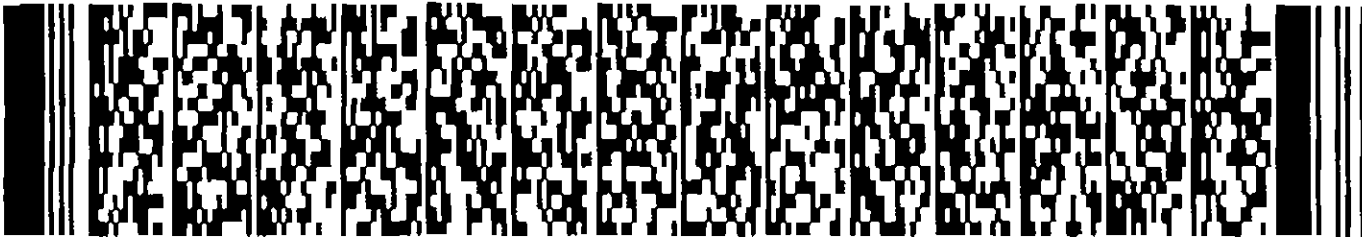




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AP English Language & Composition

ARGUMENTATION & PERSUASION

Mr. Mooney
Mrs. Pagani

Edited and compiled primarily by Jeffrey Norton

**AP English Language & Composition
Persuasion/Argumentation Terminology**

Persuasion:

Argumentation:

I. Purpose of Argumentation

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

II. Audience Types

1.
2
3
4

III. Elements of Argumentation

- Claim/assertion/proposition/position/thesis:
- sub claims:
- support/evidence:
- refutation:
- concession:

**AP English Language & Composition
Persuasion/Argumentation Terminology**

IV. Types of support/evidence

- Fact:
- Statistic:
- Example/experience/anecdote:
- Opinion:
- Analogy/comparison:
- Authority/expertise:
- Shared beliefs/values:
- Causal relationship:
- Argumentative Appeals (with examples)
 - Emotional: (pathos)
 - Logical: (logos)
 - Ethical (ethos)
 - Sentimental:
- Argumentative Organization/Arrangement
 - Classical:
 - Rogerian arrangement:
 - Deductive reasoning:
 - Inductive reasoning:.
- **Logical Fallacies**

Failing the test of appropriateness

AP English Language & Composition
Persuasion/Argumentation Terminology

Ad hominem:

Ad populum:

Ad vericundium:

Nonsequitur:

False analogy:

Post hoc:

Failing the test of believability

- Hasty/sweeping/over generalization:
- Stereotyping:
- Begging the question:
- False authority:

Failing the test of consistency

- Slippery slope:
- Equivocation:
- Oversimplification:
- Double standard:
- Either/or reasoning:
- Smoke screen:

Purple Patch:

Red Herring:

From Both Sides

Can cities improve urban safety by cracking down on minor crime like panhandling? Or is this silly and cruel?

Even Minor Crime Takes a Major Toll

It took three decades of accelerating social collapse to get there, but the nation's biggest cities have reached a point at which they no longer deem it progressive to focus compassion on criminals, graffiti vandals, vagrants, panhandlers and squeegee men.

Suddenly it's dawning on urban leaders that elderly pedestrians, shopkeepers, commuters, shoppers, property owners and, yes, even crime victims, also have rights.

This realization began, of all places, in New York, once the rotted monument to big-city liberalism. This week, the trend hit Los Angeles.

What about Spokane? Here, we're still lost in the '60's, debating the 'right' to be abusive. With a downtown struggling to survive, this is a careless luxury at best. At worst it's a disservice, especially to the down-and-out who suffer most from urban chaos.

Down in Los Angeles, the mayor wants a crackdown on "quality of life" crimes such as aggressive panhandling. It seems harsh. A \$500 fine? Six months in jail? For a bum? Just because he chased some heartless pedestrian who wouldn't give him a buck? Just because he smeared dirt on windshields at a stoplight and demanded money to clean them? Bums don't have \$500. And we don't have enough police to arrest them all.

But the other side of the story is a success, now being re-enacted from coast to coast. In 1994, New York City was collapsing, beset with violence, splattered with graffiti, overwhelmed with aggressive panhandlers and vagrants. That year, a new mayor and police commissioner launched a no-tolerance policy toward disorder, beginning with low-level crime like graffiti and abusive panhandling. No, police didn't arrest every thug. But they were given tools to arrest some. It worked. Today, New York's crime, from muggings to murder, is plummeting. People are safer – from poor, elderly people to fur-coated shoppers.

William Bratton, the police commissioner who pulled this off, refers to a "first broken window" theory; when you tolerate one broken window, you send a message you'll tolerate more. He redrew the line, on the side of decency. This helps all urban residents, especially the vulnerable ones. And, it creates a better climate for cities to work on real assistance to the poor. Tolerance is misguided if it enables dependency and accepts decay.

John Webster. For the editorial board

People On Streets Can't Be Tossed Aside

This is rich: Los Angeles wants to launch an attack on "quality of life" crime by cracking down on panhandling.

Panhandling isn't what's besmirching the quality of life in L.A. Try freeways. Or no one understanding anyone else at the bank.

And, consider for a moment the notion of putting fines in place for people who panhandle.

This is a Hollywood answer to a Skid Road problem.

People panhandle because they don't have money.

Will a fine dissuade them? If anything, they will have to panhandle more to cover the rising costs of their craft.

Here is a different idea: Put the vaunted free market to work among panhandlers. Isn't that the answer to all our problems these days? After all, we've ended welfare as we know it. The mantra of the day is to tell folks who can't hold a job to get some training, education, lifelong learning and get on with their quest for living the American Dream.

So, let's start with etiquette school for the street.

Give grants to train panhandlers in good manners. Tell panhandlers if they start saying "please" we rich people will reward their efforts by adding a tip.

Or, how about offering panhandlers music lessons? Point out that the guys in New York who play saxophone or bang out a few killer riffs with drum sticks on plastic buckets aren't suffering.

Maybe a small business investment program would work. State business development groups could help panhandlers import a higher quality assortment of street jewelry.

The point of all this is simply to suggest passing laws against being poor, or against being unemployable, or against being a drunk won't do much.

If you are desperate, if you have lost your way, your mind, or your will to get off the streets, a rich person's solution to your problems will likely be met with a blank stare.

We've tried building jails as fast as we can.

We're booting people off welfare.

Los Angeles seems poised to pass the anti-panhandling ordinance.

Until we dig into the family lives, the personal abilities and medical conditions of those who live on the street, we're not likely to make much progress in getting throw-away people into the swing of things

Chris Peck

Editor

Editorial Board

Members of the editorial board are Stacy Cowles, publisher, Chris Peck, editor, Scott Sines, managing editor, John Webster, opinion editor; Rebecca Nappi and Dough Floyd, interactive editors; Anne Windishar, Elana Ashanti Jefferson and D.F. Oliveria, writers; and Milt Frigge, cartoonist.

From Both Sides

Should states order all high school kids to take PE for their own good? Or are sports best learned voluntarily?

Student Body Needs Toning

The United States has become a nation of couch potatoes – big ones, little ones, old ones, young ones.

We drive to work and to run errands. We have sedentary jobs. We gain our sports thrills vicariously by watching professional or college athletes compete. Our children recreate by channel surfing, surfing the Internet and playing video games.

Our children. Nearly half of them, between the ages of 12 and 21, are physically inactive, and the older ones are the least active. From 1991 to 1995, the number of high school students enrolled in physical education dropped from 42 percent to 25 percent.

Now, the Idaho Legislature is listening to a proposal that would grease this downward spiral into poor health – in the hallowed names of mathematics and science. A recommendation in the proposed overhaul of public school rules calls for replacing health, humanities, freshman reading and one year of physical education in the core curriculum with two semesters of math or science.

If anything, in our technologically advanced society, Idaho should heed the 1996 “Surgeon General’s Report on Physical Activity and Health” and expand PE requirements to two years, as neighboring Washington mandates.

Children today should be forced out from behind their computer screens, out of their comfort zones, and should be taught that sports and exercise aren’t just for jocks. That moderate, regular workouts are essential for good health. That a variety of activities can keep them in shape and, as they grow older, help them avoid heart attacks, hypertension, diabetes and colon cancer.

That life sports can be fun.

In its call to action, the surgeon general’s report equated our level of inactivity to health hazards such as cigarette smoking, AIDS and the failure to buckle up.

The report urged families “to weave physical activity into the fabric of their daily lives,” health professionals to push patients to work out, businesses to promote work-site fitness and schools and colleges “to reintroduce daily, quality physical activity as a key component of a comprehensive education.”

Not all students will become engineers. Or researchers. Or computer whizzes. But all will need their health to enjoy their lives. PE isn’t superfluous.

D.F. Oliveria/ For the editorial board

Let Students Exercise Options

Imagine you’re a freshman in high school. You have four years, six classes per semester, to acquire numerous skills essential to your future.

Who knows best what you ought to study? You? Teachers and parents who know you? Or a pack of politicians who don’t?

Government has imposed graduation requirements for years, and there are good reasons for doing so.

But some mandates make more sense than others. And the mandate for physical education makes the least sense of all. You can force kids at a self-conscious age to endure showers and shower-room hi-jinks, you can force them to do enough push-ups to get in shape for a few months. But you can’t make them like it. Fact is: If you force teenagers to do something they detest, you create a real likelihood that they will detest it for life.

There are plenty of opportunities, at school and outside it, for young people to engage voluntarily in the sports they prefer.

The government mandate for a miscellaneous PE class is the worst possible way to create a lifelong affection for exercise. Schools can better address the physical-fitness needs of students by offering and promoting a diverse array of extracurricular intramural sports.

Meanwhile, the PE requirement creates schedule conflicts for students, whose primary goal is academic and vocational development.

The world young people will enter is getting more complicated and competitive, not less. They need to learn more to enter it, not less. The global economy requires greater competence in foreign languages. Computer skill has become a new “basic.”

Wise high school students also know they must study English, history, science, math, geography, fine arts, business, economics and health, plus specific trades for the majority who won’t complete college. Many of these subjects require years of study because the skills and knowledge are acquired in a progression.

