

Bhandari's Rhetoric in the 1990s Political Dynamics: Institutionalizing Democracy in Nepal

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ABSTRACT

Rhetoric can be described as an art of persuasion, encompassing both words and actions. It is associated with the relationship between an addresser and an addressee in the process of communication. In the early post-1990 era in Nepal, CPN (UML) Secretary General Madan Bhandari emerged as a popular leader with his political philosophy of People's Multiparty Democracy (PMPD), effectively employing the art of rhetoric to connect with a diverse audience. The rhetorical analysis of Bhandari's speeches, which covered topics such as monarchy, constitution, parliamentary elections, and the Tanakpur Treaty, had a profound impact on shaping the Nepali psyche. Using rhetorical appeals – logos, pathos, and ethos – Bhandari brilliantly persuaded the intended audience in the post-democracy Nepali society early in the 1990s. Exploiting myths and metaphors, and repetitions and parallelism, Bhandari skillfully projected a sense of hope and expectation amidst contemporary political exigencies. Bhandari's rhetoric contained substantial democratic values and ideas for socio-economic transformation, which deeply inspired the newly liberated Nepali psyche. With a high level of respect for his audiences, he envisioned a future course of progress and prosperity for Nepal embedded in the principles of People's Multiparty Democracy, all within the context of global political dynamics. Through a perfect balance of rhetoric and reality, Bhandari not only instilled new hope in the Nepali people but also created an image of an iconic leader dedicated to the welfare of the country and its people. As an innovative political philosophy, PMPD resonates with democratic practice in the Marxist philosophy for the masses that earned him the status of a hero in contemporary Nepali politics, relevant now, and directed to continue for decades in the South Asian geopolitical sphere.

Introduction

Rhetoric and reality connote word and action, respectively. Rhetoric is used to persuade people to make them believe in a myth, ideology, or philosophy. People are guided by either ideology or mythology; if not, by both. In the rhetoric of mythology, people share their underlying universal patterns of belief systems. The term “rhetoric” is derived from “facilitas” in Marcus

Fabius Quintilian terminology, the first-century educator and rhetorician, which means power to produce effectively strong language in a given situation to persuade an audience. Ever since the advent of human civilization, people have excelled in the art of rhetoric in leadership.

In that sense, the leader should supposedly be an effective orator while justifying his or her heroism. Military General Julius Caesar in ancient

Greece, civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr in the 1960s, and US President Barack Obama in the 2000s have been considered world-famous orators of all times and cultures. Likewise, Bhandari's art of rhetoric with substantial contents of democratic values shaped the contemporary Nepali psyche because of which the CPN (UML) steadily became a popular party in the Nepali political space. Most of his political speeches, primarily on the monarchy, constitution, election campaign, and the Tanakpur Treaty were rhetorically directed to capture the Nepali psyche in the democratic wave worldwide. Further, his speeches in their navigation to a proper course of institutionalization of democracy established him as a charismatic leader with distinctive oratory power and a strong bond with the people. Precisely, his presentation style with clarity and grace inculcated in Nepali citizens civic sense and political awareness of the democratic system and the role of the left front in the nation building. The spectacular feat in his art of rhetoric promoted him as a popular leader in Nepal in the newly restored democratic setting.

Rhetoric of the hero: Art and history

In 44 BC, a Roman general-turned politician was assassinated by a group of senators, including Marcus Junius Brutus for his over-ambition and personal rivalry against the Roman leaders. Further, the Greek leader appears in *Julius Caesar* (1599). In this Shakespearean tragedy and history play, Brutus joins the Cassius-led assassination plot to prevent Julius Caesar from becoming a powerful tyrant. After the assassination, Antony delivers a funeral oration for Caesar under Brutus's design. However, Antony's rhetoric becomes so persuasive that the audience would rather confront conspirators in the Brutus design. Moreover, Antony tactfully praises both Brutus and Caesar while maintaining a strong emotional connection with the latter.

Over the last four centuries, the rhetoric of the opening and closing two lines of his funeral oration inscribed in the Shakespearean tragedy has immensely influenced readers and scholars, who

have read the play or watched the performance onstage.

Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears,
I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is often interred with their bones;
So let it be with Caesar. The noble Brutus
Hath told you Caesar was ambitious:
If it were so, it was a grievous fault;
And grievously hath Caesar answer'd it.

(Shakespeare, Act 3, Scene 2, ll 80-87).



Figure 1: Archaeological area of Largo Argentina Square, Rome, Italy where Caesar was executed on 19 June 2023

Source: Reuters <<https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/rome-open-square-julius-caesar-scli-intl/index.html>>

After such a marvelous standing ovation, the crowd rather turns to senators who had conspired against Antony in favor of Brutus. In his speech, Antony neither explicitly defends Julius Caesar nor charges Brutus for the conspiracy against his close friend. Contrarily, his rhetoric rather persuades his audience to vehemently attack Brutus in favor of Caesar. Indeed, Brutus had assigned Antony to deliver a funeral oration on the condition that he would not defend Caesar, nor would he persuade the audience to take any action against conspirators, including himself:

For Brutus is an honourable man;
So are they all, all honourable men—
Come I to speak in Caesar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me:
Yett Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man.

(Shakespeare, Act 3, scene 2, ll 89-94)

Antony so explicitly praised Brutus that audiences would make sense of the latter's prominent role in the assassination of Caesar. The emotional appeal of Antony's rhetoric generates a different ambiance of the Caesar assassination. In the Greco-Roman tradition, the hero is expected to be an outstanding orator like Julius Caesar with excellence in the art of rhetoric.

