

Tribhuvan University

August 2021

Rhetorical Analysis of Articles on Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC)

– Biranchi Poudyal

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, T.U.
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in English**

By

Biranchi Poudyal

Symbol No.: 280453

T.U. Regd. No.: 6-2-446-20-2012

Central Department of English

Kirtipur, Kathmandu

August 2021

Rhetorical Analysis of Articles on Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC)

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to my supervisor Hem Lal Pandey for his scholarly guidance, valuable suggestions, and constant support. Similarly, I would like to express my thankfulness to my external guide Prof. Dr. Krishna Chandra Sharma for his valuable suggestion to enhance the quality of this paper.

I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Jib Lal Sapkota, Head of the Central Department of English, for helping me in many ways during the research period. I am also grateful to my teachers Laxman Bhatta, Raju Baral and Dr. Komal Phuyal, who helped me frame this research work during proposal writing phase.

I am incredibly grateful to my brother Bhuvan Dharel for his relentless encouragement and support. I am indebted to my parents for providing me with moral support to complete this research. Finally, my special thanks go to my wife Pratima Luitel for her continuous support and encouragement.

August 2021

Biranchi Poudyal

Rhetorical Analysis of Articles on Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC)

Abstract

This paper makes an attempt to make rhetorical analysis of six articles on Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) which are published in online English dailies of Nepal. This research has studied how the authors in each article have used the language and context as medium to influence the readers to support or oppose MCC and also identify the rhetorical techniques are used to accomplish their purpose. The study is based on theoretical idea of Aristotle's "modes for persuasion" also known as rhetorical appeals and Kenneth Burke's concept of Pentad Dramatism which try to find the answer of what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose). As the research finds, all the authors have used suitable rhetorical techniques to present same situation in different way using their percussive appeals in their writing and the motive to bring readers under their rhetorical influence. This research further discovered that the authors has used logos (logical reasoning) as the major tool to support the MCC compact and they have mainly used scene-purpose ratio as a rhetorical tool to push anti-MCC ideas among readers during particular political context. Finally, the research concludes that tracing out the relationship betweenpentadic elements helps the critical readers to find the key motive of writer and also identify the rhetorical techniques used in the writing.

Key words: MCC, Persuasion, Pentad, Motive, Ratio, Rhetoric, Context

The oped articles published in newspapers are usually the rich source for rhetorical analysis as they are often related to particular events or happening. This paper attempts to explore the use of language and motives in Op-ed articles about Millennium Challenge Corporation published in various English newspaper of Nepal

which include *The Kathmandu Post*, *The Rising Nepal* and *My Republica* (published from November 2019 to April 2020). To be more precise, this research focuses on how the authors have used the language as medium to persuade the readers to support or oppose the project of MCC. And it also examines the motives of particular oped articles in relation to the step of Nepal government regarding Millennium Challenge Corporation. According to McQuail “since the early 1970’s, the belief that mass communication is a powerful force which has gained strength, in part from studies that document a correspondence between the amounts of media attention an issue receives and the amount of public concern about the problem” (23). Today newspaper not only give information, but also influence the opinion of people and the pattern of influence executed through the use of language can be traced by making rhetorical analysis of any newspaper article.

Especially the oped articles published in widely circulating newspapers function as the vibrant tool to proliferate different social, political and economic agendas as purposed by the writer. While making critical reading of the newspaper, one can find such rhetorical devices and methods employed within the article that are actually directed to inject certain viewpoint among readers. The rhetorical analysis gives broad insight to discover the hidden motives in words and the implication of sentence. With the ability of making rhetorical analysis, any readers can identify the agenda accomplished by writer and ideology embedded in the text through manipulation of language. In regard to oped articles, apart from the argument made, the manipulation of language is visible in news headlines as well.

While making the rhetorical analysis of oped articles with focus on persuasion and motives, this paper has used the theoretical idea of Aristotle's "modes for persuasion" also known as rhetorical appeals and Kenneth Burke's concept of pentad

dramatism. Similarly the issues on the ground is, all the selected oped article about Millennium Challenge Corporation are directly or indirectly, either supporting or opposing the endorsement of MCC proposal and every articles have used different modes of persuasion and are loaded with various motives. This objective of this research is to find out the way various modes of persuasion are embedded in the article and it also aims to analyse the motive behind making particular argument in the oped piece. This research develops on the base of two questions; firstly, how Aristotle's rhetorical appeals ethos, logos and pathos are used in the oped piece to influence the perspective of readers. Secondly, what is the motive of author in making particular argument? This study develops with the assumption that the rhetorical appeals are implicitly visible in the various forms of logical, ethical and emotional argument made by the author. Furthermore, the motives behind certain argument can be identified after analysing the answer of who, what, when, where, why, and how in the oped piece.

On June 1, 2019, United States Department of Defence unveiled the Indo-Pacific strategy report in which Nepal along with Sri Lanka has been added to the United States' 'State Partnership Programme in the Indo-Pacific'. The document entitled 'Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnership, and Promoting a Networked Region' suggest that all countries included in the document are counted as fundamental parts of the strategy. Following same event, the controversies surrounding the MCC compact gained maximum media coverage focusing on different views regarding the US aided project. Some political leaders like Bhim Rawal and Dev Gurung constantly pointing on the flaws of MCC and on other hand the oped articles published in selected print media have always favoured it by ignoring those points of flaws. On the one hand, many oped articles are more tilted to

persuade people about the positive sides of MCC and it has not made any attempt to address the drawbacks of compact as pointed by some political leaders. On the other hand, some articles are seen only focusing the drawbacks of MCC and they have not even mentioned even a glimpse of its possible benefits for Nepal. So, both are biased in their own terms of making claim. For example, Bhim Rawal have frequently mentioned about the biased clauses of MCC like; Nepal needs to invest some billion but in the clause 3 it is written that only the US company can audit the financials of MCC. In Clause 5 (a) and (b) it is mentioned that the US Government may terminate the agreement at any time but the Government of Nepal cannot. And it is also mentioned that the US government can terminate the agreement if found any kind of activities against national security interest of US but it has not clearly explained what kind of activities and what national security interest. Furthermore, there is a condition that Nepal should submit a plan that is fully satisfactory to the MCC and the Government of India will have to support that. While going through the selected open articles supporting MCC, we cannot find the clarification on these issues rather the writers are found persuading the readers by focusing on the positive sides of MCC. Their ethical position, logical reasoning and emotional appeal are just focused on establishing a persuasive discourse of MCC and the motives of making such arguments can also be explained by using Kenneth Burke's concept of pentad dramatism.

