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“The Power of Green”   
Thomas Friedman, *New York Times Magazine*, April 15, 2007  
  
**I.** One day Iraq, our post-9/11 trauma and the divisiveness of the Bush years will all be behind us — and America will need, and want, to get its groove back. We will need to find a way to reknit America at home, reconnect America abroad and restore America to its natural place in the global order — as the beacon of progress, hope and inspiration. I have an idea how. It's called "green."

In the world of ideas, to name something is to own it. If you can name an issue, you can own the issue. One thing that always struck me about the term "green" was the degree to which, for so many years, it was defined by its opponents — by the people who wanted to disparage it. And they defined it as "liberal," "tree-hugging," "sissy," "girlie-man," "unpatriotic," "vaguely French."

Well, I want to rename "green." I want to rename it geostrategic, geoeconomic, capitalistic and patriotic. I want to do that because I think that living, working, designing, manufacturing and projecting America in a green way can be the basis of a new unifying political movement for the 21st century. A redefined, broader and more muscular green ideology is not meant to trump the traditional Republican and Democratic agendas but rather to bridge them when it comes to addressing the three major issues facing every American today: jobs, temperature and terrorism.

How do our kids compete in a flatter world? How do they thrive in a warmer world? How do they survive in a more dangerous world? Those are, in a nutshell, the big questions facing America at the dawn of the 21st century. But these problems are so large in scale that they can only be effectively addressed by an America with 50 green states — not an America divided between red and blue states.

Because a new green ideology, properly defined, has the power to mobilize liberals and conservatives, evangelicals and atheists, big business and environmentalists around an agenda that can both pull us together and propel us forward. That's why I say: We don't just need the first black president. We need the first green president. We don't just need the first woman president. We need the first environmental president. We don't just need a president who has been toughened by years as a prisoner of war but a president who is tough enough to level with the American people about the profound economic, geopolitical and climate threats posed by our addiction to oil — and to offer a real plan to reduce our dependence on fossil fuels.

After World War II, President Eisenhower responded to the threat of Communism and the "red menace" with massive spending on an interstate highway system to tie America together, in large part so that we could better move weapons in the event of a war with the Soviets. That highway system, though, helped to enshrine America's car culture (atrophying our railroads) and to lock in suburban sprawl and low-density housing, which all combined to get America addicted to cheap fossil fuels, particularly oil. Many in the world followed our model.

Today, we are paying the accumulated economic, geopolitical and climate prices for that kind of America. I am not proposing that we radically alter our lifestyles. We are who we are — including a car culture. But if we want to continue to be who we are, enjoy the benefits and be able to pass them on to our children, we do need to fuel our future in a cleaner, greener way. Eisenhower rallied us with the red menace. The next president will have to rally us with a green patriotism. Hence my motto: "Green is the new red, white and blue."

The good news is that after traveling around America this past year, looking at how we use energy and the emerging alternatives, I can report that green really has gone Main Street — thanks to the perfect storm created by 9/11, Hurricane Katrina and the Internet revolution. The first flattened the twin towers, the second flattened New Orleans and the third flattened the global economic playing field. The convergence of all three has turned many of our previous assumptions about "green" upside down in a very short period of time, making it much more compelling to many more Americans.

But here's the bad news: While green has hit Main Street — more Americans than ever now identify themselves as greens, or what I call "Geo-Greens" to differentiate their more muscular and strategic green ideology — green has not gone very far down Main Street. It certainly has not gone anywhere near the distance required to preserve our lifestyle. The dirty little secret is that we're fooling ourselves. We in America talk like we're already "the greenest generation," as the business writer Dan Pink once called it. But here's the really inconvenient truth: We have not even begun to be serious about the costs, the effort and the scale of change that will be required to shift our country, and eventually the world, to a largely emissions-free energy infrastructure over the next 50 years.

**II.** A few weeks after American forces invaded Afghanistan, I visited the Pakistani frontier town of Peshawar, a hotbed of Islamic radicalism. On the way, I stopped at the famous Darul Uloom Haqqania, the biggest madrasa, or Islamic school, in Pakistan, with 2,800 live-in students. The Taliban leader Mullah Muhammad Omar attended this madrasa as a younger man. My Pakistani friend and I were allowed to observe a class of young boys who sat on the floor, practicing their rote learning of the Koran from texts perched on wooden holders. The air in the Koran class was so thick and stale it felt as if you could have cut it into blocks. The teacher asked an 8-year-old boy to chant a Koranic verse for us, which he did with the elegance of an experienced muezzin. I asked another student, an Afghan refugee, Rahim Kunduz, age 12, what his reaction was to the Sept. 11 attacks, and he said: "Most likely the attack came from Americans inside America. I am pleased that America has had to face pain, because the rest of the world has tasted its pain." A framed sign on the wall said this room was "A gift of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia."

Sometime after 9/11 — an unprovoked mass murder perpetrated by 19 men, 15 of whom were Saudis — green went geostrategic, as Americans started to realize we were financing both sides in the war on terrorism. We were financing the U.S. military with our tax dollars; and we were financing a transformation of Islam, in favor of its most intolerant strand, with our gasoline purchases. How stupid is that?

Islam has always been practiced in different forms. Some are more embracing of modernity, reinterpretation of the Koran and tolerance of other faiths, like Sufi Islam or the populist Islam of Egypt, Ottoman Turkey and Indonesia. Some strands, like Salafi Islam — followed by the Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia and by Al Qaeda — believe Islam should be returned to an austere form practiced in the time of the Prophet Muhammad, a form hostile to modernity, science, "infidels" and women's rights. By enriching the Saudi and Iranian treasuries via our gasoline purchases, we are financing the export of the Saudi puritanical brand of Sunni Islam and the Iranian fundamentalist brand of Shiite Islam, tilting the Muslim world in a more intolerant direction. At the Muslim fringe, this creates more recruits for the Taliban, Al Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah and the Sunni suicide bomb squads of Iraq; at the Muslim center, it creates a much bigger constituency of people who applaud suicide bombers as martyrs.

The Saudi Islamic export drive first went into high gear after extreme fundamentalists challenged the Muslim credentials of the Saudi ruling family by taking over the Grand Mosque of Mecca in 1979 — a year that coincided with the Iranian revolution and a huge rise in oil prices. The attack on the Grand Mosque by these Koran-and-rifle-wielding Islamic militants shook the Saudi ruling family to its core. The al-Sauds responded to this challenge to their religious bona fides by becoming outwardly more religious. They gave their official Wahhabi religious establishment even more power to impose Islam on public life. Awash in cash thanks to the spike in oil prices, the Saudi government and charities also spent hundreds of millions of dollars endowing mosques, youth clubs and Muslim schools all over the world, ensuring that Wahhabi imams, teachers and textbooks would preach Saudi-style Islam. Eventually, notes Lawrence Wright in "The Looming Tower," his history of Al Qaeda, "Saudi Arabia, which constitutes only 1 percent of the world Muslim population, would support 90 percent of the expenses of the entire faith, overriding other traditions of Islam."

Saudi mosques and wealthy donors have also funneled cash to the Sunni insurgents in Iraq. The Associated Press reported from Cairo in December: "Several drivers interviewed by the A.P. in Middle East capitals said Saudis have been using religious events, like the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca and a smaller pilgrimage, as cover for illicit money transfers. Some money, they said, is carried into Iraq on buses with returning pilgrims. 'They sent boxes full of dollars and asked me to deliver them to certain addresses in Iraq,' said one driver. ... 'I know it is being sent to the resistance, and if I don't take it with me, they will kill me.' "

No wonder more Americans have concluded that conserving oil to put less money in the hands of hostile forces is now a geostrategic imperative. President Bush's refusal to do anything meaningful after 9/11 to reduce our gasoline usage really amounts to a policy of "No Mullah Left Behind." James Woolsey, the former C.I.A. director, minces no words: "We are funding the rope for the hanging of ourselves."

No, I don't want to bankrupt Saudi Arabia or trigger an Islamist revolt there. Its leadership is more moderate and pro-Western than its people. But the way the Saudi ruling family has bought off its religious establishment, in order to stay in power, is not healthy. Cutting the price of oil in half would help change that. In the 1990s, dwindling oil income sparked a Saudi debate about less Koran and more science in Saudi schools, even experimentation with local elections. But the recent oil windfall has stilled all talk of reform.

That is because of what I call the First Law of Petropolitics: The price of oil and the pace of freedom always move in opposite directions in states that are highly dependent on oil exports for their income and have weak institutions or outright authoritarian governments. And this is another reason that green has become geostrategic. Soaring oil prices are poisoning the international system by strengthening antidemocratic regimes around the globe.

Look what's happened: We thought the fall of the Berlin Wall was going to unleash an unstoppable tide of free markets and free people, and for about a decade it did just that. But those years coincided with oil in the $10-to-$30-a-barrel range. As the price of oil surged into the $30-to-$70 range in the early 2000s, it triggered a countertide — a tide of petroauthoritarianism — manifested in Russia, Iran, Nigeria, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Sudan, Egypt, Chad, Angola, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan. The elected or self-appointed elites running these states have used their oil windfalls to ensconce themselves in power, buy off opponents and counter the fall-of-the-Berlin-Wall tide. If we continue to finance them with our oil purchases, they will reshape the world in their image, around Putin-like values.

You can illustrate the First Law of Petropolitics with a simple graph. On one line chart the price of oil from 1979 to the present; on another line chart the Freedom House or Fraser Institute freedom indexes for Russia, Nigeria, Iran and Venezuela for the same years. When you put these two lines on the same graph you see something striking: the price of oil and the pace of freedom are inversely correlated. As oil prices went down in the early 1990s, competition, transparency, political participation and accountability of those in office all tended to go up in these countries — as measured by free elections held, newspapers opened, reformers elected, economic reform projects started and companies privatized. That's because their petroauthoritarian regimes had to open themselves to foreign investment and educate and empower their people more in order to earn income. But as oil prices went up around 2000, free speech, free press, fair elections and freedom to form political parties and NGOs all eroded in these countries.

The motto of the American Revolution was "no taxation without representation." The motto of the petroauthoritarians is "no representation without taxation": If I don't have to tax you, because I can get all the money I need from oil wells, I don't have to listen to you.

It is no accident that when oil prices were low in the 1990s, Iran elected a reformist Parliament and a president who called for a "dialogue of civilizations." And when oil prices soared to $70 a barrel, Iran's conservatives pushed out the reformers and ensconced a president who says the Holocaust is a myth. (I promise you, if oil prices drop to $25 a barrel, the Holocaust won't be a myth anymore.) And it is no accident that the first Arab Gulf state to start running out of oil, Bahrain, is also the first Arab Gulf state to have held a free and fair election in which women could run and vote, the first Arab Gulf state to overhaul its labor laws to make more of its own people employable and the first Arab Gulf state to sign a free-trade agreement with America.

People change when they have to — not when we tell them to — and falling oil prices make them have to. That is why if we are looking for a Plan B for Iraq — a way of pressing for political reform in the Middle East without going to war again — there is no better tool than bringing down the price of oil. When it comes to fostering democracy among petroauthoritarians, it doesn't matter whether you're a neocon or a radical lib. If you're not also a Geo-Green, you won't succeed.

The notion that conserving energy is a geostrategic imperative has also moved into the Pentagon, for slightly different reasons. Generals are realizing that the more energy they save in the heat of battle, the more power they can project. The Pentagon has been looking to improve its energy efficiency for several years now to save money. But the Iraq war has given birth to a new movement in the U.S. military: the "Green Hawks."

As Amory Lovins of the Rocky Mountain Institute, who has been working with the Pentagon, put it to me: The Iraq war forced the U.S. military to think much more seriously about how to "eat its tail" — to shorten its energy supply lines by becoming more energy efficient. According to Dan Nolan, who oversees energy projects for the U.S. Army's Rapid Equipping Force, it started last year when a Marine major general in Anbar Province told the Pentagon he wanted better-insulated, more energy-efficient tents in the Iraqi desert. Why? His air-conditioners were being run off mobile generators, and the generators ran on diesel, and the diesel had to be trucked in, and the insurgents were blowing up the trucks.

"When we began the analysis of his request, it was really about the fact that his soldiers were being attacked on the roads bringing fuel and water," Nolan said. So eating their tail meant "taking those things that are brought into the unit and trying to generate them on-site." To that end Nolan's team is now experimenting with everything from new kinds of tents that need 40 percent less air-conditioning to new kinds of fuel cells that produce water as a byproduct.

Pay attention: When the U.S. Army desegregated, the country really desegregated; when the Army goes green, the country could really go green.

"Energy independence is a national security issue," Nolan said. "It's the right business for us to be in. ... We are not trying to change the whole Army. Our job is to focus on that battalion out there and give those commanders the technological innovations they need to deal with today's mission. But when they start coming home, they are going to bring those things with them."

**III.** The second big reason green has gone Main Street is because global warming has. A decade ago, it was mostly experts who worried that climate change was real, largely brought about by humans and likely to lead to species loss and environmental crises. Now Main Street is starting to worry because people are seeing things they've never seen before in their own front yards and reading things they've never read before in their papers — like the recent draft report by the United Nations's 2,000-expert Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which concluded that "changes in climate are now affecting physical and biological systems on every continent."