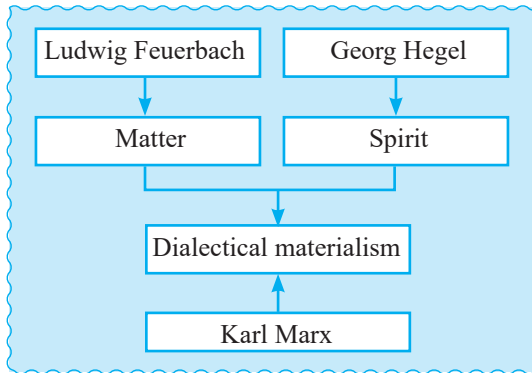


Figure 2: Karl Marx's dialectical materialism
Source: Author's construction

A similar kind of rhetorical strategy operates in Karl Marx's presentation of dialectical materialism. Marx developed the philosophy of dialectical materialism in German ideology, synthesizing matter from Feuerbach and spirit from Hegel. In *Heroes and Villains*, Mike Alsford (2006) reiterates the Hegelian reality, the formation of a synthesis out of the interaction of thesis and antithesis. Alsford further continuous these dialectical formations of thesis:

The whole of reality is governed by the logic of this dialectic where something (the thesis) encounters its opposite (the antithesis) and, as a result of the ensuing conflict, a superior synthesis is achieved which then goes on to become a new thesis, and thus the process begins again. To encounter the alienness of the world, the otherness of the people that inhabit it, and the surprising often disconcerting facets of our own existence, requires both imagination, so as to perceive the potential for synthesis, and heroic resolve, such that we are prepared to leap into the

unknown, to sacrifice what we are for what we may become. (Alsford, 2006: 10)

Boon, in "Heroes, Metanarratives, and the Paradox of Masculinity in Contemporary Western Culture," defines the "hero" as a courageous person and a demigod (302). The Sanskrit term for the hero is *vira*, a brave warrior loyal to the authority, such as a king, emperor, and leader (Hodous and Soothill, 2004: 41). The Sanskrit *vira* with the meaning of valiant fighter, committed to society, and the Latin virtue with meaning "true" or "pure", a shared etymological root, connote an idealized person of action in the greater service to humanity. Often used to refer to the hero, the Greek term *arête* indicates virtue and nobility, and courage and excellence (Miller, 2004: 240). The hero is a legendary or mythical figure, a supernatural deviant capable of exceeding the standards required of ordinary people and transcending the mediocre in his or her accomplishments (Klapp, 1954: 57).

Joseph Campbell, in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, explores a universal myth of the hero. Beyond the threshold, then, the hero journeys through a world of unfamiliar yet strangely intimate forces, some of which severely threaten him (tests), some of which give magical aid (helpers). [. . .] At the return, the hero re-emerges from the kingdom of dread (return, resurrection). The boon that he brings restores the world (246). In a slightly different mode of representation, Marshall Fishwick, in *Seven Pillars of Popular Culture* (1985) projects changing paradigms of the hero in the discourses of arts humanities:

In classic times, heroes were god-men; in the Middle Ages, God's men; in the Renaissance, universal men; in the eighteenth century, gentlemen; in the nineteenth, self-made men. Our century has seen the common man and the outsider become heroic. (Fishwick, 1985: 61)

In this light, Fishwick retraces multiple roles of the hero throughout history. Society needs

a hero, and heroes give new directions to people. Fishwick deliberates on the changing paradigms of the hero's role in the history of human civilization. The changing image of the hero over time resonates needs and expectations of people in the world.

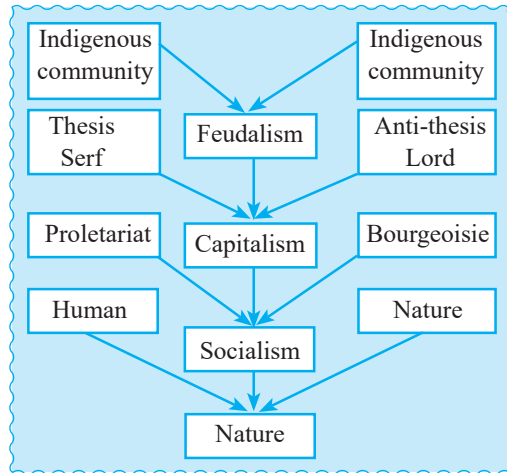


Figure 3: Dialectics of progression of human society in social-political spheres

Source: Author's construction in light of the Marxist dialectical materialism

In a critical rhetorical analysis, the hero's oratory power has a significant space. From the Greek to modern times, political leaders are expected to effectively deliver powerful speeches with substantial content. Any politician's rhetoric in a civil society makes a difference in the public's perception of the hero and the leader. People need to feel encouraged, and leaders need to revitalize the public's optimism about the direction the country is taking. In Nepal, the restoration of democracy in 1990 allowed leaders to appear publicly with their party ideologies and specific agenda. Since people secured open political environment with freedom to speak and freedom to involve in political activities, those leaders who could clearly express their motivations for public welfare and political philosophies had chance to invent their public image. At that time, the public perception of Madan Bhandari along with other leaders of

the underground communist parties of Nepal was highly positive, and people were hopeful of socio-economic transformation with the multiparty parliamentary democratic system. At that moment, Bhandari's rhetoric of regime change with constructive agenda reoriented people to the charismatic leader's rhetorical appeals.

Rhetorical appeals in argument formulation

In a communication process, a presenter primarily intends to deliver a message logically with clarity in expression. Presenting a message means positioning one's argument with an intent to persuade the expected audience, listener, or reader. An argument is a thesis statement, proposition, intellectual debate, proposition, or position that the author intends to prove in his or her paper. In an intellectual debate, some of the expressions, including argument perspective and statement of problem exert an arguer who can be an author or speaker. In this light, Andrea Lunsford and John Ruszkiewicz (2019), in *Everything is an Argument*, reiterate how ideas can be argumentative:

As you know from your own experiences with social media, arguments are all around us, in every medium, in every genre, and in everything we do. There may be an argument on the T-shirt you put on in the morning, in the sports column you read on the bus, in the prayers you utter before an exam, in the off-the-cuff political remarks of a teacher lecturing, on the bumper sticker on the car in front of you, in the assurances of a health center nurse that "This won't hurt one bit."

The clothes you wear, the foods you eat, and the groups you join make nuanced, sometimes unspoken assertions about who you are and what you value. Therefore, an argument can be any text—written, spoken, aural, or visual—that expresses a point of view. Some theorists claim that language is inherently persuasive. When you say, "Hi, how's it going?" in one sense

you're arguing that your hello deserves a response. Even humor makes an argument when it causes readers to recognize through bursts of laughter or just faint smile-how things are and how they might be different. (Lunsford & Ruszkiewicz, 2019: 61)

The addresser and addressee get connected through the message they are sharing. Moreover, it is the addresser's primary responsibility to make possible the addressee's connection to him or her. In that sense, the addresser has to be rhetorically adept to present his or her message with clarity.

