

COMMUNICATION IN ENGLISH

Unit 5

Argument in our lives



Acknowledgements:

Writer: Finuala Dowling
Editors: Liz Sparg; Jennifer Rabinowitz
Layout: Lidia Kruger

The Sached Trust would like to acknowledge and thank all those whose publications have been used in the development of this course. They are acknowledged next to each extract used.

This Study Unit is the property of the learner to whom it is given.

Unit 5: Contents Table

	LESSON 1: Argument in our lives	LESSON 2: Arguing for truth
Reading	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading examples of arguments to work out their purpose (pp. 4 – 6) ■ Reading an extract from The Making of the Constitution (p. 9) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading a report on an amnesty application (p. 15) ■ Reading reports of cross examinations (pp. 17, 19)
Writing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Writing a definition (p. 2) ■ Completing a table to analyse different kinds of arguments (p. 2) ■ Identifying the purpose of arguments (pp. 3 – 6) ■ Evaluating arguments (pp. 6 – 8) ■ Answering questions based on a text (pp.7 – 8) ■ Answering questions based on a diagram (p. 12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Identifying the purpose, main points and supporting evidence of an argument (p. 14) ■ Questioning the validity of an argument (p. 16) ■ Identifying bias and prejudice (p. 18) ■ Completing a table to summarise (p. 20) ■ Expressing agreement and disagreement (pp. 20 – 21) ■ Planning a short argument (p. 22)
Listening and speaking		
Vocabulary development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Defining 'argument' and related words (p. 2) ■ Identifying similarities and differences in meanings of words. (p. 2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Defining key terms (p.18) ■ Expressing agreement and disagreement (pp. 20 – 21)
Visual Literacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Understanding a diagram (pp.10 – 11) 	
Grammar, Punctuation and Spelling		
Critical Thinking Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Critically analysing arguments and their purpose (pp. 2 – 8) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Questioning the validity of an argument (p. 16)
Study Skills		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Defining key terms (p. 18)

	LESSON 3: Public image and public opinion	LESSON 4: Language and public image
Reading	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading an extract to identify specific information: The Most Admired Organisations and Leaders in South Africa (p. 26) ■ Skimming a text to find information: Clash of the Television Titans (p. 30) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Scanning two arguments to identify different leadership styles (pp. 36 – 37; 41 – 42)
Writing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Identifying good qualities in politicians (pp. 24 – 25) ■ Completing a table to summarise (p. 25) ■ Identifying negative hidden messages (p. 27) ■ Making recommendations (p. 28) ■ Answering questions based on a text (p. 31) ■ Completing a table to compare (p. 31) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Identifying and analysing different leadership styles (pp. 34, 41) ■ Completing flow-charts to identify main topics, structure and linking ideas (pp. 38, 43)
Listening and speaking		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Discussing personal bias (p. 45)
Vocabulary development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Identifying words describing image and style (p. 31) 	Working out the relationship between language and public image (pp. 34 – 39)
Visual Literacy		
Grammar, Punctuation and Spelling		
Critical Thinking Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Critically analysing the public images of politicians (pp. 24 – 32) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Critically analysing arguments (pp. 34 – 42) ■ Recognising personal bias and how it affects judgement (p. 45)
Study Skills		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Using flow charts effectively (pp. 38; 43)

	LESSON 5: Argument and counter-argument	LESSON 6: Changing attitudes to women
Reading	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading an argument: Nervous Conditions (pp. 49 – 51) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading to compare topics : The Women of Zimbabwe: A Period of Change (pp. 61 – 62) and Being a Woman in Yugoslavia: Past and Present Equality (p. 63) ■ Reading to work out your own opinion: Women in Cuba (pp. 70 – 71)
Writing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Identifying the context of an argument (p. 48) ■ Analysing an argument (pp. 52 – 54) ■ Completing a flow chart to summarise an argument (p. 53) ■ Identifying and analysing a counter-argument (pp. 55 – 56) ■ Judging and argument's validity (pp. 56 – 57) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Identifying the topic (p. 60) ■ Summarising and comparing the main points (p. 60) ■ Analysing and comparing two arguments (pp.64 – 67) ■ Comparing the style of two texts (p. 67) ■ Stating your opinion (p. 68) ■ Answering your questions based on a text (pp. 68 – 69) ■ Writing a reasoned argument (p. 69)
Listening and speaking		
Vocabulary development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Identifying words and phrases used in counter-arguments (pp. 57 - 58) 	
Visual Literacy		
Grammar, Punctuation and Spelling		
Critical Thinking Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Understanding arguments within their contexts (pp. 48, 54 – 56) ■ Identifying factors that contribute to different points of view (pp. 48, 54 – 56) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Thinking critically about problems and their solutions (pp. 68 – 69)
Study Skills	Using a flow chart to summarise (p. 53)	

	LESSON 7: Changing education – changing society	LESSON 8: Legal argument
Reading	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading a fable: A Bed-time Story on Adult Education and Social Change (pp. 75 – 77) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading a case study (p. 89) ■ Reading legal information: The Rights and Duties in Marriage (pp. 92 – 95)
Writing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Previewing a text (p. 74) ■ Analysing and evaluating the use of a fable in an argument (pp.78 – 81) ■ Applying the message in the fable to South Africa (p. 78) ■ Completing flow charts to show the steps in different arguments (pp. 82 – 83) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Completing a table to compare information (p. 88) ■ Identifying different points of view (p. 88) ■ Assessing the case (p. 90) ■ Applying legal information to a case (pp. 90 – 91) ■ Organising, writing and revising an argument (pp. 96 – 97)
Listening and speaking		
Vocabulary development		
Visual Literacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Using a cartoon to preview a text (p. 75) 	
Grammar, Punctuation and Spelling		
Critical Thinking Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Thinking critically about education in South Africa (pp. 79 – 80) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Applying legal information to a case (pp. 90 – 91)
Study Skills	Using flow charts to show the development of an argument (pp. 82 – 83)	

	LESSON 9: What have you learnt so far?	LESSON 10: Changing societies
Reading	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading to summarise: Children Already Think about Smoking (p. 104) and Traditional Herbal Medicine (p. 105) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading different views to define development (pp. 111, 113) ■ Reading to work out your ideas : The achievement of Development (pp. 118 – 119)
Writing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Revising the purpose of arguments (p.100) ■ Substantiating your argument (pp.100 – 101) ■ Planning the structure of your argument (pp. 101 – 102) ■ Linking your ideas (p. 102) ■ Summarising the key points (p. 103) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Defining development (p. 110) ■ Analysing an argument (p.113) ■ Completing a flow chart to summarise (p. 113) ■ Analysing extracts to develop your ideas (pp. 115 – 117) ■ Working out your own opinion (pp. 115 – 117, 120) ■ Answering questions based on a text (pp. 117, 120)
Listening and speaking		
Vocabulary development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Using link words (p. 102) ■ Using words and phrases to introduce your argument (p. 106) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Defining development (pp. 110 – 111)
Visual Literacy		
Grammar, Punctuation and Spelling		
Critical Thinking Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Explaining cause and effect (p. 107) ■ Comparing information (p. 107) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Thinking critically about development (pp. 110 – 115) ■ Working out solutions to problems (pp. 115, 117 – 120)
Study Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Summarising the key points (p. 103) 	

	LESSON 11: Arguing for change	LESSON 12: Rapping for change
Reading	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading to develop your ideas: The Reconstruction and Development Programme (pp. 125 – 126) ■ Reading to identify long-term and short-term goals: Comments from People in Latin America about their development (p.129) and The GEAR Strategy (p. 131) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Reading different comments about calypso music (p. 137) ■ Reading calypso from Grenada : Buy Local (p. 140), Mr Idle Hand (p. 141) and Ain't I Woman? (p. 143) ■ Reading a poem: Crocodiles (pp. 146 – 147)
Writing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Revising your ideas (p. 124) ■ Identifying and comparing key goals and programmes (p. 124) ■ Identifying problems and their causes and effects (p. 127) ■ Identifying long-term and short-term goals (p. 128) ■ Giving reasons for your opinion (p. 130) ■ Working out how to meet your goals (p. 130) ■ Planning and writing a speech (pp. 132 – 133) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Finding out about calypso music (p. 136) ■ Analysing the language and arguments used in calypso (pp. 138 – 144) ■ Assessing the effectiveness of calypso (p. 142) ■ Writing your own song or poem (p. 145)
Listening and speaking		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Listening to a song: Corruption (p. 139)
Vocabulary development		
Visual Literacy		
Grammar, Punctuation and Spelling		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Analysing some examples of language variety in Jamaican English (pp. 142 – 144)
Critical Thinking Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifying problems and their causes and effects (p. 127) Identifying realistic long-term and short-term goals (p. 128) 	
Study Skills		

LESSON 1

Argument in our lives

About this lesson

Arguments go on every day in different situations. We all argue with other people during our lives.

In this first lesson you'll use your own experience to begin working out why people argue, what makes a good argument and what role argument plays in society.

In this lesson you will

- | define what an argument is
- | identify different types of argument
- | work out some of the different purposes of arguments
- | explore what makes a good argument
- | examine the role argument plays in society.



Why do people argue?

There are as many reasons for arguing as there are things to have an opinion about. Arguments take place whenever different opinions or disagreements exist between people.

ACTIVITY 1

1.
 - a. In your notebook, write your own definition of 'argument':
 - b. Now think about these words:
 argue fight disagree quarrel discuss

 What are the similarities and differences between the meaning of the words? Look up the definitions of each word in the dictionary.
 - c. Would you like to revise your definition of 'argument'?
2.
 - a. Think about the arguments you have recently been involved in, or have listened to, at home, at work, socially, or in a political context. For example, in the workplace, people often argue about wages.
 - b. Copy the table below into your notebook and complete it. An example has been done for you.

Who was arguing?	What was the reason for the argument?	Was it a quarrel or a discussion?	Was it a personal or a political argument?
<u>teenager & parent</u>	<u>spending money</u>	<u>quarrel</u>	<u>personal</u>

- c. Now think about how the argument ended. Was it resolved because one person or group was more powerful than the other? Was it resolved because one person or group made a more convincing argument or did the two sides reach a negotiated agreement? Was it left unresolved?

COMMENT

We often think of arguments as being the same as a fight! Some arguments end in a fight, so you might have found it hard to classify some of your examples. In this unit you'll learn about the kind of argument where opinions are stated, questioned, reasoned and supported with examples or facts.



The purpose of arguments

When we argue we are usually trying to convince other people of something. This is because we believe:

- | what we think is right
- | in a case for or against something
- | in the importance of a certain viewpoint.

The purpose of an argument isn't always just to convince other people that we are right! Another important purpose of argument is to share views and to reach a solution.

Arguing about what to do, or how to do it, with other people means that we hear different views and ideas. We can then consider all the information we have heard and it is easier to make an informed decision about what should be done. It also means that people might change their views because they have been given new information about something.

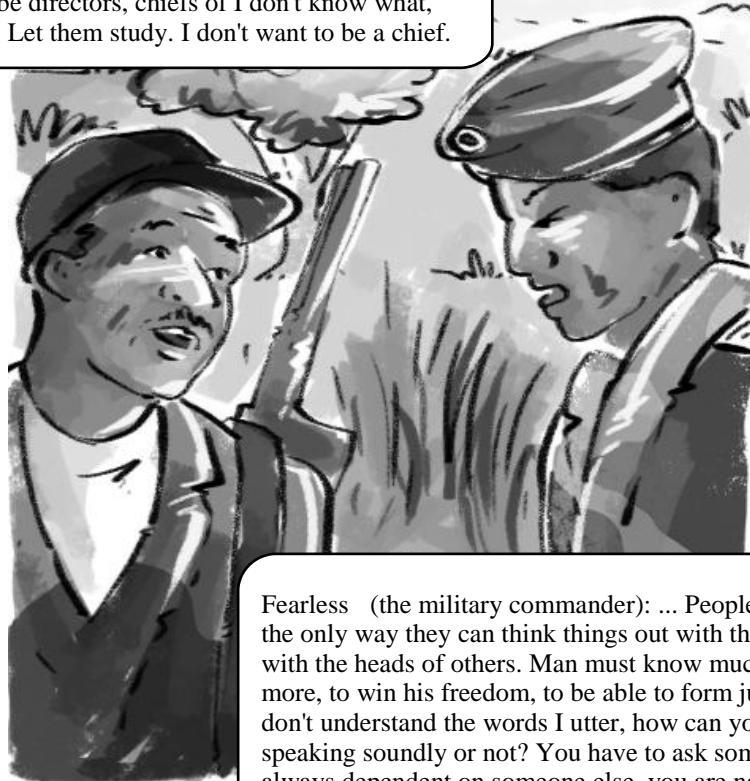
ACTIVITY 2

In this activity you'll read examples of arguments and then work out the purpose of each argument.

Argument 1

Struggle (a guerilla): I don't have politics in my head. I'm just a guerilla. I don't want to be much. There are some who want to be directors, chiefs of I don't know what, commanders. Let them study. I don't want to be a chief.

PEPETELA, MAYOMBE, ZIMBABWE PUBLISHING HOUSE, HARARE, 1983, PP 2-5



Fearless (the military commander): ... People must study, as it is the only way they can think things out with their own heads and not with the heads of others. Man must know much, ever more and more, to win his freedom, to be able to form judgements. If you don't understand the words I utter, how can you know if I'm speaking soundly or not? You have to ask someone else. You're always dependent on someone else, you are not free. So everyone must study.