I went to Montana in January and Gov. Brian Schweitzer told me: "We don't get as much snow in the high country as we used to, and the runoff starts sooner in the spring. The river I've been fishing over the last 50 years is now warmer in July by five degrees than 50 years ago, and it is hard on our trout population." I went to Moscow in February, and my friends told me they just celebrated the first Moscow Christmas in their memory with no snow. I stopped in London on the way home, and I didn't need an overcoat. In 2006, the average temperature in central England was the highest ever recorded since the Central England Temperature (C.E.T.) series began in 1659.

Yes, no one knows exactly what will happen. But ever fewer people want to do nothing. Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California summed up the new climate around climate when he said to me recently: "If 98 doctors say my son is ill and needs medication and two say 'No, he doesn't, he is fine,' I will go with the 98. It's common sense — the same with global warming. We go with the majority, the large majority. ... The key thing now is that since we know this industrial age has created it, let's get our act together and do everything we can to roll it back."

But how? Now we arrive at the first big roadblock to green going down Main Street. Most people have no clue — no clue — how huge an industrial project is required to blunt climate change. Here are two people who do: Robert Socolow, an engineering professor, and Stephen Pacala, an ecology professor, who together lead the Carbon Mitigation Initiative at Princeton, a consortium designing scalable solutions for the climate issue.

They first argued in a paper published by the journal Science in August 2004 that human beings can emit only so much carbon into the atmosphere before the buildup of carbon dioxide (CO2) reaches a level unknown in recent geologic history and the earth's climate system starts to go "haywire." The scientific consensus, they note, is that the risk of things going haywire — weather patterns getting violently unstable, glaciers melting, prolonged droughts — grows rapidly as CO2 levels "approach a doubling" of the concentration of CO2 that was in the atmosphere before the Industrial Revolution.

"Think of the climate change issue as a closet, and behind the door are lurking all kinds of monsters — and there's a long list of them," Pacala said. "All of our scientific work says the most damaging monsters start to come out from behind that door when you hit the doubling of CO2 levels." As Bill Collins, who led the development of a model used worldwide for simulating climate change, put it to me: "We're running an uncontrolled experiment on the only home we have."

So here is our challenge, according to Pacala: If we basically do nothing, and global CO2 emissions continue to grow at the pace of the last 30 years for the next 50 years, we will pass the doubling level — an atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide of 560 parts per million — around midcentury. To avoid that — and still leave room for developed countries to grow, using less carbon, and for countries like India and China to grow, emitting double or triple their current carbon levels, until they climb out of poverty and are able to become more energy efficient — will require a huge global industrial energy project.

To convey the scale involved, Socolow and Pacala have created a pie chart with 15 different wedges. Some wedges represent carbon-free or carbon-diminishing power-generating technologies; other wedges represent efficiency programs that could conserve large amounts of energy and prevent CO2 emissions. They argue that the world needs to deploy any 7 of these 15 wedges, or sufficient amounts of all 15, to have enough conservation, and enough carbon-free energy, to increase the world economy and still avoid the doubling of CO2 in the atmosphere. Each wedge, when phased in over 50 years, would avoid the release of 25 billion tons of carbon, for a total of 175 billion tons of carbon avoided between now and 2056.

Here are seven wedges we could chose from: "Replace 1,400 large coal-fired plants with gas-fired plants; increase the fuel economy of two billion cars from 30 to 60 miles per gallon; add twice today's nuclear output to displace coal; drive two billion cars on ethanol, using one-sixth of the world's cropland; increase solar power 700-fold to displace coal; cut electricity use in homes, offices and stores by 25 percent; install carbon capture and sequestration capacity at 800 large coal-fired plants." And the other eight aren't any easier. They include halting all cutting and burning of forests, since deforestation causes about 20 percent of the world's annual CO2 emissions.

"There has never been a deliberate industrial project in history as big as this," Pacala said. Through a combination of clean power technology and conservation, "we have to get rid of 175 billion tons of carbon over the next 50 years — and still keep growing. It is possible to accomplish this if we start today. But every year that we delay, the job becomes more difficult — and if we delay a decade or two, avoiding the doubling or more may well become impossible."

**IV.** In November, I flew from Shanghai to Beijing on Air China. As we landed in Beijing and taxied to the terminal, the Chinese air hostess came on the P.A. and said: "We've just landed in Beijing. The temperature is 8 degrees Celsius, 46 degrees Fahrenheit and the sky is clear."

I almost burst out laughing. Outside my window the smog was so thick you could not see the end of the terminal building. When I got into Beijing, though, friends told me the air was better than usual. Why? China had been host of a summit meeting of 48 African leaders. Time magazine reported that Beijing officials had "ordered half a million official cars off the roads and said another 400,000 drivers had 'volunteered' to refrain from using their vehicles" in order to clean up the air for their African guests. As soon as they left, the cars returned, and Beijing's air went back to "unhealthy."

Green has also gone Main Street because the end of Communism, the rise of the personal computer and the diffusion of the Internet have opened the global economic playing field to so many more people, all coming with their own versions of the American dream — a house, a car, a toaster, a microwave and a refrigerator. It is a blessing to see so many people growing out of poverty. But when three billion people move from "low-impact" to "high-impact" lifestyles, Jared Diamond wrote in "Collapse," it makes it urgent that we find cleaner ways to fuel their dreams. According to Lester Brown, the founder of the Earth Policy Institute, if China keeps growing at 8 percent a year, by 2031 the per-capita income of 1.45 billion Chinese will be the same as America's in 2004. China currently has only one car for every 100 people, but Brown projects that as it reaches American income levels, if it copies American consumption, it will have three cars for every four people, or 1.1 billion vehicles. The total world fleet today is 800 million vehicles!

That's why McKinsey Global Institute forecasts that developing countries will generate nearly 80 percent of the growth in world energy demand between now and 2020, with China representing 32 percent and the Middle East 10 percent. So if Red China doesn't become Green China there is no chance we will keep the climate monsters behind the door. On some days, says the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, almost 25 percent of the polluting matter in the air above Los Angeles comes from China's coal-fired power plants and factories, as well as fumes from China's cars and dust kicked up by droughts and deforestation around Asia.

The good news is that China knows it has to grow green — or it won't grow at all. On Sept. 8, 2006, a Chinese newspaper reported that China's E.P.A. and its National Bureau of Statistics had re-examined China's 2004 G.D.P. number. They concluded that the health problems, environmental degradation and lost workdays from pollution had actually cost China $64 billion, or 3.05 percent of its total economic output for 2004. Some experts believe the real number is closer to 10 percent.

Thus China has a strong motivation to clean up the worst pollutants in its air. Those are the nitrogen oxides, sulfur oxides and mercury that produce acid rain, smog and haze — much of which come from burning coal. But cleaning up is easier said than done. The Communist Party's legitimacy and the stability of the whole country depend heavily on Beijing's ability to provide rising living standards for more and more Chinese.

So, if you're a Chinese mayor and have to choose between growing jobs and cutting pollution, you will invariably choose jobs: coughing workers are much less politically dangerous than unemployed workers. That's a key reason why China's 10th five-year plan, which began in 2000, called for a 10 percent reduction in sulfur dioxide in China's air — and when that plan concluded in 2005, sulfur dioxide pollution in China had increased by 27 percent.

But if China is having a hard time cleaning up its nitrogen and sulfur oxides — which can be done relatively cheaply by adding scrubbers to the smokestacks of coal-fired power plants — imagine what will happen when it comes to asking China to curb its CO2, of which China is now the world's second-largest emitter, after America. To build a coal-fired power plant that captures, separates and safely sequesters the CO2 into the ground before it goes up the smokestack requires either an expensive retrofit or a whole new system. That new system would cost about 40 percent more to build and operate — and would produce 20 percent less electricity, according to a recent M.I.T. study, "The Future of Coal."

China — which is constructing the equivalent of two 500-megawatt coal-fired power plants every week — is not going to pay that now. Remember: CO2 is an invisible, odorless, tasteless gas. Yes, it causes global warming — but it doesn't hurt anyone in China today, and getting rid of it is costly and has no economic payoff. China's strategy right now is to say that CO2 is the West's problem. "It must be pointed out that climate change has been caused by the long-term historic emissions of developed countries and their high per-capita emissions," Jiang Yu, a spokeswoman for China's Foreign Ministry, declared in February. "Developed countries bear an unshirkable responsibility."

So now we come to the nub of the issue: Green will not go down Main Street America unless it also goes down Main Street China, India and Brazil. And for green to go Main Street in these big developing countries, the prices of clean power alternatives — wind, biofuels, nuclear, solar or coal sequestration — have to fall to the "China price." The China price is basically the price China pays for coal-fired electricity today because China is not prepared to pay a premium now, and sacrifice growth and stability, just to get rid of the CO2 that comes from burning coal.

"The 'China price' is the fundamental benchmark that everyone is looking to satisfy," said Curtis Carlson, C.E.O. of SRI International, which is developing alternative energy technologies. "Because if the Chinese have to pay 10 percent more for energy, when they have tens of millions of people living under $1,000 a year, it is not going to happen." Carlson went on to say: "We have an enormous amount of new innovation we must put in place before we can get to a price that China and India will be able to pay. But this is also an opportunity."

**V.** The only way we are going to get innovations that drive energy costs down to the China price — innovations in energy-saving appliances, lights and building materials and in non-CO2-emitting power plants and fuels — is by mobilizing free-market capitalism. The only thing as powerful as Mother Nature is Father Greed. To a degree, the market is already at work on this project — because some venture capitalists and companies understand that clean-tech is going to be the next great global industry. Take Wal-Mart. The world's biggest retailer woke up several years ago, its C.E.O. Lee Scott told me, and realized that with regard to the environment its customers "had higher expectations for us than we had for ourselves." So Scott hired a sustainability expert, Jib Ellison, to tutor the company. The first lesson Ellison preached was that going green was a whole new way for Wal-Mart to cut costs and drive its profits. As Scott recalled it, Ellison said to him, "Lee, the thing you have to think of is all this stuff that people don't want you to put into the environment is waste — and you're paying for it!"

So Scott initiated a program to work with Wal-Mart's suppliers to reduce the sizes and materials used for all its packaging by five percent by 2013. The reductions they have made are already paying off in savings to the company. "We created teams to work across the organization," Scott said. "It was voluntary — then you had the first person who eliminated some packaging, and someone else started showing how we could recycle more plastic, and all of a sudden it's $1 million a quarter." Wal-Mart operates 7,000 huge Class 8 trucks that get about 6 miles per gallon. It has told its truck makers that by 2015, it wants to double the efficiency of the fleet. Wal-Mart is the China of companies, so, explained Scott, "if we place one order we can create a market" for energy innovation.

For instance, Wal-Mart has used its shelves to create a huge, low-cost market for compact fluorescent bulbs, which use about a quarter of the energy of incandescent bulbs to produce the same light and last 10 times as long. "Just by doing what it does best — saving customers money and cutting costs," said Glenn Prickett of Conservation International, a Wal-Mart adviser, "Wal-Mart can have a revolutionary impact on the market for green technologies. If every one of their 100 million customers in the U.S. bought just one energy-saving compact fluorescent lamp, instead of a traditional incandescent bulb, they could cut CO2 emissions by 45 billion pounds and save more than $3 billion."

Those savings highlight something that often gets lost: The quickest way to get to the China price for clean power is by becoming more energy efficient. The cheapest, cleanest, nonemitting power plant in the world is the one you don't build. Helping China adopt some of the breakthrough efficiency programs that California has adopted, for instance — like rewarding electrical utilities for how much energy they get their customers to save rather than to use — could have a huge impact. Some experts estimate that China could cut its need for new power plants in half with aggressive investments in efficiency.

Yet another force driving us to the China price is Chinese entrepreneurs, who understand that while Beijing may not be ready to impose CO2 restraints, developed countries are, so this is going to be a global business — and they want a slice. Let me introduce the man identified last year by Forbes Magazine as the seventh-richest man in China, with a fortune now estimated at $2.2 billion. His name is Shi Zhengrong and he is China's leading manufacturer of silicon solar panels, which convert sunlight into electricity.

"People at all levels in China have become more aware of this environment issue and alternative energy," said Shi, whose company, Suntech Power Holdings, is listed on the New York Stock Exchange. "Five years ago, when I started the company, people said: 'Why do we need solar? We have a surplus of coal-powered electricity.' Now it is different; now people realize that solar has a bright future. But it is still too expensive. ... We have to reduce the cost as quickly as possible — our real competitors are coal and nuclear power."

Shi does most of his manufacturing in China, but sells roughly 90 percent of his products outside China, because today they are too expensive for his domestic market. But the more he can get the price down, and start to grow his business inside China, the more he can use that to become a dominant global player. Thanks to Suntech's success, in China "there is a rush of business people entering this sector, even though we still don't have a market here," Shi added. "Many government people now say, 'This is an industry!' " And if it takes off, China could do for solar panels what it did for tennis shoes — bring the price down so far that everyone can afford a pair.