Further, Lunsford and Ruszkiewicz (2019) underscore the diversity of the audience which the addresser needs to consider in the presentation:

Exploring all the occasions and kinds of arguments available will lead you to think about the audience(s) you are addressing and the specific ways you can appeal to them. Audiences for arguments today are amazingly diverse, from the flesh-and-blood person sitting across a desk when you negotiate a student loan to your "friends"

on social media, to the "ideal" reader you imagine for whatever you are writing, and to the unknown people around the world who may read a blog you have posted. (Lunsford & Ruszkiewicz, 2019: 83)

Lunsford and Ruszkiewicz unfold relationships between the addresser and addressee with a case in point of social media. Rhetorical appeals are directed to persuading audiences through certain logical propositions.

Argument equation with rhetorical appeals: Logos, ethos, pathos

Regarding the art of rhetoric, Greek philosopher Aristotle exerts considerable influence on leaders and orators, including Theophrastus and Alexander the Great. Rhetorically, communication operates in a tripartite structure. In them, *logos* refers to the logic and reasoning in a message of the addresser; *pathos* implicates the emotional dimension of the audience; *ethos* indicates the character, credibility, and trustworthiness of the communicator. Aristotle had outlined a blue print of the rhetorical triangle with three vertices's.

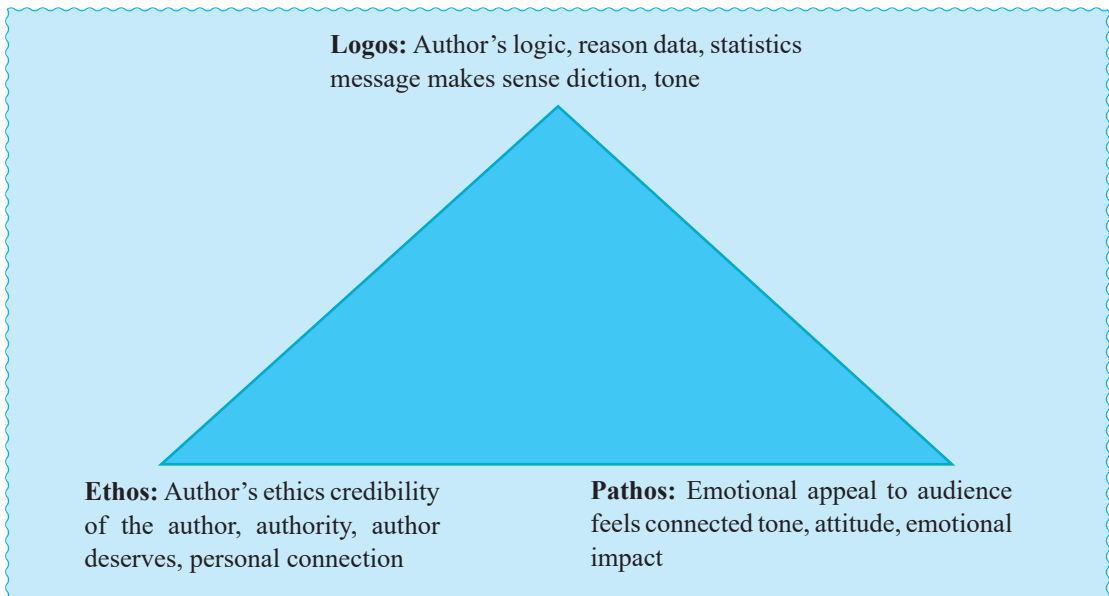


Figure 4: Argument formulation configuration structure

Source: Author's adaptation from the Rhetorical Triangle: Ethos, Pathos, and Logos

<<https://kpu.pressbooks.pub/business-writing/chapter/the-rhetorical-triangle-ethos-pathos-and-logos/>>

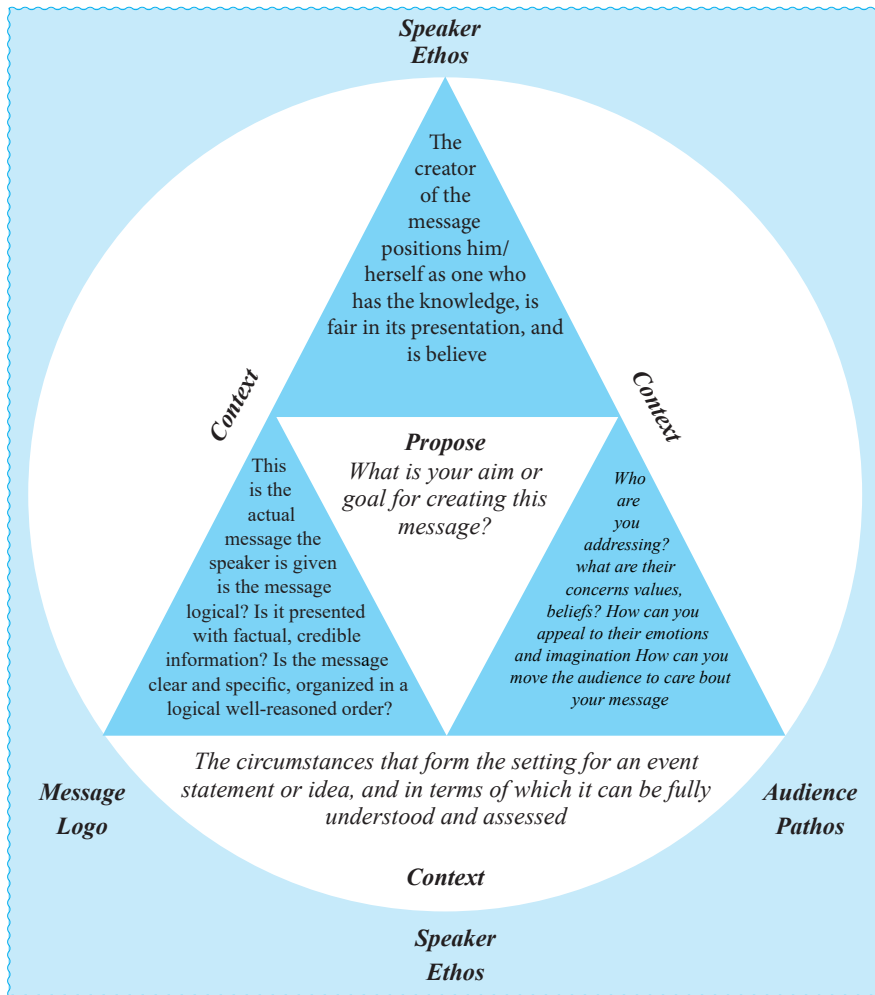


Figure 5: Argument formulation in the Aristotelian rhetorical model

Source: Aristotelian Rhetorical Triangle <<https://www.coonwriting.com/appeals.html>>

These three appeals, implicit or explicit in the text or discourse, exert influence in a process of communication. Relationships of these three appeals form a rhetorical triangle that is directed to make a message persuasive to the audience.