Guerilla:
someone who fights as part of an unofficial army usually against an official army or police force

Purpose of Arguments

- a. to argue HOW something should be done
- b. to argue a belief
- c. to discuss and debate differences and reactions
- d. to argue the importance of a PARTICULAR view or policy
- e. to OPPOSE what someone says and try to CONVINCe them to do something else.

1.
 - a. Read Argument 1, between Struggle (a guerilla) and Fearless (a military commander).
 - b. What is the topic of the argument between Struggle and Fearless?
 - c. Look at the list of purposes in the margin. Match one of these to the argument made by Fearless?
2.
 - a. Now read Argument 2.
 - b. Look at the first two sentences and underline the topic of the argument.
 - c. Match the argument with one of the purposes in the list.

Argument 2

The case you have made for employing Kenneth Good, is convincing. However I would like to point out that this institution has a policy of affirmative action, and that this must be implemented. It is not acceptable in South Africa today to argue for the employment of a white candidate because he has more qualifications than Thandi Molefe. Unless other criteria are used the white candidate will nearly always be selected, and things will never change. I am therefore arguing that Ms Molefe be offered the job.

3. a. Read Argument 3.
- b. Look at the first sentence and underline the topic of the argument.
- c. Match the argument with one of the purposes on the list.

Argument 3

I think lion hunting should be banned in South Africa. Firstly, because the breeding-to-be-hunted industry is cruel and inhumane and involves hundreds of lions. Secondly, it seems in this country we have a culture of killing that extends to conservation. The old South Africa prided itself on its conservation image internationally. This image is a false one. In the new South Africa we need to transform our conservation image into one of compassion, reverence and respect for wild animals.

AFRICAN PANORAMA , VOL 42, NO 2, 1997. P 66

4. a. Read Argument 4.
- b. Is the argument really about fish and fishing? What is it about?
- c. Link it with a purpose from the list.

Argument 4

The problem in Development is often how programmes are implemented. Such programmes should assist communities and people to become self-sufficient. Give a man a fish and you are helping him for a very short while; teach him the art of fishing, and he can help himself all of his life.

Argument 5

I believe that the provision of free education and free health care are the first things a new government should implement. This would mean that the next generation of children will all have the opportunity to develop into strong and skilled adults. If these things are not provided by the state how will inequality ever be addressed?

5. a. Read Argument 5.
- b. Look at the first sentence. What is the topic?
- c. Link it with a purpose from the list.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 149

A good or bad argument?

In this section you'll try to work out whether you think an argument is well-reasoned and convincing. 'Well-reasoned' means that the argument is logically thought out. 'Convincing' means that the way something is argued makes you believe it is correct or true.

ACTIVITY 3

1. a. Read Argument 1 in Activity 2 again.
- b. What reasons did Struggle give for not wanting to study?
- c. Do you think these are good reasons for not wanting to study? Explain your answer.
2. a. Now read the argument made by Fearless, the military commander.
- b. Does Fearless agree with, or oppose, the argument made by Struggle?
- c. List the reasons why Fearless thinks people must study.
- d. Do you think Fearless gives good reasons for why people should study? Explain your answer.
- e. Which argument do you agree with— the one made by Struggle, or the one made by Fearless? Remember to give reasons for your answer.

3.
 - a. Read Argument 2 again.
 - b. What is the writer arguing against?
 - c. What principle is she/he arguing for?
 - d. What reasons does the writer give for arguing that this principle is implemented (put into practice)?
 - e. Do you agree with the arguments that the writer is making?
Note down why you agree or disagree.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 150

COMMENT

In this activity you have worked out whether you think the arguments were well-reasoned and convincing. You'll be learning more about how to judge arguments throughout this unit.

Negotiation

Negotiating is a way of settling arguments, or disputes. Negotiation usually involves two or more people or parties, arguing for something. At the same time, they are trying to agree on a way of settling the differences between them.

The change that has taken place in our society in the last few years has been the result of representatives of the main political parties working out ways to settle their different positions and viewpoints. This has meant that there has been a lot of argument and debate. Each party has had to listen carefully to the views put forward by the others, and try to find ways to settle differences.

ACTIVITY 4

On May 8 1996 the new Constitution was adopted by the Constitutional Assembly. Negotiations for this Constitution began in 1994, after the opening session of the first democratic parliament. All the parties involved had a deadline to meet, and in the months leading up to that deadline, certain issues had still not been resolved.

1. Read the extract from *The Making of the Constitution* on page 9 in order to answer the questions that follow.
2. Skim through the article and underline as many contentious issues as you can find.

contentious:
issues involving
argument or
controversy

ethnicity:
belonging to a
specific group
constitutes:
gives legal form
to
incitement:
motive

3. Why did the ANC want 'hate speech' banned? Why did the DP disagree?
4. Under 'Freedom of expression' in the Bill of Rights, it is stated that freedom of expression does not extend to 'advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm'. Who do you think won the argument discussed in question 3?
5. Which party supported the death penalty and why?
6. Which two parties agreed that the death penalty should be abolished?
7. In the case of the death penalty, the debate was stopped because agreement could not be reached. Later, the majority of the Constitutional Assembly voted to abolish the death penalty. Was this the case in every debate, or was there some other process by which consensus could be reached? (Read the last sentence of the article again.)

ANSWERS ON PAGE 150

COMMENT

The negotiating forum gave the political organisations an opportunity to argue their viewpoints to try to reach an agreement on a new constitution.

The ability to make a well-reasoned argument is an important skill. These organisations had to put forward their arguments very clearly. They had to substantiate, or back up, their arguments with good reasons. They had to listen carefully to other viewpoints and argue against these if they disagreed.

In 1996, South Africa adopted a New Constitution and Parliament passed many new laws. Before a law is passed, several discussions and arguments must take place.

contentious:
controversial,
likely to cause
argument
consensus:
general
agreement
fraught:
troubled, tense

IN THE SHADOW OF THE CLOCK

EARLY IN FEBRUARY 1996 it emerged that there were 65 contentious issues that needed attention. Nevertheless, Cyril Ramaphosa was talking about finalising the negotiations at the end of March.

Arguments about property, equality, the shape of the National Assembly, the courts and administration of justice were heating the political temperature. Similarly the right to freedom of expression clause in the Bill of Rights, was now glowing like a hot coal.

The African National Congress (ANC) wanted a ban on what was being called 'hate speech' but to the Democratic Party (DP) and the National Party (NP) this was at best 'unhealthy'. 'It's better for this type of speech to be heard and the consequences dealt with,' said Dene Smuts (DP). 'In a democracy everyone has the right to express their views.'

When the death penalty entered the debate on the right-to-life clause, deputy chairperson Leon Wessels (NP) heard such radically opposed statements that he realised it was meaningless even to think of seeking consensus:

'Listen to the voice of the ordinary people,' said Rev Kenneth Meshoe (African Christian Democratic Party). 'They want the death penalty back.'

'Playing on the emotions of the people is not the best way to handle this issue,' asserted Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini (ANC).

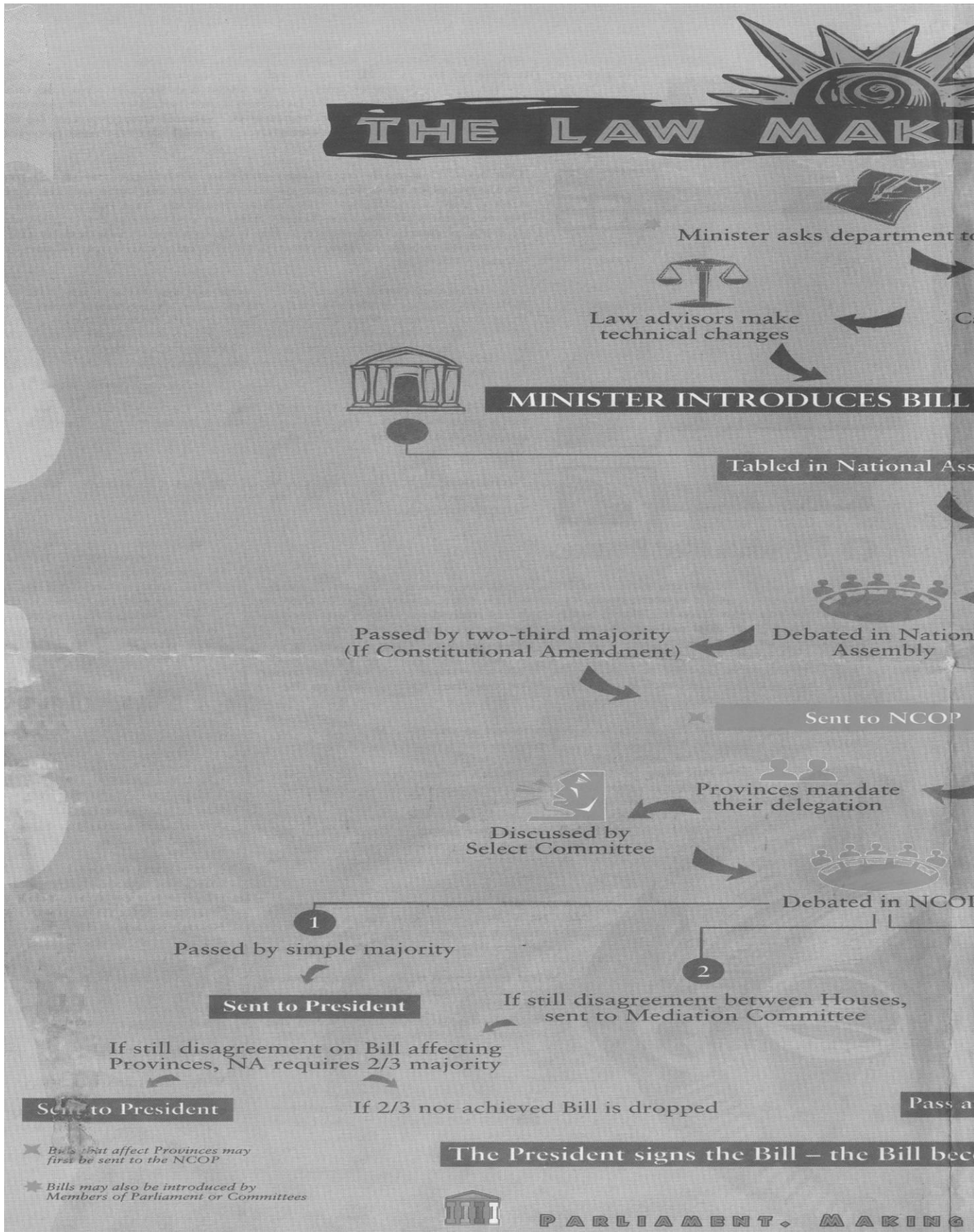
'Let us not forget the use of the death penalty in this country in the past and how it was applied,' said Richard Sizani (Pan African Congress).

'I'm stopping this debate,' ruled Leon Wessels. 'Your deeply held convictions are unlikely to be resolved here.'

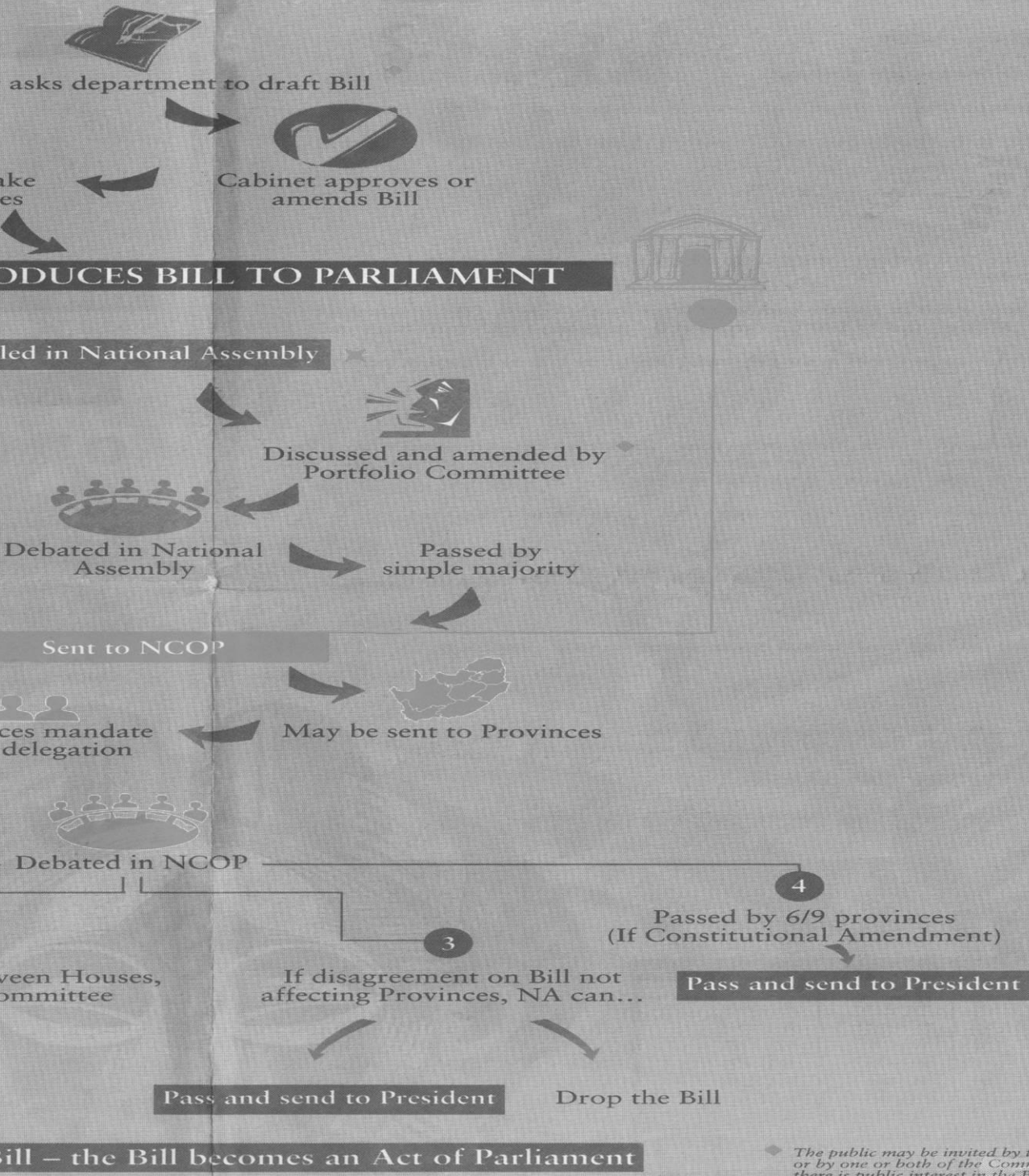
Several issues were continually firing up debate. Where should parliament be located: Cape Town or Pretoria? Was it feasible to maintain equal status among eleven official languages? Should the flag and anthem be changed? The Bill of Rights was a minefield. The degree to which property rights would be protected was equally fraught, as were the right to life and its impact on abortion and the death penalty, and labour's right to strike versus the employer's right to lock strikers out.

