ABSTRACT

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This dissertation works towards building a theory of "global rhetoric" as well as practical strategies for both using and teaching global rhetorical principles. Global rhetoric, as I suggest, describes argumentation that maintains persuasive potential for audiences beyond the rhetor's immediate location and time. I build this theory of global rhetoric by offering three "case studies" of exemplary global rhetorical texts: Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* (1893), Randolph Bourne's "The State" (1919), and Aung San Suu Kyi's "In Quest of Democracy" (1991). In each of these case studies, I pay particular attention to the rhetorical tactics that drive the arguments of the essays as well as to the sets of appeals that would maintain persuasive potential as they reached broad, vast, and dispersed audiences.

I bring this analysis to bear on everyday needs. I examine how professional business communicators can use global rhetorical strategies in their work in order to communicate and persuade more effectively across borders and cultures. To this end,

I offer a case study of how a multimodal business presentation was revised to better address global audiences. Finally, I suggest how we can better teach both first- and second-language writing students to be global rhetors. I outline a professional writing course – *Professional Global Rhetoric* – and I offer both a pedagogical rationale and ready-to-use assignment sheets. These assignment sheets are designed to enable writing instructors and Writing Program Administrators to launch a course that builds upon the principles of global rhetoric.

The argument put forth in this dissertation builds from the longstanding rhetorical notion that argumentation is a situated, circumstantial practice that is shaped by the audience. What a global rhetoric suggests, I argue, is that rhetors can look beyond their immediate rhetorical situations and deliberately construct arguments to maintain persuasive potential for audiences across geographic borders and through time.

TOWARDS A GLOBAL RHETORIC:
THEORY, PRACTICE, PEDAGOGY

By

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To Natalie, of course.

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Chapter 1: Towards a Global Rhetoric: Theory, Practice, Pedagogy

Introduction

When the Arab Spring revolutions swept through northern Africa and the Middle East from late 2010 to 2012, the weapon that incited and sustained the uprising was the mobile phone. The protestors who took to the streets were quick to text, tweet, and post online the details of what was happening. Their messages spread like wildfire. With watchful eyes, people throughout the region were using their mobile phones to follow the panorama of unplanned, unscripted protests, and they became emboldened by the growing success of the disruption. For people who had long been kept silent and isolated, the international uprising was an astonishing development. Not only was a community of resistance forming across national borders, but the world was listening – and the protestors' texts, tweets, photos, and Facebook updates were reaching audiences the world over. Sadly, much of the promise of the Arab Spring has dissolved, with the revolution coming full circle, just as in George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1945). Nevertheless, a clear lesson did emerge: thanks to new tools of communication, anyone's voice and argument can reach audiences around the world in an instant.

Thousands of miles from the electric streets of protest, I sat in my office in the quiet mountain town of Asheville, North Carolina, checking Twitter for updates from Cairo, Tripoli, and Tunis. They poured in. On February 4, 2011, as Tunisian protestors were storming the police headquarters in the city of El Kef to fight back against police-sanctioned torture, I had to get offline and join a conference call. One

of our clients, a Geneva-based Alzheimer's disease advocacy organization, was preparing for the release of its annual report – a fifty-page research-driven document written first in English and then translated into Arabic, Chinese (Mandarin), French, and Spanish. The client had hired us, a strategic communications consulting firm, to write their "global media release kit," which was to be disseminated only in English. This year's report was going to focus on the growing rates of Alzheimer's disease prevalence, with particular emphasis on the rise in the less industrialized world. The media kit was designed to elicit interest in – and increase recognition for – the longer report.

The parallels between this conference call and the Arab Spring postings are striking. With the push of a few buttons on my telephone, I was promptly plugged into a teleconference with nearly a dozen others attendees – from Asheville, Boston, Geneva, London, New York, and Paris. With the tap of a few icons on their smartphones, protestors were promptly plugged into an international network – with contributors from Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Syria, Yemen, and more – not to mention tens of thousands of followers worldwide. Minutes before my conference call began, I emailed to all attendees the latest version of the global media release kit that I had been drafting that morning – and, within seconds, they could open it on their computers, tablets, and phones. Minutes after political developments occurred, protestors had already sent out texts and photos chronicling events and, with the push of a button, anyone with a mobile phone could be up-to-the-second on what was happening. On that Friday morning in February 2011, both my conference call and the Arab Spring brought together rhetors and audiences who – despite

barriers of language, culture, geography, politics, and more – were communicating across the globe in real-time.