Rhetoric is defined as “the faculty of discovering in the particular case, what the available means of persuasion are” (Aristotle 2). The rhetorician always try to identify the distinct kind of stylistic choice made by the writer that actually fulfills his motive of making argument for exerting influence in the readers. The study of rhetoric when applied to specific area such as newspaper articles opens the ground to

recognize and differentiate the various stylistic options embedded in the text. Rhetoric is sometime equated with the idea of discourse, and often understood as a form of ideology presented in specific context. It is however, distinguished by a focus on persuasion, and can be further explored in term of the notion of motive embedded in the rhetoric (McNally 114)

Tzvetan Todorov in his book *Theories of the Symbol* has mentions that, “Rhetorical figures were first identified and discussed over two thousand years ago in classical antiquity” (31). From Aristotle to the beginning of modern social psychology the discipline of rhetoric was the primary source of Western thinking related to persuasion. Since the beginning of concept, the primary concern of rhetoric has been stuck on method and manner of presentation the discourse. Rhetorical studies are concerned with how language and other symbolic forms influence the way any audience thinks, feels or acts. Unlike textual summary, a rhetorical analysis does not only require a restatement of ideas; instead, the reader must recognize rhetorical moves that the writer is making in an attempt to persuade the audience. The central concern of rhetoric is, and has always been its method and manner. The method works on to discover the most effective way to express a thought in a given context whereas the manner works on to alter its expression to suit any conceivable context. In this context, it is very pertinent to mention and understand that the use of figures of rhetoric has been, as antique as, the human race itself.

During the analysis of any written discourse like oped articles, the emphasis of rhetoric will be on persuasion as in what way the creator of the text has used language to achieve his motives. Apart from the language of persuasion Aristotle has identified other e three branches of rhetoric as deliberative, judicial and panegyric. As mentioned by Brain Vickers “Aristotle’s deliberative is found in the area of

legislature and its function is exhorting and dissuading. Judicial is found in the area of forensic and its function is accusing or defending. Panegyric is found in the ceremonial area and its function is commemorating or blaming” (497). So, the rhetoric’s has various other dimensions which give insight to make specific analysis on different context. Rhetoricians are found to be predominantly involved in one element of the communication process that is the matter of persuasion. This further supports Aristotle's view on rhetoric as the art of persuasion. Robert L Root in his book *Rhetorics of Popular Culture: Advertising, Advocacy and Entertainment* (1987) offer a description of his rhetorical analysis in mass media:

In every case I will attempt to apply rhetorical analysis to a specific aspect of popular culture and repeatedly ask the same questions about them: what is the mode of presentation? How does the mode affect the presentation? What is the purpose of the discourse? Who is the audience for the discourse? How is the discourse directed at the audiences? What poem is created, how is it created, and why is it created? What is the argument of discourse? How is it arranged? Upon what is it based? Generally, these are questions of rhetoric which can be asked on any discourse. (41)

The application of rhetorical analysis in mass media also suggest the fact that there are some universal elements of rhetoric explicitly visible in any form of discourse whether it is speech broadcasted in air or inked discourses printed in the newspaper. Everything matters during analysis, from the mode of presentation to the purposes of making certain argument and the use of rhetorical devices in the text. During his entry for the term in the *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Burke explained dramatism is a method of analysis. And while describing about the dramatic pentad in his review paper entitled “Questions and Answers about

the pentad”(1978)he has mentioned that:

Insofar as men's actions are to be interpreted in terms of the circumstances in which they are acting, their behavior would fall under the heading of a ‘scene-act ratio’ But insofar as their acts reveal their different characters, their behavior would fall under the heading of an ‘agent-act ratio’ For instance, in a time of great crisis, such as a shipwreck, the conduct of all persons involved in that crisis could be expected to manifest in some way the motivating influence of the crisis. Yet, within such a ‘scene-act ratio’ there would be a range of ‘agent-act ratios’ insofar as one man was ‘proved’ to be cowardly, another bold, another resourceful, and so on. (334)

As per Burke’s interpretation, the context remains important while studying the motive of any action and every part of pentad are equally significant to get the overall analysis. To put it simply, the oped article about MCC published in certain newspaper shall be studied along with the context when it was published; who wrote the article, via what means and the combination of all answer will lead to the motive of writing that article. According to David Blakesley, Burke himself has used the pentad on many kinds of discourse, especially poetry and philosophy. He also later added a sixth term, attitude, making the pentad into a hexad. Pentad or hexad, the point is that ‘well-rounded statements’ about human motivation will make some reference to act, scene, agent, agency, purpose, and attitude. (Nordiques2). He further added that Burke intended the pentad to be a form of rhetorical analysis, a method readers can use to identify the rhetorical nature of any text, group of texts, or statements that explain or represent human motivation. It is Burke's point that any ‘well-rounded’ account of human action must include some reference to the five (or six) elements of the pentad. Writers have also found that the pentad is a useful method of generating

ideas. In the beginning of his book, Brook himself has argued that:

Although, over the centuries, men have shown great enterprise and inventiveness in pondering matters of human motivation, one can simplify the subject by this pentad of key terms, which are understandable almost at a glance. They need never to be abandoned, since all statements that assign motives can be shown to arise out of them and to terminate in them. By examining them quizzically, we can range far; yet the terms are always there for us to reclaim, in their everyday simplicity, their almost miraculous easiness, thus enabling us constantly to begin afresh.(1)

Here, Brook has discussed about the useability of pentad as a methodological approach to make rhetorical analysis of text and he's quite firm on the belief that the pentad can successfully decipher the motives embedded in written discourse. It can identify any forms of; personal as well as institutional motivation articulated in the written statements. Following the argument, Michael Overington also explains that "The pentad retains both the 'inner symposium' and the etymological approach at the same time as it offers the final reconstruction of the dialectic" (141). This pentad and its five terms are simultaneously simple and complex, providing a basic guideline for analysis.