Despite this, Rolf Meyer was confident that the 'climate' was 'conducive to compromise and negotiating. 'There was,' he said, 'a good spirit among parties' but they needed to 'negotiate behind closed doors so that we can allow politicians to change their minds and positions gracefully.'

In the next activity you'll explore the role of discussion in the law - making process.



MAKING PROCESS



The public may be invited by the Minister or by one or both of the Committees if there is public interest in the Bill.

ACTIVITY 5

1. Look at the diagram called 'The Law Making Process' on pages 10 and 11. List six main steps in the law making process. List the steps in chronological order.
2. How does the diagram use pictures to convey the idea that discussion is important in the law making process?
3. How does the diagram convey the idea that a bill must be sent to many different groups and committees before it is passed?
4. List three things that can take place if there is disagreement on a bill.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 151

COMMENT

The role of argument in a democratic society is very important. It means that different views must be listened to. If the democratic structures are strong, ordinary people can also put forward their views and needs through their representatives. Do you agree?

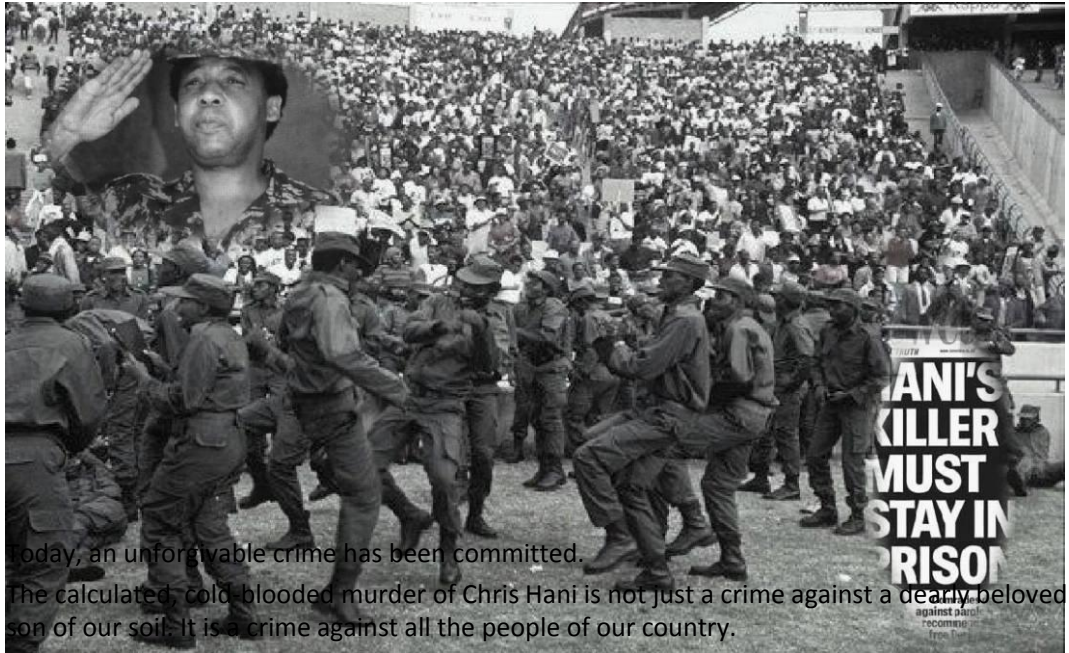
CHECKLIST

Are you able to:

- r identify different kinds of arguments, from discussions to negotiations
- r identify the purpose of an argument
- r distinguish between good and bad arguments
- r explain the role of negotiation in society
- r explain the importance of parliamentary debate in a democracy.

Arguing from different positions

In the first three activities you will read about the amnesty hearing of Clive Derby-Lewis in August 1997. Derby-Lewis applied to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for amnesty along with Janusz Walus. Walus shot South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani outside his Boksburg home in April 1993. Derby-Lewis and Walus jointly confessed to planning the assassination. Both men were denied amnesty and are currently serving life imprisonment.



Today, an unforgivable crime has been committed. The calculated, cold-blooded murder of Chris Hani is not just a crime against a dearly beloved son of our soil. It is a crime against all the people of our country.

A man of passion, of unsurpassed courage has been cut down in the prime of his life.

Chris Hani is known to all of us, loved by millions, hated only by those who fear the truth.

ACTIVITY 1

1. Read the report on Clive Derby-Lewis's amnesty application on page 15.
2. On what grounds does Derby-Lewis believe he is entitled to amnesty? (Answer in one or two sentences.)
3. What did Derby-Lewis say he hoped to achieve through the assassination of Chris Hani? (Find a quote from the text to answer this question.)
4. In Derby-Lewis's opinion, why was the right-wing struggle justified?

ANSWERS ON PAGE 151

COMMENT

You have just picked out the purpose, main points and supporting evidence of an argument. But a good argument has to stand up to questioning.

EVIDENCE GIVEN BY CLIVE DERBY-LEWIS IN SUPPORT OF HIS AMNESTY APPLICATION)

Derby Lewis told the amnesty committee in Pretoria he sought a meeting with Traurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party and a doctor of theology, before Hani's assassination, in an attempt to resolve several issues that were troubling him.

'One of the things that concerned me was that, in terms of the teaching of the Bible it was our duty to fight the anti-Christ. I had to make it clear in my own mind that the act of war that I was finally prompted into doing was justifiable. The impression I got from Traurnicht was that under certain circumstances it would be permissible to even kill in the battle against the anti-Christ.'

Derby Lewis said it was hoped Hani's death would plunge the country into chaos, all wrong the right-wing to seize power. The National Party had betrayed its mandate by first scapping its separate development policy and then unbanning the liberation movements, opening the way for a communist takeover of the government.

Questioned by committee members on the CP's protest on denunciation of the murder, Derby Lewis said the party had set up a legal aid fund to pay for the costs of his criminal trial. 'The action of the CP were all I needed to indicate their support for me' he said,

Clive Derby-Lewis quoted from DiePatriot articles and editorials at his amnesty hearing in Pretoria. In one of the articles, he quoted CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg as saying: 'In a freedom struggle for whites, the CP will focus on the leaders, and Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC, will be the first!' In an editorial on October 15, 1991, the newspaper said: 'The moral right of self-determination must be backed by power which can indeed be used.'

Derby-Lewis testified that the plot to kill Hani was sparked by the National Party's betrayal of the African resistance by abandoning the policy of separate development and then unbanning the liberation movements. 'We were involved in a freedom struggle against an illegitimate regime', he said.

Derby-Lewis stated that he was subjected to mental torture by his interrogators. 'I was told if I did not cooperate I would be totally isolated and they would arrest my wife and I would be deprived of access to television and radio.' The only item in his cell, which had pools of water on the cement floor, was a thin mattress. In an adjoining cell were members of the 'Pan Africanist Congress' armed wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, who 'kicked up a racket 24 hours a day, making sleep impossible'

Clive Derby Lewis said he still believes the apartheid policy of separate development is the answer to South Africa's problems.

Derby Lewis was asked by George Bizos, the Hani family's lawyer, whether he accepted a common citizenship in which all South Africans had equal rights. 'No, I do not believe in that ... I do not believe South Africa's problems are solved with a common citizenship,' he replied. 'I believe my people are entitled to a territory where they are able to exercise their right to self-determination.'

Questioning the validity of an argument

When you need to oppose someone else's argument (in an essay, a courtroom, a personal disagreement or public forum), there are three simple ways of approaching the task:

- | find out whether your opponent is being consistent and truthful
- | check that your opponent is reporting the facts correctly
- | pinpoint where your opponent contradicts himself or herself.

undermine:
make something less strong or less effective
perjury:
telling a lie after swearing under oath to tell the truth
qualms:
feelings of uncertainty/doubts that something is right
incriminating:
pointing to guilt
coerced:
forced
deprivation:
not having enough of what is needed

In Activity 2 you are going to see how Senior Counsel George Bizos used these three methods to undermine Clive Derby-Lewis's evidence.

ACTIVITY 2

1. Read the report of the cross-examination on page 17.
2. Does Bizos believe that Derby-Lewis was being truthful when Derby-Lewis said he was politically motivated when he planned the murder of Chris Hani? What does Bizos think motivated Derby-Lewis? Find a quote from the text to answer this question.
3. Derby-Lewis argued that he was following Conservative Party policy, and specifically the orders of leader Andries Treurnicht, in planning the assassination. According to Bizos, what is the factual error in this argument?
4. Derby-Lewis claimed that he was forced into making an incriminating statement after being subjected to sleep deprivation and threats of continued detention. According to Bizos, what contradicted this claim?

ANSWERS ON PAGE 151

COMMENT

You have just matched an argument with an opposing argument or a counter-argument. (You will learn more about counter-arguments in Lesson 5.) You saw how the Hani family's lawyer questioned the truth and accuracy of what Derby-Lewis said. Another way of opposing someone with whom you disagree (and questioning the truth of what they say) is to accuse them of bias or prejudice. Bias always shows that an argument is subjective, that is, not based on facts.

ADAPTED FROM SAPA REPORTS, AUGUST 13-20, 1997

Objective and subjective arguments

An argument that is based on facts, or which tries to be fair, is objective. An argument that is based on personal feelings or bias is subjective. A subjective argument is often more emotional than an opinion. Whereas an opinion may be based on a fair and objective assessment of a situation, a subjective argument is based entirely on unsubstantiated feelings. For example, here are two arguments that put forward different opinions:

1. I think the national flag should have pink spots on a purple background because those are my favourite colours.
2. I think the national flag should have stripes of different colours showing how different groups have worked together to form one nation.

The first argument is entirely subjective. The second argument is also an opinion, but it does not show a personal bias. In the next activity you will see how bias or prejudice can undermine an argument.

ACTIVITY 3

1. Read Mokotedi Mpshe's cross-examination of Derby-Lewis on page 19.
2. Does Mpshe accept Derby-Lewis's argument that he plotted to kill Hani because he wanted to stop a Communist Party takeover? Why does he think Derby-Lewis plotted to kill Hani?
3. Does Derby-Lewis concede that he is a racist? How does he define a racist?
4. Judging from his evidence, how do you think Mpshe defines racism?
5. Mpshe quotes various remarks made by Derby-Lewis. In your opinion, do these quotes prove that Derby-Lewis is a racist? Give reasons for your answer.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 152

COMMENT

An important part of many arguments is how you define key terms. In the argument you just analysed, the key term 'racism' was defined differently by each speaker. It is a good idea to begin an argument, including an argumentative essay, by defining the key terms. Terms like 'poverty', or 'domestic abuse' may mean different things to different people, and it is necessary to explain what you understand by the terms.

CROSS-EXAMINATION OF DERBY-LEWIS BY MOKOEDI
MPSHE, ANTIMENESTY COMMITTEES CHIEF
LEADER OF EVIDENCE

The antiminsty committee's chief leader, Mokoedi Mpshe, began cross-examining Derby-Lewis on Wednesday. 'You killed him because you saw this black man as a potential leader who was going to take up a seat in Parliament,' Mpshe suggested.

Mpshe read out a number of racist remarks attributed to Derby-Lewis in newspaper reports on speeches he made as a CP politician. In one, he was reported as saying that he had spoken to 'fifty radical blacks and my experience was that few of them could repair a toilet.'

Denying he was a racist, Derby-Lewis said the statement had been reported out of context. 'I see a racist as somebody who hates other people. I do not hate blacks. I do not hate yellow people. I do not hate Greeks! George Bizos, the Hanifa family's lawyer and a Greek, had earlier rejected Derby-Lewis to three days of grueling cross-examination in his motives for the killing.

Derby-Lewis said on Wednesday: 'The media said I was a racist if I made a statement that African people are not as technologically advanced as Western people. Do not see that as a racist statement. I see that as a statement of fact and we just need to look around us for proof of that.'

Mpshe also questioned him on his statement that blacks liked 'to make babies.

'It is a fact that black people like to have babies. I do not see anything wrong with that fact,' Derby-Lewis replied, to laughter from supporters of the Hanifa family in the audience.

Mpshe also quoted from a magazine article in which Derby-Lewis was reported to have said that he would leave the country should a black government come to power, because blacks were paid more than they needed to survive.