The global nature of communication in the twenty-first century raises important questions for scholars of rhetoric. Since Ancient Greece, rhetoricians have seen persuasive communication as situational – as constrained and shaped by specificities of place, time, and audience. Given the rise of new technologies and the ability to communicate around the world in an instant, one is prompted to ask: does the immediate, borderless reach of communication challenge the notion of situational specificity that has defined rhetorical practice for centuries? In this dissertation, I argue that new technologies have not changed the nature of rhetoric but that rhetors can build – and have been building for quite some time – arguments with the potential to push beyond situational constraints. Indeed, there is a rich tradition of rhetors who have looked outside their immediate situations and constructed texts with the potential to persuade audiences in vastly different places and times. Thus, the global communication possibilities that have been brought about by digital technologies are not new in kind – only in circumstance. In this dissertation, I begin to build a theory of "global rhetoric," and I seek to identify the rhetorical tactics and the sets of appeals that rhetors can use to persuade broad, vast, and dispersed audiences. I examine how these tactics and appeals have been used in the past, how they can be used currently in practice, and how they should be taught in the professional writing classroom.

As an introductory step to this analysis, it is important to clarify two key terms used throughout this dissertation: *global rhetoric* and *global audience*. I define global rhetoric as: *Argumentation that maintains persuasive potential for audiences beyond*

the rhetor's immediate location and time. As this definition suggests, a global rhetorical text can be persuasive not only across immediate boundaries of place, but also of time. The reason why is simple: the elements that give an argument its ability to persuade across geographies – its strategic choice of rhetorical tactics and sets of appeals, both of which I discuss in detail below – can also enable it to endure through time. Indeed, exemplary texts of global rhetoric not only travel the globe, but they remain vital and persuasive even as time passes. This definition should also suggest that "global rhetoric" has limitations. By "global" I do not mean "universal" or persuasive to all people of the world. Rhetoric, by its very nature, is a kairotic, circumstantial practice – one that must find points of agreement between rhetor and audience. A global rhetoric simply pushes these boundaries, and it asks how arguments can be constructed in order to open potential persuasive appeal to audiences globally.

The second term to clarify is *global audience*. My definition of global audience is more limited than what the term may seem to suggest. I do not contend that a global audience is "universal" or that it includes everyone. My definition of global audience in fact aligns more closely to what Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca say about "particular audiences" in *The New Rhetoric* (1969). According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, the particular audience can be characterized by the values it holds, by the ways it ranks them into "value hierarchies" (81), and by how it views certain values as being "established" (102). In *The New Rhetoric*, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca distinguish the particular audience from the "universal audience" (28). This latter audience, according to their theory, is

"the norm for objective argumentation" (32). It is the universal audience that philosophers and intellectuals imagine as they seek to compose rational argumentation. The particular audience, therefore, is distinguished from the universal audience, because it is persuaded by argumentation that does not hold appeal for every rational being (28). A global audience, I posit, is simply a "particular audience" dispersed across geographies and time. The global rhetor, thus, can effectively appeal to a global audience through values-based argumentation designed to align them to a particular thesis.

In order to begin building a theory of global rhetoric, I offer three "case studies" that analyze illustrative, exemplary global arguments: Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* (1893), Randolph Bourne's "The State" (1919), and Aung San Suu Kyi's "In Quest of Democracy" (1991). In each of these case studies, set out in Chapters Two, Three, and Four, respectively, I pay close attention to the argumentative tactics that give these texts their broad persuasive potential. At times, I employ traditional methods of rhetorical analysis. In Chapter Four, for example, I discuss how the argument within "In Quest of Democracy" can be understood through Kenneth Burke's theory of "identification," as outlined in *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1950). At other times, I propose new rhetorical concepts – and terminology for these concepts – to account for how the arguments work. For example, as I discuss Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and Randolph Bourne's "The State," I fuse Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's "act-essence" theory together with Richard Weaver's "argument from definition." For this fusion, I posit the term "the argument from definitional essence." This rhetorical tactic – as I conceive it –

captures the ways that both Tolstoy and Bourne construct the arguments that form both *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and "The State."

In addition to examining rhetorical tactics in these case studies, I pay close attention to how each rhetor employs a set of global appeals. In other words, I ask: What set of truths, values, and/or principles does the rhetor root his or her argument into in order to give it global persuasive potential? And what strategic language choices does the rhetor deploy in order to keep the argument operating within this set of appeals? As I show through the case studies, each text illustrates a different set of global appeals. In *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, Leo Tolstoy's global appeal is embedded within religious belief – in particular Christ's teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. By their very nature, religious beliefs are taken to hold for all humankind and to be unchangeable from one place to the next. In "The State," Randolph Bourne's global appeal is rooted in disciplinary knowledge. Bourne was a trained sociologist and a vigorous intellectual who was conversant with the knowledge, register, and discourse conventions of many fields within the social sciences, and he, like other social scientists at the time, believed that the discipline had global application.[1] In "In Quest of Democracy," Aung San Suu Kyi roots her global appeal in human rights, specifically the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights (UNDHR). Through the UNDHR, Aung San was able to locate her argument within a vibrant global dialogue about protecting human rights in all places and for all people.