There also has to be room in the curriculum for electives so students can pursue their talents. Therefore, every government curriculum mandate ought to be scrutinized. And the first one that ought to be bumped from the list is PE.

John Webster/Opinion editor

When his teenager needed a pair of shoes, Leonard Pitts had a learning experience. To wit: It's really about status, not footwear, and more than walking-around money is required.

'Space objects' put him on a cool footing

Knight-Ridder

It's not like I've never known pain before. I've had a root canal. I've had a broken jaw. I've been to an L.A. Clippers game.

But I didn't know what pain was until I went shopping for shoes with my teenage son.

If you don't understand why this was such an ordeal, well -- obviously, you've never done it. You're operating under the delusion that "shoes" are those things you wear to cover your feet. Silly person. For a 15-year-old boy, "shoes" are those things you wear to define your entire earthly existence. Show up in school with the wrong shoes? Might as well get caught listening to a CD that doesn't carry a parental advisory sticker.

We're talking a fatal *faut pas*.

That's why buying shoes for this particular boy required five trips to the store -- five! I'm begging him to pick a shoe -- any shoe that won't require me to take out a second mortgage -- and let's please get home before the polar ice cap melts. But he won't be rushed. Instead, he's pacing grimly in front of the shoe rack like Kennedy paced the Oval Office during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Except, of course, Kennedy's dilemma wasn't as serious.

So there we stand. Me fuming, him cogitating, trying to divine which shoe will impart the maximum amount of cool. From time to time, a gleam of hopeful madness lights his eyes and he holds up some futuristic....objects made of plastic and metal that look like something you might wear to play basketball on the holodeck of the Starship

Enterprise. They've got everything but a digital readout.

Not that I care. I'd be happy to unlimber the credit card and buy the things but, invariably, buy the things but, invariably, there dangles a price tag that reads like an area code. Next thing I know someone is helping me up off the floor. I tell him no and the hopeful madness dissolves to disgusted muttering. Something about the Jaws of Life and opening my wallet.

Cheap? "Moi?" No way. I wouldn't mind paying a week's salary for athletic shoes if I thought I was rearing the next Michael Jordan here. Or even the next Dirk Nowitzki. But this kid couldn't care less about sports. Baseball? No, thanks. Football? Not interested. Basketball? He thinks "Shaq" is something you wind up in if you don't pay your rent.

Yet he needs these shoes like air and you can only salute mass media for the sheer perfection of the con job they've pulled.

I'm reminded of something that happened the other day in the high school journalism class I teach. One of the kids brought in a newspaper story about Cristal, the \$500-a-bottle champagne that has become all the rage among hip-hop fans as a result of having been mentioned in numerous rap songs. Suddenly, the nightclub in the gritty part of town are selling a rich man's libation to men who may or may not know where next week's rent money is coming from.

As a fellow who calls himself Black Rob told the

reporter, "I bet if I come out tomorrow saying that I'm drinking water, everyone will start drinking water. The influence is just crazy."

Notwithstanding that water has been pretty popular for billions of years without an endorsement from Black Rob, the man has a point. And some of the kids were offended at the idea they might be manipulated so easily.

I saw a teachable moment and I took it. Think, I told them. If you believe a certain thing is so, ask yourself why. Is this truly what you feel? Or is it simply what you've been programmed to feel, made to feel, by the mass media machine.

Where does the machine end and you begin? Who are you? And what do you think?

Unfortunately, that speech worked better with my students than with my son. They nodded thoughtfully. He just held up another pair of space objects. Eventually, he found some he liked. He borrowed money to make up the difference that his cheapskate father wouldn't pay -- and left the store wearing a great big grin.

Been strutting proudly ever since. He thinks he's cooler now than he ever was before.

Leonard Pitts Jr. is a columnist for the Miami Herald.
Winter 2000

U.S. educators betray the next generation when they let kids spell however they'd like. Rowland Nethaway says employers, if not schools, demand accuracy.

By Rowland Nethaway
Cox News Service

The way kids today count spelling fr beans

Waco, Texas — "If I would have saved the bases and one I saw the best then I will get them way the end." The above, according to the San Francisco Chronicle, is an example of "inventive spelling" that is being encouraged in many American classrooms.

Inventive spelling is another touchy-feely educational gimmick designed by educators to protect the self-esteem of American school children.

The beauty of inventive spelling is that school children no longer have to study vocabulary lists. They can discard boring spelling workbooks. Even better, school children don't have to correct their mistakes with repetitive exercises. But best of all, children are never embarrassed by teachers who point out their misspellings.

Educators say inventive spelling stimulates creativity in children and frees up valuable time for teachers. This is great until these carefully nurtured bundles of self-esteem graduate and apply for a job. Employers, for some odd reason, want workers who possess basic skills.

Fully one-third of corporate economists surveyed say their companies have trouble finding skilled labor. The American Management Association reports that remedial training to provide basic reading, writing and

math skills jumped from 4 percent in 1989 to 20 percent in 1994.

At the recent education summit in Palisades, N.Y., the chairman of Ameritech Corp, said his company gives basic skills tests to prospective employees in reading, writing, basic math and simple logic. Those who pass are hired. Nine out of the 10 applicants flunk and resume their search for jobs that don't require basic academic skills.

Colleges across America are being forced to boost remedial courses to give incoming students the basic skills they must have to tackle introductory college courses.

Children who are given high self-esteem in lieu of basic academic skills are left with neither when they discover their futures have been permanently soured due to their failure to master fundamental reading, writing and math.

While U.S. public schools stay in a constant dither over magnets, student-teacher ratios, prayers, sex education, self-esteem and other wonky educational minutia, children in Asian and European countries hit the books.

Compared to U.S. school children, students in Japan, France and Germany spend twice as much time in class studying science, history and math. Japanese children have a 240-day school year, compared to 178 for U.S. children,

who have shorter school years than children in practically every developed nation on earth.

U.S. students do less homework and have less demanding curriculum standards than students in other developed countries. And it shows when U.S. students fail to measure up to foreign students.

Even U.S. higher education, which has long been considered the world's best, is being dragged down by the low academic achievement levels of U.S. high school graduates.

Basic skills do not constitute a well-rounded education, merely the first step. But no advancement is possible without taking that first step.

The "inventive spelling" sentence above was translated by the young write to mean: "If I would have magic beans, then I will give them away. The end."

What should end is inventive spelling.

Until science comes up with magic knowledge beans, there will be no substitute for high standards and hard work. Teachers who can't teach should be fired. Those who can should be rewarded. Social promotions must end. Administrators who encourage social promotions should be fired.

Rowland Nethaway is senior editor of the Waco (Texas) Tribune-Herald

THE LAST WORD

RICKY THE REMARKABLE

Baseball's best all-round career in the last quarter century? The case for Mr. Henderson.

BY GEORGE F. WILL

MARK MCGWIRE'S BICEPS SYMBOLIZE BIG BANG baseball. Rickey Henderson's thighs, which are responsible for what still may be the quietest first step in baseball, are the key to this: baseball's history is written largely in numbers, and numbers say Henderson's may have been the most impressive all-round career in the last quarter century.

His gaudiest number—1,299 stolen bases, and counting—is a record you will never see broken. Here is another: 130 steals in a season (1982). He already has 38.5 percent (361) more than the second greatest thief, Lou Brock. With Oakland last year, Henderson led the American League with 66 stolen bases—four more than the Mets' team total. Joe DiMaggio, a fine base runner, stole only 30 bases in a 13-year career. DiMaggio's season high was six. Henderson has stolen five in a game.

For half a century after Babe Ruth made baseball homer-happy, and especially in the 1950s, baseball became simple-minded. Most teams, most of the time, just tried to get runners on base and then get a home run. But in 1962 a small Dodgers infielder, Maury Wills, began helping baseball rediscover the running game. Soon Brock's Cardinals, playing in a big park with artificial turf, were winning by using speed to manufacture runs. Then Henderson began his sprint to Cooperstown.

Henderson, who was McGwire's teammate in the Oakland A's salad days of the late 1980s, is only 5 feet 10, 190 pounds, but his sculptured, 40-year-old body has about as much fat as a carrot. This year, his first with his sixth team, he will be the Mets' ignition system. He is closing in on two records set 71 and 64 years ago by two of the first five players voted into the Hall of Fame in 1936. Henderson has (through last Friday's games) scored 2,026 runs, hot on the heels of Ty Cobb's 2,245. One reason Henderson has scored so many runs is that he has walked 1,903 times, just 166 fewer than Ruth's 2,056.

That Henderson is the greatest leadoff man in history has little to do with the record 73 times he has led off games with home runs. Rather, something mundane makes him spectacular—the banality of the base on balls. He knows how to “work the count.” Last year he saw more pitches per at-bat (4.83) than anyone else in baseball. In addition to all his walks, he has 2,689 hits and a career on-base average of about .404.

Henderson's excellence involves a paradox. His career as a base runner is a reminder, after last season's home run barrage, that baseball is a team game; more often than not, and at its most interesting, scoring involves more than one big blast. On the other hand, Henderson, more even than a prodigious home run hitter like McGwire, demonstrates the pure individualism that is

possible within the team game. In basketball, one man can take over a game. In baseball, no position player—no one other than a pitcher on an unusually dominating day—can. But for many years, Henderson has come close.

This will be the 20th season in which, when he reaches first base, the complexion of the game changes. The middle infielders have to prepare to cover second. The pitcher has to throw over to first, perhaps again and again, to limit Henderson's lead. The next batters, the big boppers in the heart of the lineup, can look for lots of fastballs from a pitcher who wants to get the ball to the catcher as quickly as possible, in case the catcher has to try to get it to second before Henderson gets there. To hasten his delivery, the pitcher may go to a “slide step,” not lifting his front leg as high as he otherwise would—which costs the pitcher velocity.

Occasionally Henderson will stay at first just to make the pitcher do that: imagine throwing slide-step fastballs to young Jose Canseco and Mark McGwire with Henderson on base. That is what pitchers often had to do when facing the 1989 A's, a team that might have been better than the 1993 Yankees. This year Henderson, by staying at first, will



sometimes make Mets catcher Mike Piazza an even better hitter.