There are many previous works in academic which has used the pentad to illuminate Obama's rhetoric. For instance, Liu and Street analyses the pentadic ratios of Obama's "A More Perfect Union" speech on issues of race to discover the political motive of the piece. Given that Obama's rhetoric has previously been explored by looking at his narratives through Burke's dramatic pentad, it is useful to explore President Obama's farewell address to continue to grow and develop this emerging line of scholarship. In his farewell speech, Obama crafts a chronological story about

America, his own life and legacy, and the responsibility of U.S. citizens; applying pentadic criticism to these stories illustrates perceived motives for Obama's telling of them. There are numbers of research papers where scholars have embraced Kenneth Burke's method of pentadic criticism to better understand a broad range of rhetoric. For instance, the pentad has been used to explore various American political speeches, religious rhetoric and popular media. Additionally, scholars have used Burke's pentad as a method for analyzing presidential addresses. Some researchers have also approached the speeches of President Barack Obama through use of the Dramatistic pentad. But no prominent rhetorical analyses have used pentad criticism to examine op-ed articles on specific issues like MCC.

Sam Leith in his book entitled *Words Like Loaded Pistols: Rhetoric from Aristotle to Obama* has argued that Ethos is about establishing your authority to speak on the subject, logos is your logical argument for your point and pathos is your attempt to sway an audience emotionally. Leith has provided an example for summarizing what the three look like:

Ethos: 'Buy my old car because I'm Tom Magliozzi.' Logos: 'Buy my old car because yours is broken and mine is the only one on sale.' Pathos: 'Buy my old car or this cute little kitten, afflicted with a rare degenerative disease, will expire in agony, for my car is the last asset I have in the world, and I am selling it to pay for kitty's medical treatment.'(17)

Going with the example of Leith, Ethos, Pathos, and Logos are modes of persuasion used to convince audiences and are all represented by Greek words. These are also known as the three artistic proofs, a term coined by Aristotle. Firstly, the Ethos or the ethical appeal simply means to convince the audience by using the author's credibility and character. It also involves the choice of appropriate language to sound fair and

unbiased during speech or writing. So it can be said that even the expertise, achievement and social position of the author or speaker helps in strengthening the appeal of ethos. Aristotle acknowledges ethos to be probably the most important, though he seems to wish that logos were (Halloran 58). An understanding of ethos or character becomes a source of subject matter for speeches, particularly epideictic speeches in which the central topics are praise and blame of other people. Secondly, Pathos or the emotional appeal is more oriented to pull the audience in influence zone of writer by appealing their emotion. Authors often use pathos to invoke sympathy from audience and influence the audience to feel as per their motive of persuasion. So basically the common use of pathos is to turn the audience's feeling of pity in one's favour. As pathos is the Greek word for both suffering and experience, the other use of pathos in any discourse can be to inspire anger of audience and encourage them to act. In his book *Rhetoric*, Aristotle has defined pathos in terms of a public speaker putting the audience in the right frame of mind by appealing to the audience's emotions. Thirdly, Logos or the appeal to logic means to convince an audience by use of logic or reason. To use logos would be to cite facts and statistics, historical and literal analogies, and citing certain authorities on a subject. Aristotle has explained logos as the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself and logos rest in the actual written content of an argument. While borrowing the opinions of Aristotle, Leith has proposed following views regarding logos:

If ethos is the ground on which your argument stands, logos is what drives it forward: it is the stuff of your arguments, the way one-point proceeds to another, as if to show that the conclusion to which you are aiming is not only the right one, but so necessary and reasonable as to be more or less the only one. (43)

Now it can be evidently argued that any verbal or written discourse are loaded with logical reasoning that actually contribute in part of writer to frame readers under his influence. Same goes in case of newspaper articles too because thought the one sided reasoning in written discourse, the author tries to convince readers that his purposed idea is equitable to truth. Similarly talking about concept of Dramatism and Rhetoric, Kenneth Burke in his book *A Grammar of Motives* (1945) has explained a Dramatistic pentad as the rhetorical elements that are important for determining the motivation of characters in a play: Act, Scene, Agent, Agency, and Purpose, often known as set of five(2). Kenneth Burke identified a method of analysing the semantic dimensions of language through a five-part 'pentad dramatism' that describes our living stories. Burke have mentioned that we choose words “because of their dramatic potential, and that we each have preference for particular parts of the pentad. Burke also noted how you can understand a story or speech by identifying how pairs interrelate, such as the scene-act ratio of Hamlet”(132). The foundation of dramatism is the concept of motive: the reasons why people do the things they do. Burke believed that all of life was drama and we may discover the motives of actors by looking for their particular type of motivation in action and discourse. Burke set up a "pentad," which are five questions to ask of any discourse to begin teasing out the motive and the question are somehow similar to six 'Wh' questions often used by news reporter: who, what, when, where, why, and how(12).