[1] By "register," I follow Jeanne Fahnestock's definition in *Rhetorical Style:* "a subset of language tied to a particular activity or situation…special terms and pharses and occasionally distinctive speech patterns, but not alternate grammars" (83).

Taken together, these three case studies – *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, "The State," and "In Quest of Democracy" – are designed to provide complementary, illustrative examples of global rhetoric. In each case study, I show how a rhetor can construct rhetorical tactics to build an argument with broad and enduring persuasive potential. As I consider each text, I look very closely at the mechanics of the argument, and I analyze them with an eye on how they are working to build persuasive potential beyond the writer's immediate situation. In addition, I also pay particular attention to how each text illustrates a set of global appeals, whether religious truths, disciplinary knowledge, or human rights. Finally, I trace how each text circulated and actually reached global audiences. Ultimately, these three case studies are intended to serve two ends: to enrich our understanding of how these magnificent texts argue; and to provide the beginnings of a theory of global rhetoric that can, I hope, inform how we understand rhetoric, how we use it, and how we teach it.

In Chapters Five and Six, I move beyond textual analysis, and I explore global rhetorical practice and pedagogy. More specifically, I aim to translate the insights gained from these three case studies into practical knowledge about how professionals can communicate effectively in global rhetorical situations and how writing teachers can better train students to be global rhetors. In Chapter Five, I examine how a small consulting firm (where I work as the in-house speechwriter) revised a multimodal PowerPoint presentation. I look very closely at how the firm's "core presentation" (which outlines its service offering and its value proposition to potential clients) was revised to become its "core *global* presentation" (which serves

the same goals, but anticipates a global audience). I detail what changes were made to globalize the presentation and also why these changes were made. This analysis pays particular attention to strategic choices of style, uses of images, and the arrangement of textual and visual units within individual PowerPoint slides. Throughout, I frame the chapter's discussion to offer both scholars and professional practitioners a set of principles that can guide a "global revision process."

In Chapter Six, I bring the analysis of all previous chapters to bear on the composition classroom, and I ask: How can we train our writing students to be global rhetors? My goal in this chapter is to offer a practical, usable guide for instructors and Writing Program Administrators who are interested in beginning a professional writing course to train students to be global rhetors. As I discuss, I design this course – what I call *Professional Global Rhetoric* – for both first- and second-language students. In this chapter, I offer a critical overview of what scholars are saying about composition instruction in multicultural, multilingual settings, and I conclude with a set of assignment sheets that puts into practice the theories developed throughout this dissertation. These assignment sheets are designed to provide ready-to-use classroom materials. The goal of Chapter Six is much like that of Chapter Five: to bring the insights gained from this dissertation's case studies to inform the everyday application of global rhetoric. First, however, it is necessary to examine the scholarly landscape and to assess where a theory of global rhetoric fits – and does not fit – within critical conversations.

The Scholarly Landscape

Contrastive Rhetoric

To date, there is neither a field of global rhetoric nor a field under a different name that focuses on how arguments can persuade audiences across geographies and time. Over the past half-century – and especially within the last twenty years – an increasing number of scholars have begun to investigate the ways that communication can and should work in a multicultural, multilingual, increasingly connected world. Of the many fields of scholarship that have developed in this pursuit, there are three in particular that are most relevant to this dissertation: Contrastive Rhetoric, English-as-a-second-language pedagogy, and cross-cultural communication. I contend that this dissertation, in its pursuit of beginning to build a theory of global rhetoric, can contribute to the current conversations in each of these fields. To suggest exactly how, I now briefly overview each field.

Contrastive Rhetoric, historically, has examined how a person's first language influences how he or she writes and structures arguments in a second language. The field began with Robert Kaplan's 1966 article, "Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education." Kaplan, a long-time writing teacher, struggled to understand how international and second-language students organized their arguments. Unlike many, Kaplan did not assume that second-language writers were deficient because they were different. Instead, he suspected that how a student organized an argument was influenced by his or her cultural and linguistic background. To investigate his hypothesis, Kaplan analyzed hundreds of essays from students of various backgrounds, paying particular attention to how an argument developed from introduction to conclusion. He mapped out – in what is now widely referred to as "the

doodles article" – the process by which each "language group" (15) structures its arguments. Below is Kaplan's original illustration (see fig. 1):