Derby-Lewis again claimed the statement had been taken out of context.

Summarising arguments

You have read three different arguments. When you chair a meeting or listen to many sides of a debate, you need to be able to sum up the main points quickly. You have to listen carefully, picking out what is a main point and what is supporting evidence or detail. In the next activity you'll practise your skills of summarising.

ACTIVITY 4

Use the table below to fill in the main points made by Derby-Lewis, Bizos and Mpshe.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 152

Main points made by Derby-Lewis	Main points made by Bizos	Main points made by Mpshe
1. Hani was the anti-Christ.		
	2. Derby-Lewis acted out of arrogance.	

COMMENT

You had to read several pages of information to come up with this brief summary. Listening to someone argue can require patience. However it's a good idea to jot down points or to make 'mental notes' while listening so that you can respond to the main points made by your opponent.

Expressing agreement and disagreement

So far you've identified a number of ways you might oppose someone's argument. You can:

- | point out contradictions, inconsistencies or lies
- | find evidence of bias, prejudice or subjective argument
- | disagree with the way a key term has been defined.

When you express your disagreement you can start your sentence in the following ways:

I am opposed to ...

I disagree with the definition of ...

Your argument is inconsistent because ...

There are contradictions in this argument, for example ...

If you agree with someone's argument, you can start your sentence by saying:

I agree with ...

I concur with ...

I support ...

I endorse ...

As you said ...

You are correct in arguing ...

In the next activity, you will express agreement or disagreement.

ACTIVITY 5

Imagine that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has asked you, as an ordinary citizen, to express your opinion on whether Clive Derby-Lewis should have been given amnesty or not. What would you say? (Answer in a paragraph.)

ANSWERS ON PAGE 153

COMMENT

What you wrote for the last activity was your first response. Your answer was not a planned argument, although it may have contained several good points. Often we have an immediate response or opinion on a topic. However, an argument will be more convincing if it is planned.

Planning a short argument

When you plan an argument, you should state:

- | what your view is
- | why you hold this view (your main reason)
- | supporting reasons for your view
- | why your opponent's view is weak or incorrect
- | what the deeper or more far-reaching implications of your argument are.

ACTIVITY 6



Read through your answer to Activity 5 again. Revise and expand your argument, using the checklist above. Your argument should be three paragraphs long. Read your answer to a family member, friend or fellow learner to make sure it is convincing. Edit and rewrite your answer and give it to your tutor for assessment.

CHECKLIST

Are you able to:

- r identify and summarise the main points in an argument
- r evaluate whether an argument is based on sound reasoning
- r express agreement or disagreement in a debate
- r plan and write a short argument.

Remember to give your written argument to your tutor for assessment.

LESSON 3

Public image and public opinion

About this lesson

In the last lesson we examined the different arguments made by three people at an amnesty hearing. We looked at the way in which they used their skills of reasoning to argue for the truth as each of them saw it. When politicians argue, they have to consider how their arguments will affect the way the public sees them. In this lesson you are going to look at how arguments made by politicians are often influenced by how they present themselves to the public and the methods they use.

In this lesson you will

- | think about what people want to see in their leaders
- | work out how a politician could change his or her public image
- | read an article about the positive public image of some politicians
- | compare the public images of two political leaders.



The public image of political leaders

When we listen to the arguments politicians make, we need to be aware of the following things:

- | what they are arguing for or against
- | why they are doing this
- | how they are making their argument.

Then we can decide if their arguments are convincing. We also need to be aware of other factors which influence the way we see politicians and listen to what they are saying. One important factor is 'public image'.

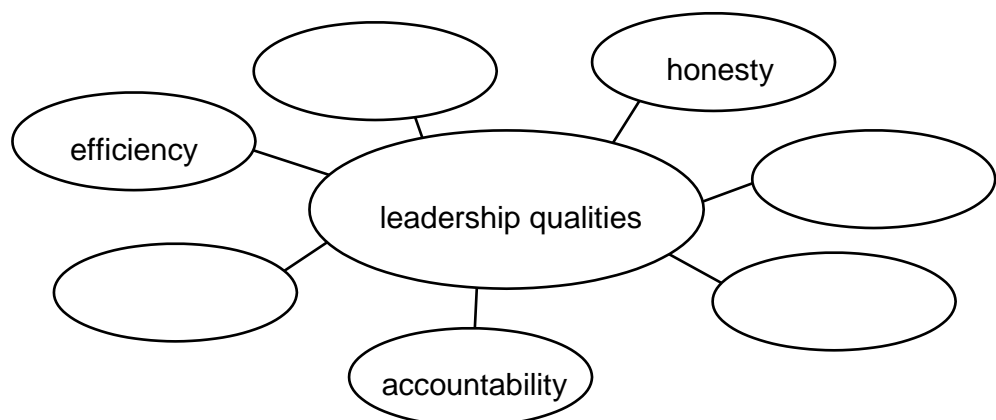
A 'public image' is the way politicians present themselves to the public. It does not only mean the way in which people see a politician. It also means the way in which a political party decides to promote the politician in order to get people's support. Politicians often receive training in how to address the public and how to present the kind of image people like. The media also promote 'public images' of politicians. We'll begin by exploring your views on the image of public figures.

ACTIVITY 1

In this activity you'll think about the kind of qualities people expect in political leaders.

Draw a mindmap of the kinds of qualities you think people expect in their political leaders.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 154



COMMENT

The qualities you have outlined may be such virtues as 'honesty', 'accountability' or 'efficiency'. Some politicians really do have these qualities. Others do not have them but nevertheless try to adopt this image in the speeches they make or in their public appearances. Politicians have to be judged by their public record as much as by their public image.

Public record and public image

In the next activity you are going to read an article about politicians who have a good public image. As you read the article, try to separate the good things they do from personal characteristics like friendliness. In other words, try to distinguish reality and appearances.

ACTIVITY 2

1. Read the extract on page 26 from an article about South Africa's most admired leaders.
2. Draw another mindmap showing the qualities the public admires in a leader, but this time use the article as the basis for your drawing.
3. Copy the table below into your notebook and find qualities in the article that fit into each of the columns:

Career achievements or work methods that are admired	Personality traits which are admired

4. Name two qualities that seem to have the most importance when judging a politician, i.e. two qualities that are mentioned several times in the article.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 154

COMMENT

You have just analysed how the public judges politicians who have already been elected and who have spent some time in office. To some extent their public image was influenced by their personal charm, but it was even more important that they were seen to be doing their job well.

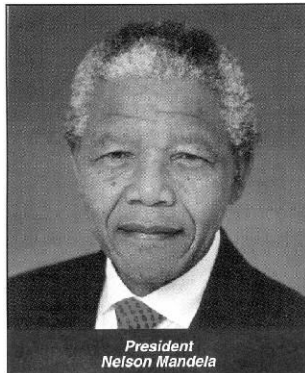
unstintingly:
generously
accolades:
praise
figure head:
a leader of a
movement or
an organisation
charisma:
the power to
attract other
people
conciliatory:
showing
friendliness
pragmatic:
practical/
dealing with
matters in the
best way
possible
extrovert:
outgoing/
confident

The most admired organisations and leaders in South Africa

Business and government leaders are often criticised, seldom acclaimed. Yet the youth of South Africa needs role-models to inspire them. There are companies and individuals including political leaders, who work unstintingly for the good of their companies and their country. These companies and leaders have achieved the admiration of their peers in their specific sectors. They have earned these accolades. They should be the role models of young South Africa.

Individual government leader
™President Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela is admired for being brilliant, a true leader, an effective president, a good figurehead, a people's person, a good role-model, an exceptional man who commands respect, bringing about positive change to South Africa, an 'incredible' man who 'came from nowhere' and tried his best to keep South Africa on the world map. His charm, charisma and energy, rising to many challenges and mastering them, has underpinned his great achievements of peace and change in South Africa. His conciliatory approach, combined with the achievements for all the peoples in South Africa are as admired as his global recognition™ a man larger than life.



President Nelson Mandela

Highly commended was Thabo Mbeki for being genuine, approachable and caring, a charming, charismatic leader who walks the straight and narrow, highly intelligent and with a clear vision for South Africa combined with a pragmatic approach to politics.

Cabinet Ministers –Trevor Manuel
Trevor Manuel is well regarded for good budgeting, tight financial controls, sound thinking, long-term approach, stabilising finances, successful management at the centre. Highly commended ministers were

Kadar Asmal – excellent thinker, getting results in Water Affairs;
Alec Erwin – working very hard to make business globally competitive, to stimulate job creation and small business development;
Tito Mboweni – tireless in trying to get labour and business into win-win agreements.



Trevor Manuel

Other Politicians

Well admired were Tony Leon, Roelf Meyer, Tokyo Sexwale and Matthew Phosa.

Tony Leon was described as very honest and 'transparent', not involved in double-talk, trying to make a difference, working very hard, knowing what he talks about, sticking to his guns even when he hits brick walls. Living and eating democracy.

Roelf Meyer is seen as honest, fighting for democracy and change with clear goals, fresh ideas, a man of stature.

Tokyo Sexwale was admired for his extrovert personality, a people's person, down to earth, friendly but with an aura of power and achievement. His automatic business-like approach to matters was also believed to make an ideal business leader. Matthew Phosa is liked and respected for caring very effectively for his province and the people in it, being open-minded, willing to tackle all problems, intelligent and practical, honest and down to earth, having the interest of the people at heart.

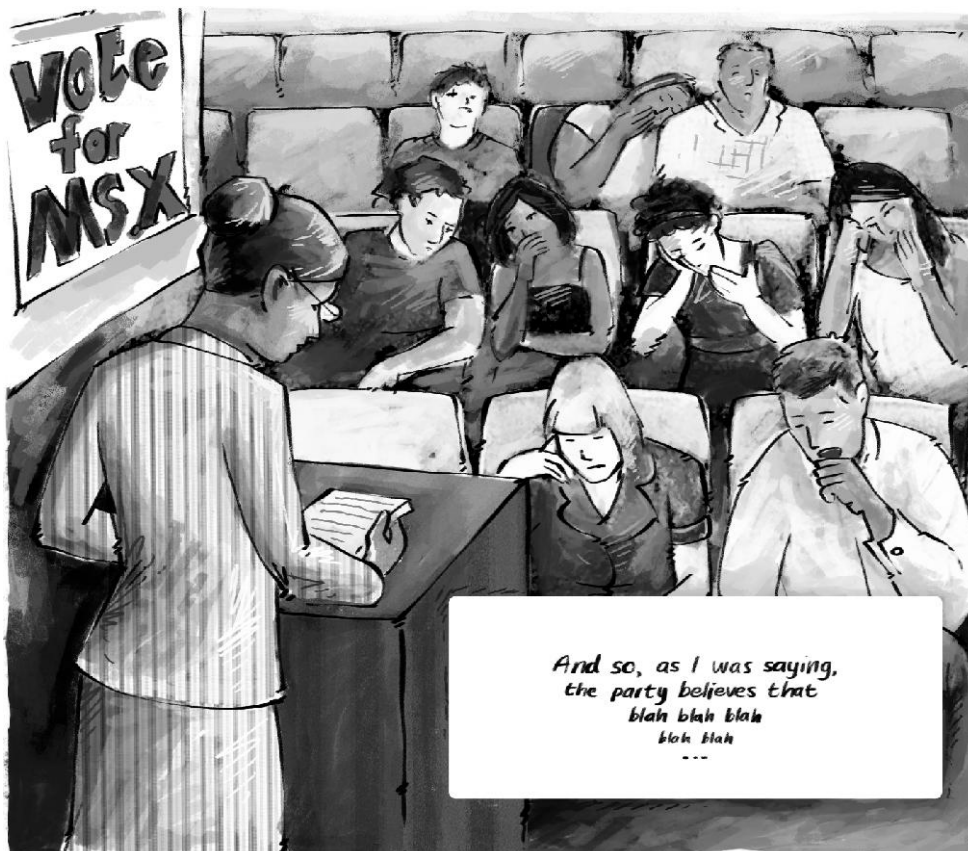
Hidden messages in the way we look and sound

Not all messages are obvious or 'spelt out'. There are hidden messages in our gestures, clothes, tone of voice, facial expressions and style of speaking. For example, someone who bites their lower lip might seem shy and unsure.

ACTIVITY 3

1. Imagine there is an election. You are in charge of presenting Ms X, the leader of a political party, to the public, as the person they should elect as the new president. These are the characteristics of Ms X:
 - | she doesn't smile much
 - | she speaks softly
 - | when she is arguing for a particular party policy she takes a long time to make her points and to explain how the party would implement this policy
 - | she always says 'the party believes' something should be done; she never says 'I believe' something.

Write down the possible negative message behind each of Ms X's characteristics .



2. As Ms X's image consultant, make recommendations on how she could improve her image and send out more positive messages. Put your recommendations into the following memo:

memomemo	apprise IMAGE CONSULTANT PO BOX 100030 HOUGHTON 2041 (011) 555 3334
to: from: address: subject:	

COMMENT

Many public figures have had similar problems to Ms X. Professional image consultants train politicians to present a public image which is more sympathetic, stronger and more decisive. The public image of political leaders is an important factor in forming our attitudes to them. The attitudes we have to politicians affect the way we listen and respond to the arguments they make when convincing us to support them.

Factors affecting 'public image'

Public image has become much more important now that we live in an 'information age' when most people have access to newspapers, radio and television. Politicians have to learn how to use the medium of television to their benefit. In the next activity you'll look at how the public image of two political leaders is affected by their performance on television.



pace:
 speed
 savvy:
 understanding
 on the record:
 saying
 something
 publicly
 off the record:
 what is
 not said publicly
 incisive:
 expressed in a
 clear and
 forceful way,
 without using
 more words
 than necessary
 affability:
 quality of being
 pleasant and
 easy to talk to

Clash of the television titans

Thursday's TV debate between South Africa's two leading statesmen promises to reveal much about how they are going to rule the country together.