**VI.** All that sounds great — but remember those seven wedges? To reach the necessary scale of emissions-free energy will require big clean coal or nuclear power stations, wind farms and solar farms, all connected to a national transmission grid, not to mention clean fuels for our cars and trucks. And the market alone, as presently constructed in the U.S., will not get us those alternatives at the scale we need — at the China price — fast enough.

Prof. Nate Lewis, Caltech's noted chemist and energy expert, explained why with an analogy. "Let's say you invented the first cellphone," he said. "You could charge people $1,000 for each one because lots of people would be ready to pay lots of money to have a phone they could carry in their pocket." With those profits, you, the inventor, could pay back your shareholders and plow more into research, so you keep selling better and cheaper cellphones.

But energy is different, Lewis explained: "If I come to you and say, 'Today your house lights are being powered by dirty coal, but tomorrow, if you pay me $100 more a month, I will power your house lights with solar,' you are most likely to say: 'Sorry, Nate, but I don't really care how my lights go on, I just care that they go on. I won't pay an extra $100 a month for sun power. A new cellphone improves my life. A different way to power my lights does nothing.'

"So building an emissions-free energy infrastructure is not like sending a man to the moon," Lewis went on. "With the moon shot, money was no object — and all we had to do was get there. But today, we already have cheap energy from coal, gas and oil. So getting people to pay more to shift to clean fuels is like trying to get funding for NASA to build a spaceship to the moon — when Southwest Airlines already flies there and gives away free peanuts! I already have a cheap ride to the moon, and a ride is a ride. For most people, electricity is electricity, no matter how it is generated."

If we were running out of coal or oil, the market would steadily push the prices up, which would stimulate innovation in alternatives. Eventually there would be a crossover, and the alternatives would kick in, start to scale and come down in price. But what has happened in energy over the last 35 years is that the oil price goes up, stimulating government subsidies and some investments in alternatives, and then the price goes down, the government loses interest, the subsidies expire and the investors in alternatives get wiped out.

The only way to stimulate the scale of sustained investment in research and development of non-CO2 emitting power at the China price is if the developed countries, who can afford to do so, force their people to pay the full climate, economic and geopolitical costs of using gasoline and dirty coal. Those countries that have signed the Kyoto Protocol are starting to do that. But America is not.

Up to now, said Lester Brown, president of the Earth Policy Institute, we as a society "have been behaving just like Enron the company at the height of its folly." We rack up stunning profits and G.D.P. numbers every year, and they look great on paper "because we've been hiding some of the costs off the books." If we don't put a price on the CO2 we're building up or on our addiction to oil, we'll never nurture the innovation we need.

Jeffrey Immelt, the chairman of General Electric, has worked for G.E. for 25 years. In that time, he told me, he has seen seven generations of innovation in G.E.'s medical equipment business — in devices like M.R.I.s or CT scans — because health care market incentives drove the innovation. In power, it's just the opposite. "Today, on the power side," he said, "we're still selling the same basic coal-fired power plants we had when I arrived. They're a little cleaner and more efficient now, but basically the same."

The one clean power area where G.E. is now into a third generation is wind turbines, "thanks to the European Union," Immelt said. Countries like Denmark, Spain and Germany imposed standards for wind power on their utilities and offered sustained subsidies, creating a big market for wind-turbine manufacturers in Europe in the 1980s, when America abandoned wind because the price of oil fell. "We grew our wind business in Europe," Immelt said.

As things stand now in America, Immelt said, "the market does not work in energy." The multibillion-dollar scale of investment that a company like G.E. is being asked to make in order to develop new clean-power technologies or that a utility is being asked to make in order to build coal sequestration facilities or nuclear plants is not going to happen at scale — unless they know that coal and oil are going to be priced high enough for long enough that new investments will not be undercut in a few years by falling fossil fuel prices. "Carbon has to have a value," Immelt emphasized. "Today in the U.S. and China it has no value."

I recently visited the infamous Three Mile Island nuclear plant with Christopher Crane, president of Exelon Nuclear, which owns the facility. He said that if Exelon wanted to start a nuclear plant today, the licensing, design, planning and building requirements are so extensive it would not open until 2015 at the earliest. But even if Exelon got all the approvals, it could not start building "because the cost of capital for a nuclear plant today is prohibitive."

That's because the interest rate that any commercial bank would charge on a loan for a nuclear facility would be so high — because of all the risks of lawsuits or cost overruns — that it would be impossible for Exelon to proceed. A standard nuclear plant today costs about $3 billion per unit. The only way to stimulate more nuclear power innovation, Crane said, would be federal loan guarantees that would lower the cost of capital for anyone willing to build a new nuclear plant.

The 2005 energy bill created such loan guarantees, but the details still have not been worked out. "We would need a robust loan guarantee program to jump-start the nuclear industry," Crane said — an industry that has basically been frozen since the 1979 Three Mile Island accident. With cheaper money, added Crane, CO2-free nuclear power could be "very competitive" with CO2-emitting pulverized coal.

Think about the implications. Three Mile Island had two reactors, TMI-2, which shut down because of the 1979 accident, and TMI-1, which is still operating today, providing clean electricity with virtually no CO2 emissions for 800,000 homes. Had the TMI-2 accident not happened, it too would have been providing clean electricity for 800,000 homes for the last 28 years. Instead, that energy came from CO2-emitting coal, which, by the way, still generates 50 percent of America's electricity.

Similar calculations apply to ethanol production. "We have about 100 scientists working on cellulosic ethanol," Chad Holliday, the C.E.O. of DuPont, told me. "My guess is that we could double the number and add another 50 to start working on how to commercialize it. It would probably cost us less than $100 million to scale up. But I am not ready to do that. I can guess what it will cost me to make it and what the price will be, but is the market going to be there? What are the regulations going to be? Is the ethanol subsidy going to be reduced? Will we put a tax on oil to keep ethanol competitive? If I know that, it gives me a price target to go after. Without that, I don't know what the market is and my shareholders don't know how to value what I am doing. ... You need some certainty on the incentives side and on the market side, because we are talking about multiyear investments, billions of dollars, that will take a long time to take off, and we won't hit on everything."

Summing up the problem, Immelt of G.E. said the big energy players are being asked "to take a 15-minute market signal and make a 40-year decision and that just doesn't work. ... The U.S. government should decide: What do we want to have happen? How much clean coal, how much nuclear and what is the most efficient way to incentivize people to get there?"

He's dead right. The market alone won't work. Government's job is to set high standards, let the market reach them and then raise the standards more. That's how you get scale innovation at the China price. Government can do this by imposing steadily rising efficiency standards for buildings and appliances and by stipulating that utilities generate a certain amount of electricity from renewables — like wind or solar. Or it can impose steadily rising mileage standards for cars or a steadily tightening cap-and-trade system for the amount of CO2 any factory or power plant can emit. Or it can offer loan guarantees and fast-track licensing for anyone who wants to build a nuclear plant. Or — my preference and the simplest option — it can impose a carbon tax that will stimulate the market to move away from fuels that emit high levels of CO2 and invest in those that don't. Ideally, it will do all of these things. But whichever options we choose, they will only work if they are transparent, simple and long-term — with zero fudging allowed and with regulatory oversight and stiff financial penalties for violators.

The politician who actually proved just how effective this can be was a guy named George W. Bush, when he was governor of Texas. He pushed for and signed a renewable energy portfolio mandate in 1999. The mandate stipulated that Texas power companies had to produce 2,000 new megawatts of electricity from renewables, mostly wind, by 2009. What happened? A dozen new companies jumped into the Texas market and built wind turbines to meet the mandate, so many that the 2,000-megawatt goal was reached in 2005. So the Texas Legislature has upped the mandate to 5,000 megawatts by 2015, and everyone knows they will beat that too because of how quickly wind in Texas is becoming competitive with coal. Today, thanks to Governor Bush's market intervention, Texas is the biggest wind state in America.

President Bush, though, is no Governor Bush. (The Dick Cheney effect?) President Bush claims he's protecting American companies by not imposing tough mileage, conservation or clean power standards, but he's actually helping them lose the race for the next great global industry. Japan has some of the world's highest gasoline taxes and stringent energy efficiency standards for vehicles — and it has the world's most profitable and innovative car company, Toyota. That's no accident.

The politicians who best understand this are America's governors, some of whom have started to just ignore Washington, set their own energy standards and reap the benefits for their states. As Schwarzenegger told me, "We have seen in California so many companies that have been created that work just on things that have do with clean environment." California's state-imposed efficiency standards have resulted in per-capita energy consumption in California remaining almost flat for the last 30 years, while in the rest of the country it has gone up 50 percent. "There are a lot of industries that are exploding right now because of setting these new standards," he said.

**VII.** John Dineen runs G.E. Transportation, which makes locomotives. His factory is in Erie, Pa., and employs 4,500 people. When it comes to the challenges from cheap labor markets, Dineen likes to say, "Our little town has trade surpluses with China and Mexico."

Now how could that be? China makes locomotives that are 30 percent cheaper than G.E.'s, but it turns out that G.E.'s are the most energy efficient in the world, with the lowest emissions and best mileage per ton pulled — "and they don't stop on the tracks," Dineen added. So China is also buying from Erie — and so are Brazil, Mexico and Kazakhstan. What's the secret? The China price.

"We made it very easy for them," said Dineen. "By producing engines with lower emissions in the classic sense (NOx [nitrogen oxides]) and lower emissions in the future sense (CO2) and then coupling it with better fuel efficiency and reliability, we lowered the total life-cycle cost."

The West can't impose its climate or pollution standards on China, Dineen explained, but when a company like G.E. makes an engine that gets great mileage, cuts pollution and, by the way, emits less CO2, China will be a buyer. "If we were just trying to export lower-emission units, and they did not have the fuel benefits, we would lose," Dineen said. "But when green is made green — improved fuel economies coupled with emissions reductions — we see very quick adoption rates."

One reason G.E. Transportation got so efficient was the old U.S. standard it had to meet on NOx pollution, Dineen said. It did that through technological innovation. And as oil prices went up, it leveraged more technology to get better mileage. The result was a cleaner, more efficient, more exportable locomotive. Dineen describes his factory as a "technology campus" because, he explains, "it looks like a 100-year-old industrial site, but inside those 100-year-old buildings are world-class engineers working on the next generation's technologies." He also notes that workers in his factory make nearly twice the average in Erie — by selling to China!

The bottom line is this: Clean-tech plays to America's strength because making things like locomotives lighter and smarter takes a lot of knowledge — not cheap labor. That's why embedding clean-tech into everything we design and manufacture is a way to revive America as a manufacturing power.

"Whatever you are making, if you can add a green dimension to it — making it more efficient, healthier and more sustainable for future generations — you have a product that can't just be made cheaper in India or China," said Andrew Shapiro, founder of GreenOrder, an environmental business-strategy group. "If you just create a green ghetto in your company, you miss it. You have to figure out how to integrate green into the DNA of your whole business."

Ditto for our country, which is why we need a Green New Deal — one in which government's role is not funding projects, as in the original New Deal, but seeding basic research, providing loan guarantees where needed and setting standards, taxes and incentives that will spawn 1,000 G.E. Transportations for all kinds of clean power.

Bush won't lead a Green New Deal, but his successor must if America is going to maintain its leadership and living standard. Unfortunately, today's presidential hopefuls are largely full of hot air on the climate-energy issue. Not one of them is proposing anything hard, like a carbon or gasoline tax, and if you think we can deal with these huge problems without asking the American people to do anything hard, you're a fool or a fraud.

Being serious starts with reframing the whole issue — helping Americans understand, as the Carnegie Fellow David Rothkopf puts it, "that we're not 'post-Cold War' anymore — we're pre-something totally new." I'd say we're in the "pre-climate war era." Unless we create a more carbon-free world, we will not preserve the free world. Intensifying climate change, energy wars and petroauthoritarianism will curtail our life choices and our children's opportunities every bit as much as Communism once did for half the planet.

Equally important, presidential candidates need to help Americans understand that green is not about cutting back. It's about creating a new cornucopia of abundance for the next generation by inventing a whole new industry. It's about getting our best brains out of hedge funds and into innovations that will not only give us the clean-power industrial assets to preserve our American dream but also give us the technologies that billions of others need to realize their own dreams without destroying the planet. It's about making America safer by breaking our addiction to a fuel that is powering regimes deeply hostile to our values. And, finally, it's about making America the global environmental leader, instead of laggard, which as Schwarzenegger argues would "create a very powerful side product." Those who dislike America because of Iraq, he explained, would at least be able to say, "Well, I don't like them for the war, but I do like them because they show such unbelievable leadership — not just with their blue jeans and hamburgers but with the environment. People will love us for that. That's not existing right now."

In sum, as John Hennessy, the president of Stanford, taught me: Confronting this climate-energy issue is the epitome of what John Gardner, the founder of Common Cause, once described as "a series of great opportunities disguised as insoluble problems."