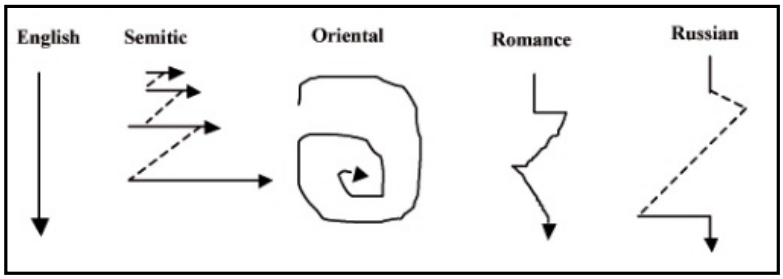

Fig. 1. Kaplan's "doodles," representing the argumentative structures of various language groups (21).

These illustrations are meant to show that a student's cultural heritage shapes how he or she thinks about and organizes an argument in an identifiable, consistent way. Kaplan's essay has been criticized exhaustively – for its ethnocentristic representation of English-language argumentation, for its blunt categorization of "Oriental" students, and for many other alleged deficiencies. Yet regardless of one's take on Kaplan's "doodles," one thing is clear: Kaplan's essay proffered a new theory of – and paradigm for – second-language writing instruction, and it spurred a field that attracted notable scholarly attention over the subsequent decades.

Though Kaplan's essay began the field, it was Ulla Connor's scholarship in the 1990s that invigorated Contrastive Rhetoric and gave it institutional relevance. Connor's *Contrastive Rhetoric: Cross-Cultural Aspects of Second-Language Writing* (1996) is perhaps her most important academic contribution, even though many of its arguments have since been displaced by subsequent scholarship – some of which is Connor's own work. Connor's text, however, is a seminal contribution to Contrastive Rhetoric, because it was the first comprehensive overview of how the field had

evolved since Kaplan's 1966 essay and in what potential directions it could develop. In *Contrastive Rhetoric*, Connor offers a very candid assessment of the limitations and opportunities of current methodologies in the field. As Connor suggests, Contrastive Rhetoric had become deeply interdisciplinary, borrowing from rhetoric, composition, discourse analysis, genre studies, applied linguistics, and more. She applauds the potential of this interdisciplinarity, but she also identifies a number of deficiencies. A promising path for Contrastive Rhetoric, she argues, is to move away from finite textual units – sentences, paragraphs, essays – and more fully towards discourse-level features. She calls for Contrastive Rhetoric scholars to absorb new work done in related fields, but she also reinforces a limitation that has hampered the field since its beginnings. Contrastive Rhetoric, as Connor imagines it, remains the pursuit of explaining how one's first language and culture influence one's writing in a second language.

While Connor's volume sparked new interest in the field, many scholars adopted her critical outlook. Indeed, most of the new scholarship was – quite openly – struggling with the field's methods and objectives. Paul Kei Matsuda, for example, criticizes Contrastive Rhetoric for its failure to deliver effective pedagogical solutions, arguing that scholars saw student writing as "static" when in fact it was "dynamic" ("Contrastive Rhetoric" 45). This misunderstanding, according to Matsuda, prevented the field from producing productive pedagogical material. In 2001, a number of scholars responded to Matsuda's criticism in *Contrastive Rhetoric: Revisited and Redefined*. In this volume, there is general agreement that Contrastive Rhetoric needs to develop both its goals and its methodologies in order to remain a

viable academic pursuit. Nevertheless, the scholars who contribute to the collection disagree on the best future direction for the field. For example, Kristin R. Woolever argues that Contrastive Rhetoric needs to work more closely with business and technical writing (43-58), while Jan Corbett pushes the field in a more theoretical direction, contending that Contrastive Rhetoric needs to account for "social construction" rather than maintaining its adherence to "prescriptive pedagogies" (27). While these and other essays suggest different directions for scholarly pursuit, there are points of agreement that emerge. As Connor summarizes, "The goals of this volume are highly consonant with current thinking in contrastive rhetoric...to widen [its] horizons" (76).