Kenneth Burke has called humans as the symbol using animal and in his long career exploring how humans communicate; he has invented a variety of systems for analyzing speech and writing. Burke's pentad can be explained by describing the value of each question and the way it helps to identify motives in any discourse. Firstly, we have the act which deals with question like: What happened? What is the

action? What is going on? What action; what thoughts? The act refers to “motivated and purposeful action either in deed or discourse, which provide the ground for identifying the meaning of action” (Kneupper305). Secondly, we have the scene which deals with question like: Where is the act happening? What is the background situation?The scene is a 'container', the place where the action of the act occurs which may include physical location and the contextual situation, occasion, event, time. The discourses which tend to emphasis on scene believe that changing the scene changes everything else.Thirdly we have the agent which deals with question like: Who is involved in the action? What are their roles? The agent is the person or group of people who perform in the act or who enact the meaning in any discourse. Fourthly we have the agency which deals with question like: How do the agents act? By what means do they act?Agency is the technique or method by which the agent achieves their goals. And lastly, we have the purpose which deals with question like: Why do the agents act? What do they want?The purpose is the reason that the agent acts, the outcome they are seeking from what they do. While analyzing specific acts or scenes can obviously lead us to some understanding about what motivated someone to do something, what really makes Burke’s pentad useful is his emphasis on the relationships among the terms. Burke is particularly interested in the relationships, or ratios between the terms. For example, by analyzing the “act-to-scene ratio,” we can get facts about how a scene, or social context which influenced the act. The pentad is especially useful while analysing the point of persuasion in the article. How does the writer define the act? If the writer is emphasizing the agent, what happens if you look at it from the point of view of the scene? If the writer is emphasizing a tool, such as some kind of new technology (agency), what if you emphasize the purpose? The pentad is a way of shifting perspectives that just might lead to some winning

arguments.

The article entitled “Debunking the nonsense on MCC” published in *MyRepublica* has tried to clarify the misconception and false narrative regarding MCC compact and it is explicitly supporting the project by giving logical reasoning. Here we can claim that the writer has used logos as the mode of persuasion by giving clarifications for each negative narratives discussed in the article. The author has coherently organized the reasoning in every paragraph like “The first nonsense invented by our political spin-doctors is, second nonsense being spread is that MCC projects are, third and probably most provocative nonsense being manufactured is, fourth nonsense doing the rounds is that MCC is”(Singh 4). In this way the writer has given reason for every argument and logical appeal is done to persuade readers to support the argument. Besides the logical reasoning, the aspect of ethos is also visible in the credibility of writer as he is the secretary of Samaajwaadi Party. His position as political figure has lot of influence among public and his discourse in such political issue is likely to be believed by many people. Singh further writes

This high-decibel, fact-deprived discourse seems to be leading us toward a meaningless confrontation. If the project is aborted at this advanced stage, it would be extremely harmful to our fledgling economy. Looking at the projects of MCC, our stakes are really high. It is imperative therefore to join the debate and debunk the dangerous nonsense being spread. (4)

In this line, the author is directly advocating for the support of MCC by asking the readers to debunk the negative myth regarding this project. As Chain Perelman has argued that “argumentation aims at securing the adherence of those to whom it is addressed, it is, in its entirety, relative to the audience to be influenced” (189) and in case of this article the rhetoric is directly aimed at readers who are likely to support

the project. There were controversies surrounding MCC to be passed via parliament and this term was accused for trying to hit national sovereignty but the author has given logical reasoning to support this term.

Our parliament has an ultimate right to either throw the MCC compact in the dustbin, or to give it a mandate with or without changes. In a parliamentary democracy, the parliament has an absolute mandate to pass any proposition into law or policy. What is then a big deal in a half-a-billion-dollar MCC compact seeking a parliamentary mandate? The projects under MCC must absolutely be completed in five years by the government of Nepal, the executing agency. The mandate will help the government of Nepal only (and not MCC) to implement the projects without any legal wrangling in future, and therefore help it avoid failing to meet its legal and contractual obligations to MCC. It is absolutely plain and simple, and totally justified. (4)

The premise of this argumentation is created under logical reasoning by putting the economic benefit for Nepal and efficiency of the project at the centre of argument. While analysing the motive of this article on base of Burke's pentad theory we can argue that this particular article has scene-purpose ratio. While talking about the context of this article, it was written after when the government indicated that the Millennium Challenge Corporation's Nepal Compact will be ratified through Parliament despite reservations from some of the ruling party leaders. As the KP Sharma Oli administration was preparing to ratify the US programme, some members of the ruling party continue to express deep reservations, arguing the grant is part of a larger strategy to counter the country's northern neighbour. In response to same context, this article was written to challenges all the claims made against the project and it has explained every controversial claim in separate points. So, the primary

purpose of this article is to install positive viewpoint about MCC in people by clearing all the controversies and negative claims related to it. The purpose of advocating the positive side of MCC automatically indicate the fact that this article is supporting it.

In another article “What Ails Our Diplomacy?” Niranjan Mani Dixit has tried to explore the possible negative consequence of approving MCC by proving it as a failure of Nepali diplomacy and comparing it with other anti-national treaties signed by Nepal in history.

In our case, duty bearers in the ruling party and bureaucracy initially failed to read thoroughly and understand the MCC pact’s critical terms and conditions a number of which were already inconsistent with Nepal’s laws and the constitution. It has been reported that Finance Ministry in coordination with the Foreign Ministry have already signed other 14 foundational documents to that effect as green signals. Ironically, a layman’s understanding also suggests that US government’s grants aid agreement or any strategic treaty is not subject to omission or amendment. This mistake could be only a tip of the iceberg as many other past agreements, such as the treaty of 1950, with India have been already in debate and controversy. (5)

Here the writer has developed his opinion by using persuasion at ethical and logical level as he has mentioned that the MCC could be just be a tip of iceberg and it could invite other more dangerous threat to the nation. Also, the comparison of this compact with ‘1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship’, which is considered as one of the historical diplomatic blunders done by Nepal ethically appeals the readers to make cultivate negative viewpoint regarding Millennium Challenge Corporation. Though the MCC is directly related with US government this article has

compared it with international treaty signed between Nepal and India to let Nepali readers feel the possible threat that the millennium challenge cooperation can bring to the country. It seems that the author has mobilized anti-Indian sentiment as a percussive tool to convince readers about the negative side of MCC. He has co-related other grants with MCC to prove the diplomatic failure of Nepal.