People who say baseball is not a contact sport have never rounded third at full tilt, hoping to hit the catcher—usually the sort of person who looks as though he were designed by the people who designed Stonehenge—just as a relay throw from an infielder hits the catcher's mitt. And then there is contact with the solid earth of the infield.

To understand the toll base stealing takes on runners who slide headfirst, imagine hurling yourself on your chest, onto packed dirt, from a car traveling at about 20 miles an hour. Imagine doing that the 1,299 times Henderson has done it successfully, and the 304 times he has done it when he was caught stealing. Then add the 2,000 or so times he has dived on his chest back into first base to beat throws from nervous pitchers. Doesn't it make him ache just thinking about it? “No,” he says, “you learn to land smooth, like an airplane,” and he sweeps his hand on a gentle downward glide. (If you believe it is painless, hurl yourself from your car.)

This year Henderson probably will become the second 40-year-old to steal more bases than his years. (Davey Lopes stole 47 at 40.) When relaxed and voluble, which he usually is around ballplayers and rarely is among outsiders, he breaks into bursts of laughter and punctuates his conversation with little spasms of his body, convulsions of energy akin to faking a break for second base. Asked if, when he gets to first base, he assumes he will soon be at second by his own effort, he laughs: “Ten years ago I assumed.” Then he heads for batting practice, radiating the electricity and professionalism that have earned him two world-championship rings—so far. Do not bet against Henderson's legs propelling the Mets into the postseason.

He began this season briskly. In the Mets' opening three-game series he reached base by hits or walks nine times, homered twice, doubled three times, drove in four runs, scored five and, of course, stole a base. He half expects to steal 50 when he is 50. Get out to see him this year. You will not see him like again.

The Life of Reilly
by Rick Reilly

Fall 1999

Sis! Boom! Bah! Humbug!

Every Friday night on America's high school football fields, it's the same old story. Broken bones. Senseless violence. Clashing egos.

Not the players. The cheerleaders.

According to a report by *The Physician and Sportsmedicine*, cheerleaders lose more time from their activity because of injury – 28.8 days per injury – than any other group of athletes at the high school level. The University of North Carolina found that cheerleading is responsible for nearly half the high schools and college injuries that lead to paralysis or death.

It's crazy, isn't it? We have girls building three-story human pyramids, flipping one another 30 feet in the air and we give the boys helmets.

A buddy of mine has twin daughters, both cheerleaders. At the end of last school year one needed plastic surgery on her cheek after another girl's teeth went through it during a pyramid collapse; the other broke her hand and fingers. They're not cheering anymore.

I don't hate cheerleading just because it's about as safe as porcupine juggling. I also hate it because it's dumb. The Velcroed-on smiles. The bizarre arm movements stolen from the Navy signalmen's handbook. The same cheers done by every troupe in every state.

What's even dumber is that cheerleaders have no more impact on the game than the night janitorial staff. They don't even face the game. They face the crowd, lost in their bizarre MuffyWorld. They cheer, they rah, they smile, they kiss, they hug. Meanwhile, Milford High just scored three touchdowns against their guys. A UFO could land at the 30-yard line, disgorging a chorus line of tiny, purple Ethel Mermans, and most cheerleaders would still be facing the other way yelling, "We got the fever!"

Exactly what does a girl get out of cheerleading, anyway, besides a circle skirt and a tight sweater? Why do we encourage girls to cheer the boys, to idolize the boys? Why do we want *them* on the sideline when most of them could be between the sidelines?

Studies show that by the time otherwise smart girls hit high school, they start to raise their hands less in class, let the boys take the lead. Isn't cheerleading the same thing, only outdoors?

Look, I married a cheerleader. My sisters were cheerleaders. I could see it then: Cheerleading was just about the only way a girl

could be a part of sports. Not now. Not in the age of Mia Hamm and Marion Jones and the Williams sisters. Not when most high schools offer as many girls' sports as boys'.

Oh, right, nowadays cheerleading is classified as a sport. There are now "cheer gyms," where kids go to learn to throw each other around like Frisbees. You can even watch the National High School Cheerleading Championships on ESPN, just after the Harley-Davidson Olympics. This is the event in which 408 girls named Amber attempt to create a human Eiffel Tower, screaming, "Two! Four! Six! Eight!" while displaying all their gums at once. I'm not saying it's not hard. I'm just saying it's pointless.

Do you realize colleges are even giving cheerleading scholarships? Can you believe that? *Sorry, Mrs. Roosevelt, we just gave away your daughter's chemistry scholarship. But you should have seen Amber here do "We've got spirit!"*

If cheerleading is a sport, Richard Simmons is a ballerina. It's athletic, but it's not a sport. In fact, what's sad is that most cheerleaders would make fine athletes. Watch for five minutes and you'll see. But these girls won't be on anybody's gymnastics or diving or basketball team because every season is cheerleading season.

Cheerleaders don't just shake their pom-poms at football games; they're also at baseball games and wrestling matches and girls' soccer games and most everything else short of chess-club tournaments. No matter how many hours they've already put in, no matter, how freezing it is, no matter how few fans are at the jayvee badminton match, the cheerleaders are out there in their short skirts.

What's that spell? Frostbite!

If they're lucky, they might grow up to become Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders. In the book *Deep in the Heart of Texas*, three former Cowboys Cheerleaders wrote that they snorted coke, gobbled diet pills and vomited to lose weight.

Rah!

I guess this is like coming out against fudge and kittens and Abe Lincoln, but it needs to be said. In four years my little girl hits high school. It's up to her, of course, but if my wife and I could choose her after-school activities, cheerleading would be next to last.

Just ahead of Piercing Club.

Why We Crave Horror Movies

By Stephen King

I think that we're all mentally ill; those of us outside the asylums only hide it a little better – and maybe not all that much better, after all. We've all known people who talk to themselves, people who sometimes squinch their faces into horrible grimaces when they believe no one is watching, people who have some hysterical fear – of snakes, the dark, the tight place, the long drop...and, of course, those final worms and grubs that are waiting so patiently underground.

When we pay our four or five bucks and seat ourselves at tenth-row center in a theater showing a horror movie, we are daring the nightmare.

Why? Some of the reasons are simple and obvious. To show that we can, that we are not afraid, that we can ride this roller coaster. Which is not to say that a really good horror movie may not surprise a scream out of us at some point, the way we may scream when the roller coaster twists through a complete 360 or plows through a lake at the bottom of the drop. And horror movies, like roller coasters, have always been the special province of the young; by the time one turns 40 or 50, one's appetite for double twists or 360-degree loops may be considerably depleted.

We also go to re-establish our feelings of essential normality; the horror movie is innately conservative, even reactionary. Freda Jackson as the horrible melting woman in *Die, Monster, Die!* Confirms for us that no matter how far we may be removed from the beauty of a Robert Redford or a Diana Ross, we are still light-years from true ugliness.

And we go to have fun.

Ah, but this is where the grounds starts to slope away, isn't it? Because this is a very peculiar sort of fun, indeed. The fun comes from seeing others menaced – sometimes killed. One critic has suggested that if pro football has become the voyeur's version of combat, then the horror film has become the modern version of the public lynching.

It is true that they mythic "fairy-tale" horror film intends to take away the shades of grey....It urges us to put away our more civilized and adult penchant for analysis and to become children again, seeing things in pure blacks and whites. It may be that horror movies provide psychic relief on this level because this invitation to lapse into simplicity, irrationality and even outright madness is extended so rarely. We are told we may allow our emotions a free rein...or no rein at all.

If we are all insane, then sanity becomes a matter of degree. If your insanity leads you to carve up women like Jack the Ripper or the Cleveland Torso Murderer, we clap you away in the funny farm (but neither of those two amateur-night surgeons was ever caught, heh-heh-heh); if, on the other hand, your insanity leads you only to talk to yourself when you're under stress or to pick your nose on your morning bus, then you are left alone to go about your business...though it is doubtful that you will ever be invited to the best parties.

The potential lyncher is in almost all of us (excluding saints, past and present; but then, most saints have been crazy in their own ways), and every now and then, he has to be let loose to scream and roll around in the grass. Our emotions and our fears form their own body, and we recognize that it demands its own exercise to maintain proper muscle tone. Certain of these emotional muscles are accepted – even exalted – in civilized society; they are, of course, the emotions that tend to maintain the status quo of

civilization itself. Love, friendship loyalty, kindness – these are all the emotions that we applaud, emotions that have been immortalized in the couplets of Hallmark cards and in the verses (I don't dare call it poetry) of Leonard Nimoy.

When we exhibit these emotions, society showers us with positive reinforcement; we learn this even before we get out of diapers. When, as children, we hug our rotten little puke of a sister and give her a kiss, all the aunts and uncles smile and twit and cry, "Isn't he the sweetest little thing?" Such coveted treats as chocolate-covered graham crackers often follow. But if we deliberately slam the rotten little puke of a sister's fingers in the door, sanctions follow – angry remonstrance from parents, aunts and uncles; instead of a chocolate-covered graham cracker, a spanking.

But anticivilization emotions don't go away, and they demand periodic exercise. We have such "sick" jokes as, "What's the difference between a truckload of bowling balls and a truckload of dead babies?" (You can't unload a truckload of bowling balls with a pitchfork. . . a joke, by the way, that I hear originally from a ten-year-old.) Such a joke may surprise a laugh or a grin out of us even as we recoil, a possibility that confirms the thesis: If we share a brotherhood of man, then we also share an insanity of man. None of which is intended as a defense of either the sick joke or insanity but merely as an explanation of why the best horror films, like the best fairy tales, manage to be reactionary, anarchistic, and revolutionary all at the same time.

The mythic horror movie, like the sick joke, has a dirty job to do. It deliberately appeals to all that is worst in us. It is morbidity unchained, our most base instincts let free, our nastiest fantasies away from horror films. For myself, I like to see the most aggressive of them – *Dawn of the Dead*, for instance – as lifting a trap door in the civilized forebrain and throwing a basket of raw meat to the hungry alligators swimming around in that subterranean river beneath.