Am I optimistic? I want to be. But I am also old-fashioned. I don't believe the world will effectively address the climate-energy challenge without America, its president, its government, its industry, its markets and its people all leading the parade. Green has to become part of America's DNA. We're getting there. Green has hit Main Street — it's now more than a hobby — but it's still less than a new way of life.

Why? Because big transformations — women's suffrage, for instance — usually happen when a lot of aggrieved people take to the streets, the politicians react and laws get changed. But the climate-energy debate is more muted and slow-moving. Why? Because the people who will be most harmed by the climate-energy crisis haven't been born yet.

"This issue doesn't pit haves versus have-nots," notes the Johns Hopkins foreign policy expert Michael Mandelbaum, "but the present versus the future — today's generation versus its kids and unborn grandchildren." Once the Geo-Green interest group comes of age, especially if it is after another 9/11 or Katrina, Mandelbaum said, "it will be the biggest interest group in history — but by then it could be too late."

An unusual situation like this calls for the ethic of stewardship. Stewardship is what parents do for their kids: think about the long term, so they can have a better future. It is much easier to get families to do that than whole societies, but that is our challenge. In many ways, our parents rose to such a challenge in World War II — when an entire generation mobilized to preserve our way of life. That is why they were called the Greatest Generation. Our kids will only call us the Greatest Generation if we rise to our challenge and become the Greenest Generation.

**Jeff Bleich, “California's higher-education debacle.”** *Los Angeles Times*, November 04, 2009. Watching the decline of the California State University system from within its boardroom mirrors the erosion of the California dream.

[1] For nearly six years, I have served on the Board of Trustees of the California State University system - the last two as its chairman. This experience has been more than just professional; it has been a deeply personal one. With my term ending soon, I need to share my concern -- and personal pain -- that California is on the verge of destroying the very system that once made this state great.

[2] I came to California because of the education system. I grew up in Connecticut and attended college back East on partial scholarships and financial aid. I also worked part time, but by my first year of grad school, I'd maxed out my financial aid and was relying on loans that charged 14% interest. Being a lawyer had been my dream, but my wife and I could not afford for me to go to any law schools back East.

[3] I applied to UC Berkeley Law School because it was the only top law school in the U.S. that we could afford. It turned out to be the greatest education I have ever received. And I got it because the people of California -- its leaders and its taxpayers -- were willing to invest in me.

[4] For the last 20 years, since I graduated, I have felt a duty to pay back the people of this state. When I had to figure out where to build a practice, buy a home, raise my family and volunteer my time and energy, I chose California. I joined a small California firm -- Munger, Tolles & Olson -- and eventually became a partner. This year, American Lawyer magazine named us the No. 1 firm in the nation.

[5] That success is also California's success. It has meant millions of dollars in taxes paid to California, hundreds of thousands of hours of volunteer time donated to California, houses built and investments made in California, and hundreds of talented people attracted to work in and help California.

[6] My story is not unique. It is the story of California's rise from the 1960s to the 1990s. Millions of people stayed here and succeeded because of their California education. We benefited from the foresight of an earlier generation that recognized it had a duty to pay it forward.

[7] That was the bargain California made with us when it established the California Master Plan for Higher Education in 1960. By making California the state where every qualified and committed person can receive a low-cost and high-quality education, all of us benefit. Attracting and retaining the leaders of the future helps the state grow bigger and stronger. Economists found that for every dollar the state invests in a CSU student, it receives $4.41 in return.

[8] So as someone who has lived the California dream, there is nothing more painful to me than to see this dream dying. It is being starved to death by a public that thinks any government service -- even public education -- is not worth paying for. And by political leaders who do not lead but instead give in to our worst, shortsighted instincts.

[9] The ineffective response to the current financial crisis reflects trends that have been hurting California public education for years. To win votes, political leaders mandated long prison sentences that forced us to stop building schools and start building prisons. This has made us dumber but no safer. Leaders pandered by promising tax cuts no matter what and did not worry about how to provide basic services without that money. Those tax cuts did not make us richer; they've made us poorer. To remain in office, they carved out legislative districts that ensured we would have few competitive races and leaders with no ability or incentive to compromise. Rather than strengthening the parties, it pushed both parties to the fringes and weakened them.

[10] When the economy was good, our leaders failed to make hard choices and then faced disasters like the energy crisis. When the economy turned bad, they made no choices until the economy was worse.

[11] In response to failures of leadership, voters came up with one cure after another that was worse than the disease -- whether it has been over-reliance on initiatives driven by special interests, or term limits that remove qualified people from office, or any of the other ways we have come up with to avoid representative democracy.

[12] As a result, for the last two decades we have been starving higher education. California's public universities and community colleges have half as much to spend today as they did in 1990 in real dollars. In the 1980s, 17% of the state budget went to higher education and 3% went to prisons. Today, only 9% goes to universities and 10% goes to prisons.

[13] The promise of low-cost education that brought so many here, and kept so many here, has been abandoned. Our K-12 system has fallen from the top ranks 30 years ago to 47th in the nation in per-pupil spending. And higher education is now taking on water.

[14] At every trustees meeting over the last six years, I have seen the signs of decline. I have listened to the painful stories of faculty who could not afford to raise a family on their salaries; of students who are on the financial edge because they are working two jobs, taking care of a child and barely making it with our current tuitions. I have seen the outdated buildings and the many people on our campuses who feel that they have been forgotten by the public and Sacramento.

[15] What made California great was the belief that we could solve any problem as long as we did two things: acknowledged the problem and worked together. Today that belief is missing. California has not acknowledged that it has fundamentally abandoned the promise of the Master Plan for Higher Education. And Californians have lost the commitment to invest in one another. That is why we have lost our way in decision after decision.

[16] Today, everyone in our system is making terrible sacrifices. Employee furloughs, student fee increases and campus-based cuts in service and programs are repulsive to all of us. Most important, it is unfair. The cost of education should be shared by all of us because the education of our students benefits every Californian.

[17] We've gone from investing in the future to borrowing from it. Every time programs and services are cut for short-term gain, it is a long-term loss.

[18] The solution is simple, but hard. It is what I'm doing now. Tell what is happening to every person who can hear it. Beat this drum until it can't be ignored. Shame your neighbors who think the government needs to be starved and who are happy to see Sacramento paralyzed. We have to wake up this state and get it to rediscover its greatness. Because if we don't, we will be the generation that let the promise for a great California die.

**War and Wisdom** *New York Times* Editorial, February 7, 2003. By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF   
[1] President Bush and Colin Powell have adroitly shown that Iraq is hiding weapons, that Saddam Hussein is a lying scoundrel and that Iraqi officials should be less chatty on the telephone. But they did not demonstrate that the solution is to invade Iraq.

[2] If you've seen kids torn apart by machine-gun fire, you know that war should be only a last resort. And we're not there yet. We still have a better option: containment. That's why in the Pentagon, civilian leaders are gung-ho but many in uniform are leery. Former generals like Norman Schwarzkopf, Anthony Zinni and Wesley Clark have all expressed concern about the rush to war.

[3] "Candidly, I have gotten somewhat nervous at some of the pronouncements Rumsfeld has made," General Schwarzkopf   
told The Washington Post, adding: "I think it is very important for us to wait and see what the inspectors come up with." (The White House has apparently launched a post-emptive strike on General Schwarzkopf, for he now refuses interviews.)

[4] As for General Zinni, he said of the hawks: "I'm not sure which planet they live on, because it isn't the one that I travel." In an October speech to the Middle East Institute in Washington, he added: "[If] we intend to solve this through violent action, we're on the wrong course. First of all, I don't see that that's necessary. Second of all, I think that war and violence are a very last resort."

[5] Hawks often compare Saddam to Hitler, suggesting that if we don't stand up to him today in Baghdad we'll face him tomorrow in the Mediterranean. The same was said of Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, whom the West saw as the Hitler of the 1950's and 1960's. But as with Nasser the analogy is faulty: Saddam may be as nasty as Hitler, but he is unable to invade his neighbors. His army has degraded even since the days when Iran fought him to a standstill, and he won't be a threat to us tomorrow; more likely, he'll be dead.

[6] A better analogy is Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya, who used to be denounced as the Hitler of the 1980's. Saddam and Colonel Qaddafi are little changed since those days, but back then we reviled Mr. Qaddafi — while Don Rumsfeld was charming our man in Baghdad. In the 1980's Libya was aggressively intervening abroad, trying to acquire weapons of mass destruction, losing air battles with American warplanes and dabbling in terrorism. Its terrorists bombed a Berlin nightclub patronized by American soldiers and blew up a Pan Am airliner over Scotland. Libya was never a military power on the scale of Iraq but was more involved in terror; indeed, one could have made as good a case for invading Libya in the 1980's as for invading Iraq today.

[7] But President Ronald Reagan wisely chose to contain Libya, not invade it — and this worked. Does anybody think we would be better off today if we had invaded Libya and occupied it, spending the last two decades with our troops being shot at by Bedouins in the desert?

[8] It's true, as President Bush suggested last night, that Saddam is trying to play games with us. But the inspectors proved in the 1990's that they are no dummies; they made headway and destroyed much more weaponry than the U.S. had hit during the gulf war.

[9] Even if Saddam manages to hide existing weapons from inspectors, he won't be able to refine them. And he won't be able to develop nuclear weapons.  
  
[10 Nuclear programs are relatively easily detected, partly because they require large plants with vast electrical hookups. Inspections have real shortcomings, but they can keep Saddam from acquiring nuclear weapons.

[11] Then there's the question of resources. Aside from lives, the war and reconstruction will cost $100 billion to $200 billion. That bill comes to $750 to $1,500 per American taxpayer, and there are real trade-offs in spending that money.

[12] We could do more for our national security by spending the money on education, or by financing a major campaign to promote hybrid cars and hydrogen-powered vehicles, and taking other steps toward energy independence.

[13] So while President Bush has eloquently made the case that we are justified in invading Iraq, are we wise to do so? Is this really the best way to spend thousands of lives and at least $100 billion?

## Some Quotations on Rhetoric, Writing & Argument

|  |  |
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| **Aristotle:** “Let rhetoric be defined as the faculty of observing in any case all of the available means of persuasion.” |  |



**Eagleton: “**Rhetoric, which was the received form of critical analysis all the   
way from ancient society…examined the way discourses are constructed in   
order to achieve certain effects. It was not worried about whether its objects of   
inquiry were speaking or writing, poetry or philosophy, fiction or historiography: its horizon was nothing less than the field of discursive practices in society as a whole, and its particular interest lay in grasping such practices as forms

of power and performance…It saw speaking and writing not merely as textual objects, to be aesthetically contemplated or endlessly deconstructed, but as forms of activity inseparable from

the wider social relations between writers and readers, orators and audiences.”

**Bizzell & Herzberg**: “Rhetoric has a number of overlapping meanings…the use of language, written or spoken, to inform or persuade; the study of the persuasive effects of language; the study of the relation between language and knowledge; the classification and use of tropes and figures…Nor does this list exhaust the definitions that might be given. Rhetoric is a complex discipline with a long history.”

**Graff**: “Argument literacy is central to being educated.”

|  |  |
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| **Lasch**: “If we insist on argument as the essence of education, we will defend democracy not as the most efficient but as the most educational form of government, one that extends the circle of debate as widely as possible and thus forces all citizens to articulate their views, to put their views at risk, and to cultivate the virtues of eloquence, clarity of thought and expression, and sound judgment.” |  |

**E. M. Forster**: “How do I know what I think until I see what I say?”

**Anne Morrow Lindbergh**: “I must write it all out, at any cost. Writing is thinking. It is more than living, for it is being conscious of living.”