In 2008, scholarly concern with the "horizons" of Contrastive Rhetoric was given new voice in Connor's edited collection, *Contrastive Rhetoric: Reaching to Intercultural Rhetoric*. In the first chapter, Xiaoming Li argues for drastic changes, contending that the field should re-imagine itself entirely, beginning by changing its name to "intercultural rhetoric" (11). Li argues that the "contrastive" method is too deterministic, and he cites previous work by Alan Purves and Connor to contend that, with the name Contrastive Rhetoric, the field must always be comparative. "Intercultural rhetoric," on the other hand, could better incorporate new work in ethnography, corpus linguistics, and textual linguistics (11). The essays that appear in the remainder of the text try to demonstrate what an "intercultural rhetoric" would look like. They focus on the rhetorical conventions that prevail in very specific genres across languages. Consider, for example, titles of two essays: "A genre-based study of research grant proposals in China" (by Haiying Feng) and "The rhetorical structure

of academic book reviews of literature: An English-Spanish cross-linguistic approach" (by Lorena Suarez and Ana I. Moreno). The volume ends with a transcript of a conversation between Matsuda and Dwight Atkinson. Matsuda and Atkinson agree that Contrastive Rhetoric is "at a crucial point in its history" ("A Conversation" 277). Matsuda proposes that Contrastive Rhetoric should aim to have more thoughtful and robust pedagogical implications, and Atkinson contends that the name-change to "intercultural rhetoric" reveals an effort to "reconceptualize" the field to get it away from its early "structuralist and behaviorist" thinking ("A Conversation" 283). Matsuda, objecting to Li's "intercultural rhetoric," proposes "inter-rhetoric" ("A Conversation" 297) as a new name, and the conversation finishes – Matsuda and Atkinson agree – mostly with loose ends.

This overview of the short, troubled history of Contrastive Rhetoric should suggest that this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric is neither a sub-field nor a new direction of Contrastive Rhetoric. To put it directly, Contrastive Rhetoric has the opposite goal of a theory of global rhetoric. Contrastive rhetoric looks at arguments *from the outside in* – at how cultural traditions determine the shapes of arguments. Global rhetoric looks at arguments *from the inside out* – at how arguments can open up to audiences beyond the rhetor's immediate situation. Nevertheless, I do believe that this dissertation raises two questions that may give scholars of Contrastive Rhetoric new ideas or methodologies. First, could a global rhetoric's antithetical starting point – looking at texts from the inside out – provide a new, useful avenue of textual analysis for Contrastive Rhetoric? Second, as I discuss in detail in Chapter Five (in examining the layout of textual and visual elements in a professional

PowerPoint presentation), there is great need for scholars to build towards a "global visual grammar." Given the experience that scholars in Contrastive Rhetoric have in comparing the text of one culture to another, could they take their practice a step further and identify the similarities that visual layouts share from different cultures in order to suggest an effective global visual grammar? I do not suggest that I have an answer to either of these questions, but they are, perhaps, of interest to Contrastive Rhetoric scholars. Ultimately, while this dissertation does not directly participate in an ongoing conversation about the discipline's future, Contrastive Rhetoric is the best-known, most widely recognized field of composition and rhetoric that addresses how persuasive communication changes across languages, cultures, traditions, etc. Thus, it is important to detail, at the outset, that this dissertation differentiates itself from this field.

Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)

A theory of global rhetoric can also contribute to the scholarly conversations about teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL).[2] TESOL shares many similarities with Contrastive Rhetoric, as both fields seek to improve the ways that we think about and teach composition to second-language students. Unlike Contrastive Rhetoric, however, TESOL is far more concerned with actionable outcomes than with analysis or theoretical discussion. In other words, most of the scholarly work done in TESOL is very practical and hands-on; its primary goal is to

[2] For simplicity's sake, I use the acronym TESOL (teaching English to speakers of other languages) for all scholarship that addresses questions of second-language pedagogy. I choose TESOL because the majority of scholarship that shapes this field is found in *TESOL Quarterly*.

suggest "best practices" for teaching English as a second language. Broadly speaking, most TESOL scholarship fits into one of three categories: how to improve classroom pedagogy and teach more effectively; how to better understand the broad diversity of second-language student populations; and how to recognize – and negotiate – the geopolitics of the English language and second-language instruction. Below, and more fully in Chapter Six, I suggest where and how a theory of global rhetoric can contribute to these conversations.

The TESOL scholarship that discusses pedagogical issues aims to have immediate classroom application. Most TESOL scholars conclude their articles with concrete recommendations for how teachers can train students to better read, speak, write, and understand spoken English. Additionally – and of particular interest to this project – the field has also produced some intriguing discussions of how visuals can be used as effective teaching tools for second-language learners (as I discuss in further detail below). On the whole, the methodology of TESOL scholarship is to compare, as quantitatively as possible, standard second-language instruction methods with newer, experimental approaches in order to suggest best practices. One representative example is Justina Ong and Lawrence Jun Zhang's essay "Effects of the Manipulation of Cognitive Processes on EFL Writers' Text Quality" (2013). In this article, Ong and Zhang outline and experiment in which they gave four groups of Chinese second-language students different amounts of time to engage in "pre-planning exercises" for a writing assignment (383). They then compared the quality of each group's written work and conclude that the group that was given the most time for "free-writing" produced the highest quality texts. The authors conclude by

emphasizing "the importance of a pedagogy by which teachers design and implement writing lessons with…a free writing strategy" (393). This kind of comparative, evaluative approach is used often by TESOL scholars to determine the best pedagogies for lesson planning (as seen above), vocabulary acquisition (see Kieran Andrew File and Rebecca Adams), grammatical competencies (see Douglas Biber, Bethany Gray and Kornwipa Poonpon) and more. What TESOL scholars typically do not do, however, is address issues of argument.