Many of our missions are known for non-performance. There are approximately 200 INGOs working in Nepal and many of them are funded by bilateral and multilateral agencies such as EU, USAID, DFID, UN agencies, World Bank and Asian Development Bank. If the government ministers and officials can deal with them intelligently and tactfully in the interest of Nepal in line with our national development goals, laws and constitution. In two years, ruling NCP has shown 'my way is the highway' attitude and has portrayed rosy picture in foreign relations and national economy while our economy and GDP relies heavily on unpredictable monsoon rain for paddy harvest and remittance income. (5)

Here the author has used logos as the mode of persuasion because in the article he smartly related the MCC with past diplomatic blunders where Nepal has failed to reap benefit from foreign aid and bilateral supports. The author has used rhetorical argument as a frame to bring readers under his influence zone to persuade them in believing his argument. The evidence of history and past failure of foreign aid is used as a tool to convince the readers regarding dark side of approving the clauses of project. We can find many direct reasoning to oppose the compact as the author has used very precise arguments like the political stakeholders of Nepal failed to understand the clauses of MCC that are against the constitution of the country. However, he has not mentioned what clauses? how the leaders failed to understand it?

And he has not revealed any evidences that prove the inability of leaders to understand the clauses. So, it can be said that the rhetorical appeal of the article is comparatively weaker than other discussed articles. While analysing from the theoretical lens of pentad dramatism it can be argued that the rhetoric of author fits more into scene-purpose ration as the author has focused on the context of weak diplomacy and had used MCC case as reference to prove the inability of political leaders by highlighting on the negativity.

One of the articles "A Model for Transparent Development Projects" "written by Troy Kofroth who is a MCC's resident country director for Nepal has detailed all the goods of MCC for Nepal and has further validated his arguments by focusing on the history of Nepal-US diplomatic ties. While going through the article and analysing it on base of Kenneth Burk's pentad we can find the agent-agency ration in the opinion. Firstly, talking about the agent, it is written by American citizen who is also the MCC's resident country director for Nepal with responsibility to pass the national contract at any cost. The author has used Kathmandu post not just as a platform to express his views but given his arguments in support of MCC it is very clear that this media platform is used more as an agent to reach the mass with his rhetorical voice. So the agent and agency where the opinion is made both are directly or indirectly motivated to narrate goods about MCC. Thus, the motive behind this article is to persuade readers that MCC is beneficial for Nepal and forced the government of Nepal to pass it by accepting given terms. The title of article itself is framed in such a way that;it is glorifying the grace of the contract by proving it as one of the best development models without any visible flaws. In a sense it has also logically appeal the readers by making some rational claims like; "Country ownership means that it is not the US government or MCC staff who are completing the project,

but rather staff employed by the government of Nepal and Nepal takes the lead role in every phase of the project” (5). But it had not mentioned about the terms and conditions that Nepal need to adhere while exercising a level of freedom in leading the project. Kofroth’s uses complex rhetorical strategies, including Burke’s scene-act ration to achieve specific goal. He creates a good narrative about the U.S-Nepal relation that is meant to not only engage but also persuade his audience into believing that everything US does of Nepal motivated by friendly purpose. He rhetorically attempts to convince his audience to become aware by inviting them to participate in a larger bi-lateral relationship story as “the ties that our two countries have built over our 72 years of friendship. Like all relationships, Nepal and the US continue to learn from and support one another even when challenges emerge” (5). The author has argued that it is also important to note that the agreement was signed before the Indo-Pacific Strategy was launched “like all US development assistance in Nepal, seeks to support Nepal’s growth as a free, open, and secure society; the compact shares the US’s vision for the Indo-Pacific region” (5). This article was published during the Indo-pacific and MCC debate ongoing in Nepal(which denotes the scene) and by writing(which denotes the act) this article, the author was trying to create a discourse in favour of MCC by making it as opinion to influence the masses.

Similarly, Kofroth’s Op-ed is developed on the base of Aristotle’s logos and pathos where the author has tried to give various reasons to prove the Nepal-USA ties and the article is indirectly trying to narrate the value of MCC compact for Nepal and it is also appealing the government to ease the administrative barriers to approve the project in parliament. So, what is important here is the appeal with logical reason.

The compact is in a pre-implementation period during which time the government must meet a set of conditions, after which the compact must be

completed on a strict five-year clock. MCA-Nepal and the government continue to make progress, but in some cases, progress has been slower than desired or expected. A current example is parliamentary ratification, which the government did not achieve on time. For the compact to move forward, ratification majority approval in Parliament must be expeditiously completed.

(5)

The article has given many such arguments which aims to explore the Nepal's endeavoured for passing the Millennium Challenge Corporation. As the author writes, "as a result of its strong policy performance, Nepal was selected as eligible to develop a compact in December 2014. And, in September 2017, Nepal signed the \$500 million MCC Compact" (5). It has emphasized on the very logical point that Nepal as a country itself has signed the MCC compact by going through various stages to reach this goal. Hence the author is trying to prove the historical significance of the project by focusing on how the country had achieved the compact and what it had done at past to become eligible for signing the compact. Moreover the author has also employed some strategies of pathos to show the collective benefit of the project for both Nepal and US and by using words like "we, our" the author is trying to make emotional appeal. At the end of the article, it mentions "The second crucial attribute offered by the compact is transparency—MCC and US standards for open government and transparency that are foundations of our own democracy"(5). Kofroth even linked the compact with collective democracy by using the word "our democracy" as if the United States government's initiation is the leap for maintain democracy in Nepal. Then the author ends the article by congratulating Nepal for passing the compact and call for the cooperation of all governmental and parliamentarians to cooperate further in making the project successful. This

indicates the use of ethos as he has used his credibility as the resident country director to make promises and lure the Nepali stakeholders by showing the goods of the compact. Thus, the article has used all three modes of persuasion; ethos, logos and pathos to convince the readers to support Millennium Challenge Corporation in Nepal.