Why bother? Because it keeps them from getting out, man. It keeps them down there and me up here. It was Lennon and McCartney who said that all you need is love, and I would agree with that.

As long as you keep the gators fed.

So That Nobody Has To Go To School If They Don't Want To

By Roger Sipher

A decline in standardized test scores is but the most recent indicator that American education is in trouble.

One reason for the crisis is that present mandatory-attendance laws force many to attend school who have no wish to be there. Such children have little desire to learn and are so antagonistic to school that neither they nor more highly motivated students receive the quality education that is the birthright of every American.

The solution to this problem is simple: Abolish compulsory-attendance laws and allow only those who are committed to getting an education to attend.

This will not end public education. Contrary to conventional belief, legislators enacted compulsory-attendance laws to legalize what already existed. William Landes and Lewis Solomon, economists, found little evidence that mandatory-attendance laws increased the number of children in school. They found too, that school systems have never effectively enforced such laws, usually because of the expense involved.

There is no contradiction between the assertion that compulsory attendance has had little effect on the number of children attending school and the argument that repeal would be a positive step toward improving education. Most parents want a high school education for their children. Unfortunately, compulsory attendance hampers the ability of public school officials to enforce legitimate educational and disciplinary policies and thereby make the education a good one.

Private schools have no such problem. They can fail or dismiss students, knowing such students can attend public school. Without compulsory attendance, public schools would be freer to oust students whose academic or personal behavior undermines the educational mission of the institution.

Has not the noble experiment of a formal education for everyone failed? While we pay homage to the homily, "You can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink," we have pretended it is not true in education.

Ask high school teachers if recalcitrant students learn anything of value. Ask teachers if these students do any homework. Quite the contrary, these students know they will be passed from grade to grade until they are old enough to quit or until, as is more likely, they receive a high school diploma. At the point when students could legally quit, most choose to remain since they know they are likely to be allowed to graduate whether they do acceptable work or not.

Abolition of archaic attendance laws would produce enormous dividends.

First, it would alert everyone that school is a serious place where one goes to learn. Schools are neither day-care centers nor indoor street corners. Young people who resist

learning should stay away; indeed, an end to compulsory schooling would require them to stay away.

Second, students opposed to learning would not be able to pollute the educational atmosphere for those who want to learn. Teachers could stop policing recalcitrant students and start educating.

Third, grades would show what they are supposed to: how well a student is learning. Parents could again read report cards and know if their children were making progress.

Fourth, public esteem for schools would increase. People would stop regarding them as way stations for adolescents and start thinking of them as institutions for education America's youth.

Fifth, elementary schools would change because students would find out early they had better learn something or risk flunking out later. Elementary teachers would no longer have to pass their failures on to junior high and high school.

Sixth, the cost of enforcing compulsory education would be eliminated. Despite enforcement efforts, nearly 15 percent of the school-age children in our largest cities are almost permanently absent from school.

Communities could use these savings to support institutions to deal with young people not in school. If, in the long run, these institutions prove more costly, at least we would not confuse their mission with that of schools.

Schools should be for education. At present, they are only tangentially so. They have attempted to serve an all-encompassing social function, trying to be all things to all people.

In the process they have failed miserably at what they were originally formed to accomplish.

Basic Argumentation: The Syllogism

The most common tool for developing an argument is the syllogism. Since the ancient Greeks, the syllogism has been the device in logic. It is also a form for organizing an essay. A syllogism is two statements or propositions, one major and one minor that combine to produce a conclusion. For example,

MAJOR proposition:	All men are mortal.
MINOR proposition:	Socrates is a man.
CONCLUSION:	Socrates is mortal.

If both the major and minor propositions are true, and if they lead logically to the conclusion, then the syllogism is both **VALID** and **TRUE**. But the word “valid” pertains only to the logic; it has nothing to do with whether the propositions are true. Some *valid* syllogisms may not be true.

MAJOR proposition:	All textbooks are yellow.
MINOR proposition:	I own several textbooks.
CONCLUSION:	All my textbooks are yellow.

Syllogisms can be trusted to be valid only when both propositions are positive; negative syllogisms usually do not work because they do not contain common elements on which to build a conclusion – even if both propositions are true. They merely state elements that are not present. For instance,

MAJOR proposition:	No banks hand out free money.
MINOR proposition:	Most students do not hand out free money.
CONCLUSION:	Most students are banks.

Sometimes it is necessary to add a fourth or even a fifth statement if there are unstated assumptions in the logic of the syllogism. Here is an example:

MAJOR proposition:	I will starve if I do not receive support.
MINOR proposition:	My parents will not support me.
CONCLUSION:	I will starve.
<i>Unstated assumption:</i>	My parents are the only possible source of support.

Syllogisms: Working with Validity

Evaluate each of the syllogisms below as valid (V) or invalid (I). For the invalid syllogisms, write a few sentences on each to explain why it is not logically valid. Revise to make it valid. Remember, you are not evaluating for truth; accept all the premises, no matter how absurd, as true.

- _____ 1. No out-of-state students are taxpayers.
Some freshmen are out-of-state students.
Therefore some freshmen are taxpayers.

- _____ 2. All Catholics are Protestants.
All Protestants are Baptists.
Therefore all Catholics are Baptists.

- _____ 3. All typhoons are destructive windstorms.
All cyclones are destructive windstorms.
Therefore all cyclones are typhoons.

- _____ 4. All college graduates are potential wage-earners.
No high-school graduates are college graduates.
Therefore no high-school graduates are potential wage earners.

- _____ 5. All brilligs are slithy toves.
No slithy toves are borogoves.
Therefore no borogoves are brilligs.

ASSIGNMENT: Make up three syllogisms of your own; then discuss whether each is valid and true. Consider any unstated assumptions.

Enthymeme: Syllogism in which ONE premise is not stated.

Enthymemes in The Awakening

Upon examination, you will notice that Edna does not go along with Victorian society's "rules."

MAJOR proposition: A good husband spend money to make the life of his wife luxurious and comfortable.

MINOR proposition: Mr. Pontellier sends bon bons and wants to redecorate his house.

CONCLUSION: Mr. Pontellier is a good husband.

"And the ladies, selecting with dainty and discriminating fingers and a little greedily, all declared that Mr. Pontellier was the best husband in the world" (13).

MAJOR proposition: The perfect woman displays the qualities of beauty, grace, great concern for the care of her home, and the undying love for her family.

MINOR proposition: Mrs. Ratignolle possessed these qualities.

CONCLUSION: Adele Ratignolle is a perfect woman.

"...one of them was the embodiment of every womanly grace and charm...her name was Adele Ratignolle" (15).

MAJOR proposition: A perfect marriage produces complete understanding between spouses.

MINOR proposition: The Ratignolles are married.

CONCLUSION: The Ratignolles have the ideal marriage.

"The Ratignolles understood each other perfectly. If ever the fusion of two human beings into one has been accomplished on the sphere it was surely in their union" (109).

MAJOR proposition: Women are natural social butterflies.

MINOR proposition: Edna enjoys being alone.

CONCLUSION: Edna must be mentally ill.

"The Doctor asks if 'nothing hereditary' was wrong with Edna after he learns of her new independent spirit" (118).

Rogerian Argument

In recent years, many rhetoricians have been influenced by the ideas of Carl Rogers, a psychotherapist who emphasized the importance of communication as a means to resolve conflicts. Rogers believed that most people are so ready "to judge, to evaluate, to approve or disapprove" that they fail to understand what others think. He urged people to "listen with understanding" and recommended a model for communication in which listeners are required to restate what others have said before offering their own views. This restatement should be done fairly and accurately, without either praise or blame; when restatement is done properly, the original speaker should be able to confirm, "Yes, that is what I said."

Although this model may seem simple, Rogers cautioned that it takes courage to listen carefully to views that are contrary to one's own. Moreover, it is especially hard to listen carefully when feelings are strong. The greater the conflict, the greater the chance of misinterpreting what others have said. In a quarrel, for example, people can sometimes talk right over one another, which drives the opposing participants even further apart. If you're interested in what Rogers says about resolving conflicts, you can read his essay "Dealing with Breakdowns in Communication" in Part 6 of this book (pages 647-652).

Scholars are divided about the extent to which Rogers's ideas can be applied to written arguments. Rogers envisioned situations in which individuals were involved in dialogue; a written argument is ultimately a kind of monologue. His commitment to the importance of restating others' ideas (without evaluating them) rests on the assumption that language can be completely neutral—an idea that has been seriously questioned in modern linguistics. And Rogers's emphasis on *learning to listen* may be more helpful to people who are used to speaking than to those who have been silenced in the past. Feminists, for example, have argued that because public discourse has long been dominated by men, women need help in learning how to assert themselves and men need help in learning how to listen.

Nevertheless, writers of argument can benefit from viewing persuasion as a means to resolve conflict and to achieve social cooperation, instead of thinking that the point of an argument is to somehow come out on top by beating down other people's opinions. Planning a Rogerian argument means emphasizing concessions rather than refutation, and placing those concessions early in your essay. Here is one way to organize an argument along Rogerian lines.

Although divided into six parts, a Rogerian argument need not be limited to six paragraphs. Depending on the complexity of the issue, the extent to which people are divided about it, and the points you yourself want to argue, any part of a Rogerian argument can be expanded. It is not necessary to devote precisely the same amount of space to each part. For example, there is no reason why you can't devote two paragraphs to your statement of contexts even if you devoted only one to your statement of understanding. You should try to make your case as balanced as possible; however, if you seem to give only superficial consideration to the views of others and then linger at length on your own, you are defeating the purpose of a Rogerian argument.

Rogerian argument is effective in situations where people are deeply divided as the result of different values or perceptions. It is especially useful when you are trying to reconcile conflicting parties and achieve a compromise that will allow these parties to move forward even though some differences remain. Because writing a Rogerian argument makes you a kind of negotiator, this plan may not be suitable when you have strongly held opinions of your own.

For an example of Rogerian argument written by a student, see the

Introduction

State the problem that you hope to resolve. By presenting your issue as a problem in need of a solution, you raise the possibility of positive change. This strategy can interest readers who would not be drawn to an argument that seems devoted to tearing something down.