Consequently, instructors who teach second-language writing courses find little guidance in TESOL scholarship for how to teach beyond sentence-level issues. They could turn to Contrastive Rhetoric, as it focuses on larger, organizational questions, but Contrastive Rhetoric scholarship is culture-specific and is of limited use in the kinds of writing courses common at today's universities – courses that contain students from dozens of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. I argue that a theory of global rhetoric can help fill this gap, because it can guide second-language writing instructors to teach broadly persuasive rhetorical strategies to students of all backgrounds and levels of English-language proficiency. This move from grammar to rhetoric in the TESOL classroom is a critical step if we are to train our students to be global rhetors, as I suggest we should. I do not argue that rhetoric should replace grammar in the TESOL classroom, but complement it. The two in conjunction will best prepare second-language students for real-world English-language needs. One can imagine how, in a rhetorical text, a second-language writer could mishandle a grammatical issue but remain persuasive by using an argumentative strategy appropriate for the situation.

As previously mentioned, there are also interesting pedagogical discussions about the use of visuals in the TESOL classroom. Mostly, such analysis focuses on the ways that visuals can help students improve their listening and reading skills – not how they can make arguments. A theory of global rhetoric in the TESOL classroom can bring a new pedagogical element to visuals, because, from a rhetorical point of view, visuals do not only aid language-learning, but they are powerful tools of communication and argumentation. As I discuss in detail in Chapter Five of this dissertation – as I analyze how a professional PowerPoint presentation was revised for global audiences – visuals have immense argumentative potential. This is especially true in this digital era, as visuals are becoming more common and increasingly responsible for making sophisticated, far-reaching arguments. In the TESOL classroom, visuals should be discussed as argumentative tools, and scholar-teachers should think about how to best teach students to use images to persuade audiences of diverse and unknown backgrounds.

The final contribution that this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric can make to the TESOL field is to offer a counter-argument to the scholarship that suggests that the teaching of English is a tool for – and/or a product of – Western cultural imperialism. As many scholars rightly point out, there are a number of pitfalls in the teaching of English to second-language learners. A. Suresh Canagarajah, Alastair Pennycook, John Trimbur, and Linda Harklau have each argued that TESOL can reproduce power disparities and marginalize students outside of the privileged inner-circle of English. It can also, as Robert E. Land, Catherine Whitely, and Deborah K. Palmer have shown, prioritize first-language speakers'

norms and preferences over those of second-language students. Each of these hazards should be taken very seriously by teachers of writing, not only in second-language settings but in "standard" composition classrooms as well, as many of these dynamics apply equally to first-language speakers with minority dialects. Some of these pitfalls, however, can be avoided in a writing course built on a pedagogy of global rhetoric. As I detail in Chapter Six, when a course based on global rhetorical theory mixes first- and second-language students together in the same classroom, it offers a potential solution to some of the problems that these scholars rightly point out.[3]

The reason why is straightforward. In a classroom that trains students to persuade global audiences, the power that comes with a privileged English-language dialect will be minimized. Global audiences are geographically (and temporally) dispersed collections of people, and a global audience will contain a mix of linguistic norms, traditions, and preferences. As students try to persuade such a diverse audience, many different dialects could become equally effective. Perhaps, what would be most persuasive in many situations is a grapholect – a constructed dialect of the English language that no one student could claim as "native." In this sense, the global audience acts as a democratizing force for both first- and second-language students. Second-language students will have more flexibility with their lack of fluency, their dialects, and their "errors." First-language students with marginalized rural or urban dialects will avoid the traditional penalties that are often experienced in writing classrooms. Ultimately, I argue that a theory of global rhetoric in the composition classroom illustrates how English can be an agent not of hegemony but

[3] To a limited extent, scholars have previously suggested the merits and strategies of creating a linguistically mixed course. I detail this argument in depth in Chapter Six.

of empowerment. Indeed, if we think of the English language as a tool to extend one's voice globally, English becomes far more than something that students must possess in order to assimilate to the privileged circles within the United States. Instead, it becomes the language that creates global opportunities. It is not the ultimate antidote to the numerous problems that scholars rightly point out, but there is tremendous precedent showing that English can empower and open up the world to those who can strategically manage global rhetorical techniques. Two of the three case studies in this dissertation, as one example, analyze the work of writers for whom English is a second language. It was through their arguments in the English language that they were able to reach their global audiences. For global rhetors, English is not – or at least not only – a homogenizing, oppressive, neo-imperialist force. It is also a means through which all writers can reach and persuade audiences, regardless of linguistic heritage. To this extent, this dissertation offers a counterpoint to the body of scholarship that criticizes the culture of English language teaching.