Mark Gevisser reports.



Saintly ... Nelson Mandela

Goal-d'-doy ... F.W. de Klerk

- 1 On the one side is the Father of the Nation: a saintly, almost saintly figure and almost saintly. The problem is that he talks at the houghtful and measured pace of a provincial schoolmaster. On the other side is a sharp and incisive debater, whose debating skills have come from years of parliamentary experience. The problem is though, that while his opponent has a saintly image, his own newly acquired good - ol' hi-ly affability does not seem quite true.
- 2 Next Thursday's presidential debate between Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk will be the country's first American-style TV campaigning. The debate will not decide the future of the country but it will offer viewers new insights into the media savvy and public image of our two senior statesmen.
- 3 On the record both parties insist that their leaders will 'be themselves' on TV. But off the record both the ANC and the NP are spending fortunes trying to work out what public image will appeal to their constituencies.
- 4 Both sides acknowledge that De Klerk is the better debater and that

- he is more comfortable with TV. He is particularly good at 'bridging' - appearing to answer the question but cleverly shifting it to make the point he wishes to make.
- 5 He is so good at 'gabbing' - catching the viewers' attention with sharp comments. He is getting better at 'thawing' - talking from the heart and making personal connections with the viewers in their living rooms.
- 6 Mandela has his authority as a statesman going for him. He starts from a position of strength. He is internationally acclaimed and he has a saintly, almost Christ-like persona. An ANC source commented, 'If you assessed who is a better debater and who is good on TV, then Mandela would not win. He speaks slowly and he takes a long time to answer.'
- 7 But this works to his advantage. It shows that he is thoughtful, considered and statesmanlike.
- 8 There is so much personal history between Mandela and De Klerk that Thursday's debate will be more than a clash of styles; it could tell us about how they will rule the country together.

SOURCE: THE WEEKLY MAIL, 1994

ACTIVITY 4

The months and weeks leading up to the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994 were very exciting. Two political figures were centre stage in the television battle for the hearts and minds of the South African public. One man – Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC – had only recently been released from jail and had been forcibly kept out of the public eye for decades. His opponent – F W de Klerk, leader of the National Party – was used to appearing on television but had a hard fight ahead of him to try and convince the largely black electorate to support him.

1. Skim the title and the preparatory paragraph of the text on page 30. Underline the words which are similar in meaning to 'argument', and the word which tells us that the article is about two political leaders.
2. Look at the photographs and read the captions underneath them. Read the first paragraph of the article and answer these questions:
 - a. Do you think the captions of each photograph match the expressions on the faces of Mandela and De Klerk?
 - b. What does the writer think is the main difference between the public images of Mandela and De Klerk?
3. In the first two paragraphs the writer compares the two leaders. Copy the following table into your notebook and complete the columns.

Words describing Mandela	Words describing De Klerk

Language note:
Notice how the writer uses the phrases 'on the one hand...' and 'on the other hand ...' to compare the two men. These phrases are useful when we are comparing things.

4.
 - a. Skim paragraphs 4 and 5. What reasons are given for the argument that De Klerk 'is the better debater and ... more comfortable on TV'?
 - b. Paragraphs 6 and 7 describe Mandela's style and image on TV. Skim the paragraphs and underline the words that describe his image and style.
 - c. Now go back and skim the article again. Is it completely true to say that both leaders would just 'be themselves' on TV? Why / Why not? Write a short paragraph answering this question.

- d. Discuss the following issues with your learning group:
- | Which image (that of 'saint' or 'good - ol' - boy affability') do you personally think is best for a political leader?
 - | To what extent do you think voters are influenced by good debaters?
 - | Do you think that the respective images of Mandela and De Klerk influenced the way people voted in 1994?

ANSWERS ON PAGE 157

COMMENT

We don't just listen to the arguments politicians make. Our attitudes are influenced by other factors, such as their public image. However, in the case of Mandela and De Klerk, we are also influenced by the historical context of each leader. De Klerk is seen as a reformer to some extent, but he is also strongly associated with the apartheid regime. Mandela is associated with the successful struggle for liberation.

Image may be more important in power struggles that take place within parties. In a case where candidates who hold essentially similar political views are fighting for a political office or position of leadership, image may be a deciding factor. When making a choice like this, party members might choose the candidate with the most charm, or charisma. Charisma is a special, attractive quality some people have, which enables them to attract and convince others. It can play an important role in who wins an argument.

You've learnt a lot about the factors which influence our attitudes to the arguments politicians make. In the next lesson you'll learn more about political arguments.

CHECKLIST

Are you able to:

- r identify positive qualities in political leaders
- r describe how public image affects public opinion
- r give a critical opinion about the way public image is used to manipulate our response to political arguments
- r analyse and compare the images presented by different political figures.

LESSON 4

Language and public image

About this lesson

In the last lesson you examined the style of two leaders and found out what creates a public image. You saw how important it is for a politician to have, or to develop, a credible (believable and trustworthy) image.

In this lesson you'll read and compare two arguments in order to see how politicians use language and argument to improve their credibility. You'll also compare some of the different ways in which the politicians use language.

In this lesson you will

- | analyse two written arguments and compare them
- | examine the language used in the arguments
- | summarise the content and structure of the arguments using flow-charts
- | assess the relationship between style of argument and public image
- | recognise the way bias affects our evaluation of political arguments.



Language and political argument

We can learn a lot from the way politicians use language. You are going to read two arguments, one by Nelson Mandela and one by F.W. de Klerk. They were published just before the election in 1994. You'll examine how the language they choose gives us clues about their leadership styles.

ACTIVITY 1

1. a. Scan the first article on page 36. Underline the words 'we', 'us' and 'our'. Now do the same thing with the second article on page 40. Compare how many times these words appear in the two articles.

- b. Mandela uses the words 'we', 'us' and 'our' far more than De Klerk does. Can you think of the reason for this?

2. Count the number of times that Mandela mentions the African National Congress. Then count the number of times that De Klerk mentions the National Party, and complete the following sentence:

Mandela mentions the ANC _____ times and De Klerk mentions the NP _____ times.

Does this give you a clue about who is probably going to talk about his party a lot?

3. a. Now count the number of times that each leader refers to 'the people' and 'our people'.
- b. What impression do you get about Mandela's relationship with the people of South Africa from his use of these terms?
 - c. How do you think that the words 'we' and 'our people' made most people feel?
 - d. Which leader do you think was most justified in referring to 'our people'? Give a reason for your answer.
4. a. Underline the words 'new' and 'better' in De Klerk's speech. Why do you think he uses these words more than once?
- b. Underline the phrase 'work together' in De Klerk's speech. Why do you think he uses this phrase more than once?
 - c. Mandela says 'my impression is' (paragraph 3) and 'I think' (paragraph 9). De Klerk says 'I can give the assurance' (paragraph 4) and 'I will' (paragraph 16). Which of these two politicians expresses himself more confidently?

COMMENT

In the speeches you have just analysed, Mandela and De Klerk state where they stand and how they view the political situation. Why do we call these speeches arguments? An argument is not just a disagreement. It can also be a statement of belief with reasons.

Mandela and De Klerk both:

- | argue for their party
- | argue against the opposing view.

Language and public image

It's important to notice the words politicians use because the words give us clues about what is important to them, and whose view they are trying to represent. It's also important to remember that politicians have different constituencies or audiences and this influences the language they use. In the last lesson you looked at some of the ways politicians create a public image. In the next activity you'll look at how the kind of language politicians use is related to their public image.



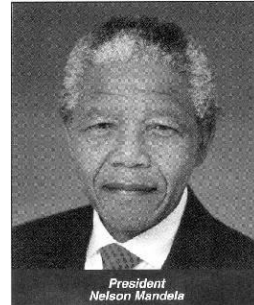
ACTIVITY 2

Look at the descriptions of Mandela and De Klerk above the two articles on pages 36 and 41. These give us a view of the public image of each leader.

1. Does the public image of Mandela fit in with the conclusions you reached from looking at his use of language?
2. Does the public image of De Klerk fit in with the conclusions you reached from looking at his use of language?

ANSWERS ON PAGE 159

Public Image:
 'THE FATHER OF THE NATION,
 SAINTLY AND STATE SM ANILKE'



NELSON MANDELA
 o t e f h ANC

- 1 ' have aid to our p e p l e h t a o r g r e a t e s t e n e m y i n h e e l e c t i o n i s n o t t h e NP, it is the ANC itself. Because for us t o p r o c e e d a s i w e a r e g o i n g t o h a v e a l a n d i d e v i c t o r y i n o r d e r t o a v o i d a n o t h e r o p p o s i t i o n f r o m t h e NP.
- 2 And we have many probl e m s. The p e o p l e h a v e h i g h e x p e c t a t i o n s a n d t h o u g h w e h a v e w a r n e d t h e m r e p e a t e d l y t h a t t o a d d r e s s t h e i r b a s i c n e e d s i t g o e s t o t a k e y e a r s n e v e r t h e l e s s h e r e a r e h i g h e x p e c t a t i o n s. I t i s s o m e t h i n g w e m u s t w a r n a g a i n s t.
- 3 But the d o m i n a t i n g t h i n g i s t h a t w e a r e e n t e r i n g a v e r y e x c i t i n g p e r i o d a n d w e a r e a p p r o a c h i n g t h a t w i t h r e a l e n t h u s i a s m — s p i r i t s a r e h i g h. T h e r e ' s b e e n a s h i f t i n t h e c o u n t r y ' s m o o d f r o m f e a r t o e x c i t e m e n t. M y i m p r e s s i o n i s o f a f e e l i n g o f h o p e.
- 4 There have be e n p r o p h e t s o f d o o m s u g g e s t i n g t h a t a f t e r A p r i l 2 9 o u r p e o p l e a r e g o i n g t o r u n r i o t — a t t a c k i n g p r o p e r t y a n d i n d i v i d u a l s a n d t h a t t h e r e i s g o i n g t o b e c h a o s. I d o n ' t t h i n k s o. I ' v e b e e n w a r n i n g a g a i n s t t h a t.
- 5 We a r e t a k i n g p r e c a u t i o n s t o e n s u r e t h a t o u r p e o p l e a r e p r o p e r l y i n f o r m e d a s t o h o w t o b e h a v e i f w e m a n a g e t o b e v i c t o r i o u s i n t h i s e l e c t i o n. O u r p e o p l e h a v e w r i t t e n t o a l l t h e r e g i o n a l e x e c u t i v e c o m m i t t e e s i n d i c a t i n g p r o g r a m m e s i n w h i c h o u r p e o p l e s h o u l d b e i n v o l v e d s o t h a t t h e y s h o u l d n o t t h i n k i n t e r m s o f l o o t i n g a n d o t h e r f o r m s o f l a w l e s s n e s s.

- 6 We attach a great deal of importance to whites. In spite of all the criticism we have made about apartheid, the reality is that whites have had opportunities we have not had. They have had education, they have got knowledge, skills and expertise. We want that knowledge and expertise now that we are building our country.
- 7 That is why I have appealed to the members of the government not to leave the country at this particular moment, and even to ask those who have left to come back—because we are going to need them, we are going to rely on them.
- 8 We bring different approaches to a Government of National Unity. It is the approach of a man whose community has been dominant, especially since 1948. It is the approach of a freedom fighter who has struggled against apartheid.
- 9 I think we will be able to resolve the gap between the two of us. Especially because we will not be alone. We have a very good team from the ANC and from the NP. There are men in the NP who are prepared to serve South Africa very sincerely.
- 10 So we must not concentrate on two people. Organisations are not run by individuals, they are run by a team of men and women. We've got highly talented people like Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa. And strangely enough, in spite of the perceptions, a chap like Kobie Coetsee, people like Rod Meyers—whatever their record has been in the past.
- 11 I don't think there are going to be such sharp differences as to paralyse government.
- 12 We are committed to forming a Government of National Unity. The leadership should not now be engaged in fighting talk but on national reconciliation. We have made the breakthrough (with the IFP) and it is hoped that leaders will have a better chance of uniting the country.

INTRODUCTION

FLOWCHART OF MANDELA'S ARGUMENT

He defines the greatest enemy in the election.

This is the _____ not the _____
because
opposition from the NP is not as dangerous as

DISCUSSION

He makes these points:

He gives his view.
This is:

He gives a solution.
This is:

Topic 1
Problems

We must warn
people against this

Topic 2
The new
period of
hope in SA
1. _____
2. _____

1. _____
2. _____

Topic 3
Reconciliation
(who) _____
(what they had) _____

We want _____

I have appealed to
them not to leave.

Topic 4
National Unity
(Approach no 1) _____

(Approach no 2) _____

We have a good
team.

CONCLUSION

- 1. His view is that _____
because _____
- 2. The leadership should not _____

COMMENT

The way in which Mandela uses words like 'we' and 'our people', and the way he seldom mentions the ANC, matches his public image of being the Father of the Nation, and of his being statesmanlike rather than just the leader of a political party. It implies that he is concerned with the state and the people, not just with his party.

The content and structure of political arguments

In politics, it's important for us to notice the image politicians are trying to present to the public, and to listen carefully to what they say. If we do this, we can work out who they are representing and what their main concerns are. We can then also work out whether we think that the image he/she is trying to present is true, and whose interests we think he/she is representing.