Likewise, Jagadish Prasad Bist being an academician and researcher has given very persuasive argument in favour of Millennium Challenge Corporation through his article "The nitty-gritty of the MCC Compact" which begins with the controversies surrounding the project and finally gives very valid reason on why Nepal needs to support the compact for getting financial investment. This approach can be best analysed from the lens of persuasion by borrowing some of the conceptual insights from the new rhetoric. Perelman has defined the new rhetoric as "the study of the discursive techniques allowing us to induce or to increase the mind's adherence to the theses presented for its assent" (4). They hold the belief that when disputable premises, instances or assumptions erupt among people, the possible way to reach the desired result would be to begin from generally accepted opinions about the problems put forth. However, the aim of soliciting adherence from the audiences is gradual as well as a relative process. It is gradual because different people's adherence to theses presented might vary in intensity and relative since what may solicit compliance from one person may not necessarily solicit from the other. The approval of the thesis varies because the value judgment of the evaluating audiences differs from individual to individual. The New Rhetoric framework begins from the audience whom they define as "the ensemble of those whom the speaker wishes to influence by his argumentation" (19). Audiences are vital in the New Rhetoric because a rhetor adopts his values and judgments in the light of the audience he addresses. The New

Rhetoric is a result of various efforts of bringing back rhetoric from the marginal status. The field emerged after the work of Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca in their book *The New Rhetoric* (1969) but both the notion and the idea for the need of "new" rhetoric, different from the "old" one can be traced to the works of Kenneth Burke - *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1950) and *Rhetoric - Old and New* (1967).

While analysing the theme of Bist's article it takes us to the Bruke's argument that "the 'scene' in the sense of setting, or background, and 'act' in the sense of action, one could say that the scene contains the act. And using 'agents' in the sense of actors, or actors, one could say that the scene contains the agents" (Bruke 3). The scene described in the article is the context of foreign direct investment which sets the background that Nepal is in need of fund and then the writer cleverly presents the idea of accepting the fund offered under MCC compact. The article was published in the time when many Nepal was on the edge of receiving the foreign direct investment from many countries for development works and the writer used that content as best scene to prove his point via an agency of popular news outlet like *The Kathmandu Post*. Though the article seems balance as it has clarified some of the doubts regarding the controversies surrounding the Millennium Challenge Corporation project the article is directly pushing to readers to support its argument. Under the sub topic of 'should Nepal sign the pact' it mentions:

Though some of the clauses and articles have garnered a great deal of attention from different stakeholders, the economic benefits cannot be overlooked. The MCC Compact has come at a time when the country is striving to woo foreign investment. The country seriously needs foreign investment in electricity transmission and road connectivity. MCC is not only about benefitting in the areas of high voltage electricity supply and road

connectivity, but also about informing the rest of the world that Nepal is a place to invest. MCC minutely examines economic freedom, governance, investment security and other issues that are of great concern to foreign investors. (4)

In the above argument, the writer has used logos as the dominant mode of persuasion as it has linked the MCC with economic freedom, investment security and the way to please other foreign investors to invest in Nepal. It further argues that the many economists are supporting the grant and this project has largely garnered support from economists. Then the article gives evidence to support its claim “the economic benefits of ratifying the MCC Compact clearly outweigh the costs” but does not discuss about the other side of the grant which is security issue for Nepal. As Aristotle has claimed “Persuasion is clearly a sort of demonstration, since we are most fully persuaded when we consider a thing to have been demonstrated. For argument based on knowledge implies instruction”(4). Going with the argument of Aristotle the author of this article has tried to instruct the readers to support MCC by establishing very convincing knowledge of the link of project with the impact in future FDI grants and why should Nepal accept the project for attracting other international investors. In same regard Aristotle argues:

we must be able to employ persuasion, just as strict reasoning can be employed, on opposite sides of a question, not in order that we may in practice employ it in both ways (for we must not make people believe what is wrong), but in order that we may see clearly what the facts are, and that, if another man argues unfairly, we on our part may be able to confute. (7)

The author has discussed about another side of the debate in the beginning of the article “arguments have also been extended that MCC is part of a military stunt which

the US Embassy has firmly denied. But the MCC Compact itself contains no military component”. However, the larger part of the article is directed to narrate the goods of MCC and the opposing argument are not clearly discussed to satisfy or convince the critical reader. The normal reader may not identify this presentation gap which has strategically demonstrated the good side of MCC but a critical reader can recognize the rhetorical techniques used in the article. While borrowing the statement of Aristotle, the things that are “true and things that are better are, by their nature, practically always easier to prove and easier to believe in” (6). If the compact had all good aspects and if it was not influenced by any military or security agenda then the author could have proved this fact very easily.

The process of identifying the ratios and relationship between separate elements of the pentad within a piece is a useful way to understand how the pentad is functioning as a rhetorical tool to pursue the speaker’s goals (Dunn 6). As noted in the analysis of previous articles some texts may indicate toward more than one ratio of pentad, while in others, a particular ratio may transform over the course of the text. Within same conceptual frame we can analyse the piece entitled “Nepal Must Not Lose \$500m MCC Grant” by Pallav Bhusal, published in *The Rising Nepal*. This article is the best example of more than one ratio which has focused on the good aspects of MCC and has tried to convince the mass to support it. The different ratios that the author has employed provides valuable insight into both how the writer wants Nepali public to see the grant and the rhetorical strategies that he uses to motivate his audience to accept his viewpoint. The purpose-agent ratio dominates the first strand of Bhusal’s argument consistently, in discussing the energy benefit for Nepal as the US government is investing in electricity through the MCC grant. And the author also mentions that other 50 nations have already approved the grant to prove the

credibility of project. For instance, the article mentions:

The US government's Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) has provided \$500 million in grants to Nepal for building electricity transmission lines and road. It is the biggest grant assistance the US approved for Nepal, with the latter chipping in \$130 million to boost the MCC project. The MCC has offered grants to over 50 developing countries. MCC's Nepal Compact mainly seeks to increase the availability of electricity and lower the cost of transportation, thereby helping the government better deliver critical services to the people, ease the movement of goods and open up new opportunities to investors. (5)