Cross-Cultural Professional Communication

Broadly speaking, the scholarship in the field of cross-cultural professional communication seeks to train – and understand how to train – students and professionals for non-academic communication needs. As I discuss in detail in Chapter Five, the field of cross-cultural communication has grown substantially over the past two decades, as business has become more global and as English has further emerged as the world's lingua franca in business, academia, science, medicine, government, and beyond. Most fundamentally, cross-cultural communication

scholarship investigates how English works today as it crosses immediate borders of culture and nation and also how to make global English-language communication more effective and efficient. Overall, cross-cultural communication scholarship can be divided into four schools: one that focuses on nation-specific communication preferences; one that calls for a more theoretical understanding of language and culture; one that focuses on identifying practical communication strategies and skills with broad applicability; and one that focuses on "World Englishes" and English for specific purposes. Below, I overview each in brief, and I suggest that the third school is where this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric contributes most significantly.

The first school – which focuses on nation-specific communication preferences – began nearly four decades ago with Edward Hall's *Beyond Culture* (1976) and Geert Hofstede's *Culture's Consequences* (1980). These two iconic books – as well as other texts by Hall and Hofstede, plus the work of the many scholars who have followed in their footsteps – argue that professionals can communicate more effectively across cultures by examining the communication practices and preferences of different national cultures. This method of cross-cultural communications suggests that would-be rhetors should first examine nation-specific communications practices and preferences and then develop a strategy for communicating with people from other countries. Hall, for example, identifies six dimensions that shape communication preferences: power distance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term/short-term orientation, and indulgence/self-restraint. Hofstede's methodologies and metrics – like those of Robert J. House, whose more recent work is deeply indebted to Hofstede's – differ from

Hall's dimensions. But the work of all three is underpinned by the same beliefs and assumptions about the stability and know-ability of a nation's communication preferences. Though this school of cross-cultural communication scholarship has evolved and has been subject to much criticism of late, there are still scholars and many practitioners who adhere to the premise of their work – that professional communication works best when the rhetor understands and can adapt to the nation-specific preferences of the audience. For this dissertation's goal of beginning to develop a theory of global rhetoric, a nation-specific approach serves as a negative model. A theory of global rhetoric argues that what rhetors need in this diverse, multilingual, multicultural twenty-first century is a strategy that looks over and beyond particular preferences and towards a rhetorical strategy with broad, vast appeal.

The second school of cross-cultural communication scholarship is far more invested in high cultural and linguistic theory. These critics question whether any nation-specific approach can help professional business rhetors communicate effectively across languages and cultures, and they are suspicious of such – as they see it – simplistic conceptions of how language, nation, and culture interact to produce predictable, stable communication guidelines. Questions of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation are, according to this school, equally or even more important than nationality in shaping a person's communications preferences. Scholars like Peter Cardon, Danielle DeVoss, Laurie Grobman, Mikka Lehtonen, and R. Peter Hunsiger, to name only a few, push against this "simplistic" notion of communication by incorporating cultural theory into their work. Consider, as only

one example, Hunsinger's "Culture and Cultural Identity in Intercultural Technical Communication" (2006), which typifies the scholarly trend of bringing sophisticated cultural theory to bear on business and technical communication scholarship. In this article, Hunsinger relies heavily on the concepts outlined in Arjun Appadurai's *Modernity at Large* (1996) in order to argue that culture cannot be understood definitively and that it must be seen as an "active, deterritorialized process" (38). For Hunsinger and other scholars who share his approach, the key to improving cross-cultural business communication is to equip professionals with a deep, nuanced understanding of language, culture, and the interaction between the two. There is merit to this approach, I believe, and it is a constructive alternative to the determinism of nation-specific models. This approach does not, however, sufficiently recognize the practical limitations of business communication. To be frank, high cultural theory will hold only very limited value to business communicators operating in outcomes-based, deadline-driven environments.