ACTIVITY 3

In this activity you'll focus on the content of Mandela's speech.

You'll use a flow-chart to identify the main topics in his speech, how his argument is structured, and how the ideas link together.

Remember you learned about flow-charts in Units 2 and 4? They help us to work out the structure and content of what we read. They are a good way to help us to make notes.

The flow-chart on page 38 summarises the content of Mandela's argument and shows us the way he organised it. You'll skim the text to find the information you need to fill in the blank spaces.

First look at the flow-chart on page 38 so that you have a general idea of how it has been organised.

Now do the activity. Fill in your answers in note form, not full sentences.

1. Skim paragraph 1 of Mandela's speech to get a general idea of how he introduces his argument. Fill in the blank spaces under the heading **Introduction** in your flow-chart.
2. Mandela discusses four main topics. You'll find these on the left-hand side under the heading **Discussion**.

When he discusses a topic, Mandela first gives us information about it. He also gives us his point of view. He introduces this with phrases like 'I think ...', 'I don't think ...', 'This is why I...'. He then gives us a solution, which he introduces by phrases like 'we are...', 'we have ...' and 'we must. . .'.

Firstly he discusses the problems the ANC has (Topic 1). Skim paragraph 2 to find the point Mandela makes and his view on the topic. Note it down in the space provided. The solution he gives has been filled in for you.

3. The second topic he discusses is the new 'period', or situation, in South Africa today. He makes two points.
 - a. Skim paragraph 3 and note down the words he uses to describe this period.
 - b. Then fill in what his impression is.
 - c. He also says that some people (whom he calls 'prophets of doom') think there will be trouble. Skim paragraph 4 and note down what kinds of trouble they think there will be.
 - d. What is his opinion? What solution does he give?
4. The next topic Mandela discusses is reconciliation.
 - a. Skim paragraphs 6 and 7. Note down who he is talking about and what they have had.
 - b. Note down Mandela's opinion.
5. Lastly, Mandela discusses national unity.
 - a. Skim paragraph 8 and note down what two 'different approaches' are being brought to a Government of National Unity.
 - b. What is Mandela's opinion of the contribution each approach can make to the Government of National Unity?
6. Mandela makes two points in his conclusion. Skim paragraphs 11 and 12 and fill in this section of the flow-chart.

reconcile:
to make friends
after a quarrel,
to settle one's
differences.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 160

COMMENT

Look at the flow-chart you've filled in. Does it give you a clear idea of what Mandela's speech is about and the way in which it is structured?

In the next activity you'll work out the content of De Klerk's speech in the same way.

Public Image:
'THE GOOD-OL'-BOY,
WHO IS A GOOD DEBATER'



F W DE KLERK
of the NP

- 1 This election will be the real birth of the new South Africa we have been waiting on for so long. It will close the book on the past.
- 2 The injustice and bitterness of the past are over. When history is written it will be said that it was the National Party who closed the book on the past.
- 3 The National Party struggled within itself about the road ahead. It said honestly that it was sorry about the mistakes of the past and that it would rectify this.
- 4 The party did this and I can give the assurance that it will never again be race discrimination on an inch of this country's land.
- 5 The National Party is writing a new chapter in the history of this country. It is one of peace and nation building. The party is going to build a new life.
- 6 The big difference between the NP and the ANC is that the ANC does not know how to build. It only breaks down and ruins people's lives with its policies on issues such as education.
- 7 The new National Party is the only reliable party. It looks like the South African nation. It is a party which knows how to fulfil its promises. It is only the NP which can give the ANC a bloody nose.

- 8 This election will unlock the door that will usher in a period in which we will succeed in reaching new horizons.
- 9 Let's work together after the elections so that we can achieve this goal of making South Africa a better country for all.
- 10 It is now time for us, as leaders, to reach out and work together in the best interests of the country.
- 11 We have common objectives with the other parties – to create a better life for all – but we will have to work together to make it a reality.
- 12 The greatest challenge we will face will be to defend and nurture our new constitution. Our greatest task will be to ensure that our young and vulnerable democracy takes root and flourishes.
- 13 We must ensure that individuals, communities and provinces have the practical ability to approach the courts to protect their constitutional rights.
- 14 We must remain vigilant against any attempt by any level of government to erode any aspect of the constitution or of our individual rights.
- 15 Our courts must build up a sound basis of case law which will provide further guarantees for the maintenance of constitutional rights.
- 16 In particular I will do everything in my power to defend the transitional constitution.

ADAPTED FROM: THE ARGUS, 26 APRIL 1994



INTRODUCTION

FLOWCHART OF DE KLERK'S ARGUMENT

This election:

- 1. is the birth of _____
- 2. will close _____
- 3. the _____ and _____ of the past is _____



DISCUSSION

Topic 1
The role of the NP and himself in ending Apartheid

- 1. History will say that _____
- 2. I can give assurance that _____
- 3. The NP is _____

Topic 2
The difference between the ANC and the NP

The ANC:

- 1. _____
- 2. _____

The NP:

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____

Topic 3
The Future

The Election is a new period, we must _____

The greatest challenge is _____

We must _____

We must _____

Our courts must _____



CONCLUSION

- 1. He concludes by telling us that he will _____

COMMENT

The way De Klerk uses words like 'new' and 'better' repeatedly suggests that he is a good debater who knows how to turn his audience's attention away from negative aspects of his party's history. The positive connotations of these words make him come across as confident and friendly. He also seems optimistic and assured when he says 'I give the assurance' rather than 'I think'.

ACTIVITY 4

1. Skim paragraphs 1 and 2 of the speech on page 41 - 42 to get the general idea of how De Klerk introduces his speech. He makes three points. Fill in the spaces on the flow-chart on page 43.
2. De Klerk discusses three main topics in his speech on pages 41 - 42. You'll find these on the left-hand side of the flow-chart. The first topic he discusses is his role and the role of the NP in ending apartheid. He makes three main points. Skim paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 5 to find the information you need to fill in the spaces in Topic 1.
3. The second topic he discusses is the difference between the ANC and the NP. Skim paragraph 6 to find out what he says about the ANC and note down the points he makes on the flow-chart. Then skim paragraph 7 and note down the points he makes about the NP.
4. The last topic he discusses is the future. Skim paragraphs 9 - 15 and summarise what De Klerk says needs to happen.
5. De Klerk concludes his speech by telling us how he will meet this challenge. Fill in this section on the flow-chart.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 161

ACTIVITY 5

In this activity you will try to work out if the content of Mandela's speech shows us what his main concerns are, and if these concerns match his public image.

1. Does Mandela say anything that makes him seem like a father? Give examples to support your answer.
2. Find a quote from Mandela's speech which shows that he has a wise and forgiving attitude to his former enemies.

3. Find a quote from Mandela's speech which shows that he is more interested in teamwork than personal glory.
4. Does De Klerk say anything that makes him seem like someone who would like to be friendly? Give examples to support your answer.
5. Find an example where De Klerk threatens to fight like a boy.
6. Quote a sentence from De Klerk's speech that shows he is more interested in sounding good than doing good (i.e. a sentence that sounds promising but doesn't refer to specific positive action).

ANSWERS ON PAGE 162

COMMENT

In this lesson you have learnt how to distinguish between the content and style of political arguments. The content of an argument can usually be tested. For example, if a politician argues that free health-care is a bad idea, he or she would have to show, by example or by logical reasoning, why this view is justified. However, the style of an argument is more deceptive. For example, many politicians use words like 'freedom' and 'democracy' or talk about 'closing the door of the past' and 'travelling the high road'. These are nice-sounding words and phrases, but you don't know whether the speaker is being sincere.

You might be convinced to vote for someone because they argue well or because you like their public image. However, it is more likely that your personal bias will affect the way you assess political arguments.

How personal bias affects the way we read arguments

Your personal bias is the tendency to judge things in a particular way without having enough information to be fair. In the final activity of this lesson, you can discuss your personal bias and think about the way your opinions alter your assessment.

ACTIVITY 6

In your study group, or with family and friends, discuss newspaper reports of parliamentary debates. Analyse comments made by members of parliament on issues of public interest (health, taxes, welfare, corruption, etc.). As you discuss the reports, ask yourselves:

- | who do I believe in this debate?
- | why do I believe this person?
- | do I always believe the spokesperson from the political party I support?
- | when the debate concerns something I have personal experience of (for example, drug dealing, corrupt officials, taxi violence, abortion, hospitals) how does my personal bias affect the way I read the argument?

COMMENT

Sometimes we think we are evaluating or judging a debate in an objective or fair way, when in fact our personal bias affects the way we see a topic.

CHECKLIST

Are you able to:

- r analyse and compare different arguments
- r critically examine the language used in arguments
- r summarise the structure of arguments using flow-charts
- r identify the links between the way someone argues and their public image
- r recognise the way your personal bias affects your evaluation of political arguments.

LESSON 5

Argument and counter-argument

About this lesson

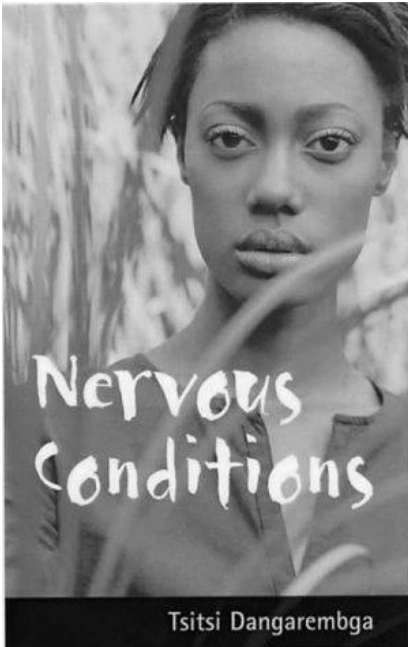
When you read or listen to arguments you need to decide whether you think the argument that is being made is valid. A valid argument is one which makes sense because it is logical. It's supported by evidence like facts or examples. One of the ways in which you can decide whether an argument is valid or not is to work out a counter-argument. A counter-argument gives the opposite point of view.

In this lesson you will

- | read an extract from a novel to examine the context of an argument
- | examine the factors which influence arguments
- | compare an argument and a counter-argument and work out which argument is most valid
- | learn some ways of expressing disagreement.



The context of an argument



There's usually a background situation which causes an argument. This is the context. To understand an argument, it's important to know what the context is. The context gives us clues about the cause of the conflict and why people take certain positions when they argue.

You are going to read an extract from a novel called *Nervous Conditions*, by a Zimbabwean writer, Tsitsi Dangarembga. Here is the context of the story, i.e. where it takes place, what it is about and who the main characters are.

The novel was published in 1988 by Zimbabwean Publishing House. The story is set in Zimbabwe (which was called Rhodesia). The main character is Tambu, a young girl living in a rural area. Her family is poor. Tambu's wealthy and educated uncle, Babamukuru has paid for her education at the local mission school. The mission school is for African students only.

In Activity 1 you are going to read about a family argument. Tambu has been offered a scholarship to finish her schooling at a convent. The family is arguing about whether she should be allowed to go. Just as the story as a whole has a context (Zimbabwe, missionary education), so an argument within a story has a context. You will find the context of an argument answers the following questions:

- | what is the argument about?
- | what actions or different viewpoints created the argument?
- | who is taking part in the argument?

ACTIVITY 1

1. Look at the extract from *Nervous Conditions* on pages 47- 49. It has been divided into sections.
2. Read the section labelled 'The Context'.
3. Underline the reasons why the girls at the mission school all wanted to go to the convent.

COMMENT

You now know something about the context of the family argument. You also know why Tambu and the other girls want to go to the convent. Now look at what the members of Tambu's family think about her going to the Convent.

Nervous Conditions

Tsitsi Dargaremega

When they had a paid much attention to the nuns when they drove to the school in the sparkling Kombi. But our school was a Protestant mission. We had no knowledge of nuns except as spiritual, holy beings and we thought the Roman Catholic Church was superior to our own inferior one.

They made us write a test, which we thought was unfair because we had not been warned and had not prepared. After the examination the nuns wanted to talk to us. One by one we were ushered into their room. We were actually very impressed with them after the talk. We thought they were very kind and definitely had a keen interest in us. For the first time they asked us all sorts of questions about our parents and our friends and what we did in our free time. I was delighted that people who were people for that matter thought my background was interesting.

As it turned out, then, it was a chance to recruit us. There was much excited discussion when we found out that we had written a test for the examination. One or two girls knew some Catholics and they told us that when they took you to school and after from two they persuaded you to join the order. Their methods were not particularly subtle. Further scholarships were offered and it was made clear that a refusal indicated a damnable lack of grace. These were the widespread accusations against the nuns, but they didn't do much to dispel the glamour that surrounded the prospect of going to school at a convent. A prestigious private school that manufactured guaranteed young ladies. At that convent, which was just outside of town but on the other side, the atmosphere was so pleasant that you could even pray on Sundays at a formal two-piece linen suit with gloves, yes, even with gloves!

We all wanted to go. That was only natural. But only two places were on offer, two places for all the African Grade Seven girls in the country. I was far ahead of my peers in both general knowledge and general ability. So it was not in the least surprising that I performed brilliantly in that entrance examination and was offered a place.

Of course, I did not appreciate the gravity of my situation at that time, my only experience of the school had been with the missionaries on the mission. But Nyasha knew that and was alarmed. She could not hide, did not even try to hide, her disappointment when I told her about the offer. She thought the evil were more evils than I could ever be reaped if I had such an opportunity. She said sarcastically it was an opportunity to forget to forget who you were, what you were each when you were that. The process, she said, was called assimilation, and that was what was intended for the precocious few who might prove a nuisance to themselves, whereas the others - well really, who cared about the others?