**Sizer**: “Writing is the litmus paper of thought…the very center of schooling.”

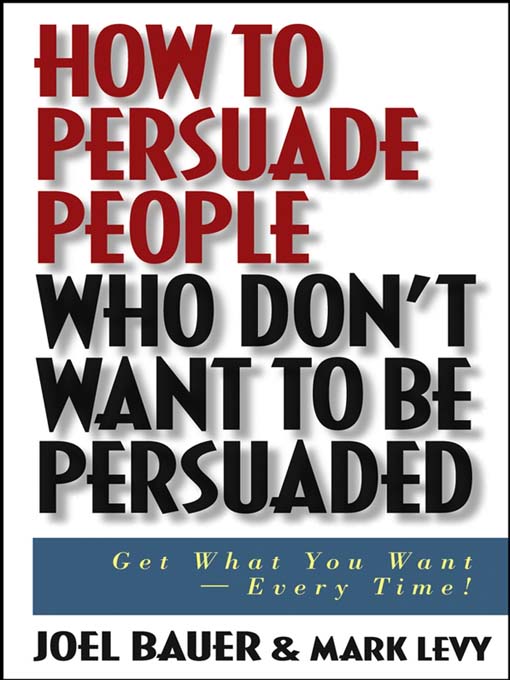
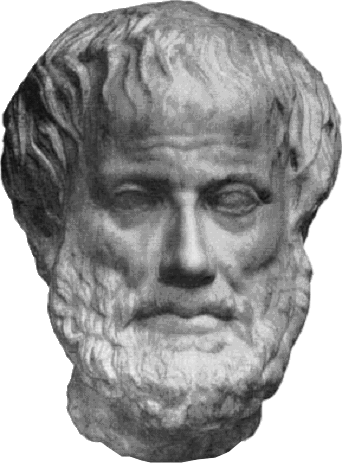
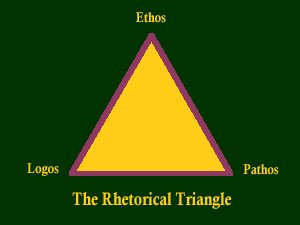
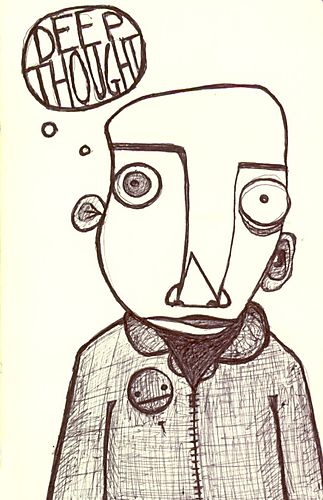
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|  | **Stephen Colbert**: “My rhetoric teacher, Professor Crawley, ordered my mind.  Simplicity of language, supporting ideas, synthesizing an effective conclusion—that’s what I learned from him.” |

**National Commission on Writing:** “If students are to make knowledge their own, they must struggle   
with the details, wrestle with the facts, and rework raw information and dimly understood concepts into language they can communicate to someone else. In short, *if students are to learn, they must write*…The reward of disciplined writing is the most valuable job attribute of all: a mind equipped to think.”

**Young & Sullivan**: “Why write? One important reason is that unless we do there are mental acts we cannot perform, thoughts we cannot think, inquiries we cannot engage in.”

## KEY RHETORICAL TERMS

## & CONCEPTS



[**Rhetoric**](https://blackboard.sdsu.edu/webapps/blackboard/content/listContent.jsp?course_id=_14583_1&content_id=_300902_1)**:**

**Some Definitions**



* + The term rhetoric refers to the study, uses, and effects of written, spoken, and visual language (DRWS)
  + the study of/ability to use language effectively
  + Aristotle: “the faculty of observing in any case all of the available means of persuasion”

[**Rhetorical Analysis**](https://blackboard.sdsu.edu/webapps/blackboard/content/listContent.jsp?course_id=_14583_1&content_id=_300903_1): Rhetorical analysis looks **not only at what a text *says*, but at what it *does***. It includes consideration of the claims, devices and strategic “moves” an author makes in hopes of persuading an audience. Many claims and arguments within texts are implied rather than explicit; performing rhetorical analyses on texts helps us to get a better sense of how, why, and to what extent an argument is effective. Consider how a text works to convince its audience of the argument at hand. What, besides simply using logic, do authors use to help win a crowd? This work may include describing an author’s argument, use of evidence, rhetorical strategies, textual arrangement, or the complex relationships between author, audience, text, context, and purpose.



Some words used to describe what a text does

*Argues, appeals to authority, assumes, challenges, complicates, constructs an analogy, contrasts, presents counterexamples, defines, distinguishes (between), extends, forecasts, frames, implies, parodies, problematizes, qualifies, rebuts, ridicules, stresses, supports, synthesizes, theorizes*

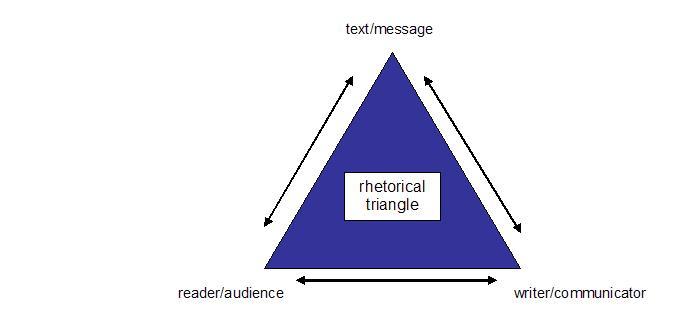
**The Rhetorical Situation -** The circumstances in which one communicates (see below).

Entry points for analysis:

* **writer**- age, experience, gender, locations, political beliefs, education, etc.
* **purpose**- to persuade, entertain, inform, educate, call to action, shock, etc.
* **audience**- age, experience, gender, locations, political beliefs, education, expectations, etc.
* **text/subject**- broad, narrow, depends on situation
* **context**- the “situation” generating need; time, location, current events, cultural significance

(adapted from Tony Burman)

**text/subject**



**context**

**purpose**

**audience**

**writer**

## PACES: Project, Argument, Claims, Evidence, Strategies

**Project:** An author’s project describes the kind of work she sets out to do – her purpose and the method she uses to carry it out. It is **the overall activity that the writer is engaged in**--researching, investigating, experimenting, interviewing, documenting, etc. Try to imagine what the author’s goals or hypotheses were as she wrote the text. To articulate a project—and to write an **account**—you need a verb, such as “researches,” “investigates,” “studies,” “presents,” “connects A with B,” etc.



**Argument: In the broadest sense, an argument is** any piece of written, spoken, or visual language **designed to persuade an audience or bring about a change** in ideas/attitudes. Less broadly, in academic writing the argument often refers to the main point, assertion or conclusion advanced by an author, along with the evidence and reasoning by which this is established. Arguments are concerned with contested issues where some degree of uncertainty exists (we don’t argue about what is self-evident or agreed upon).



**Claims:** To make a claim is to assert that something is the case, and to provide evidence for this. Arguments may consist of numerous claims and sometimes also sub-claims.   
Claims in academic writing often consist of an assertion, the staking out of a position, the solution to a problem, or the resolution of some shortcoming, weakness or gap in existing research. Often comes with **self-identification** (“my point here is that…”) **emphasis** (“It must be stressed that…”) **approval** (“Olson makes some important and long overdue amendments to work on …”) or a **problem/solution framework**.



**Evidence:** The component of the argument used as **support** for the claims made. Evidence is the support, reasons, data/information used to help persuade/prove an argument. To find evidence in a text, ask what the author has to go on. What is there to support this claim? Is the evidence credible? Some **types of evidence**: facts, historical examples/comparisons, examples, analogies, illustrations, interviews, statistics (source & date are important), expert testimony, authorities, anecdotes, witnesses, personal experiences, reasoning, etc.



**Strategies:** [Rhetorical Strategy](https://blackboard.sdsu.edu/webapps/blackboard/content/listContent.jsp?course_id=_14583_1&content_id=_300904_1): a particular way in which authors craft language—both consciously and subconsciously—so as to have an effect on readers. Strategies are means of persuasion, ways of gaining a readers’ attention, interest, or agreement. Strategies can be identified in the way an author organizes her text, selects evidence, addresses the reader, frames an issue, presents a definition, constructs a persona or establishes credibility, appeals to authority, deals with opposing views, uses “meta-discourse,” makes particular use of style and tone, draws on particular tropes and images, as well as many of the other textual choices that can be identified.

Hmm...



## BASIC COMPONENTS OF ARGUMENT

Qualifiers Rebuttals

**Reasons Claims ARGUMENT**

**& Evidence** Strategies & Moves

**ARGUMENT:** In the broadest sense, an argument is any piece of written, spoken, or visual language designed to persuade an audience or bring about a change in ideas/attitudes. Less broadly, in academic writing “argument” often refers to the main point, assertion or conclusion advanced by an author, along with the evidence and reasoning by which this is established. Arguments are concerned with contested issues where some degree of uncertainty exists (we don’t argue about what is self-evident or agreed upon).  
  
Describing the main argument is **NOT the same** as describing what a text is “about.” Arguments (and claims) usually advance debatable propositions. For example: “The U.S. should pull troops out of Iraq as we are stuck in the middle of a civil war that must be solved politically rather than militarily,” or “We must increase the number of troops in Iraq in order to complete the mission and prevent the conflict from spreading into a regional war that could inflame the entire middle east.” Each of these is an assertion that stakes out a position. Each can be debated.

**CLAIM**: Something the writer wants the audience to believe. Usually consists of an assertion, the staking out of a position, the solution to a problem, or the resolution of some shortcoming, weakness or gap in existing research. Often comes with **self-identification** (“my point here is that…”) **emphasis** (“It must be stressed that…”) **approval** (“Olson makes some important and long overdue amendments to the basic position outlined by…”) or a **problem/solution framework**.

**REASONS**: statements that justify the claim, or explain why a claim should be believed. A reason is evidence, information, justification or data given to support a claim. To find reasons, ask why the claim can be made. What have you got to go on? What is there to support the claim?  
  
**QUALIFIERS/QUALIFICATION:** this is where the author clarifies the nature, scope or extent of her claims, or sets out the conditions under which she makes her claim. Often the place where the author adds “nuance” to her claims. *Example of unqualified argument*: “video games incite violence and should be banned.” *Qualified argument*: “certain extreme video games may desensitize some impressionable young people to violence. While most games are innocent fun, and may even teach useful skills, those that realistically simulate murder should be banned for children under 14.”  
  
**REBUTTALS:** Writers often try to anticipate objections to their arguments – they understand that their audience, and other authors, may not agree with them. They may thus address counterarguments and objections, and provide rebuttals to these objections/counterarguments. This is often a clever rhetorical strategy. Introducing the reader to positions opposed to your own, and showing you can deal with them can work to 'inoculate' the reader against counterarguments. It demonstrates that the author is aware of opposing views, and is not trying to 'sweep them under the table'. It is also likely to make the writer's argument seem 'balanced' or 'fair' to readers, and as a consequence be more persuasive.

**STRATEGIES:** means of persuasion, ways of gaining a readers’ attention, interest, or agreement. They can be identified in the textual choices an author makes – the way she organizes her text, selects evidence, frames an issue, establishes credibility, deals with opposing views, appeals to authority, etc.

## “I know what it says … but what does it do?”

Verbs that can be used to describe what a text does:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |
| **Acknowledges Advocates Amplifies Analyzes Argues (Constructs an)**  **Analogy Asserts**  **Assumes Attacks Challenges Claims Clarifies Compares Complicates Concedes Concludes Contrasts Contradicts (Presents)**  **Counterarguments** | **(Presents)**  **Counterexamples Debates Deconstructs Defines Defends Discusses Distinguishes**  **(between) Exaggerates**  **Examines Exemplifies Explains Extends Forecasts Faults Frames Identifies Illustrates Introduces Implies Infers** | **Investigates Justifies Outlines Parodies Predicts Problematizes**  **Proposes (Sets up a) parallel Qualifies Questions Rebuts Refines Repeats Reframes Ridicules Satirizes Stresses Summarizes Supports Synthesizes Theorizes** |

(Try to AVOID: thinks, believes, says, states, etc!)

Consider using the following construction:

This paragraph [VERB] [IDEA] by [EXPLAIN HOW] .

Also see *They Say/ I Say* for verbs organized by use for when authors make claims, are in agreement, question or disagree, and when them make recommendations (see page 37).

## Charting a Text

Charting[[1]](#footnote-1) involves annotating a text in order to show the “work” each paragraph, group of paragraphs, or section is doing. Charting helps identify what each part of the text is *doing* as well as what it is *saying*—helping us move away from summary to analysis. There are two strategies for charting that we’ll look at: *macro*-charting and *micro*-charting.

**MACRO-CHARTING**

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| --- |
| How do we do macro-charting?   * Break text down into sections--identify “chunks” or parts of the text that seem to work together to DO something for the overall argument. * Draw lines between sections and label each one, annotating them with “doing” verbs: **providing** context, **making** a claim, **supporting** a claim, **rebutting** counter argument, **illustrating** with personal anecdote, **describing** the issue, etc.     Why do we do macro-charting?   * Macro-charting helps with understanding structure of argument, as well as locating claims, supporting evidence, and main argument. * Macro-charting guides students toward identifying relationships between ideas. * Macro-charting brings awareness that behind every sentence there is an author with intent who makes rhetorical choices to achieve his/her aims. |

**MICRO-CHARTING**

|  |
| --- |
| How do we do micro-charting?   * Break down sections of text by paragraph to analyze what each paragraph is *doing* for the overall argument. * Detail the smaller “moves” and strategies made within paragraphs: note when, where, and how and author makes a claim, cites evidence, and/or supports his/argument using a rhetorical strategy.   Why do we do micro-charting?   * Micro-charting can serve as a way to thoroughly understand in a detailed way how a text is put together. * Micro-charting encourages readers to look more carefully and closely at a text and helps us to focus our reading on tasks asked for in prompts. * Micro-charting brings awareness of the specific rhetorical choices made throughout a text (addressing particular audiences by making deliberate moves). |

A Change of Heart About Animals **They are more like us than we imagined, scientists are finding**

Jeremy Rifkin**,** *Los Angeles Times,* September 1, 2003*.* Jeremy Rifkin, author of *The Biotech Century* (Tarcher Putnam, 1998), is the president of the Foundation on Economic Trends in Washington, D.C.