Likewise, Lunsford and Ruszkiewicz highlight the three rhetorical appeals – *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos* – inherent in any spoken or written form of communication. When a presenter shares a message with an audience, the text presents emotional appeals, or *pathos*, which

generates human emotions, such as fear, pity, love, and jealousy that the writer anticipates from his or her audience (96). When the addresser maintains his or her trustworthiness, audiences are likely to listen to and accept their arguments. The authority along with his fairness and respect marks *ethos*, a kind of credibility of the speaker or author. Showing that you know what you are talking about exerts an ethical appeal, as does emphasizing that you share values with and respect your audience (97). Likewise, appeal to logic, or *logos* are words

and language the author or speaker uses to appeal to his or her audience. During a conversation, audiences respond to claims substantiated by logical reasons and relevant data (98). Further, the state of *koiros* determines the coordination of the three rhetoric appeals mentioned earlier in this section of the paper. The level of apparent exertion of the three rhetorical appeals in discourses of human sciences determines the relevance and validity of the subjects under discussion. In Greek mythology, *kairos* suggests something that describes the appropriate time and space for formulating an argument. The term *kairo* comes from the God of opportunity, the youngest son of Zeus in the Greek period. He is most often visually presented in constant motion with his most unusual characteristic of a shock of hair on his forehead (99). In that sense, *kairos* is the total sum of the three rhetorical appeals. Also, *kairos* is meant to describe the most suitable time and place for making an argument and the most opportune ways of expressing it.

An argument is an arguer's position on a certain issue, substantiated by distinct data/evidence/reasons. At times, a claim already supported by evidence can also be further substantiated by additional claims. In that sense, a thesis statement, an intellectual debate, is a point of deliberation in a research paper/article or dissertation writing in the humanities and sciences. In *The Uses of Argument*, Stephen Toulmin (2003) postulates an organic character of an argument:

An argument is like an organism. It has both a gross, anatomical structure and a finer, as-it-were physiological one. When set out explicitly in all its detail, it may occupy several printed pages or take perhaps a quarter of an hour to deliver; and within this time or space, one can distinguish the main phases marking the progress of the argument from the initial statement of an unsettled problem to the final presentation of a conclusion. These main phases will each of them occupy some minutes or paragraphs, and represent the chief anatomical units

of the argument—its 'organs', so to speak. But within each paragraph, when one gets down to the level of individual sentences, a finer structure can be recognized, and this is the structure with which logicians have mainly concerned themselves. It is at this physiological level that the idea of logical form has been introduced, and here that the validity of our arguments has ultimately to be established or refuted. (Toulmin, 2003: 87)

An argument is an individual's position on an issue or subject. Arguing implicates participation in a range of scholarships in the relevant field.

The Toulmin model of argument

Depending on issues and institutions, several models of an argument are in practice. Among them, Toulmin's argument model persists in recent scholarships on writing. In *Arguing on the Toulmin Model*, David Hitchcock and Bart Verheij (2007) highlight Toulmin's constituents of argument: data, warrant, qualifier, rebuttal, and backing. Hitchcock and Verheij outline the total structure of the Toulmin model of argument. The Toulmin scheme of argument contrasts from the traditional model of analysis of micro-argument into premises:

First we assert something, and thus, make a claim (C). Challenged to defend by a questioner who asked, "what have you got to go on?", "We appeal to the relevant facts at our disposal, which Toulmin calls our data (D). It may turn out to be necessary to establish the correctness of these facts in a preliminary argument. But their acceptance by the challenger, whether immediate or indirect does not necessarily end the defense. For the challenger may ask about the bearing of our data on our claim: "How do you get there?" Our response will at its most perspicuous take the form: "Data such as D entitle one to conclude, or make claims, such as C" (98). A proposition of this form Toulmin calls a warrant (W). Warrants, he notes, confer different degrees of force on

the conclusions they justify, which may be signaled by qualifying our conclusion with a qualifier (Q) such as 'necessarily', 'probably', or 'presumably'. In the latter case, we may need to mention the conditions of rebuttal (R) "indicating circumstances in which the authority of the warrant would have to be set aside" (101). Our task, however, is still not necessarily finished. For our challenger may question the general acceptability of our warrant: "Why do you think that?" Toulmin calls our answer to this question our backing (B). He emphasizes the great differences in kind between backings in different fields. (Hitchcock & Verheij, 2007: 1-2)

Hitchcock and Verheij explicate that warrants can be defended with appeals in the taxonomic system in the Toulmin model. Warrants are directly connected to data and rebuttal. In that light, the process of formulation of argument solely depends on a perfect blend of data and backing. In all of these cases, checking the backing remains analogous to checking the claim, which is an analytic argument in Toulmin's model.

Toulmin's data, warrant, qualifier, rebuttal, and backing jointly form a strong debatable logic in an argument process. Your claim needs support and evidence followed by a qualifier. Reasoning does not only involve support but also a response to anticipated counterarguments. To respond to an anticipated argument against your point, you should be able to place your rebuttal in an appropriate order. Further, you should forward qualified conclusions to your proposition.

In argument culture, intellectual debate proceeds in an amicable environment. In a real sense, argument has several components which Toulmin has explicated in his masterpieces of reasoning and argumentation, including *The Uses of Argument* and *Introduction to Reasoning*. Purdue Online Writing Lab explains

the Toulmin method as a style of argumentation, specifically focusing on six components of argument, including claim, ground, warrant, qualifier, rebuttal, and backing. In Toulmin's method, every argument begins with the first three fundamental parts. Also considered an argument, a claim is something he or she likes to prove to their audience in his or her paper. The grounds of an argument are data, evidence, or facts that substantiate the claim the author is intending to establish in his or her message. Finally, the warrant, implicit and explicit, is the assumption that links the grounds to the claim. In this case in point, one can claim:

A tiger is in the jungle nearby our village.

Based on this expression, one can believe that the tiger is located nearby. To believe that a tiger is in the jungle nearby our village, we need to offer evidence or specific facts. In other words, a claim of the location of a tiger in the jungle nearby our village needs details in support of this idea. In this example, we need to provide evidence or specific ground to assert the claim that the tiger is nearby our village – that we can hear the continuous roaring of the tiger at night. Since we know that tigers roar, which is a warrant, we can assume that a tiger is nearby our village.