So they made a little space in which you were assimilated, and then a space in which you would pin them and they could make sure that you behaved yourself. She insisted, one ought not to occupy that space. Really one ought to refuse. It is a case that meant nothing of the nun's mission. 'You'll fall for their tricks,' she said pointing out that I would obtain a much more useful education at the mission.

The context

Nyasha's argument

precocious: someone who has developed to an advanced stage more quickly than usual

Tambu's view

If she hadn't said that, that last bit about education at the mission, I might have believed her, but everybody knew that the European schools had better equipment, better teachers, better furniture, better food, better everything. The idea that anything about our mission could be better than theirs was deeply ridiculous. Besides, once you were given a place at one of their schools, you went on and on until you'd finished your 'A' levels. You didn't have to worry about eliminating exams at every stage of the way. That was how it was. That was how it would be. If you were clever, you slipped through any loophole you could find. I was going to take any opportunity that came my way. I was quite sure about that; I was very determined. The latest opportunity was this one of going to the convent. How could I possibly forget my brother and the mealies, my mother? There was all evidence of the burdens my mother had succumbed to. Going to the convent was a chance to lighten those burdens by entering a world where burdens were light. I would take the chance. I would lighten my burdens. I would go. If Babamukuru would let me.

Still Nyasha was not impressed. 'Relax, Ma budzai,' she said severely, 'here'll always be brot'ers and mealies and mothers tired to clean latrines. Whether you go to the convent or not there's more to be done than that.' This was typical of Nyasha, this obstinate idealism. But she could afford it, being my affluent uncle's daughter. Whereas I, I had to take whatever chances came my way.

Babamukuru was of the opinion that enough chances had come my way, and on another level he agreed with Nyasha that experience would not be good for me. From his armchair opposite the fireplace he told me why I could not go to the convent.

'It is not a question of money,' he asserted. 'Although there would still be a lot of expense on my part you have your scholarship, so the major financial burden would be lifted. But I feel that even that little money could be better used. For one thing, there is now the small boy at home. Every month I put away a little bit, a very little bit, a very little bit every month, so that when he is of school-going age everything will be provided for. As you know he is the only boy in your family, so he must be provided for. As for you, we think we are providing for you quite well. By the time you have finished your Form Four you will be able to take your course, whatever it is that you choose. I think you will be earning money. You will be in a position to be married by a decent man and set up a decent home. In all that we are doing for you, we are preparing you for his future life of yours, and I have observed from my own daughter's behaviour that it is not a good thing for a young girl to associate too much with these white people, to have too much freedom. I have seen that girls who do that do not develop into decent women.'

Marriage. I had nothing against it in principle. In an abstract way I thought it was a very good idea. But it was irritating the way it always cropped up in one form or another. I had even begun to think about it seriously. 'This, continued my uncle, 'is what I shall tell your father if he wishes to send you there to that school he may do so if he can find the money. Myself, I would not consider it money well spent. Mai,' he concluded, turning to my aunt, 'it is the same thing that you would wish to say.'

'Yes, Babá, Majuru spoke up softly from his sofa. My inspection came to an abrupt end. I listened indolently.

'You do!' exclaimed Babamukuru and recovering himself, invited her to come in. 'Speak freely, Mai. Say whatever you are thinking.'

Babamukuru's argument



Factors which influence arguments

There are always factors which affect the arguments people make. It's useful to be aware of these so that we can understand why someone is arguing for or against something.

Nyasha is Tambu's cousin. She was brought up in England and she can no longer even speak her mother-tongue. She feels culturally alienated (a stranger) in Zimbabwe and this makes her unhappy. This affects the argument she makes.

ACTIVITY 2

1.
 - a. Read the section labelled 'Nyasha's Argument'.
 - b. Underline the words which describe Nyasha's reaction to Tambu's news. Is her reaction positive or negative?
 - c. Nyasha thought that there were more evils than benefits offered by the opportunity. She thinks that the worst evil is a process which makes you forget who you are. What is the process called?
 - d. Who does Nyasha mean when she says 'they' and 'them'?
 - e. Why do 'they' make a space for some africans to join them, according to Nyasha?

2.
 - a. The flow-chart below will help you to summarise Nyasha's argument. Fill in the blank spaces.

Summary of Nyasha's argument:
Argument topic:
The main evil is the process of:
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 0 auto; width: 80%;"> <p style="text-align: center; margin: 0;">Main points</p> <p>1. This makes you _____ who you are.</p> <p>2. It is intended for the _____ few.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">because</p> <p>they may become a political _____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">and so</p> <p>the white elite made a little _____</p> <p>for you to _____ them</p> <p style="text-align: center;">so that</p> <p style="text-align: center;">they can</p> </div>
Conclusion:
But one should refuse to occupy that space.

- b. Note down how Nyasha's own experience influences her argument.

COMMENT

One of the factors which influences the arguments people make is their background experience. You can explore this idea further in Activity 3

ACTIVITY 3

Tambu has had different experiences from Nyasha. Let's find out how this influences her reaction to what Nyasha is saying.

1.
 - a. Read the section of the extract labelled 'Tambu's View'.
 - b. Tambu makes two counter-arguments in reaction to what Nyasha says. She introduces the first by saying 'I might have believed her but ...'. What stops her believing Nyasha?
 - c. Think about what you know about South African education under apartheid. Things in Rhodesia (now called Zimbabwe) were very similar. Do you think that what she says is likely to be true?

2.
 - a. Tambu introduces her second counter-argument with 'besides', and she states the advantage of going to the convent. Underline the advantage.
 - b. She also says 'if you were clever you slipped through any loophole you could find ...'. 'Slipping through a loophole' means 'to escape'. What does Tambu want to escape from?
 - c. What is Tambu's background? Does this influence her view? What kind of world does she want to escape to?
 - d. Tambu thinks that Nyasha can afford to be idealistic and she can't. Why does she think this?
 - e. Summarise the main reasons why Nyasha and Tambu have different points of view.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 163

COMMENT

The main difference between Tambu and Nyasha is that Nyasha comes from a wealthy family. She knows about the pain and difficulties of 'cultural alienation' and she doesn't want this to happen to Tambu. Tambu comes from a poor family and she wants something better.

Can you see that these factors influence the argument each girl makes? It's easier to understand why someone argues for or against something when we are aware of such factors.

Examining an argument and a counter-argument

Babamukuru is Nyasha's father and the uncle of Tambu. He is educated and wealthy, and he has paid for Tambu's education so far. Maiguru is his wife. In the next activity you'll analyse the argument made by Babamukuru against Tambu going to the convent. You'll then analyse the counter-argument made by Maiguru, and how the factor of gender influences each argument.

ACTIVITY 4

1. Read the section of the extract labelled 'Babamukuru's Argument'. Is Babamukuru's reaction to Tambu's scholarship negative or positive?
2. Babamukuru argues against Tambu going to the convent. He makes three main points to support his argument. The first is about money, the second is about Tambu's future life, and the third is about associating with whites. Underline the words or sentences which tell us:
 - a. what Babamukuru thinks the money could be better used for
 - b. what Babamukuru thinks Tambu's future life will be
 - c. why he thinks young girls should not associate with whites.
3. There is a factor which influences each point he makes. Remember that Babamukuru is the patriarch (the male head) of the family. Read through your answers and try to work out what this factor is.
4. Maiguru is Babamukuru's wife and she is Tambu's aunt. She has a Master's Degree and she is a teacher. Maiguru disagrees with Babamukuru. She makes a counter argument.
 - a. Read the section labelled 'Maiguru's Argument'.
 - b. Underline the words or phrases which show that Maiguru is making a counter-argument.
5. Maiguru makes her argument very clearly. The language she uses helps her do this. Find an example of each of the following in Maiguru's argument (you can simply underline the answers in your text and insert a, b, c, etc.):
 - a. a sentence where she introduces her argument.
 - b. an example where she draws on her personal experience to make a point.

- c. a sentence where she rejects the main point of her opponent's argument.
 - d. an example where she repeats a word for effect.
 - e. an example where she suggests that her opponent's thinking may be old-fashioned.
 - f. a sentence where she doubts that there is evidence to support her opponent's view.
 - g. an example where she questions the way a key term has been defined.
 - h. a sentence where she dismisses the issue of decency as being irrelevant.
 - i. a sentence where she takes up another point made by her opponent.
 - j. a sentence where she concludes her argument.
6. How does Babamukuru react to Maiguru's counter-argument? Remember Babamukuru is the powerful man in the family. He is educated and wealthy. Now he is clearing his throat and speaking 'tentatively'. Is this how he usually speaks?

ANSWERS ON PAGE 164

COMMENT

The factor influencing both arguments is gender. The arguments Babamukuru makes against Tambu going to the convent are all linked to her being a girl. Maiguru is an educated woman. The counter-argument she makes is linked to her view that people are prejudiced against educated women.

Judging the validity of arguments

Now that you've learnt how arguments are influenced by many factors, you are going to work out which argument was not convincing and therefore settled Tambu's future.

ACTIVITY 5

In this activity you'll imagine that you are Tambu's mother. You've listened to the argument between Babamukuru and Maiguru. Now you must decide which argument was the most convincing and valid, and which decision will be best for your daughter! You'll have to give reasons to the family for your decision.

1. Note down your reasons. You should consider the following:
 - a. who made the most convincing points?
 - b. were these points supported with examples?
 - c. was the argument biased in any way?
 - d. who understood Tambu's needs best?

2.
 - a. Now read the section labelled 'Settling the Argument' to find out who made the decision about Tambu's education, and what the decision was.
 - b. Was this the same decision you came to?
 - c. What do you think made Babamukuru change his mind?

3. Discuss your answers with your learning partners.

COMMENT

Maiguru makes her counter-argument by arguing against each point Babamukuru made. She explains why his points are not valid. The argument she makes is logical and she uses examples to support what she says. She also sums up her argument well: 'these –the question of decency and the question of money– are the ones I have heard and so these are the ones I have talked of'.

This is an example of a good counter-argument. Can you see how Maiguru used the context of her own experience to back up the points she made?

Looking at the language used in counter-arguments

There are words and phrases which we use when we make counter-arguments. A counter-argument opposes something that has been argued –it expresses disagreement. In the next activity you'll find which words and phrases are used in the extract to express disagreement.

ACTIVITY 6

1. Skim through the first paragraph of the section labelled 'Tambu's View'. Underline the words and phrases which you think show that Tambu doesn't agree with what Nyasha has said.

2. Now look at Babamukuru's argument. He starts off by saying that it is not a question of money.
- a. Underline the words and phrases in the following sentences which show that he is making points which oppose this.

Although there would still be a lot of expense on my part, you have your scholarship, so the major financial burden would be lifted. But I feel that even that little money would be better used... .

- b. Can you find the phrase which shows that Babamukuru doesn't agree with young girls associating with white people?
3. Now look at Maiguru's counter-argument. Skim the paragraph to find the words and phrases listed below. Can you see how they show that Maiguru disagrees with what Babamukuru has said?

I don't think that ...
It wasn't a question of...
I am disappointed that...
I don't know what people mean by ...
And if ... then ...

ANSWERS ON PAGE 165

COMMENT

In this lesson you've learnt to take into account the context of an argument as well as factors (such as gender) that influence a person's point of view in an argument. Studying Babamukuru's argument and Maiguru's counter-argument gave you some useful ideas about how to state your disagreement and argue against someone in a systematic way.

CHECKLIST

Are you able to:

- r explain how context influences arguments
- r identify the factors that contribute to different points of view
- r make a good counter-argument
- r judge whether an argument is valid
- r express disagreement in an argument.

Identifying and comparing topics

In the next activity you'll look at two texts on the position of women.

The first text tells us about what Dorothy, an ex-guerilla from Zimbabwe, thinks about the position of women in Zimbabwe just after independence in 1980.

The second text is about the problems women in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro, faced even after women had won legal equality. Since the text was written, the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc have collapsed.



Yugoslavia

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) broke apart in 1991 and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), consisting of the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro, was proclaimed by Constitution on April 27, 1992. The collapse of the Yugoslav federation was followed by highly destructive warfare caused by ethnic divisions.

ACTIVITY 1

1. Read the headings of both texts on pages 61 and 63 to identify the topic of each text.
2. Read the last paragraph of Text A and the first paragraph of Text B to find out what the main point of each text is. Do you think that the main points in both texts are similar? Write a short summary of the main points in your notebook.

Text A

THE WOMEN OF ZIMBABWE A PERIOD OF CHANGE

- 1 After independence, it allowed them for the taking of education, health services, better jobs. Education opened the doors to knowledge but not necessarily to a cash job. Previously, the privileges and opportunities had been restricted to a quarter of a million people. But suddenly, they had to be distributed between seven million. Dorothy, an ex-combatant, is 24 years old and bright and cheerful. She describes herself as a realist and is confident that, given time and goodwill, problems experienced in Zimbabwe can be solved.
- 2 Take me. I was in the war. I came back and had to return to school, to do 'O' levels. Of course, you don't find a job. My war experience didn't count. I'm one of the lucky ones. I passed my five 'O' levels and now I'm taking 'A's' and I know how to type. I share a house with other ex-combatants and I enjoy life.
- 3 But take my mother – she doesn't understand me. At first she was proud, she still is proud that I was a soldier. But I don't go home often. I don't like it when I see how the women of the village go down on their knees to offer food to men. An old woman I know performs these duties when she visits her husband's village.
- 4 My mother says women used to build a bridge between those who were in the struggle and the older people between the urban and the rural areas. We're the same people. We're the same people that is true, but the rate of change is different. Take the children: they go to school now, but they don't learn the things they used to. Do you know that yesterday there were thousands of pregnancies a year? Are there any school children? You see, although the old system is over and breaking up, there are things left over. In the past, when a parent spoke to the children directly about sex. That was the job of the aunts and uncles. Now the family consists only of parents and children while the aunts and uncles are somewhere else. But they can't break the custom they believe in. So no one tells them anything. When I become a teacher, I'll fight for sex education.