Summary of Opposing Views

As accurately and neutrally as possible, state the views of people with whom you disagree. By doing so, you show that you are capable of listening without judging and that you have given a fair hearing to people who think differently from you—the people you most need to reach.

Statement of Understanding

Having summarized views different from your own, you now show that you understand that there are situations in which these views are valid. In other words, you are offering a kind of concession. You are not conceding that these views are always right, but you are recognizing that there are conditions under which you would share the views of your opponents.

Statement of Your Position

Having won the attention of both your opponents and those readers who do not have a position on your issue, you have secured a hearing from an audience that is in need of or is open to persuasion. Now that these readers know that you've given fair consideration to views other than your own, they should be prepared to listen fairly to your views.

Statement of Contexts

Similar to the statement of understanding, in which you have described situations where you would be inclined to share the views of your opponents, the statement of contexts describes situations in which you hope your own views would be honored. By showing that your position has merit in a specific context or contexts, you establish that you don't expect everyone to agree with you all the time. The limitations you recognize increase the likelihood that your opponents will agree with you at least in part.

Statement of Benefits

You conclude your argument by appealing to the self-interest of people who do not already share your views but are beginning to respect them because of your presentation. When you conclude by showing how such readers would benefit from accepting your position, your essay's ending is positive and hopeful.

persuasive Devices	fallacies of Logic	Character	Sound Devices
ethos/credibility	hasty generalization	conflict	verisimilitude
pathos/emotion	faulty causality	character/foil	idiction/word choice
logos/logic	begging the question	round/flat	point of view/persona
sylogism/enthymeme	equivocation	dynamic/static	organization/structure
major/minor premise	non sequitor	protagonist/antagonist	syntax
induction/deduction	ad hominem	frame story	tone
rebuttal	false dilemma	plot	ellipsis.
qualify/qualifier	red herring	exposition	chiasmus
essential/operational		rising action	stream of consciousness
assertion		climax	reflection
thesis/claim		falling action	detail/imagery
summary		resolution	visual
conclusion		persona	auditory
inference		theme	olfactory
		setting	tactile
		suspense/surprise	gustatory
		deus ex machina	
		point of view	
		omniscient	
		limited omniscient	
		objective	
		first person	

Methods of Development	Movements	Forms & Genres	Miscellaneous	Sound Devices
cause/effect	literary	Modes of discourse:	persona	alliteration
classification	artistic	narration	point of view	onomatopoeia
process analysis	philosophical	exposition	audience	assonance
definition	classicism	description	voice	consonance
comparison/contrast	neoclassicism	persuasion	literal/figurative	euphony
analogy	romanticism	satire	abstract/concrete	cacophony
extended metaphor	realism	parody	denotation/connotation	pun
description	naturalism	mock heroic	theme/motif	malapropism
chronological	magical realism	allegory	epiphany	
order of importance	modern	fable	cliché	
spatial	postmodern	myth	humor	
	existential	parable	juxtaposition	
	deconstruction	lampoon	purpose/intent	
		elegy	motive/exigence	
		drama/melodrama		
		comedy/tragedy		
		sonnet		
		blank verse		
		free verse		
		iambic pentameter		
		couplet		
		rhyme scheme		
		ballad		
		haiku		
		volta		

Literary & Rhetorical Terms

Tone Words	Diction Words	Figures of Speech	Language Terms	Rhetorical Devices
playful/serious	effusive	metaphor	idiom	selectivity
businesslike	nervous	simile	archaism	isolation
formal/informal	allusive	personification	invective	repetition/anaphora
ornate	metaphoric	apostrophe	interjection	message design
somber	anecdotal	allusion	circumlocution	emphasis
objective	Ciceronian	hyperbole	platitude	pacing
condescending	succinct		riposte/retort	identity
sardonic	Senecan	understatement	panegyric	parallelism
resigned	formal/informal	paradox	screech	periodic sentence
ribald	symbolic	oxymoron	jargon	loose sentence
emphatic	terse	epithet	vernacular	balanced sentence
didactic	lambent	bathos	prose	antithesis
brash	palpable	euphemism	homily	inversion
accepting/mocking	simple	synecdoche		anathema
witty	colloquial	metonymy		aphorism/epigram
ironic	technical	conceit		rhetorical question
pessimistic	abstract/concrete	irony		ambiguity
paradoxical	precise	verbal		
pedantic	hyperbolic	dramatic		
urbane	oratorical	situational		
lugubrious	scholarly			
contentious	erudite			
insolent	journalistic			
scornful	imagistic			
lofty/learned	sententious			
nostalgic	restrained			
didactic	bombastic			

A list of tone words is one practical method of providing a basic "tone vocabulary." An enriched vocabulary enables students to use more specific and subtle descriptions of an attitude they discover in a text. Include words such as the following:

angry	sad	sentimental
sharp	cold	fanciful
upset	urgent	complimentary
silly	joking	condescending
boring	poignant	sympathetic
afraid	detached	contemptuous
happy	confused	apologetic
hollow	childish	humorous
joyful	peaceful	horrific
allusive	mocking	sarcastic
sweet	objective	nostalgic
vexed	vibrant	zealous
tired	frivolous	irreverent
bitter	audacious	benevolent
dreamy	shocking	seductive
restrained	somber	candid
proud	giddy	pitiful
dramatic	provocative	didactic

English 11 AP
 Persuasion/Argumentation
 "What Makes a Good Argument?"

Name
 Date
 Period

So What Makes a Good Argument?

In answer to the perennial student complaint, "I just don't know what you want," I am sometimes tempted to reply, "All I want is a good argument." But as the previous pages perhaps indicate, outside of the confines of formal logic, it isn't at all simple to tell someone what a good argument is. It isn't a formally valid argument; nor is it an argument free from fallacies; nor is it an argument that cites lots of authorities; and it is of no help to students to tell them that it shows analysis, synthesis, and critical thinking.

The best "answer" I know was provided by an informal logician, Trudy Govier, of the University of Calgary, in the course of answering the question, "Are there two sides to every question?" In her essay of the same name, Govier constructs an excellent argument that there aren't two sides to all (probably most) arguments: sometimes there is only one (credible) "side"; much more often there are multiple "sides." Consequently, the common model of "objectivity" used on many editorial pages and news shows like "The News Hour with Jim Lehrer" is misguided; having two equally biased and opposite positions presented is no guarantee of fairness or even clarity. The likely result is confusion, extremism, and finally a profound conservatism. (Since "both sides" seem to have strong arguments, we might just as well leave things as they are.)

Govier ends her article by giving a list of nine characteristics of what she calls a "fair and balanced account," which does not mean that a position isn't taken (see Govier, "Are There Two Sides" 53). These nine characteristics constitute the best description of a "good argument," within the public, civic, dialectical context I have been presuming, that I have seen. So I offer them here as a conclusion:

1. The language used is relatively neutral. (Example: a speaker opposing religion in public schools refers to religious people as believers or adherents, not as bigots or fanatics.)

Failure to follow this guideline involves one in the fallacy of *argumentum ad populum*, either by use of scare words or of glittering generalities.

2. Facts that would tend to support an interpretation or evaluation different from that of the speaker or writer are acknowledged. Their apparent impact is either recognized or argued against and accounted for. . . .

Failure here means that one is suppressing evidence, that the author's ethos is actually weak, and that he or she is more interested in winning than in reaching the best dialectically negotiated viewpoint.

3. The point is acknowledged where expert opinion is cited and the relevant experts differ from each other. Either the case developed does not depend entirely on citing expert opinion or good reasons for selecting particular experts are given. Those experts whose views are not accepted are not attacked on irrelevant personal grounds.

Obviously, failure here involves a combination of the *argumentum ad verecundiam* and the *argumentum ad hominem*.

4. Controversial interpretations of events or texts, explanations for which there are plausible alternatives, disputable predictions, estimations, or value judgments are acknowledged as such. Reasons for them are given and, where appropriate, the impact on the analysis of making another such judgment is recognized.

We live in a complicated world. Argumentative issues are by their nature contingent. What we seek is not "the truth," but a warranted belief (Dewey 7).

5. The speakers or writers do not insidiously introduce their own special point of view as being the one the audience would naturally adopt. (Example: If a feminist is speaking in favor of equal pay for work of equal value, the speaker does not refer to the audience as "we in the feminist movement.")
6. Sources are indicated and, where practically feasible, quoted so that they may be checked in contexts where this is sufficiently important.

Not to do so is to commit a variety of the *ad verecundiam* argument, not to mention to plagiarize.

7. Arguments are careful and well reasoned, not fallacious.

The previous ten chapters have been devoted to what makes an argument careful and well reasoned: satisfying the STAR criteria, providing a *prima facie* case for whatever stasis is being argued, being aware of one's data, warrant, and other features of the Toulmin model.

8. Where time and space permit, alternative positions are stated, explained, and considered. Reasons are given as to why these positions are seen to be less satisfactory than the one advocated. Alternative positions are fairly and accurately represented and described in nonprejudicial language. People holding them are described accurately, politely, and respectfully.

In dyadic communication, the arguer shows his or her own awareness and fairness by considering alternative positions, critiquing them fairly, not engaging in straw man attacks, and not ignoring the contexts of argument.

9. The point is acknowledged where evidence and reasons offered are less than rationally compelling. An explanation is given as to why the position taken nevertheless seems the most nearly correct or appropriate in the context.

For many of the issues we must argue, there is no rationally compelling set of arguments. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca put it, "Only the existence of an argumentation that is neither compelling nor arbitrary can give meaning to human freedom, a state in which a reasonable choice can be exercised" (514).

All of this is probably too much to expect from our high school or undergraduate writing students, but it nevertheless remains a valuable ideal to aim for—whether in our classes or in our own scholarship. This book has itself certainly been an argument. In it I hope I have come close to satisfying Govier's criteria.