The rest of the elements, including backing, qualifier and rebuttal are not fundamental to the Toulmin model argument, but additional ones to furnish as necessary. Backing, implicit or explicit, refers to additional support to the warrant, rendering specific examples that justify the warrant. Similarly, the qualifier qualifies/modifies the claim by delimiting it to a specific case in point. Some of the words and expressions, such as "presumably," "some," "most," and "many" help one's audience understand that he or she knows there are instances where the claim proposed may not be correct. Some of the instances below exemplify cases of qualifier:

In Nepal, most of the young college students in urban areas prefer foreign-

brand fashion over local and national.

All the students do not prefer foreign-brand fashion, only the young college students in urban areas of Nepal do.

All the students do not prefer foreign-brand fashion, only the young college students in urban areas do.

All the students do not prefer foreign-brand fashion, only the college students in urban areas do.

In the first, some of the words, including Nepal, young, and college qualify students. After the qualifier, the rebuttal is one of the unique elements in the Toulmin model.

The rebuttal is an acknowledgment of another valid view of the situation to be supplied from the opposition side. A rebuttal, officially a counterargument, has already been supplied or might be delivered to the speaker or author in a conversation process. As an addresser, you either address the counterargument or simply speculate opposition which you could answer instantly. When speculating an opposition to your argument/claim, you should be able to respond to that question in anticipation.

Including a qualifier or a rebuttal in an argument process helps build your ethos or credibility. When you acknowledge that your view is not always true or when you provide multiple views of a situation, you build an image of a careful, unbiased thinker, than of someone blindly pushing for a single interpretation of the situation. For instance, Nepal’s peace process is undergoing a smooth transition because *The Constitution of Nepal 2015* has already been promulgated. Elections of the three-tier governments for the two consecutive tenures have already been conducted. Now, the country is in the initial phase of making bills and endorsing them. At this point, you can speculate a rebuttal: Nepal’s smooth transition of the peace process is just a rhetoric, not a reality since governments have been frequently reshuffled without a genuine reason, parties have been facing multiple splits, and several coalitions have been formed and broken for insignificant reasons. In response to these speculations, you shall be able to pose your rebuttal. All of the reshuffles of cabinets and the change of guards have taken place in a due constitutional process, so the formation and reformation of governments can be taken for a normal process. The figure below presents the Toulmin model of argument with respective elements:

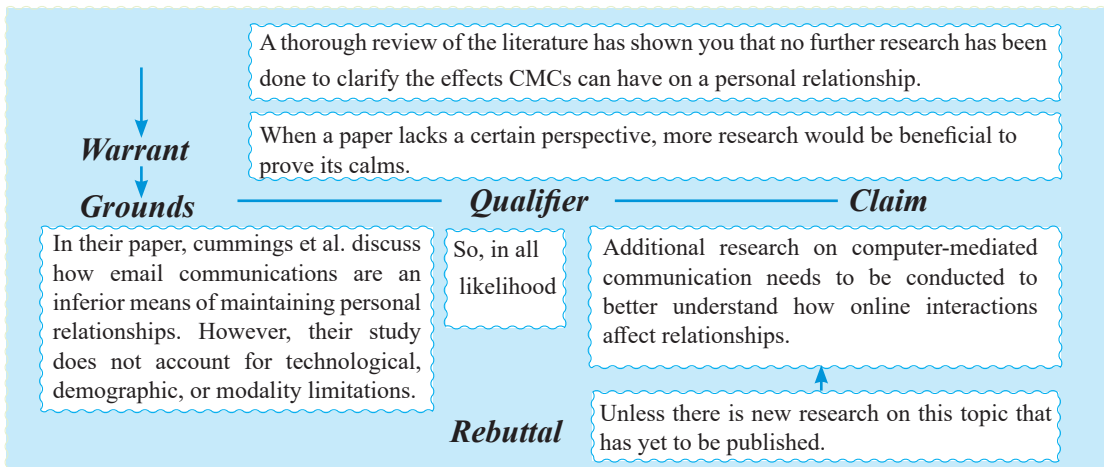


Figure 6: The Toulmin argument model

Source: Purdue Online Writing Lab, Toulmin argument? <https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/general_writing/academic_writing/historical_perspectives_on_argumentation/toulmin_argument.html>

The rhetoric of presenting an idea is necessarily forwarding an agenda you like to explore in your paper. When you like to argue, you should be respecting other people's arguments even if the latter poses a different take on the issue you are debating. Other people's arguments can be as important as yours; however, you are participating in an intellectual debate. To persuade the audience to your agenda, you need to be rhetorically effective.

Nancy Wood (2004) in *The Perspective on Argument*, proclaims that an academic argument, such as a graduate dissertation or a research paper is directed to discover new views, new knowledge, and new truths about a complex issue. To present something new effectively, you need to explore underlying connections across disciplines rhetorically:

physicists: inquiry into the
nature of gravity
historians: causes of major wars political
scientists: benefits of
strong state government.
(Wood, 2004:7)

A shared value of these disciplines is finding a cause/s of events. As an author or speaker, your direction should be to explore a research problem with new views, truths, or perspectives, thus, becoming a part of knowledge production. As a researcher, you will contribute to the existing scholarship with something unique and novel, which was previously unexplored; if explored, it is incomplete. Your research work not only allows you to investigate an unexplored area of scholarship but also provides you with a new direction to further inquire into the latest developments.

Proposing an argument in a chain of the idea-detail matrix requires a mathematical proposition. There should be a perfect coherence of ideas and details in a paragraph,

so that readers can underscore inherent connections of argument and supports.

argument = statement + reason
statement = argument – reason
argument = statement + reason + evidence
hypothesis = argument + prediction

Transmitting a message effectively requires an appropriate methodology. Applications of certain rhetorical strategies concern a meta-discourse on how we do, what we do, and why we do. Unlike medical audiences, readers and listeners of discourses in the humanities and social sciences would like to consider the aesthetic dimensions of a particular literary text. Considering the audience's expectations, researchers are supposedly expected to present methods and techniques of interpretation and analysis of texts in specific conceptual frames and methodological approaches. One can take certain textual materials, such as metaphors, lexical items, and syntactical structures from political discourse to understand and reflect upon multiple issues and subjects of human interest. A political leader takes those textual ingredients to deliver his or her speech to persuade the target audience to indoctrinate them into his or her belief systems. Moreover, leaders and politicians take their agenda and principles to the public through their manifestos which they can also disseminate through their public speech. Precisely, the rhetorical analysis of the text explicitly requires methodology, distinctively including theoretical and conceptual frame.