**[1]** Though much of big science has centered on breakthroughs in biotechnology, nanotechnology and more esoteric questions like the age of our universe, a quieter story has been unfolding behind the scenes in laboratories around the world — one whose effect on human perception and our understanding of life is likely to be profound.

**[2]** What these researchers are finding is that many of our fellow creatures are more like us than we had ever imagined. They feel pain, suffer and experience stress, affection, excitement and even love — and these findings are changing how we view animals.

**[3]** Strangely enough, some of the research sponsors are fast food purveyors, such as McDonald's, Burger King and KFC. Pressured by animal rights activists and by growing public support for the humane treatment of animals, these companies have financed research into, among other things, the emotional, mental and behavioral states of our fellow creatures.

**[4]** Studies on pigs' social behavior funded by McDonald's at Purdue University, for example, have found that they crave affection and are easily depressed if isolated or denied playtime with each other. The lack of mental and physical stimuli can result in deterioration of health.

**[5]** The European Union has taken such studies to heart and outlawed the use of isolating pig stalls by 2012. In Germany, the government is encouraging pig farmers to give each pig 20 seconds of human contact each day and to provide them with toys to prevent them from fighting.

**[6]** Other funding sources have fueled the growing field of study into animal emotions and cognitive abilities.

**[7]** Researchers were stunned recently by findings (published in the journal Science) on the conceptual abilities of New Caledonian crows. In controlled experiments, scientists at Oxford University reported that two birds named Betty and Abel were given a choice between using two tools, one a straight wire, the other a hooked wire, to snag a piece of meat from inside a tube. Both chose the hooked wire. Abel, the more dominant male, then stole Betty's hook, leaving her with only a straight wire. Betty then used her beak to wedge the straight wire in a crack and bent it with her beak to produce a hook. She then snagged the food from inside the tube. Researchers repeated the experiment and she fashioned a hook out of the wire nine of out of 10 times.

**[8]** Equally impressive is Koko, the 300-pound gorilla at the Gorilla Foundation in Northern California, who was taught sign language and has mastered more than 1,000 signs and understands several thousand English words. On human IQ tests, she scores between 70 and 95.

**[9]** Tool-making and the development of sophisticated language skills are just two of the many attributes we thought were exclusive to our species. Self-awareness is another.

**[10]** Some philosophers and animal behaviorists have long argued that other animals are not capable of self-awareness because they lack a sense of individualism. Not so, according to new studies. At the Washington National Zoo, orangutans given mirrors explore parts of their bodies they can't otherwise see, showing a sense of self. An orangutan named Chantek who lives at the Atlanta Zoo used a mirror to groom his teeth and adjust his sunglasses.

**[11]** Of course, when it comes to the ultimate test of what distinguishes humans from the other creatures, scientists have long believed that mourning for the dead represents the real divide. It's commonly believed that other animals have no sense of their mortality and are unable to comprehend the concept of their own death. Not necessarily so. Animals, it appears, experience grief. Elephants will often stand next to their dead kin for days, occasionally touching their bodies with their trunks.

**[12]** We also know that animals play, especially when young. Recent studies in the brain chemistry of rats show that when they play, their brains release large amounts of dopamine, a neurochemical associated with pleasure and excitement in human beings.

**[13]** Noting the striking similarities in brain anatomy and chemistry of humans and other animals, Stephen M. Siviy, a behavioral scientist at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania, asks a question increasingly on the minds of other researchers. "If you believe in evolution by natural selection, how can you believe that feelings suddenly appeared, out of the blue, with human beings?"

**[14]** Until very recently, scientists were still advancing the idea that most creatures behaved by sheer instinct and that what appeared to be learned behavior was merely genetically wired activity. Now we know that geese have to teach their goslings their migration routes. In fact, we are finding that learning is passed on from parent to offspring far more often than not and that most animals engage in all kinds of learned experience brought on by continued experimentation.

**[15]** So what does all of this portend for the way we treat our fellow creatures? And for the thousands of animals subjected each year to painful laboratory experiments? Or the millions of domestic animals raised under the most inhumane conditions and destined for slaughter and human consumption? Should we discourage the sale and purchase of fur coats? What about fox hunting in the English countryside, bull fighting in Spain? Should wild lions be caged in zoos?

**[16]** Such questions are being raised. Harvard and 25 other U.S. law schools have introduced law courses on animal rights, and an increasing number of animal rights lawsuits are being filed. Germany recently became the first nation to guarantee animal rights in its constitution.

## [17] The human journey is, at its core, about the extension of empathy to broader and more inclusive domains. At first, the empathy extended only to kin and tribe. Eventually it was extended to people of like-minded values. In the 19th century, the first animal humane societies were established. The current studies open up a new phase, allowing us to expand and deepen our empathy to include the broader community of creatures with whom we share the Earth. Example of Charting: Rifkin’s “A Change of Heart about Animals”

**Micro-Charting**

**Macro-Charting**

1. Though much of big science has centered on breakthroughs in biotechnology, nanotechnology and more esoteric questions like the age of our universe, a quieter story has been unfolding behind the scenes in laboratories around the world – one whose effect on human perception and our understanding of life is likely to be profound.

Paragraphs 1-3 introduce the background and scope of the topic, state the main claim, and present the main source of evidence that will be used to support the claim.

1. What these researchers are finding is that many of our fellow creatures are more like us than we had ever imagined….and these findings are changing how we view animals.
2. Strangely enough, some of the research sponsors are fast food purveyors, such as McDonald’s, Burger King and KFC. Pressured by animal rights activists and by growing public support for the humane treatment of animals, these companies have financed research into, among other things, the emotional, mental and behavioral states of our fellow creatures.

Paragraphs 4-14 work to support the author’s claim with evidence.

1. Studies on pigs’ social behavior funded by McDonald’s at Purdue University, for example, have found that they crave affection and are easily depressed if isolated or denied playtime with each other. The lack of mental and physical stimuli can result in deterioration of health.

Paragraphs 4-5 deliver the first set of evidence: research and policies based on findings that pigs need social attention (from humans or other pigs) to maintain mental and physical health.

1. The European Union has taken such studies to heart and outlawed the use of isolating pig stalls by 2012. In Germany, the government is encouraging pig farmers to give each pig 20 seconds of human contact each day and to provide them with toys to prevent them from fighting.
2. Other funding sources have fueled the growing field of study into animal emotions and cognitive abilities.
3. Researchers were stunned recently by findings (published in the journal *Science*) on the conceptual abilities of New Caledonian crows. In controlled experiments, scientists at Oxford University reported that two birds named Betty and Abel were given a choice between using two tools, one a straight wire, the other a hooked wire, to snag a piece of meat from inside a tube. Both chose the hooked wire. Abel, the more dominant male, then stole Betty’s hook, leaving her with only a straight wire. Betty then used her beak to wedge the straight wire nine of out of 10 times.

6-8 enhance examples in par. 4-5 (on social behavior) by providing additional evidence focusing on linguistic and cognitive abilities in animals.

1. Equally impressive is Koko, the 300-pound gorilla at the Gorilla Foundation in Northern California, who was taught sign language and has mastered more than 1,000 signs and understands several thousand English words. On human IQ tests, she scores between 70 and 95.
2. Tool-making and the development of sophisticated language skills are just two of the many attributes we thought were exclusive to our species. Self-awareness is another.

In 9-14 Rifkin acknowledges and rebuts common objections to the idea that there are   
key similarities between humans and animals. Rifkin rejects the idea that language, self-awareness, emotion, play, and the ability to pass on knowledge via teaching are the sole possession of humans, and provides further support for his main claims.

1. Some philosophers and animal behaviorists have long argued that other animals are not capable of self-awareness because they lack a sense of individualism. Not so, according to new studies. At the Washington National Zoo, orangutans given mirrors explore parts of their bodies they can’t otherwise see, showing a sense of self. An orangutan named Chantek who lives at the Atlanta Zoo used a mirror to groom his teeth and adjust his sunglasses.
2. Of course, when it comes to the ultimate test of what distinguishes humans from the other creatures, scientists have long believed that mourning for the dead represents the real divide. It’s commonly believed that other animals have no sense of mortality and are unable to comprehend the concept of their own death. Not necessarily so. Animals, it appears, experience grief. Elephants will often stand next to their dead kin for days, occasionally touching their bodies with their trunks.
3. We also know that animals play, especially when young. Recent studies in the brain chemistry of rats show that when they play, their brains release large amounts of dopamine, a neurochemical associated with pleasure and excitement in human beings.
4. Noting the striking similarities in brain anatomy and chemistry of humans and other animals, Stephen M. Siviy, a behavioral scientist at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania, asks a question increasingly on the minds of other researchers. “If you believe in evolution by natural selection, how can you believe that feelings suddenly appeared, out of the blue, with human beings?”
5. Until very recently, scientists were still advancing the idea that most creatures behaved by sheer instinct and that what appeared to be learned behavior was merely genetically wired activity. Now we know that geese have to teach their goslings their migration routes. In fact, we are finding that learning is passed on from parent to offspring far more often than not and that most animals engage in all kinds of learned experience brought on by continued experimentation.
6. So what does all of this portend for the way we treat our fellow creatures? And for the thousands of animals subjected each year to painful laboratory experiments? Or the millions of domestic animals raised under the most inhumane conditions and destined for slaughter and human consumption? Should we discourage the sale and purchase of fur coats? What about fox hunting in the English countryside, bull fighting in Spain? Should wild lions be caged in zoos?

In par. 15-17 the author presents an implicit critique of current treatment of animals and concludes by questioning what should be done in light of recent findings. He suggests a possible future that links better treatment of animals with past moments of human progress and political/ethical reforms.

1. Such questions are being raised. Harvard and 25 other U.S. law schools have introduced law courses on animal rights, and an increasing number of animal rights lawsuits are being filed. Germany recently became the first nation to guarantee animal rights in its constitution.
2. The human journey is, at its core, about the extension of empathy to broader and more inclusive domains. At first, the empathy extended only to kin and tribe. Eventually it was extended to people of like-minded values. In the 19th century, the first animal humane societies were established. The current studies open up a new phase, allowing us to expand and deepen our empathy to include the broader community of creatures with whom we share the Earth.

**Rhetorical Précis – description and examples**  
In order to help us quickly and effectively describe the argument an author is making in a text, we can use a method of description called the rhetorical précis. Developed by Margaret Woodworth, [[2]](#footnote-2) this method is designed to highlight key elements of the rhetorical situation, and help students with reading comprehension and treatment of source materials in their writing.  
  
This précis is a highly structured four-sentence paragraph that records the essential rhetorical elements in any spoken or written discourse. The précis includes the name of the speaker/writer(s), the context or situation in which the text is delivered, the major assertion, the mode of development for or support of the main idea, the stated and/or apparent purpose of the text, and the relationship between the speaker/writer(s) and the audience. The following is a breakdown of the information you should include in each one of the four sentences.

1. Name of the author, a phrase describing the author, the type and title of the work, the date (in parenthesis), a rhetorically accurate verb (such as “assert,” “argue,” “suggest,” “imply,” “claim,” “question,” etc.) that describes what the author is doing in the text, and a THAT clause in which you state the major assertion (argument statement) of the author’s text.
2. An explanation of how the author develops and/or supports the argument—the rhetorical structure of the text (for instance, comparing and contrasting, narrating, illustrating, defining, etc.). Your explanation is usually presented in the same chronological order that the items of support are presented in the work.
3. A statement of the author’s apparent purpose, followed by an IN ORDER TO phrase in which you explain what the author wants the audience to do or feel as a result of reading the work.
4. A description of the intended audience and/or the relationship the author establishes with the author.

**Rhetorical Précis Frame**

1. (Author’s credentials), (author’s first and last name) **in his/her** (type of text), (title of text), **published in** (publishing info) **addresses the topic of** (topic of text)**and argues that** (argument).
2. **He/she supports this claim by**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, **then**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, **then**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, **and finally**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_.
3. 3. (Author’s last name)**’s purpose is to** (author’s purpose in writing) **in order to** (change in reader/society the author wants to achieve).
4. 4. **He/she adopts a(n)** \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ **tone for his/her audience, the readers of** (*publication*)**and others interested in the topic of**\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_.

**Example 1**:

1. Jeremy Rifkin, in the *LA Times* article titled “A Change of Heart About Animals” (September 1, 2003), argues that new scientific evidence demonstrates that humans and animals are more alike than previously assumed.
2. Rifkin supports his argument by introducing human attributes assumed lacking in animals and then providing evidence that show animals share these characteristics.
3. The author’s purpose is to persuade us that animals and humans are similar so that we will support ethical treatment of animals.
4. The author writes in a respectful tone with informal language to appeal to the broad audience that reads the LA Times.

**Example 2:** British philosopher, John Stuart Mill, in his essay “On Nature” (1850), **argues that** using nature as a standard for ethical behavior is illogical. **He supports this claim** **by** first giving the common definitions as nature as, “all that exists or all that exists without the intervention of man” and then supplying extensive examples of the daily brutality of nature in the real world. **His purpose is** to call attention to the flaws in the “nature as a standard” argument **in order to convince** people to discard this standard **and** to instead use reason and logic to determine the appropriate ethical standard of action for mankind. He **establishes** a formal, scholarly **tone for the reader of** “Nature”—an **audience** of philosophers, educators, and other interested citizens.