Given this beginning line of the article it is very clear that the purpose of author is to push the good aspect of MCC among mass. Here we can trace the purpose-agency relation explicitly visible in the article. The Rising Nepal being a governmental newspaper speaks the language of government and the time when this article was published both the Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli and foreign minister Pradeep Gyawali was in favour of MCC project. While searching the media outlet of December 2019 we can find some evidenced where Minister for Foreign Affairs Pradeep Kumar Gyawali has said "the government has decided to move forward with the agreement. Therefore, the lawmakers need not to be confused about the implementation of the development project"(Bhatta, 2019). So here the purpose is to support the decision of government and the role of agency is fulfilled by governmental newspaper The Rising Nepal and the writer Pallav Bhusal too is a journalist of same newspaper. In other word we can say that the purpose is in favour of government and the agency is also controlled by the government, so the purpose-agency ratio dominates this article.

The author has established his ethos in support of MCC by citing the statement of credible sources like PhanindraGautam, the then Joint Secretary at Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs and mentioned his viewpoint in the article all confusions regarding the MCC were raised due to the lack of proper study on it by the concerned authorities. The responsible persons should do proper research on the relevance of MCC in Nepal. All donors, who provide loans or grants, put forward various conditions before providing them to the nations. Similarly, MCC Nepal Compact has also certain provisions such as taking permit from India for building transmission lines in its territory and it needs to be endorsed by the parliament before starting the works here. Once the project is endorsed by parliament, it moves smoothly even if there is a change in government. (5)

The author defended for these controversial provisions by arguing that such a provision was adopted to make the project credible and keep it unaffected in the face of unstable political system that Nepal. This explains that even if the political leadership change there will not be any obstacles to the project in long term. Similarly, we can also find the traced of scene-agent ration in the article as the publication happened in the time peak time when the governmental stakeholders were openly defending and supporting the Millennium Challenge Corporation. For example, in the year 2019 the Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli was openly appealing the people to support MCC as he said:

A few lawmakers seem to have said MCC has come through the backdoor about a project in point number 221 of the policy. The projects have not come through the backdoor. They have come through the main gate. The projects will be built be it by MCC, or anyone else, or by the government itself. (Setopati, 2019)

This article was published after the scenario when the Prime minister of Nepal verbally endorsed the MCC compact and The Rising Nepal as governmental newspaper act as the agent to support the statement of Prime minister. So, we can find the scene- agent ration in the article as the opinion has pushed the viewpoint through one of the trusted newspapers of Nepal.

Correspondingly, another article “MCC in The Soup” by Uttam Maharjan has highlighted on some points against the Millennium Challenge Corporation and his arguments has pushed the readers to questions on some of the issues surrounding MCC that actually discourage the government to endorse the compact. The has focused on the negative consequence of MCC if it is passed in current form and has asked for some amendments. In other word, the article is against passing the compact.

As the author writes:

The MCC compact should have been thoroughly discussed and deliberated upon among the leaders, experts and other stakeholders before signing it in 2017. As per the report of the taskforce, the compact seems to have been signed on an ad-hoc basis by the government without going into details about its contents. Although the compact was signed by the Nepali Congress government, the NCP government is equally eager to endorse it at any cost. Now, the government has found it heavy going to endorse the compact as it is inasmuch as even most leaders of the ruling NCP are not in favour of endorsing the US grant in its current form. So, it behoves the government to take pragmatic decisions before accepting it.(5)

The above-mentioned line is the conclusion statement of Maharaja’s which has directly encouraged the readers to think before supporting the MCC compact by addressing on some of the negative sides. While making the pentad analysis of this

article we must keep in mind that performing a pentadic analysis is not an exercise in discovering the absolute truth. But Burke's model intends to reveal the complex ways in which humans symbolically interacts via the use of language and rhetoric. "Rather than reducing interactions to a single reality, the pentad "provides us with constructive possibilities for uncovering multiple truths" (Fox, 2002).

The article further gives logical reasoning to prove that MCC compact is anti-national project with hidden motives.

The taskforce did make some unusual findings and one of the prominent findings is that the MCC compact has a clause according to which the New York laws will be applicable to the dispute or any other matter regarding the projects run under the MCC. This is a grave matter, which transgresses the sovereignty of the country, forcing it to keep itself under the jackboots of the USA. The team has also come up with other findings which are deleterious to the country. That there are some sub-compacts, hidden or otherwise, within the main compact that are against the national interests of the country is not a small deal. (5)

In same regard the scene-purpose ratio is more dominant in this article because as mentioned in the context of the itis published after the task force submitted its report to Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli and co-chair Pushpa Kamal Dahal Prachanda. The article was published at the time when the MCC project was on hype due to counter political arguments regarding the support and opposition of the project. It was the time when the stakeholders from ruling party itself were not sure about MCC as they were giving fluctuating statement in media.

Since the taskforce headed by the ruling party Nepal Communist Party (NCP) leader JhalanathKhanal submitted its report to Prime Minister KP Sharma Oli

and co-chair Pushpa Kamal Dahal Prachanda. The taskforce comprising former Prime Minister Khanal, Minister for Foreign Affairs Pradeep Gyawali and leader Bhim Rawal had to be formed to study the MCC compact amid widespread controversy and criticisms besetting it.(5)

In this case the scene is that the report was against passing MCC in its current form and the stakeholders were demanding for amendment. So, while analysing the rhetorical situation we can find that the direct purpose of this article is to make public aware about the negative consequence of passing MCC and the implicit purpose is to discourage the public from supporting the compact.