Methodology: Theoretical and Conceptual Frame

Rhetoric was one of the basic studies during the Renaissance period. Some people seem to have a natural gift for communication; others can develop these skills by studying the principles of speech and composition, observing the method of successful speakers and writers, and by practice. In ancient Greece, Sophists

used to train their students to effectively speak in public with strong logic and clarity of expression. Greeks are famous for the arts, and Romans for culture. The art of rhetoric is basically the Greek expertise, whereas Romans were inclined to contemplate history. In the Greek time, Sophists focused on rhetoric to empower their disciples.

In their presentation, Sophists plan several logical sections of content to make them presentable, responding to the needs and expectations of the public. Those Greek teachers used to divide speech into several logical components to marshal arguments. In Plato's dialogue, Socrates questions civic rhetoric in the fifth-century BC. At that time, Athens was turning into a center of art and culture, so the first ever Greek Olympics were organized in this city in 776 BC.

Rhetoric of rhetoric

The art of rhetoric equally operates in politics and diplomacy. Greeks expected their leaders to be outstanding orators, and Romans prioritized the leadership capabilities of historical figures. In *The Rhetoric of Rhetoric: The Quest for Effective Communication*, Wayne Booth (2004) explicates the relevance of rhetoric referring to the Declaration of American Independence:

Every critic's attempt to answer such a question is complicated by the fact that – to repeat – he or she is influenced by ethical convictions. Most readers from America, for example, will believe, as they study Thomas Jefferson's draft of our Declaration of Independence, that it exhibits not just brilliant technical rhetoric, but methods and purposes totally defensible on ethical grounds: it is a presentation of all the good reasons why we should break free from the "wicked" British. Jefferson was totally sincere, we can assume. On the other hand, most British readers, especially back in 1776, would surely find many of his arguments not just shaky but scandalous, making unfair, even dishonest claims against the enemy. Yet if two thoughtful rhetoricians today, one from

America and one from England, analyze the speech together, they can easily agree in their judgment of the quality of most of Jefferson's moves: he is honestly pursuing a cause he believes in, and he makes many defensible charges. But even now they will find points of strong disagreement about this or that rhetorical move. Then, if the two practice a bit of rhetorology, they will surely find a good deal of common ground underlying the differences. At the end, however, they will not be able to divorce completely their judgment of the entire rhetorical endeavor from whether they think the American Revolution was a splendid reality created by that honest rhetoric. (Booth, 2004: 42-43)

The Thomas Jefferson-led draft committee, with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Livingston and Roger Sherman as its members logically presented a series of reasons for the American independence in 1776. Similarly, Abraham Lincoln's rhetoric reconciled differences between the industrialized American North and the agro-based South. Then, Barack Obama's rhetoric made him the first-ever black president in the US. Then, Nelson Mandela's rhetoric of peace and harmony kept the indigenous black Africans and the European white communities intact.

It has also been an essential feature in the rhetoric preaching and teaching of the world's religions, in the transmission of cultural values, and in the judicial process. Precisely, rhetoric has helped black leaders, women, and minority groups, among others, secure their rights in the world.

Aristotle in rhetoric

Rhetoric is a style of persuasion for a specific purpose. Numerous rhetors and artists cite Aristotle for the authenticity of their claims of truths. Persuading readers and audiences has been one of the fundamental purposes of communication. George Kennedy, in "Prooemion," of Aristotle's *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, reiterates the three components, such as the truth and logical validity of argument (*logos*),

the audience's perception of the speaker's credibility (*ethos*), and emotions that the speaker invokes in the audience on which persuasion depends (*pathos*) (x).

Citing Cicero, modern rhetoricians present their beliefs in the five canons of rhetoric, including invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. In that line, Aristotle's *On Rhetoric* during the third quarter of the fourth century BC immensely influenced Cicero and Quintilian, among other leaders and rhetors in Rome. In *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, Aristotle delineates:

An Art concerned with [the delivery of oratory] has not yet been composed, since even consideration of lexis was late in developing, and delivery seems a vulgar matter when rightly understood. But since the whole business of rhetoric is with opinion, one should pay attention to delivery, not because it is right but because it is necessary, since true justice seeks nothing more in a speech than neither to offend nor to entertain; for to contend by means of the facts themselves is just, with the result that everything except demonstration is incidental; but, nevertheless, [delivery] has great power, as has been said, because of the corruption of the audience. The subject of lexis, however, has some small necessary place in all teaching; for to speak in one way rather than another does make some difference regarding to clarity, though not a great difference; but all these things are forms of outward show and intended to affect the audience. As a result, nobody teaches geometry this way. Whenever delivery comes to be considered, it will function in the same way as acting, and some have tried to say a little about it, for example, Thrasymachus in his Emotional Appeals. Acting is a matter of natural talent and largely not reducible to artistic rule, but insofar as it involves how things are

said [lexis], it has an artistic element. As a result, prizes go to those who are skilled at it, just as they do to orators on the basis of their delivery; for written speeches [when orally recited] have greater effect through expression [lexis] than through thought. (Aristotle: 195-196)

Passing through the Middle Ages in Latin translation, Aristotle's art of rhetoric along politics has become equally popular in modern times (x–xi). In recent years, Aristotle has been cited in teaching and research in the art of oratory and literature, history and politics, and diplomacy and international relations. In rhetoric and composition, most of the faculty and students frequently refer to Aristotle in their classes of speech, composition, and communication.

In the humanities, the trivium, including logic, grammar, and rhetoric, and quadrivium, incorporating music, astronomy, mathematics, and geometry form the seven liberal arts subjects.

In the light of the rising political leader with his distinct political philosophical thought of PMPD during the early part of the 1990s, Bhandari primarily gives a new viable direction to the communist movement but also establishes his dynamic leadership. On top of that, Bhandari's image in Nepali politics is not only associated with the democratization of the left-wing fronts but also transforming the right political organizations to social welfare at large.

In the rhetorical analysis of speech, this paper investigates affinities in the style of presentation between Secretary General Madan Bhandari and President Barack Obama. In terms of repetition and parallel structure at semantic and syntactic levels, both of the leaders share common patterns.

Cognitive connections of metaphors and politics in rhetoric

The cognitive connection between metaphors

and politics persists in diverse disciplines of liberal arts. People get connected with their leaders and politicians through their words and expressions made public verbally. The cognitive approach of rhetoric applicable in different disciplines—economics and politics, sociology and anthropology, history and fiction, science and management, media and visual arts, and psychology and philosophy—exerts in a communication process.