**More Examples**

1. “Sheridan Baker, in his essay "Attitudes" (1966), asserts that writers' attitudes toward their subjects, their audiences, and themselves determine to a large extent the quality of their prose.   
2. Baker supports this assertion by showing examples of how inappropriate attitudes can make writing unclear, pompous, or boring, concluding that a good writer "will be respectful toward his audience, considerate toward his readers, and somehow amiable toward human failings" (58).   
3. His purpose is to make his readers aware of the dangers of negative attitudes in order to help them become better writers. 4. He establishes an informal relationship with his audience of college students who are interested in learning to write "with conviction."   
  
NOTE that the **first** sentence identifies the author (Baker), the genre (essay), the title and date, and uses an active verb (asserts) and the relative pronoun *that* to explain what exactly Baker asserts. The **second** sentence explains the first by offering chronological examples from Baker's essay, while the **third** sentence suggests the author's purpose and WHY (in order to) he has set out that purpose (or seems to have set out that purpose -- not all essays are explicit about this information and readers have to put the pieces together). The **final** sentence identifies the primary audience of the essay (college students) and suggests how this audience is brought into/connected to the essay's purpose. (From <http://english.ecu.edu/~wpbanks/eng8601/8601precis.html>)

1. Independent scholar, Indur M. Goklancy in a policy analysis for the Cato institute, argues that globalization has created benefits in overall “human well-being” by providing statistics that show how factors such as mortality rates, child labor, lack of education, and hunger have all decreased under globalization. His purpose is to show that the success of globalization should be judged by many measures of instead of just income inequality in order to rebut social critics of globalization. He establishes an objective, scientific tone to convince the readers of the Cato Institute, policy makers, and interested citizens that his view is informed and logical

In her article "Who Cares if Johnny Can't Read?" (1997), Larissa MacFarquhar asserts that Americans are reading more than ever despite claims to the contrary and that it is time to reconsider why we value reading so much, especially certain kinds of "high culture" reading. MacFarquhar supports her claims about American reading habits with facts and statistics that compare past and present reading practices, and she challenges common assumptions by raising questions about reading's intrinsic value. Her purpose is to dispel certain myths about reading in order to raise new and more important questions about the value of reading and other media in our culture. She seems to have a young, hip, somewhat irreverent audience in mind because her tone is sarcastic, and she suggests that the ideas she opposes are old-fashioned positions. *From Bean, John C., Virginia A. Chappell, and Alice M. Gillam.* Reading Rhetorically*, Brief Edition. New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004. p. 63.*

Turning your précis into an introduction.

Most introductory paragraphs include the same information as is contained in the rhetorical précis.

Here is a précis for Rifkin’s article titled “A Change of Heart About Animals.”

1. Jeremy Rifkin, in the *LA Times* article titled “A Change of Heart About Animals” (September 1, 2003), argues that new scientific evidence demonstrates that humans and animals are more alike than previously assumed.
2. Rifkin supports his argument by introducing human attributes assumed lacking in animals and then providing evidence that show animals share these characteristics.
3. The author’s purpose is to persuade us that animals and humans are similar so that we will support ethical treatment of animals.
4. The author writes in a respectful tone with informal language to appeal to the broad audience that reads the LA Times.

Now, add a sentence or two, signaling your direction in analysis of the author’s argument. This is your thesis and is a required element of Project One.

Cinderella’s mice sew her a beautiful dress so she can attend the ball. In *The Lion King,* all the animals bow down to the king of beasts, and a rivalry develops between royal contenders. One We smile when we see Lady and the Tramp share a spaghetti dinner. Making animals seem more like humans in films and television makes us happy. We know it’s not real. After all, mice don’t really sew. But maybe animals actually share many human characteristics. In an *LA Times* editorial titled “A Change of Heart About Animals” (September 1, 2003), Jeremy Rifkin argues that new scientific evidence demonstrates that humans and animals are more alike than previously assumed. Rifkin supports his argument by introducing human attributes assumed lacking in animals and then providing evidence that show animals share these characteristics. He also provides narratives about specific animals, showing similarities between us and them. Rifkin’s purpose is to persuade his audience that animals and humans are similar so that we will support more ethical treatment of animals. The article adopts a respectful tone with informal language in order to appeal to a broad audience. This paper will focus on the use of narratives depicting animals with human characteristics and discuss strategies Rifkin uses to help his audience identify with these animals.

## Aristotelian Appeals: Logos, Ethos, and Pathos

Whenever you read an argument you must ask yourself, “Is this persuasive? If so, why? And to whom?” There are many ways to appeal to an audience. Among them are appealing to *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*. These appeals are identifiable in almost all arguments.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **To Appeal to LOGOS**  **(logic, reasoning)** | **To Develop or Appeal to ETHOS**  **(character, ethics)** | **To Appeal to PATHOS**  **(emotion)** |
| : the argument itself; the reasoning the author uses; logical evidence | : how an author builds credibility & trustworthiness | : words or passages an author uses to activate emotions |
| **Types of LOGOS Appeals** | **Ways to Develop ETHOS** | **Types of PATHOS Appeals** |
| * Theories / scientific facts * Indicated meanings or reasons (because…) * Literal or historical analogies * Definitions * Factual data & statistics * Quotations * Citations from experts & authorities * Informed opinions * Examples (real life examples) * Personal anecdotes | * Author’s profession / background * Author’s publication * Appearing sincere, fair minded, knowledgeable * Conceding to opposition where appropriate * Morally / ethically likeable * Appropriate language for audience and subject * Appropriate vocabulary * Correct grammar * Professional format | * Emotionally loaded language * Vivid descriptions * Emotional examples * Anecdotes, testimonies, or narratives about emotional experiences or events * Figurative language * Emotional tone (humor, sarcasm, disappointment, excitement, etc.) |
| **Effect on Audience** | **Effect on Audience** | **Effect on Audience** |
| Evokes a cognitive, rational response. Readers get a sense of, “Oh, that makes sense” or “Hmm, that really doesn’t prove anything.” | Helps reader to see the author as reliable, trustworthy, competent, and credible. The reader might respect the author or his/her views. | Evokes an emotional response. Persuasion by emotion.  (usually evoking fear, sympathy, empathy, anger,) |
| **How to Talk About It** | **How to Talk About It** | **How to Talk About It** |
| The author appeals to logos by defining relevant terms and then supports his claim with numerous citations from authorities.  The author’s use of statistics and expert testimony are very convincing logos appeals. | Through his use of scientific terminology, the author builds his ethos by demonstrating expertise.  The author’s ethos is effectively developed as readers see that he is sympathetic to the struggles minorities face. | When referencing 9/11, the author is appealing to pathos. Here, he is eliciting both sadness and anger from his readers.  The author’s description of the child with cancer was a very persuasive appeal to pathos. |

**Describing relationships between texts**

**How texts “complicate,” “extend,” “illustrate” or “clarify” other texts**

1. **Complicate**: to present evidence, arguments or claims that are at odds with an author’s position, and which suggests the position needs to be revised or qualified. Complicating an author’s argument is not quite the same as disagreeing with it, although disagreement may be involved. It usually involves suggesting that an author has not dealt with the full complexity of an issue, has failed to consider relevant evidence, or that there is a gap, shortcoming or limitation in an author’s account. Complicatingan argument may involveexposing problems, contradictions, or presentingcounterexamples and counterarguments that challenge some part of the argument.  
   - *Sample Verbs*: challenges, contradicts, disagrees, locates problems with, identifies shortcomings, notes that X fails to account for, notes that X ignores A, suggests that X’s account is exaggerated, is vulnerable to counterarguments/counterexamples, rests on several highly questionable assumptions
2. **Extend**: to advance, develop, expand or take further some element of an existing argument. Extending an argument involves presenting additional evidence or reasons that are in line with the original argument but go beyond it.  
   - *Sample Verbs*: Gives additional evidence…develops, elaborates, expands, extrapolates, teases out, advances, takes further, provides additional evidence/support, supplements, etc.
3. **Illustrate**: to provide examples, additional evidence, cases or arguments that help explain a position; to present material that illuminates or supports what an author argues (but may not be explicitly mentioned by that author).   
   - *Sample Verbs*: illuminates, exemplifies, explicates, confirms, supports, etc.
4. **Clarify**: to bring into focus, to help explain, illuminate, or elucidate. Providing evidence, examples, stories, cases or support that make something easier to understand or that sharpen the point made.

NOTE: As with most sets of terms, there is some overlap between them. For example, something that illustrates an argument may also clarify it. An element of an argument can thus do more than one thing. The important thing is to try to figure out the general relationship between texts/parts of texts.

**EXAMPLE:** While Chua sees conflict between ethnicities in developing countries as driven largely by globalization and democratization, others believe that poor government is the main culprit**.** In “The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict,” John Bowden argues that many countries composed of diverse ethnic groups have avoided conflict because their governments have created “multiethnic coalitions” which encourage different groups to “seek the large electoral middle ground.” The countries he uses as examples are all democracies. **Bowden thus complicates Chua’s argument by suggesting that** democracy, properly run, can prevent ethnic violence, and that the solution is thus renewed commitment to democracy rather than a retreat from it. **This contrasts with Chua,** who believes that in countries where there is a “market dominant minority,” popular majorities always tend toward ethnocentrism, and some form of “backlash” is very likely. **Bowden, on the other hand,** believes that ethnic conflict exists only when ethnicities are left out of the power structure, or when destructive “political choices” are made. He **acknowledges that** cultural diversity does present challenges to peace**,** and that certain other factors can make conflict likely. …**However, Bowden insists that democracy and globalization do not lead inevitably to the kind of problems Chua outlines,** and that we must focus on the underlying factors that are the real drivers of violence. **Bowden thus complicates** Chua’ argument in several ways**; firstly, he** **presents evidence that is at odds with Chua’s thesis,** and which can be read as **questioning the extent to which it is true.** **Secondly**, Bowden’s article **suggests that Chua’s position is overstated and needs to be severely qualified**. **Lastly, Bowden’s article suggests** that Chua has **failed to deal with the full complexity** of what causes ethnic violence in developing countries**.**

## Introduction to Rhetorical Strategies

**Rhetorical strategy** – a particular way in which writers craft language so as to have an effect on readers. Strategies are means of persuasion, ways of using language to get readers’ attention and agreement.

**Some Common Rhetorical Strategies**Metadiscourse, definitions, tropes, key terms and categories, framing devices, appeals to *ethos*, *pathos*, and   
*logos*, rebuttals, qualifications, etc.

**When Discussing Rhetorical Strategies, Remember to:**

1. Identify rhetorical strategies
2. Describe *how* they work
3. Describe *why* they are used – what purpose do they accomplish?

When describing why a strategy is used, you may want to consider alternative strategies, and think about how they would work differently. You may also want to consider what would happen if the strategy were left out – what difference would it make to the argument? This may help you figure out why the particular strategy was chosen.

**Rhetorical Strategies as Frameworks**

Rhetorical strategies can be identified in the ways authors create frames, choose categories and metaphors, and construct definitions.

Frames are typically constructed through the use of metaphors, definitions, narratives, categories and metalinguistic commentary. They are used to get an audience to attend to certain elements of a situation and ignore others; to construct a particular way of seeing an issue, event, person or group, and to shape the way an audience understands the context of communication. They can have persuasive effects.

For example:

**Headings – consider the following newspaper headlines concerning the supreme court’s overruling of California’s medical marijuana medical laws:**  
1. Salon Magazine “Court rules against pot for sick people”

2. New York Times: “High Court Allows Prosecution of Medical Marijuana Users”

3. USA Today: “MEDICAL MARIJUANA BAN UPHELD”

4. San Diego Union Tribune: “Court OKs marijuana crackdown”

5. L.A. Times: “Justices Give Feds Last Word on Medical Marijuana”  
5. Christian Science Monitor: “US Court rules against pot for sick people”

6. Christian News Source: “Medical Marijuana Laws Don't Shield Users From Prosecution”  
  
**Examples from Frank Luntz (top lobbyist, pollster, architect of the contract with America)**1. Global Warming vs. Climate Change  
2. Contract with America vs Policy/Platform  
Death Tax/Estate Tax  
2. Don’t talk about deregulation or rollback, talk about “streamlining unnecessary, burdensome red tape” or “common sense legislation.” Don’t focus on process, focus on benefits; don’t focus on past or present, focus on future. Don’t talk about economics, talk about protection.

How each heading or topic is framed will have an immediate effect on the audience.