After analysing the above articles, we can reach to the conclusion that the pentad itself is not sufficient enough to explain a rhetorical situation. The real power of the pentadic elements lies in their relationships with one another. Each element is essentially linked to the other such that our understanding of one term is inevitably knotted to our understanding of all the other terms. These links between the elements are called pentadic ratios, and offer new ways of viewing the situation through rhetorical filters. That's why Burke has described ten ratios (scene-act, scene-agent, scene-agency, scene-purpose, act-purpose, act-agent, act-agency, agent-purpose, agent-agency, and agency-purpose) which help establish what factors are controlling the rhetorical situation (Burke, 1969). During the analysis the researcher identified what the speaker viewed as the most important dimension of their action by studying the article from each ratio and by identifying how the two terms has influenced or determined each other to make it a rhetorical argument. The combined use of Burke's 'pentad dramatism' and Aristotle's 'modes for persuasion' helped in identifying various rhetorical techniques used in the articles that were employed to support or oppose the Millennium Challenge Corporation as per the motive of the author. This

research has not only analysed the rhetorical techniques but through the use of pentad dramatism it has also tried to study the purpose behind using certain rhetorical approach to meet particular objective.

Works Cited

- Aristotle, W R. Roberts, Ingram Bywater, Friedrich Solmsen, and Aristotle. *Rhetoric*: Modern Library, 1954, pdf.
- Bhatta, Subin. "No Dilemma on MCC Ratification: Gyawali." *GorakhaPatra*, 26 Dec. 2019, risingnepaldaily.com/main-news/no-dilemma-on-mcc-ratification-gyawali.
- Bhusal , Pallav. "Nepal Must Not Lose \$500m MCC Grant." *GorakhaPatra*, 3 Jan. 2020, risingnepaldaily.com/detour/nepal-must-not-lose-500m-mcc-grant.
- Bista, Jagadish Prasad. "Opinion: The Nitty-Gritty of the MCC Compact." *The Kathmandu Post*, The Kathmandu Post, 20 Feb. 2020, kathmandupost.com/columns/2020/02/20/the-nitty-gritty-of-the-mcc-compact.
- Blakesley, David. *The Terministic Screen: Rhetorical Perspectives on Film*. Southern Illinois University Press, 2007.
- Burke, Kenneth. "Questions and Answers about the Pentad." *College Composition and Communication*, vol. 29, no. 4, 1978, pp. 330–335. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/357013. Accessed 1 June 2020.
- Burke, Kenneth. *A Grammar of Motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969. pdf.
- Coe, Richard M. *Process, Form, and Substance: A Rhetoric for Advanced Writers*. 2nd ed., Prentice Hall, 1990.
- Darity, William A. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Thomson Gale, 2008.
- Dixit ,Nirajan Mani. "MyRepublica - The New York Times Partner, Latest News of Nepal in English, Latest News Articles." *My Republica*, 15 Mar. 2020, myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/author/3974.

- Dunn, R. C.. "The Future is in Good Hands": A Pentadic Analysis of President Barack Obama's Farewell Address." (2018).
- Fox, C. "Beyond the "Tyranny of the Real": Revisiting Burke's Pentad as Research Method for Professional Communication." *Technical Communication Quarterly* 11 (2002): 365 - 388.
- Halloran, S. Michael. "Aristotle's Concept of Ethos, or If Not His Somebody Else's." *Rhetoric Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1982, pp. 58–63. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/465559. Accessed 1 June 2020.
- Kneupper, Charles W. "The Relation of Agency to Act in Dramatism: A Comment on 'Burke's Act.'" *College English*, vol. 47, no. 3, 1985, pp. 305–308. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/376784. Accessed 1 June 2020.
- Kofroth, Troy. "Opinion: A Model for Transparent Development Projects." *The Kathmandu Post*, The Kathmandu Post, 18 Nov. 2019, kathmandupost.com/columns/2019/11/18/a-model-for-transparent-development-projects.
- Leith, Sam. "Words Like Loaded Pistols: Rhetoric from Aristotle to Obama." (2012).
- Leith, Sam. *Words like Loaded Pistols: Rhetoric from Aristotle to Obama*. Basic Books, 2016.
- Liu and Nancy Lynch Street. "The Analysis of Senator Barack Obama's Speech On Race By Kenneth Burke's Idea Of Dramatism". *The International Journal Of The Humanities: Annual Review*, vol 7, no. 1, 2009, pp. 83-92. *Common Ground Research Networks*, doi:10.18848/1447-9508/cgp/v07i01/42578. Accessed 3 Mar 2020.
- MCC, Millennium Challenge Compact Between the United States of America Acting

Through The Millennium Challenge Corporation And The Federal Democratic Republic Of Nepal Acting Through The Ministry Of Finance.2017,

<https://hr.parliament.gov.np/uploads/attachments/ns1zpda2uw3x2odp.pdf>

McNally, James Richard. "Toward a Definition of Rhetoric." *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1970, pp. 71–81. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40236708. Accessed 3 Apr. 2020.

McQuail, Denis. "Sociology of Mass Communication." *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 11, 1985, pp. 93–111. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2083287. Accessed 24 July 2021.

Nordquist, R. (2020, February 19). Get the Definition and See Examples of Kenneth Burke's Pentad. Retrieved June 01, 2020, from <https://www.thoughtco.com/pentad-rhetoric-and-composition-1691602>

On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse. Oxford University Press, 1991. Print.

Overington, M.A, Kenneth Burke and the method of dramatism. *Theory and Society*, 4(1). 1977, pp 131-156.

Overington, Michael A. "The Scientific Community as Audience: Toward a Rhetorical Analysis of Science." *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1977, pp. 143–164. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40237028. Accessed 24 July 2021.

Perelman, Chaïm, et al. *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*. University of Notre Dame Press, 1969. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvpj74xx. Accessed 8 Feb. 2021.

Root, Robert L. "The Rhetorics of Popular Culture: Advertising, Advocacy, and Entertainment." (1987).

Singh, Prashaant. "Debunking the Nonsense on MCC." *My Republica*, My Republica,

7 Jan. 2020, myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com/news/debunking-the-nonsense-on-mcc/.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *Theories of the Symbol*. 3rd ed., vol. 1, Cornell University Press, 1995.

Vickers, Brian. *In Defence of Rhetoric*. 3rd ed., vol. 1, Clarendon Press, 2002.