Humans along with birds and animals communicate through signs, including verbal and visual. They develop certain metaphors, and they use metaphors already existent in their cognitive communities. At one point in his Marta Degani (2015) highlights the use of metaphor in a communication system, considering metaphor fundamentally a cognitive phenomenon as well as a linguistic one:

Metaphorical expressions that populate our everyday language are seen as the reflection of deep-seated ways of conceptualizing certain notions. These notions typically represent quite abstract domains, which, in the process of metaphorizing, become frequently connected with our physical and embodied experience. (Degani, 2015: 41)

Speakers and authors use metaphors to effectively communicate their messages with clarity in expression. Metaphors effectively connect addressers and audiences through a proper communication mode. Understanding messages through metaphors requires a similar cognitive community. Otherwise, communication does not operate. Both the addresser and addressee in the communication process should be able to make sense of those metaphors. For instance, if the speaker uses the metaphor of the cross to mean Jesus, sacrifice, love, and forgiveness, audiences on the other side as listeners should be of a Christian community in a European or American context. Similarly, when a speaker uses the metaphor of mandala to mean the wheel of life audiences should be able to decode the

addresser's sense of a circular structure of the life journey.

In “The metaphoric and metonymic poles,” Roman Jakobson (1988) explicates how an author selects words from a vertical axis to combine them in a horizontal axis. Taking the word ‘house,’ Jakobson explicates how an author or speaker selects alternatives from a series of synonyms and antonyms:

To the stimulus hut, one response was burnt out; another is a poor little house. Both reactions are predicative; but the first creates a purely narrative context, while in the second there is a double connection with the subject hut: on the one hand, a positional (namely, syntactic) contiguity, and on the other a semantic similarity.

The same stimulus produced the following substitutive reactions: the tautology hut; the synonyms cabin and hovel; the antonym palace, and the metaphors den and burrow. The capacity of two words to replace one another is an instance of positional similarity, and, in addition, all these responses are linked to the stimulus by semantic similarity (or contrast). Metonymical responses to the same stimulus, such as thatch, litter, or poverty, combine and contrast the positional similarity with semantic contiguity. In manipulating these two kinds of connection (similarity and contiguity) in both their aspects (positional and semantic) – selecting, combining, and ranking them – an individual exhibits his style, his verbal predilections, and preferences. (Jakobson, 1988: 58)

Rhetorically, the process of selection and combination is directed to create poetics. In this light, a poet or novelist selects certain words to form several syntactic structures to generate aesthetics. Such a process of construction of verbal structure with poetic intensity can be illustrated in the following chart based on Jakobson's model of

Vertical axis/ Metaphoric pole/Selection	Horizontal axis/ Metonymic pole/Combination			
	A	house	is	house.
	An	home	are	home.
	The	building	was	building.
	This	palace	were	palace.
	That	castle	had	castle.
	His	villa	had	villa.
	Her	cottage		cottage.
	Their	hut		hut.
		shelter		shelter .
	igloo		burnt out.	
			broke.	
			damaged.	
			demolished.	

Similarly, Bhandari uses words and metaphors to construct stories of Nepali people and their struggles for freedom against the backdrop of the international democracy movement.

Results and Discussion

Bhandari frequently uses myths and metaphors to construct contemporary Nepali political history. In this discourse of history, Bhandari presents his party's position on the monarchy, he uses specific myths and metaphors to

embody the dynastic institution. First, he affirms that his party accepts constitutional monarchy in the new democratic political setting. Secondly, he speculates on the prospect of the designation of the president to replace the hereditary monarch. Lastly, they would accept the king on the condition that the latter remains respectfully supportive of the political transition and democratic institution.

The corpus comprised transcripts of some of the vital political speeches Bhandari delivered on different occasions, including after the promulgation of the 1991 Constitution, the General Election 1992, and public speech on monarchy has shaped contemporary Nepali politics and democratic practice. Since he delivered his public speeches after the restoration of democracy in 1990 and till his death in the mysterious car crash, immediately after he exposed himself to the public as the party's Spokesperson and Secretary General, only those transcripts were documented by the Madan Bhandari Foundation and recorded on its YouTube site.



Figure 8: Bhandari delivering a speech in the post-1990 revolution at Ratnapark upon his first public appearance

Source: File photo from Madan Bhandari in photographs

Myths and metaphors: Semantics of speech on monarchy in a changed political system

Bhandari's speeches are full of myths and metaphors. Moreover, he rhetorically challenges the incumbent monarch to come down to the election ballot to compete with them if he likes to indulge in politics. His efficient use of myths and metaphors related to monarchy in the changed political scene characterizes his speech:

If the king remains indifferent to political affairs;

If he does not interrupt people's sovereignty;
If he remains supporting people's progress and prosperity along with the country's progress and prosperity, we can accept democracy with the monarchy.

When he poses his rebuttal on accepting monarchy as the CPN (UML) secretary general, he bases his position on logos. Moreover, he anticipates disagreement with his claim and gives a rebuttal to the same.

His famous speech on monarchy he delivered during the winter remained a sensation for years. With the newly restored democracy in Nepal, the public was almost suspicious of the monarchy in the country. However, the CPN (UML) leader dared to challenge the monarchy in such a way that this speech shaped his image.

At one point in the parliament, member of parliament Bhandari firmly asserts his party's position on the infamous Tanakpur Treaty between India and Nepal on 24 Chaitra 2049. Citing Article Sub-clause 3 of Article 126 of the Constitution of Nepal 1990, Bhandari asserts:

After the commencement of this Constitution, unless a treaty or agreement is ratified, accepted to, accepted, or approved following this Article, it shall not be binding on His Majesty's Government or the Kingdom of Nepal. (Constitution of Nepal, 1990: 63)

In his delivery, Bhandari presents a series of reasons to defend his claim of the Tanakpur

Treaty which the Nepal Government should have proposed to the parliament for legal procedures. However, the government failed to follow the proper legal procedures. Eventually, the CPN (UML) proposed its objection to the deal between the two South-Asian neighbors during the ongoing parliamentary session. Since the negotiation between the two countries unfolded the ruling Nepali Congress Party's problem with transparency in the best national interest, Bhandari reinforces the opposition party's reservation over the case supporting his claims in sequence.

The parliament signed the document on 5 December to be effective from 15 December. The parliament has also ignored the Supreme Court's verdict. In the meantime, he supports his argument, citing Article 126 sub-clause 2 of the same constitution and the Nepal Treaty Act 2047.