**Analyzing Rhetorical Strategies**

Rhetorical strategies can be found in just about anything we consider a “text,” including literature, advertisements, music, art, and film. Some strategies to consider\*:

1. **Exemplification**: Provides examples or cases in point. Are there examples – facts, statistics, cases in point, personal experiences, interview questions – that were added to help the author achieve the purpose of his or her text?
2. **Description**: Details sensory perceptions of a person, place, or thing. Does a person, place, or thing play a prominent role in the text? Does the tone, pacing, or overall purpose of the essay benefit from sensory details?
3. **Narration**: Recounts an event. Is the narrator trying to report or recount an anecdote, an experience, or an event? Is it telling a story?
4. **Process analysis**: Explains to the reader how to do something or how something happens. Were any portions of the text more clear because concrete directions about a certain process were included?
5. **Comparison and contrast**: Discusses similarities and differences. Does the text contain two or more related subjects? How are they alike? different?
6. **Division and classification**: Divides a whole into parts or sorts related items into categories. Is the author trying to explain a broad and complicated subject? Does it benefit the text to reduce this subject to more manageable parts to focus the discussion?
7. **Definition**: Provides the meaning of the terms used. Who is the audience? Does the text focus on any abstract, specialized, or new terms that need further explanation so the readers understand the point?
8. **Cause and effect analysis**: Analyzes why something happens and describes the consequences of a string of events. Does the author examine past events or their outcomes? Is the purpose to inform, speculate, or argue about why an identifiable fact happens the way it does?

\*From “Rhetorical Strategies for Essay Writing,” http://www.nvcc.edu/home/lshulman/rhetoric.htm

## Rhetorical Strategies for Film/ Visual Texts

In addition to the above strategies and the Aristotelian appeals, some strategies to consider for film:

* **Music**: How does the music affect the audience? In what ways does the music reinforce the visual and/or verbal message? Does it inspire calm or fright? Is it happy or sad? Is it childish or artistic? Does it have lyrics? If so, how do they reinforce the message? Is it representative of something else (a national anthem, hymn, etc.)?
* **Shot Type**: How does the camera angle affect the audience’s perception of what is happening? Are the shots close-ups or panoramic? What is the atmosphere of the shot (is there anything going on in the background)? How does the background (or lack thereof) affect the message? What colors are in the shot? What kind of lighting is used?
* **Clip Editing**: How does the editor choose when to end a clip? Does it seem like more was left out? Are the clips long or short? Is anything added to the stock footage (drawings, subtitles, cartoon bubbles, etc.)?
* **Sequence**: What is the sequencing of clips (what clips are placed back-to-back)? How does this affect the relative significance of each (*dispositio*)? Is there a montage effect? Are the clips presented chronologically, or do they have flashbacks/flashforwards?
* **Genre**: How well does the film fit into a particular genre (documentary, thriller, romantic comedy, film noir, etc.)? Given the genre of the film, what strategies does the viewer expect (*inventio*)? Does the film ever digress from the conventions of the genre? What is the effect of the expectations and digressions on the audience’s reception of the message?
* **Structure**: How is the content organized? Does one individual dominate the film, or are there multiple stories, voices, or protagonists? If there are multiple individuals involved, are they shown working in collaboration, are their parts parallel and interrelated, or are they disconnected? Is the point-of-view personal or formal?
* **Audience Knowledge**: What knowledge, texts, situations, or people does the film expect the audience to be aware of? What connotations does the audience have of these other sources, and how does this affect the interpretation of what is being viewed?

Useful Links:

“Writing About Film.” <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~writing/materials/student/humanities/film.shtml>

“Film Analysis Web Site 2.0.” < http://classes.yale.edu/film-analysis/index.htm>

**Structure and Organization**

It is important to consider the organization of information and strategies in any text. Some elements of structure to consider:

Type of Organization:

* **Topical**: The argument is organized according to subtopics, like describing a baby’s bubble bath first in terms of the soap used, then the water conditions, and lastly the type of towels.
* **Chronological**: The argument is organized to describe information in time order, like a baseball game from the first pitch to the last at-bat.
* **Spatial**: The argument follows a visual direction, such as describing a house from the inside to the outside, or a person from their head down to their toes.
* **Problem – Solution**: The argument presents a problem and a possible solution, such as making coffee at home to avoid spending extra money.
* **Cause and effect**: Describes the relationship between the cause or catalyst of an event and the effect, like identifying over-consumption of candy as the cause of tooth decay.

Logical Order of Information:

* **Inductive**: Moving from one specific example to draw a general conclusion.
* **Deductive**: Moving from a generalized theory or assumption to decide the causes or characteristics of a specific example or event.
* **Linear**: The argument is told in linear order, scaffolding information or reasoning.
* **Circular**: Supporting the argument using assumptions or information from the argument itself.
* **Recursive**: The text consistently moves forward, but circles back on specific points in the process.

## The Rhetorical Strategy of Metadiscourse/ Metacommentary



**Metadiscourse is a rhetorical strategy used in many forms of academic writing**

* Moments in the text where the author explicitly TELLS you how to interpret her words.
* In academic texts, metadiscourse occurs when the author stops arguing, stands back and tells you how to interpret his argument – where he reflects on what he is doing. This may involve making explicit his strategies (the strategy of explaining a strategy). It’s similar to the project statement in your papers.

Practicing writing metadiscourse is useful – it helps you develop your ideas, generate more text, and get a better sense of both your paper’s structure and how you might change direction. In clarifying things for your reader you do so for yourself, and in making explicit where you are going, you may see other paths. See *I Say* p. 126-30.

**Metadiscourse is often used to:**

1. Ward off potential misunderstandings.
2. Anticipate and respond to objections.
3. Orient the reader by providing a “map”– where the argument is going,   
   where it has gone, etc.
4. Forecast & review structure and purpose
5. Qualify the nature, scope or extent of an argument
6. Alert readers to an elaboration of a previous idea.
7. Move from a general claim to a specific example.
8. Indicate that a claim is especially important

**Example of Metadiscouse as rhetorical strategy**

**1**. It is my intention in this book to show that a great…shift has taken place in America, with the result that the content of much of our public discourse has become dangerous nonsense.**2.** With this in view, my task in the chapters ahead is straightforward. **3.** I must, first, demonstrate how, under the governance of the printing press, discourse in America was different from what it is now – generally coherent, serious and rational; and then how, under the governance of television, it has become shriveled and absurd. **4.** But to avoid the possibility that my analysis will be interpreted as standard-brand academic whimpering, a kind of elitist complaint against “junk” on television, I must first explain that…I appreciate junk as much as the next fellow, and I know full well that the printing press has generated enough of it to fill the grand canyon to overflowing. **5.** Television is not old enough to have matched printing’s output of junk.  
Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*.

Rhetorical Strategies: Sample Analyses of Strategies in Rifkin

*Excerpts from papers that analyze rhetorical strategies in Rifkin’s “A Change of Heart about Animals.”* **Rhetorical Analysis of Rifkin’s use of Rebuttals**

In “A Change of Heart About Animals,” a 2003 editorial published in the *Los Angeles Times*, Jeremy Rifkin argues that new research calls into question many of the boundaries commonly thought to exist between humans and other animals, and as a consequence humans should expand their empathy for animals and treat them better. To support this argument Rifkin points to studies suggesting that animals can acquire language, use tools, exhibit self-awareness, anticipate death, and pass on knowledge from one generation to the next. One strategy Rifkin employs to persuade his readers is to describe some of the most common objections typically raised against the idea that animals and humans share essential traits, along with rebuttals to these objections. For example, Rifkin notes that “philosophers and animal behaviorists have long argued that other animals are not capable of self-awareness because they lack a sense of individualism.” He acknowledges that “scientists have long believed” that unlike humans, animals cannot comprehend their death, and that “until very recently” scientists assumed animal behavior was based on instinct rather than learned experience. Rifkin responds to these objections, presenting counter evidence and counter claims based on new studies that he suggests undermine previous understandings of animals.

This is an important strategy, for Rifkin likely knows that many of his readers come to his article assuming that fundamental differences exist between humans and animals, and when presented with an argument suggesting otherwise, would raise precisely the objections Rifkin describes. By making objections to his argument a prominent part of his text, and spending so much space responding to them, Rifkin is better able to win over his audience. Dealing with common assumptions and objections to his position is crucial to getting his audience to accept his main argument. It removes what would otherwise be a major obstacle to his audience accepting his claims. If he did not include this strategy, it is likely that these objections would occur to many readers, and they might reject his argument. Spending so much time considering opposing points of view also makes Rifkin appear balanced and fair minded, and thus may incline readers to trust him. Lastly, the way Rifkin presents objections to his argument is important strategically. Rifkin presents opposing views almost exclusively in terms of “past research” that has been superseded by more up to date work. It seems likely that some contemporary research exists that is at odds with Rifkin’s position, yet Rifkin does not discuss this, instead presenting disagreement in terms of old, outdated studies versus new, correct ones. Since many readers are likely to assume that the more up to date scientific research is, the more likely it is to be true, then associating objections with past research increases the likelihood they are seen as invalid.

**Rhetorical Analysis of Rifkin’s Word Choice**

One strategy Rifkin employs to build the argument that animals should be treated more like humans is his subtle use of animal names when introducing data. When he offers new research about the problem solving abilities of New Caledonian crows, for example, Rifkin cleverly describes how “Abel, the more dominant male…stole Betty’s hook” in order to obtain a better feeding tool. Rifkin, of course, could have chosen to ignore the bird’s test-subject names – which in all likelihood, were arbitrarily assigned by lab technicians and remain of little importance to the conclusions of the experiment – but by including them he bestows a human quality to the animals beyond what the data suggests. He repeats this technique twice more to the same effect, once when introducing “Koko, the 300 pound gorilla,” who displays close-to-human intelligence and an impressive sign language vocabulary, and again when describing an “Orangutan named Chantek,” whose use of a mirror displays human-like self awareness. Surely the data alone make the argument that animals are, by turns, capable of human qualities of problem-solving, communication, learning, and self-awareness. By offering the names of the test animals, though, he imbues them with greater individuality, personality and dignity. Giving the animals human names invites readers to think of them in terms usually reserved only for human beings. This strategy establishes a relationship of similarity between the animals mentioned and ourselves. The more human animals seem, the more it follows that they should be treated with the empathy and dignity we assume all humans deserve. This strategy thus helps advance Rifkin’s claim that we should “expand and deepen our empathy to include the broader community of creatures with whom we share the earth.”

**Paraphrasing**

**A paraphrase is...**

* Your own rendition of essential information and ideas expressed by someone else, presented in a new form.
* One legitimate way (when accompanied by accurate documentation) to borrow from a source.
* A more detailed restatement than a summary, which focuses concisely on a single main idea.

**Paraphrasing is a valuable skill because...**

* It is better than quoting information from a mediocre passage.
* It helps you control the temptation to quote too much.
* The mental process required for successful paraphrasing helps you to grasp the full meaning of the original.

**Look at the difference…**

**A quote:** *(must be word for word—unless brackets or ellipses are used)*

“Success is the result of what sociologists like to call ‘accumulative advantage.’ The professional hockey player starts out a little bit better than his peers. And that little difference leads to an opportunity that makes that difference a bit bigger, and that edge in turn leads to another opportunity, which makes the initially small difference bigger still—and on and on until the hockey player is a genuine outlier” (Gladwell 30).

**A legitimate paraphrase:**

Gladwell claims that a key factor in the ability to succeed is “accumulative advantage.” For example, in Canada, hockey players born in January have a headstart in maturity over their peers. This opportunity to get into the sport with an edge over others leads to more opportunities and quicker advancement year after year. They keep getting better and better until they become pro (30).

**A plagiarized version:**

Success is the result of “accumulative advantage.” The professional hockey player starts out a little bit better than his peers. And that leads to an opportunity that makes that difference a bit bigger, and that edge in turn leads to another opportunity, which makes the initially small difference bigger still—and this continues until the hockey player is a genuine outlier.

**Agreement on Plagiarism**

Policy statements and tutorials on plagiarism are provided by SDSU on these web pages:

http://infotutor.sdsu.edu/plagiarism/consequences.cfm?p=graphic

http://infotutor.sdsu.edu/plagiarism/index.cfm?p=graphic

http://www.sa.sdsu.edu/srr/conduct1.html

I understand that teachers are required by SDSU policy to report cases of plagiarism. I understand that I must clearly mark other people's ideas and words within my paper. I understand it is unacceptable to do any of the following:

* Submit an essay written in whole or part by another person, and to present this as if it were my own.
* Download an essay from the internet, then quote or paraphrase from it, in whole or in part, without acknowledging the original source.
* Reproduce the substance of another writer's argument without acknowledging the source.
* Copy another student/person’s homework and submit this as the product of my own work.

I understand that the consequences for committing any of the above acts can include failure in the class, a note on my permanent record, and even expulsion from the university. I will not plagiarize or cheat.

Name (Print Legibly): \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

(Signature) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

**Use of Student Work**

Your teacher may occasionally wish to share sample student writing in class. She may also wish to share sample student writing as part of her teacher training. For example, your teacher may wish to show an example of a strong introduction, or discuss ways of revising a conclusion. Student writing will be made anonymous (student names will be removed). Is it OK to use your writing in this way?

YES NO

Name: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

1. Adapted from work by Micah Jendian and Katie Hughes [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Woodworth, Margaret K. "The Rhetorical Précis." Rhetoric Review 7 (1988): 156-164. "The Rhetorical Précis." Rhetoric Review 7 (1988): 156-164. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)