. To date, the idea of soft power has not been subjected to a sufficiently critical forensic examination. In particular, the relation of the soft power of attraction and persuasion to the hard power of coercion urgently requires more rigorous examination than it has received thus far. When considered closely, the subject of soft power and its implications for the hard power of military force reveals a number of plausible working propositions that have noteworthy meaning for U.S. policy and strategy. 1. Hard military threat and use are more

difficult to employ today than was the case in the past, in part because of the relatively recent growth in popular respect for universal humanitarian values. However, this greater difficulty does not mean that military force has lost its distinctive ability to secure some political decisions. The quality of justification required for the use of force has risen, which means that the policy domain for military relevance has diminished, but has by no means disappeared. 2. The political and other contexts for the use of force today do not offer authoritative guidance for the future. History is not reliably linear. To know the 2000s is not necessarily to know the 2010s. 3. The utility of military force is not a fixed metric value, either universally or for the United States. The utility of force varies with culture and circumstance, inter alia. It is not some free-floating objective calculable truth. 4. For both good and for ill, ethical codes are adapted and applied under the pressure of more or less stressful circumstances, and tend to be significantly situational in practice. This is simply the way things are and have always been. What a state licenses or tolerates by way of military behavior effected in its name depends to a degree on how desperate and determined are its policymakers and strategists. 5. War involves warfare, which means military force, which means violence that causes damage, injury, and death. Some of the debate on military force and its control fails to come to grips with the bloody reality, chaos, and friction that is in the very nature of warfare. Worthy and important efforts to limit conduct in warfare cannot avoid accepting the inherent nastiness of the subject. War may be necessary and it should be restrained in its conduct, but withal it is by definition illiberally violent behavior. 6. By and large, soft power should not be thought of as an instrument of policy. America is what it is, and the ability of Washington to project its favored “narrative(s)” is heavily constrained. Cultural diplomacy and the like are hugely mortgaged by foreigners’ own assessments of their interests. And a notable dimension of culture is local, which means that efforts to project American ways risk fueling “blow-back.” 7. Soft power cannot sensibly be regarded as a substantial alternative to hard military power. Familiarity with the concept alone encourages the fallacy that hard and soft power have roughly equivalent weight and utility. An illusion of broad policy choice is thus fostered, when in fact effective choices are severely constrained. 8. An important inherent weakness of soft power as an instrument of policy is that it utterly depends upon the uncoerced choices of foreigners.

Sometimes their preferences will be compatible with ours, but scarcely less often they will not be. Interests and cultures do differ. 9. Soft power tends to be either so easy to exercise that it is probably in little need of a policy push, being essentially preexistent, or too difficult to achieve because local interests, or culture, or both, deny it political traction. 10. Hard and soft power should be complementary, though often they are not entirely so. U.S. national style, reflecting the full array of American values as a hegemonic power, has been known to give some cultural and hence political offense abroad, even among objective allies and other friends. Whereas competent strategy enables hard military power to be all, or most of what it can be, soft power does not lend itself readily to strategic direction. 11. Provided the different natures of hard and soft power are understood—the critical distinguishing factor being coercion versus attraction—it is appropriate to regard the two kinds of power as mutual enablers. However, theirs is an unequal relationship. The greater attractiveness of soft power is more than offset in political utility by its inherent unsuitability for policy direction and control. From all the factors above, it follows that military force will long remain an essential instrument of policy. That said, popular enthusiasm in Western societies for the placing of serious restraints on the use of force can threaten the policy utility of the military. The ill consequences of America's much-manifested difficulty in thinking and behaving strategically are augmented perilously when unwarranted faith is placed upon soft power that inherently is resistant to strategic direction. Although it is highly appropriate to be skeptical of the policy utility of soft power, such skepticism must not be interpreted as implicit advice to threaten or resort to military force with scant reference to moral standards. Not only is it right in an absolute sense, it is also expedient to seek, seize, and hold the moral high ground. There can be significant strategic advantage in moral advantage—to risk sounding cynical. Finally, it is essential to recognize that soft power tends to work well when America scarcely has need of it, but the more challenging contexts for national security require the mailed fist, even if it is cushioned, but not concealed, by a glove of political and ethical restraint.

**It's preferable for the government to support people who want to join the Peace Corps, not compulsion.**

Washington Post Editorial Board. "National Service For Young People Should Be Encouraged — But Not Required." Washington Post. September 18, 2016. Web. August 25, 2023. <[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/national-service-for-young-people-should-be-encouraged--but-not-required/2016/09/18/40c5a220-7c4b-11e6-ac8e-cf8e0dd91dc7\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.c26c4bb6c865](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/national-service-for-young-people-should-be-encouraged--but-not-required/2016/09/18/40c5a220-7c4b-11e6-ac8e-cf8e0dd91dc7_story.html?utm_term=.c26c4bb6c865)>.

The best justification for scaling up national service is to promote a commitment to volunteerism and community. Attempting to force these values on unwilling young people is likely to backfire. The government should instead cultivate them by supporting any qualified young American who wishes to spend a year in AmeriCorps, the Peace Corps, Teach for America and similar organizations. It should also send every teenager a packet outlining the various options, and it should seek partnerships with employers and universities willing to build service into their operations.

**Aff fails because of bureaucracy.**

Bandow, Doug. "A 'National Service' Revival Will Serve The State, Not The People." Forbes. June 01, 2013. Web. August 25, 2023.

<<https://www.forbes.com/sites/doughbandow/2013/07/01/a-national-service-revival-will-serve-the-state-not-the-people/2/#747ffcf37c08>>.

National service suffers from two other significant failings. Having the federal government attempt to organize or oversee (with money comes strings) work for a million 18-year-olds—or worse, the roughly four million who turn 18 every year as part of a universal scheme—should horrify anyone with a clear-eyed view of Washington. Never mind the difficulty of impecunious Uncle Sam finding tens of billions of dollars for the program. There's no reason to assume such a shared experience would be particularly positive, let alone uplifting.