Argumentation

- Not a form, but a matter of rhetorical intent
- Writer may define, describe, narrate, compare/contrast, classify/divide, analyze cause & effect

Strategies

- Asserting claims
- Providing evidence
- Reasoning logically
- Avoiding fallacies
- Establishing common ground
 - Noting credentials
 - Using vivid details
- Acknowledging the opposition
 - Making concessions
 - Meeting objections
- Offering counterarguments
 - Citing authorities

Some Guidelines for Analyzing an Argument

Here are some questions that can help you judge the effectiveness of an argument:

- What gains readers interest? (9c)
- How has the writer established qualifications to write about the topic—by showing personal experience with it? by citing authoritative sources? What in the introduction establishes common ground with readers? What background information is given? Is it sufficient? (9e)
- What is the claim? Is the claim qualified? Is a thesis stated? If not, will readers be able to recognize it? Is it sufficiently focused? (9b)
- What good reasons support the claim? (9d)
- What warrants or assumptions support these reasons? What backs up any warrants? (9e, f)
- What support is offered for the thesis—examples? facts? statistics? authorities? testimony? (9f)
- How has the writer appealed to readers' emotions? (9g)
- Are there any fallacies? (9h)
- Are opposing points of view acknowledged and responded to? Has the writer noted both their advantages and disadvantages? (9e)
- How does the essay conclude—by summarizing the argument? elaborating on its implications? making an emotional appeal? Has the writer made clear what readers should think or do? (9j)

The Checklist

ELEMENT	QUESTIONS
1. The issue	• What is disputed?
2. The claim	• Is the claim stated or implied? • Is it a claim of fact, value, or policy? • Does the writer give reasons for making the claim?
3. The support	• What facts, statistics, expert opinions, examples, and personal experiences are presented? • Are appeals made to needs, values, or both?
4. The writer's purpose	• What is the writer's purpose for writing the argument? • Why does the writer want to convince the audience to accept the claim? • What does the writer stand to gain if the claim is accepted?
5. The intended audience	• Where might the argument be published? • To whom do the reasons, evidence, and emotional appeals, examples, and comparisons seem targeted?
6. Definitions	• Are key terms in the writer's claim clearly defined, especially terms that have ambiguous meanings?
7. The writer's credibility	• Is the writer qualified, fair to the opposition, and knowledgeable? • Does the author establish a common ground with readers?
8. The strength of the argument: reasons and evidence	• Does the writer supply several reasons to back up the claim? • Is the evidence relevant, accurate, current, and typical? • Are the cited authorities reliable experts? • Are fallacies or unfair emotional appeals used?
9. Opposing viewpoints	• Does the writer address opposing viewpoints clearly, fairly, and completely? • Does the writer acknowledge, accommodate, or refute opposing viewpoints with logic and relevant evidence? • Does the writer use emotional appeals appropriately? • Has the writer used any logical fallacies?
10. The conclusion	• Does the writer conclude the argument effectively?

SLANDEROUS POLITICAL SMEAR SPEECH

My fellow citizens, it is an honor and a pleasure to be here today. My opponent has openly admitted he feels an affinity toward your city, but I happen to like this area. It might be a salubrious place to him, but to me it is one of the nation's most delightful garden spots. When I embarked upon this political campaign, I hoped that it could be conducted on a high level and that my opponent would be willing to stick to the issues. Unfortunately, he has decided to be tractable instead -- to indulge in unequivocal language, to eschew the use of outright lies in his speeches, and even to make repeated veracious statements about me.

At first, I tried to ignore these scrupulous, unvarnished fidelities. Now I will do so no longer. If my opponent wants a fight, he's going to get one!

It might be instructive to start with his background. My friends, have you ever accidentally dislodged a rock on the ground and seen what was underneath? Well, exploring my opponent's background is dissimilar. All the slime and filth and corruption you can possibly imagine, even in your wildest dreams, are glaringly nonexistent in this man's life. And even during his childhood!

Let us take a very quick look at that childhood: it is a known fact that, on a number of occasions, he emulated older boys at a certain playground. It is also known that his parents not only permitted him to masticate excessively in their presence, but even urged him to do so. Most explicable of all, this man who poses as a paragon of virtue exacerbated his own sister when they were both teenagers!

I ask you, my fellow Americans: is this the kind of person we want in public office to set an example for our youth?

Of course, it's not surprising that he should have such a typically pristine background -- no, not when you consider the other members of his family:

His female relatives put on a constant pose of purity and innocence, and claim they are inscrutable, yet everyone of them has taken part in hortatory activities.

The men in the family are likewise completely amenable to moral suasion. My opponent's second cousin is a Mormon.

His uncle was a flagrant heterosexual.

His sister, who has always been obsessed by sects, once worked as a proselyte outside a church.

His father was secretly chagrined at least a dozen times by matters of a pecuniary nature.

His youngest brother wrote an essay extolling the virtues of being a homosapiens.

His great-aunt expired from a degeneratïve disease.

His nephew subscribes to a phonographic magazine.

His wife was a thespian before their marriage and even performed the act in front of paying customers.

And his own mother had to resign from a woman's organization in her later years because she was an admitted sexagenarian.

Now what shall we say of the man himself?

I can tell you in solemn truth that he is the very antithesis of political radicalism, economic irresponsibility and personal depravity.

His own record proves that he has frequently discountenanced treasonable, un-American philosophies and has perpetrated many overt acts as well.

He perambulated his infant son on the street.

He practiced nepotism with his uncle and first cousin.
He attempted to interest a 13-year-old girl in philately.
He participated in a seance at a private residence where, among other odd goings on, there was incense.
He has declared himself in favor of more homogeneity in college campuses.
He has advocated social intercourse in mixed company and has taken part in such gatherings himself.
He has been deliberately averse to crime in our city streets.
He has urged our Protestant and Jewish citizens to develop more catholic tastes.
Last summer, he committed a piscatorial act on a boat that was flying the American flag.
Finally, at a time when we must be on our guard against all foreignisms, he has coolly announced his belief in altruism -- and his fervent hope that someday this entire nation will be altruistic!
I beg you, my friends, to oppose this man whose life and work and ideas are so openly and avowedly compatible with our American way of life. A vote for him would be a vote for the perpetuation of everything we hold dear.
The facts are clear: The record speaks for itself.

Do your duty.

washingtonpost.com

The Right Minimum Wage

By George F. Will

Thursday, January 4, 2007; A17

A federal minimum wage is an idea whose time came in 1938, when public confidence in markets was at a nadir and the federal government's confidence in itself was at an apogee. This, in spite of the fact that with 19 percent unemployment and the economy contracting by 6.2 percent in 1938, the New Deal's frenetic attempts had failed to end, and perhaps had prolonged, the Depression.

Today, raising the federal minimum wage is a bad idea whose time has come, for two reasons, the first of which is that some Democrats have an evidently incurable disease -- New Deal Nostalgia. Witness Nancy Pelosi's "100 hours" agenda, a genuflection to FDR's 100 Days. Perhaps this nostalgia resonates with the 5 percent of Americans who remember the 1930s.

Second, President Bush has endorsed raising the hourly minimum from \$5.15 to \$7.25 by the spring of 2009. The Democratic Congress will favor that, and he may reason that vetoing this minor episode of moral grandstanding would not be worth the predictable uproar -- Washington uproar often is inversely proportional to the importance of the occasion for it. Besides, there would be something disproportionate about the president vetoing this feel-good bit of legislative fluff after not vetoing the absurdly expensive 2002 farm bill, or the 2005 highway bill larded with 6,371 earmarks or the anti-constitutional McCain-Feingold speech-rationing bill.

Democrats consider the minimum-wage increase a signature issue. So, consider what it says about them:

Most of the working poor earn more than the minimum wage, and most of the 0.6 percent (479,000 in 2005) of America's wage workers earning the minimum wage are not poor. Only one in five workers earning the federal minimum lives in families with earnings below the poverty line. Sixty percent work part time, and their average household income is well over \$40,000. (The average and median household incomes are \$63,344 and \$46,326, respectively.)

Forty percent of American workers are salaried. Of the 75.6 million paid by the hour, 1.9 million earn the federal minimum or less, and of these, more than half are under 25 and more than a quarter are between ages 16 and 19. Many are students or other part-time workers. Sixty percent of those earning the federal minimum or less work in restaurants and bars and earn tips -- often untaxed, perhaps -- in addition to wages. Two-thirds of those earning the federal minimum today will, a year from now, have been promoted and be earning 10 percent more. Raising the minimum wage predictably makes work more attractive relative to school for some teenagers and raises the dropout rate. Two scholars report that in states that allow people to leave school before 18, a 10 percent increase in the state minimum wage caused teenage school enrollment to drop 2 percent.

The federal minimum wage has not been raised since 1997, so 29 states with 70 percent of the nation's workforce have set minimum wages between \$6.15 and \$7.93 an hour. Because aging liberals, clinging

to the moral clarities of their youth, also have Sixties Nostalgia, they are suspicious of states' rights. But regarding minimum wages, many have become Brandeisians, invoking Justice Louis Brandeis's thought about states being laboratories of democracy.

But wait. Ronald Blackwell, the AFL-CIO's chief economist, tells the New York Times that state minimum-wage differences entice companies to shift jobs to lower-wage states. So: States' rights are bad, after all, at least concerning -- let's use liberalism's highest encomium -- *diversity* of economic policies.

The problem is that demand for almost everything is elastic: When the price of something goes up, demand for it goes down. Obviously were the minimum wage to jump to, say, \$15 an hour, that would cause significant unemployment among persons just reaching for the bottom rung of the ladder of upward mobility. But suppose those scholars are correct who say that when the minimum wage is low and is increased slowly -- proposed legislation would take it to \$7.25 in three steps -- the negative impact on employment is negligible. Still, because there are large differences among states' costs of living and the nature of their economies, Sen. Jim DeMint (R-S.C.) sensibly suggests that each state be allowed to set a lower minimum.

But the minimum wage should be the same everywhere: \$0. Labor is a commodity; governments make messes when they decree commodities' prices. Washington, which has its hands full delivering the mail and defending the shores, should let the market do well what Washington does poorly. But that is a good idea whose time will never come again.

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CNN) -- Barack Obama was sworn in as the 44th president of the United States and the nation's first African-American president Tuesday. This is a transcript of his prepared speech.

My fellow citizens:

I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his service to our nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition.

Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because We the People have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebearers, and true to our founding documents.