Repetition and difference: Parallels in syntax in political discourse

Rhetorically, certain words immensely affect audiences. In contents, he maintains symmetrical relationships, positing logic inductively or deductively. One can pose points either chronologically or thematically, depending upon the relevance of details to support ideas. In the opening of his speech, Bhandari clarifies how the CPN (UML) is accepting current changes in Nepal at the time people were suspecting its political commitment to the parliamentary democratic system lately restored in Nepal in 1990. Further, he presented certain points of consensus with the country's political environment.

Immediately after the promulgation of the 1990 Constitution in the aftermath of the restoration of democracy, Bhandari in his capacity as the CPN (UML) spokesperson and Secretary General clarified his party's stance on the constitution, proposing the 27-point suggestions to draft the constitution presented by the Constitution Recommendation Commission on 27 September 1990 remarks, calling it a "critical acceptance" of the document. The CPN (UML) had maintained its reservations over some of the provisions in the constitution while agreeing with the status of the

constitution drafting body:

The Commission which consists of tripartite representation—the leftists, the Nepali Congress, and the King—undertook a serious discussion on the received suggestions and drafted a balanced document. It was impossible to have

full consensus among the three different interests and perspectives on the matter of making the Constitution. Therefore, making a compromise on several issues, the Commission prepared a unified draft of the Constitution. (*Madan Bhandari in Photographs*, 39)



Figure 9: Bhandari speaking on the Tanakpur Treaty in the Parliament

Source: *Madan Bhandari in Photographs*

Indeed, the majority of the crucial points of difference were later accommodated in the Constitution 2015 in the Republican structure of Nepal. In retrospect, Bhandari appeared wisely visionary and practical when he was pointing out the party's stance on some of the articles of the constitution, such as the constitutionality of the monarch, the emblem of Nepal, the secular state, tax exemption, and the Nepali Army. For instance, his proposition of the name of the national army, such as the Nepali Army to replace the Royal Nepalese Army was applied in the 2015 Constitution of Nepal. Rhetorically, the proposition of the 27-point suggestions to the constitution drafting commission has certain structures.

A left-wing political party's partial acceptance of the constitution created a sensation in Nepali political space. The CPN (UML) party's endorsement of the constitution with a critical remark brought Bhandari to further limelight.

Rhetorically, this endorsement with 25 points of opposition pertains to the Rogerian model of argument in which an individual partly agrees with the other's position. I have already explicated the argumentation process

of the Rogerian model earlier under the methodology section of this paper. Bhandari's major agendas were later accommodated in the 2015 Constitution in the republican political structure of Nepal. The cautious response of the CPN (UML) to the newly promulgated constitution unfolded a common ground with the establishment, comprised of the democratic Nepali Congress and the Royalists while revealing certain points of contention. At this point, Bhandari's proposition of critical acceptance of the newly promulgated constitution follows the Rogerian model of argument. This model of argument implicates the acceptance of other people's arguments and positing one's points logically.

Similarly, Bhandari applies the Toulmin model of warrants and rebuttal in his argumentation. As the Secretary General of a strong organized party, he needs to clearly state his party's official lines during certain occasions, such as the promulgation of the constitution and the General Election of the Federal Government. When he makes his remark on the retention of monarchy in Nepal, he first poses a rebuttal to what he plans to share with his audience.



Figure 10: An iconic image of Bhandari used during the 2048 general election campaign poster
Source: File Photo from Madan Bhandari in Photographs

When the CPN (UML) had to respond to the promulgation of the 1991 Constitution, they needed to point out common ground with the establishment, comprised of the democratic Nepali Congress and the Royalists while revealing certain points of contention. At this point, Bhandari's proposition of critical acceptance of the newly promulgated constitution follows the Rogerian model of argument. This model of argument implicates the acceptance of other people's arguments and positing one's points logically.

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In his structured speech, Bhandari excels in the proper process of selection and combination of words in Jakobson's analogy. He chooses synonyms and antonyms from the vertical axis

and combines them in the horizontal axis. When he was new to the open political environment of the post-1990 Nepali society, Bhandari carefully selected words and metaphors to stay connected with the public. He appears respectful to people, equal with the educated and uneducated, and professionals and politically conscious. Moreover, he reposes himself truly as a champion of democracy who is open to debate and discussion. With his command of speeches and public expressions, people promptly built up confidence. On the one hand, his image in the underground ML party was already positive with his leadership command as well as his advocacy of Pushpalal Shrestha's approach, collaborating with Nepali Congress to protest the Panchayat Regime. On the other, hand he had shared with the leaders of the democratic party like the Nepali Congress, including Ganeshman Singh and Krishna Prasad Bhattarai with their market-operated liberal economy.

In his presentation, Bhandari presents dialogical intercourse of his political discourse. He anticipates the public's counterargument to project his rebuttal in Toulmin's term. He usually begins his paragraph, by addressing the people respectfully. Further, he urges his audiences to oppose his party's political stance with multiple events, such as the acceptance of the Constitution of Nepal 1990 and the position of the monarchy in the Nepali nation-state.

Conclusion

Heroes and leaders are true public figures whose rhetorical strategies have shaped the political history of Nepal. BP Koirala and Madan Bhandari are iconic representatives of democracy in Nepal. The former championed democracy and the freedom of the Nepali people, while the latter played a crucial role in democratizing the communist party system. Their public image was constructed through their rhetoric in both spoken and written forms, which marked their ascendancy to power.

Koirala is credited with winning the position of prime minister in 1959, while Bhandari achieved a

landslide victory in two different constituencies in Kathmandu during the general election of the Nepalese parliament in 1992. Through their powerful rhetoric addressing contemporary socio-political realities in Nepal, both leaders successfully influenced a large mass of their respective parties: the NC and the CPN (UML).

Koirala's rhetoric became even more powerful after King Mahendra orchestrated a military coup in 1960, resulting in the arrest of the premier-elect and other top brass leaders. Similarly, Bhandari's art of oratory gained greater prominence in the political sphere not only after his victory over the sitting Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai in 1992 but also following his untimely death in a mysterious car crash while traveling from Pokhara to Chitwan in 1993.

This paper presents a comprehensive overview of major issues, concerns, and agenda covered in some of Madan Bhandari's crucial political speeches. Specifically, this section highlights vital issues and agenda of national interest and economic progress, offering an analysis of the rhetorical strategies employed by the leader in his political discourse.

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