The situation after independence

The problems

The problems

5 Sex is very difficult in a society in transition. Now with the drought, many women lose themselves—it's as if they have to sell. Also, many divorced women have no other way. We have abortion, legal abortion, but it's very difficult to get the agreement of doctors. I saw a film on television that said these are the miscarriages—the result of attempted abortion—had gone up by 10% each year since 1979. Usually the women involved are young girls. Many girls die ... they never reach hospital or they die in hospital. Others can never have children again.

6 What we must do is accept that these things are happening. We women must take a lead. We must fight for family planning, we must see to it that men change their views about it. It's called child-spacing now, and there are some medical clinics that go around—but it isn't enough. My worst worry is the men: the traditional women and quiet wives. My brother for example, wants a traditional wife, one who won't disagree with him. I argue. He thinks that's desirable. We must try to talk about these things: pregnancies, abortion, family planning. That's important and it's a challenge. No, it's part of it.

7 Some white adults wanted to open a rape centre. But nobody knew how to support this. Rape happens, only since it happened during the war, it often happened then. But this is another taboo. When something like this happens to a woman, she has no one to know except her family. She goes back to the family for security and shelter. I don't believe this will change for a long time.

8 There has been positive change: women can now demand that they leave from work. They can even take a man to court to pay for a child. Who knows, maybe we'll be able to change the man's attitude of 'a child a year'. Legislation is fine. But change requires change, even if attitudes change—on the part of both men and women, the leaders and the people.

Arguments for women

Conclusions

Text B

BEING A WOMAN IN YUGOSLAVIA : PAST AND PRESENT EQUALITY

- 1 In Yugoslavia and other socialist countries there is a great gap between 'ideals' and the actual condition of women. Women have won rights and access to education and a career and cultural life. Socialism has institutionalised equality and the law protects women against abuse and discrimination but many of the old inequalities and values in the relations between men and women have persisted. Public opinion still judges men and women's conduct differently, and women are considered to be inferior to men and of lesser value. The worst insult for a man is to call him a woman.
- 2 The socialist revolution has not been able to change relations in the family. There have been a few changes in attitudes and behaviour. The role of women as domestic servant is never questioned, nor is the lack of responsibility of the men for domestic chores and childcare. Women's emancipation means in reality that women work a 'double day'; doing a full-time job, managing the home and looking after the children, as well as trying to remain politically and socially active.
- 3 The old patriarchal values still operate everywhere and they are most oppressive in the rural and least developed parts of the country. In the eyes of the village people the emancipation or liberation of women is often seen as women becoming 'easy women' who adapt the loose morals of the towns - virginity is still highly prized. Deep-rooted customs are difficult to uproot. Men and women have to consciously struggle together to change their relations.
- 4 Although the transition to socialism is necessary for the emancipation of women, it is not sufficient. Change in the position of women in society must go hand in hand with change in the position of men themselves and their relations with one another. Until that is achieved women cannot be satisfied with mere formal and legal equality with men.

The situation (gives the background to Yugoslavia). There is a gap between ideals and the conditions of women.

The problems:
No change in family relations.

Patriarchal values.

Conclusion (gives a critical opinion). Transition to socialism is not enough to emancipate women. Women can't be satisfied with only formal and legal equality.

Analysing two arguments

Both Text A and Text B deal with a similar topic. However the writers make their arguments in different ways.

Text A is based on an interview with Dorothy who was a guerrilla in the Zimbabwean War of Independence. The writer makes comments about Dorothy and also quotes what Dorothy said in the interview.

Text B comes from an academic book and is written more formally. In the following activities you'll analyse the content of the two arguments and how the writers communicate their points of view.

ACTIVITY 2

In this activity you'll examine Text A.

1. Look at the way the text is laid out on the page and identify which paragraphs quote what Dorothy said in the interview.
2. Skim the first paragraph and fill in the missing words below.

After independence it seemed that there would be _____,
_____ and _____,
but suddenly the problem was that things had to be _____
_____ between millions of people.

3. In the second paragraph Dorothy says that she was one of the lucky ones. Skim the paragraph to find out why she thought she was lucky.
4. In paragraph 3 Dorothy says that she doesn't go home often. Skim the paragraph to find the answers to these questions:
 - a. Where do you think Dorothy's home is?
 - b. Why doesn't Dorothy go home often?
5. Dorothy then tells us that her mother says that they must build a bridge between the people who were in the struggle and the older people, and between the urban and rural areas, because they are the same people. Read paragraph 4 to find out whether Dorothy agrees with her mother. Then answer these questions in your notebook:
 - a. Dorothy agrees that they are the same people. What does she think is different?
 - b. She gives an example of how things have changed. She says that the children go to school now but they don't learn things they used to. What reason does she give for this?

- c. What does she say she will do to help to solve this problem?
6. In paragraph 5 Dorothy argues that sex is very difficult in a society in transformation. Skim the paragraph and underline the examples she gives of this.
7. In paragraph 6 Dorothy argues for women to take a lead in dealing with these problems. She uses the words 'we must...' to introduce her points about how women should do this.
 - a. Under line the four points she makes.
 - b. In paragraph 7 she gives an example of a subject which is taboo. What is this subject?
8. In paragraph 8 Dorothy sums up her argument. List the points she makes in your notebook.
9. Read paragraph 6 to find examples of the attitudes Dorothy thinks must change and list them in your notebook.
10. On the side of the text, you'll see notes on the structure of Dorothy's argument. Use these notes to help you answer the following questions:
 - a. Do you think that Dorothy made her points clearly?
 - b. Did the examples she gave back up her points?

(You needn't write down the answers, just work out what you think.)

ANSWERS ON PAGE 165

COMMENT

Dorothy organises her argument by first describing her status after independence in Zimbabwe. She then states some of the problems which exist, and lastly she gives us her view of what needs to be done.

She made good points and gave interesting examples. A lot of the problems she mentions are problems we have in South Africa. Do you agree with her main point that it's not only the law which must change, it's also people's attitudes?

ACTIVITY 3

In this activity you'll analyse Text B on page 63, which is about the position of women in Yugoslavia.

1. Read the first and the last paragraphs (introduction and conclusion). How are they different?

2. The writer argues that there was a gap between ideals and the actual condition of women's lives in Yugoslavia.
 - a. Can you guess what the 'ideals' were? Read the heading to give you a clue.
 - b. Copy the table below into your notebook, and skim paragraph 1 to find the information you need to complete it.

Positive changes for women	What still needs to change
1.	1.
2.	2.

- c. Underline the words in paragraph 1 which are used to express attitudes. Whose attitudes are being described?
 - d. Write a sentence summarising the writer's argument in this text.
3.
 - a. Skim paragraph 2. Underline the problems that women have in the family.
 - b. In the last sentence the writer says that 'women work a double day ...'. Why is it double?
4. The topic in paragraph 3 is patriarchal values. A patriarch is the male head of a family, or group.
 - a. If the law states that women are equal to men, do you think men should still be head of the family or should the positions of men and women be equal?
 - b. Skim paragraph 3 to find an example of a patriarchal value. Do you think this kind of value exists in South Africa?
 - c. The writer says that deeply rooted customs are difficult to uproot. What does she think men and women should do to change these customs?
5. In paragraph 4 the writer concludes her argument. She concludes that because of the problems women faced in Yugoslavia, the transition to socialism was not sufficient to emancipate women. What does she argue still needs to change?

COMMENT

By working through Activities 2 and 3, you have analysed the contents of Texts A and B. Below is a summary of the main points which are made by each writer. Can you see that there are quite a few similarities between the points in each argument?

	Text A: Zimbabwe	Text B: Yugoslavia
Positive changes:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the law has changed • maternity leave, maintenance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legal and formal equality • access to education, careers, etc.
Problems:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • people are changing at a different rate • the old system is breaking up but things are left over from the past. • sex is difficult. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • family relations - women do a double day • patriarchal values • liberation seen as women being 'loose'.
Concluding argument:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legislation is fine but real change can only come if attitudes change. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • formal and legal equality is not sufficient. There has to be change in the position of men and in the relations between men and women.

Comparing informal and formal argument

The two texts you have just read differ in their purpose and style. Text A is an interview. Text B is a piece of academic writing. In the next activity you can compare the structure and language of the two texts.

ACTIVITY 4

- Skim through the notes written next to both the texts. Can you see that both of the writers organise their arguments in a similar way? Each one:
 - | introduces the topic of the argument and provides the background information
 - | discusses the problems and develops the argument
 - | concludes the argument.
- Which text is written in a 'formal' style? Which text is written in an 'informal' style? How did you identify each style?

ANSWERS ON PAGE 167

Learning from the experience of other countries

Now that you've compared the two arguments, you are going to read about some of the changes that were made by the ruling Communist Party in Cuba to change the position of women. In South Africa we need to work out ways of advancing real equality and changing discriminatory attitudes towards women. So it's very important that we know about the experiences of women in other countries and the solutions they chose.

In the next activity you can decide whether you think the Cuban solutions should be applied in South Africa, and write an argument stating your opinion on the topic.



ACTIVITY 5

1. Read the article on page 70. Focus on what Fidel Castro said in 1966. Then think about the following questions:
 - a. Do you think leaders usually admit that they are biased or prejudiced?
 - b. How do you think Castro's comment influenced the spirits of Cuban women?
 - c. Do you think Castro's comment made it easier for Cuban men to admit that they were also biased and prejudiced?

2. Do you remember in Lesson 2 you learned about 'subjective' and 'objective' arguments? 'Objective' means based on facts or things that can be seen or measured. 'Subjective' means based on personal feelings, attitudes or opinions.
 - a. Read the comment that Castro made in 1980. Then skim through the lists of objective and subjective factors.
 - b. Write a list of subjective and objective factors influencing the position of women in South Africa. How does your list compare with the list on page 70?

3. Look at the list of solutions on page 71 which Cuba used to change the position of women. Each group of solutions was intended to achieve a specific purpose. Match each group to its purpose by completing the sentences below.
 - a. Group ... shows the kinds of policies that were implemented to try to integrate women fully into the economic, social and political life of Cuba.
 - b. Group ... are the measures that were introduced to make women equal partners with men in the family.
 - c. Group ... are the ways in which the party leadership tried to change attitudes.
 - d. Group ... are the measures that were introduced to free women from domestic work and childcare so that they could participate fully.

4. The Communist Party in Cuba introduced many policies and measures to change the position of women. In South Africa, women also want to change their social position. The ANC is committed to integrating women into the process of reconstruction.

ANSWERS ON PAGE 167

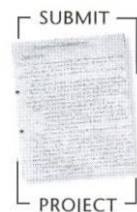
Write approximately one page arguing for or against the South African government implementing the same kinds of solutions the Cuban government used to try to change the position of women.

Write in an informal style. In your writing you should:

- | introduce your topic clearly
- | discuss what you think and give reasons for this.

Remember to write at least two drafts. Show your first draft to your friends or your learning partners and ask them for comments.

Then write the final draft of your argument and give it to your tutor for assessment.



WOMEN IN CUBA

In 1966 Castro said:

If anyone had asked me if I considered myself prejudiced in regard to women, I would have said absolutely not because I believed myself to be quite the opposite. I believed that an enormous potential force and human resource existed in women.

But what has happened?

We are finding that this potential force is superior to anything that we dreamed of. We say that perhaps at heart, unconsciously, something of a bias or underestimation existed.

In 1980 he said:

In this lack of equality there are

1. objective factors which prevent women's full integration into economic, social and political life; and
2. subjective factors which involve the problem of prejudice and attitudes.

Objective factors	Subjective factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> women carry the load of housework and childcare insufficient numbers of childcare centres lack of training discriminatory laws legal rights to abortion, maternity leave, family planning are limited stopping consultations with doctors, clinics etc. only possible during the day. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> old prejudice and old habits discrimination against women in job selection negative attitudes of men to sharing housework and childcare different sexual morality for men and women.

WOMEN IN CUBA

Solutions

Group 1:

- | Active discussion at Party level on how to advance the struggle for women's equality.
- | The introduction of a training drive to improve the educational level and technical skills of women.
- | Guaranteed women's equality and right of access to public institutions in law.
- | Introduction of policies promoting women in the workplace and to leadership positions.

Group 2:

- | Increased the free provision of childcare centres.
- | Increased the free provision of after school activities, summer camp holidays for children.
- | Increased the free provision of meals in the workplace, childcare centres and schools.
- | Increased the production of labour-saving devices, and public services like laundries.
- | Extended medical consultations and shopping hours in the evening.

Group 3:

- | The provision of free contraception, abortion, and 18 weeks of paid maternity leave.
- | Introduced a Family Code which made men and women equal partners and stated that men and women had a shared duty to do the housework and childcare.

Group 4:

- | Ideological campaigns to educate the population on women's rights and the need for men to share domestic work.
- | Calls by the Party leadership for the same sexual standard for men and women.

CHECKLIST

Are you able to:

- r compare the content, structure and language of two texts
- r describe the difference between formal and informal writing
- r apply the knowledge you have gained from a text to your own experience
- r analyse the points made in an argument
- r write an argumentative essay.

Remember to give your written argument to your tutor for assessment.