So it has been. So it must be with this generation of Americans.

That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war, against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly; our schools fail too many; and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.

These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable but no less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land -- a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, and that the next generation must lower its sights.

Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America: They will be met.

On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord.

On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas, that for far too long have strangled our politics.

We remain a young nation, but in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea, passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.

In reaffirming the greatness of our nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the fainthearted -- for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things -- some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor -- who have carried us up the long, rugged path toward prosperity and freedom.

For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life.

For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West; endured the lash of the whip and plowed the hard earth.

For us, they fought and died, in places like Concord and Gettysburg; Normandy and Khe Sahn.

Time and again, these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions; greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.

This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions -- that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.

For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act -- not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. And all this we will do.

Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions -- who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short. For they have forgotten what this country has already done; what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose, and necessity to courage.

What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them -- that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works -- whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end.

And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account -- to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day -- because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.

Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched, but this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control -- and that a nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity; on our ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.

As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience's sake. And so to all other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: Know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and that we are ready to lead once more.

Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint.

We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort -- even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people, and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we will work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the specter of a warming planet. We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense, and for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken; you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.

For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus -- and nonbelievers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the

West: Know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history; but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.

To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to suffering outside our borders; nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it.

As we consider the road that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us today, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages. We honor them not only because they are guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service; a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet, at this moment -- a moment that will define a generation -- it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all.

For as much as government can do and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child, that finally decides our fate.

Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends -- hard work and honesty, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism -- these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history. What is demanded then is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility -- a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; duties that we do not grudgingly accept but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character, than giving our all to a difficult task.

This is the price and the promise of citizenship.

This is the source of our confidence -- the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny.

This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed -- why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent Mall, and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath.

So let us mark this day with remembrance, of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At a moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words be read to the people:

"Let it be told to the future world ... that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive... that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet [it]."

America. In the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested, we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back, nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely

PRESIDENT CLINTON TESTIFIES

Text of President Clinton's address

Good evening.

This afternoon in this room, from this chair, I testified before the Office of Independent Counsel and the grand jury.

I answered their questions truthfully, including questions about my private life, questions no American citizen would ever want to answer.

Still, I must take complete responsibility for all my actions, both public and private. And that is why I am speaking to you tonight.

As you know, in a deposition in January, I was asked questions about my relationship with Monica Lewinsky. While my answers were legally accurate, I did not volunteer information.

Indeed, I did have a relationship with Ms. Lewinsky that was not appropriate. In fact, it was wrong. It constituted a critical lapse in judgment and a personal failure on my part for which I am solely and completely responsible.

But I told the grand jury today and I say to you now that at no time did I ask anyone to lie, to hide or destroy evidence or to take any other unlawful action.

I know that my public comments and my silence about this matter gave a false impression. I misled people, including even my wife. I deeply regret that.

I can only tell you I was motivated by many factors. First, by a desire to protect myself from the embarrassment of my own conduct.

I was also very concerned about protecting my family. The fact that these questions were being asked in a politically inspired lawsuit, which has since been dismissed, was a consideration, too.

In addition, I had real and serious concerns about an independent counsel

investigation that began with private business dealings 20 years ago, dealings, I might add, about which an independent federal agency found no evidence of any wrongdoing by me or my wife over two years ago.

The independent counsel investigation moved on to my staff and friends, then into my private life. And now the investigation itself is under investigation.

This has gone on too long, cost too much and hurt too many innocent people.

Now, this matter is between me, the two people I love most — my wife and our daughter — and our God. I must put it right, and I am prepared to do whatever it takes to do so.

Nothing is more important to me personally. But it is private, and I intend to reclaim my family life for my family. It's nobody's business but ours.

Even presidents have private lives. It is time to stop the pursuit of personal destruction and the prying into private lives and get on with our national life.

Our country has been distracted by this matter for too long, and I take my responsibility for my part in all of this. That is all I can do.

Now it is time — in fact, it is past time — to move on.

We have important work to do — real opportunities to seize, real problems to solve, real security matters to face.

And so tonight, I ask you to turn away from the spectacle of the past seven months, to repair the fabric of our national discourse, and to return our attention to all the challenges and all the promise of the next American century.

Thank you for watching. And good night.

Questions for the Clinton Address

1. What is ironic about the salutation?
2. What is the purpose of the paragraph two?
3. The last nine words in paragraph three are designed to do what?
4. Paragraph four is important to the address as it is _____.
5. Discuss Clinton's careful diction. Include his attitude, tone, and the words and phrases that denote and connote these rhetorical devices.
6. Focus on his emotional appeals to patriotism "and in our God."
7. Find examples of parallelism and relate these examples to the main idea of the address.
8. Analyze Clinton's offensive approach.
9. Analyze the President's use of the word "family."
10. What is the significance of the closing sentences?

A.P. LANGUAGE / War Coverage: Los Angeles *Times* vs. Homer

The following is from a story in the Los Angeles *Times* during the 1991 war on Iraq. Compare this passage to the selection from Book IV of the *Iliad*. Define as precisely as you can how the difference in the language of the passages reflects different attitudes towards war. There is no one correct answer; please put down anything you see that strikes you as interesting. Comment on both style and content.

US TANK-PLOWS SAID TO BURY THOUSANDS OF IRAQIS

Ft. Riley, Kan.— Using plows mounted on tanks and combat earthmovers, the U.S. Army division that broke through Saddam Hussein's defensive front line buried thousands of Iraqi soldiers-- some still alive and firing their weapons— in more than 70 miles of trenches, according to U.S. Army officials. 5

In the first two days of ground fighting in Operation Desert Storm, three brigades of the 1st Mechanized Infantry Division— “The Big Red One”— used the tactic to destroy trenches and bunkers being defended by more than 8,000 Iraqi soldiers, according to division estimates.

While 2,000 surrendered, Iraqi dead and wounded as well as defiant soldiers 10 still firing their weapons were buried beneath tons of sand. . . . “This is war. This isn't a pickup basketball game,” an official said. . . .

“For all I know, we could have killed thousands,” said Col. Anthony Moreno, commander of the 2nd Brigade. . . . “I came through right after the lead company,” he said. “What you saw was a bunch of buried trenches with peoples' arms and things 15 sticking out of them.”

[from a battle scene in Book IV of Homer's *Iliad* (trans. Richmond Lattimore, 457-472:)]

Antilochos was first to kill a chief man of the Trojans,
valiant among the champions, Thalysias' son, Echepolos.
Throwing first, he struck the horn of the horse-haired helmet,
and the bronze spearpoint fixed in his forehead and drove inward
through the bone; and a mist of darkness clouded both eyes 5
and he fell as a tower falls in the strong encounter.

As he dropped, Elphenor the powerful caught him by the feet,
Chalkodon's son, and lord of the great-hearted Abantes,
and dragged him away from under the missiles, striving in all speed
to strip the armor from him, yet his outrush went short-lived. 10
For as he hauled the corpse high-hearted Agenor, marking
the ribs that showed bare under the shield as he bent over,
stabbed with the bronze-pointed spear and unstrung his sinews.
So the spirit left him and over his body was fought out
weary work by Trojans and Achaians, who like wolves 15
sprang upon one another, with man against man in the onfall.

Winston Churchill

I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this government, that I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat. We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind... You ask, what is our policy? I will say: it is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us: to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy. You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: It is victory, victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory, however long and hard the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival.

Jenkins, Roy. Churchill Biography. New York: Penguin Group, 2002.

Why America must stay

America should keep its troops in Iraq until Iraqis ask them to go



WARs waged abroad are often lost at home; and that may be starting to happen with Iraq. Calls for American troops to withdraw are familiar in the Arab world and Europe, but in the United States itself such talk has remained on the fringes of political debate. Now, with surprising suddenness, it has landed at the centre of American politics.

On November 17th John Murtha, a hawkish Democratic congressman, suggested pulling the troops out of Iraq in six months, prompting an unseemly spat between the former marine colonel and the White House. Moves to set a timetable have been voted down, but the Republican-controlled Senate has voted 79-19 for 2006 to be "a period of significant transition to full Iraq sovereignty" and the Pentagon is mumbling about troop reductions. Meanwhile, some hundred Iraqi leaders at a reconciliation conference in Cairo backed by the Arab League talked about setting a timetable for withdrawal.

There is some politicking in this. In Cairo, the Shias and Kurds, who dominate Iraq's new order, were offering an olive branch to the sullen Sunnis, who used to run the show under Saddam Hussein. In America, Republicans are looking nervously at the 2006 elections. Democrats sense that George Bush is vulnerable—and that Iraq presents the best way to hurt him now that most Americans regret invading the country. Yet there is plainly principle too: Mr Murtha and millions of others maintain that America is doing more harm than good in Iraq, and that the troops should therefore come home.

This newspaper strongly disagrees. In our opinion it would be disastrous for America to retreat hastily from Iraq. Yet it is also well past time for George Bush to spell out to the American people much more clearly and honestly than he has hitherto done why their sons and daughters fighting in Iraq should remain in harm's way.

The cost of failure

Every reasonable person should be able to agree on two things about America's presence in Iraq. First, if the Iraqi government formally asks the troops to leave, they should do so. Second, the argument about whether America should quit Iraq is not the same as the one about whether it should have gone there in the first place. It must be about the future.

That said, the catalogue of failures thus far does raise serious questions about the administration's ability to make Iraq work—ever. Mr Bush's team mis-sold the war, neglected post-invasion planning, has never committed enough troops to the task and has taken a cavalier attitude to human rights. Abu Ghraib, a place of unspeakable suffering under Mr Hussein, will go into the history books as a symbol of American shame. The awful irony is that the specious link which the administration claimed existed between Iraq and al-Qaeda in order to justify going to war now exists.

Two-and-a-half years after Mr Bush stood beneath a banner proclaiming "Mission Accomplished", the insurgency is as

strong as ever. More than 2,000 Americans, some 3,600 Iraqi troops, perhaps 30,000 Iraqi civilians and an unknown number of Iraqi insurgents have lost their lives, and conditions of life for the "liberated" remain woeful. All this makes Mr Bush's refusal to sack the people responsible for this mess, especially his defence secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, alarming.

But disappointment, even on this scale, does not justify a precipitate withdrawal. There are strong positive and negative reasons for America to see through what it started.

Flickers of hope

Iraq is not Vietnam. Most Iraqis share America's aims: the Shia Arabs and Kurds make up some 80% of the population, while the insurgents operate mainly in four of Iraq's 18 provinces. After boycotting the first general election in January, more Sunni Arabs are taking part in peaceful politics. Many voted in last month's referendum that endorsed a new constitution; more should be drawn into next month's election, enabling a more representative government to emerge. That will not stop the insurgency, but may lessen its intensity. It seems, too, that the Arab world may be turning against the more extreme part of the insurgency—the jihadists led by al-Qaeda's leader in Iraq, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, who blow up mosques around Baghdad and Palestinian wedding parties in Jordan (see pages 29-32). Though few Arabs publicly admit it, Mr Bush's efforts to spread democracy in the region are starting to bear fruit.

So America does have something to defend in Iraq. Which, for Mr Bush's critics, leads into the most tempting part of Mr Murtha's argument: that American troops are now a barrier to further progress; that if they left, Mr Zarqawi would lose the one thing that unites the Sunnis and jihadists; and that, in consequence, Iraqis would have to look after their own security. This has a seductive logic, but flies in the face of the evidence. Most of the insurgents' victims are Iraqis, not American soldiers. There are still too few American troops, not too many. And the Iraqi forces that America is training are not yet ready to stand on their own feet. By all means, hand over more duties to them, letting American and other coalition troops withdraw from the cities where they are most conspicuous and offensive to patriotic Iraqis. Over time, American numbers should fall. But that should happen because the Iraqis are getting stronger, not because the Americans are feeling weaker. Nor should a fixed timetable be set, for that would embolden the insurgents.

The cost to America of staying in Iraq may be high, but the cost of retreat would be higher. By fleeing, America would not buy itself peace. Mr Zarqawi and his fellow fanatics have promised to hound America around the globe. Driving America out of Iraq would grant militant Islam a huge victory. Arabs who want to modernise their region would know that they could not count on America to stand by its friends.

If such reasoning sounds negative—America must stay because the consequences of leaving would be too awful—treat that as a sad reflection of how Mr Bush's vision for the Middle East has soured. The road ahead looks bloody and costly. But this is not the time to retreat. ■

Sis! Boom! Bah! Humbug!



BY RICK REILLY

EVERY FRIDAY night on America's high school football fields, it's the same old story. Broken bones. Senseless violence. Clashing egos.

Not the players. The cheerleaders.

According to a report by *The Physician and Sportsmedicine*, cheerleaders lose more time from their activity because of injury—28.8 days per injury—than any other group of athletes at the high school level. The University of North Carolina found that cheerleading is responsible for nearly half the high school and college injuries that lead to paralysis or death.

It's crazy, isn't it? We have girls building three-story human pyramids, slipping one another 30 feet in the air, and we give the boys helmets.

A buddy of mine has twin daughters, both cheerleaders. At the end of last school year one needed plastic surgery on her cheek after another girl's teeth went through it during a pyramid collapse; the other broke her hand and finger. They're not cheering anymore.

I don't hate cheerleading just because it's about as safe as porcupine juggling. I also hate it because it's dumb. The Velcroed-on smiles. The bizarre arm movements stolen from the Navy signalmen's handbook. The same cheers done by every troupe in every state.

What's even dumber is that cheerleaders have no more impact on the game than the night janitorial staff. They don't even face the game. They face the crowd, lost in their bizarre MuffyWorld. They cheer, they rah, they smile, they kiss, they hug. Meanwhile, Milford High just scored three touchdowns against their guys. A UFO could land at the 30-yard line, disgorging a chorus line of tiny, purple Ethel Mermans, and most cheerleaders would still be facing the other way yelling, "We got the fever!"

Exactly what does a girl get out of cheerleading, anyway, besides a circle skirt and a tight sweater? Why do we encourage girls to cheer the boys, to idolize the boys? Why do we want them on the sideline when most of them could be between the sidelines?

Studies show that by the time otherwise smart girls hit high school, they start to raise their hands less in class, let the boys

take the lead. Isn't cheerleading the same thing, only outdoors?

Look, I married a cheerleader. My sisters were cheerleaders. I could see it then: Cheerleading was just about the only way a girl could be a part of sports. Not now. Not in the age of Mia Hamm and Marion Jones and the Williams sisters. Not when most high schools offer as many girls' sports as boys'.

Oh, right, nowadays cheerleading is classified as a sport. There are now "cheer gyms," where kids go to learn to throw each other around like Frisbees. You can even watch the National High School Cheerleading Championships on ESPN, just after the Harley-Davidson Olympics. This is the event in which 408 girls named Amber attempt to create a human Eiffel Tower, screaming, "Two! Four! Six! Eight!" while displaying all their gums at once. I'm not saying it's not hard. I'm just saying it's pointless.

Do you realize colleges are even giving cheerleading scholarships? Can you believe that? *Sorry, Mrs. Roosevelt, we just gave away your daughter's chemistry scholarship. But you should have seen Amber here do "We've got spirit!"*

If cheerleading is a sport, Richard Simmons is a ballerina. It's athletic, but it's not a sport. In fact, what's sad is that most cheerleaders would make fine athletes. Watch for five minutes and you'll see. But these girls won't be on anybody's gymnastics or diving or basketball team because every season is cheerleading season.

Cheerleaders don't just shake their pom-poms at football games; they're also at baseball games and wrestling matches and girls' soccer games and most everything else short of chess-club tournaments. No

matter how many hours they've already put in, no matter how freezing it is, no matter how few fans are at the jayvee badminton match, the cheerleaders are out there in their short skirts.

What's that spell? Frostbite!

If they're lucky, they might grow up to become Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders. In the book *Deep in the Heart of Texas*, three former Cowboys Cheerleaders wrote that they snorted coke, gobbled diet pills and vomited to lose weight.

Rah!

I guess this is like coming out against fudge and kittens and Abe Lincoln, but it needs to be said. In four years my little girl hits high school. It's up to her, of course, but if my wife and I could choose her after-school activities, cheerleading would be next to last.

Just ahead of Piercing Club.

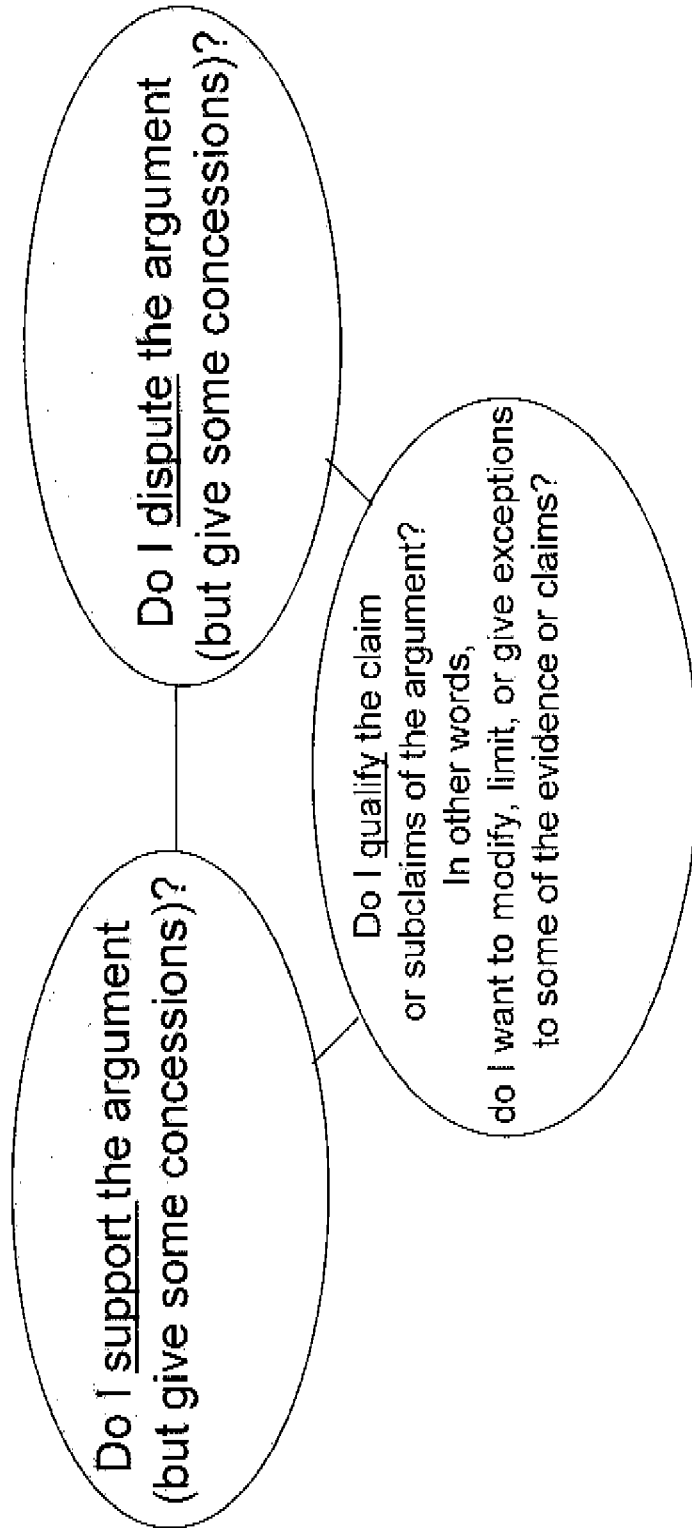
I don't hate cheerleading just because it's as safe as porcupine juggling. I hate it because it's dumb.

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AP Comp.

Support, qualify, or dispute
the argument

To qualify: v. to modify, limit, or restrict, as by giving exceptions



AP Comp.

Evaluate the argument

Evaluate: v : place a value on;
judge the worth of something

i.e. How effective is the argument;
what makes it effective or ineffective? Judge the evidence used.
Are there any fallacies? Are there any concessions?
Is it balanced & reasonable?