The third school of cross-cultural communications scholarship shaping the field today is working towards developing practical, versatile communication skills and strategies. Of all the approaches to cross-cultural communications, this school is by far the smallest and least influential, and its most notable work is produced by one of two scholars: Valerie Goby or Edmond Weiss. As I detail in Chapter Five, I believe that this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric aligns most closely to Goby and Weiss. Like their work, a theory of global rhetoric seeks to develop strategies that are both broadly applicable (not nation-specific) and practical (not rooted in high theory). Additionally, Goby, Weiss, and this dissertation are united in the belief that

business communicators and their audiences share a set of communication preferences and expectations that are in large part the product of professional roles, not only of national, cultural, or linguistic backgrounds. Goby, for example, argues that there are "universal" ("All Business" 181) communications needs among business professionals, and she contends that scholars should focus on uncovering these universal needs and developing strategies to teach them. Goby sees nationality as a matter of secondary importance for professionals. What they want – and require – is the result first of their professional role. Weiss, on the other hand, imagines how business rhetors can use the English language in a way that ignores a culture's specific tendencies, preferences, and dialects. Rather than adapt to an audience's particular set of preferences, Weiss argues that business communicators should learn an "international style" of English, one that strives for "culture-free" linguistic choices that are clear to first- and second-language speakers, inner- and outer-circle English-language users (xi). In beginning to build a theory of global rhetoric, I share many of Goby's and Weiss's goals. My work, however, is distinct in notable ways. Unlike Goby, I do not argue for or believe that we should strive to identify "universal" needs and rhetorical preferences. As I suggest above, a theory of global rhetoric embraces the traditional notion of rhetoric's situatedness, and it simply pushes to expand these boundaries. My work is also distinguished from Weiss because it is interested in *rhetorical* and not solely *linguistic* features of global communication. I do, of course, recognize that linguistic choices have rhetorical consequence, and I discuss this interplay in great detail in the proceeding chapters. However, the distinction – even if simplistic – is worth making: as Weiss sets out to

discover an "international style" of language, I set out to uncover tactics of argumentation and sets of appeals that can persuade globally.

The fourth and final school of cross-cultural professional communications scholarship that has emerged in recent years is "World Englishes" or English for Specific Purposes. Scholars in these fields – including David Crystal, Catherine Nickerson, Teresa Lipus, Jennifer Jenkins, Pamela Rogerson-Revell, and Marinel Gerritsen – examine how the English language works globally. Their work operates under a variety of names: World Englishes (WEs), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), Business English as a Lingua Franca (BELF), English for Specific Purposes (ESP), and English as a Global Language. For the most part, these scholars share the broad goal of analyzing how to best use the English language in professional global settings for multilingual and multi-dialectal audiences. The sites of English usage that they study vary, but there is a focus on professional communication, including business, science, industry, medicine, etc. The focus is less on the practical teaching of English – as we see in TESOL – and more on the dynamics of English-language usage in "real world" settings. To offer one example, Anna Mauranen argues that new English-language dialects are being generated by "outer-circle" and second-language speakers and that these dialects will not mimic privileged British or American English. This is significant, Mauranen contends, because English-language communications designed for outer-circle and/or second-language speakers should not adhere (only) to British and American dialects. Mauranen's argument is only one of many in this field, but its focus on language-level uses, issues, needs, and applications captures the focus of the broader conversation. This dissertation may

prove to be a constructive addition to the conversation because, as with TESOL, it introduces to the field the concept of global argumentation. The linguistic issues that these scholars are discussing are very important, and I do not wish to suggest otherwise. My contention is simply that focusing only on language-level issues misses the important elements of argument.

Ultimately, in overviewing the scholarly landscape, I conclude that the theory of global rhetoric that this dissertation begins to develop both engages with and falls outside current critical conversations. Very clearly, there is no dedicated scholarly conversation about a theory of "global rhetoric." With very few exceptions, scholars are not examining how rhetorical tactics and sets of appeals enable arguments to persuade broadly across immediate borders of language, nation, culture, etc. Nevertheless, as this literature overview should suggest, I do believe that this dissertation contributes to a number of ongoing academic conversations, because it offers a complementary set of questions and insights that can expand – to use Ulla Connor's term – the "horizons" (69) of current, adjacent scholarship.

Overall, I believe that this dissertation presents a contribution to the scholarship of rhetoric and composition because we, as scholars, are still only beginning to understand how arguments can and will work cross-culturally and globally in the twenty-first century. This dissertation – I hope – adds a useful piece to the puzzle. Indeed, while the global rhetorical situation is nothing new, it is becoming increasingly common, and a theory of global rhetoric will help us understand how texts are arguing, how we can create texts for global audiences, and how we can train our students to be global rhetors. In the chapters that follow, I build towards a theory

of global rhetoric without the intention of offering a definitive or closed-door account. What I hope to do, ultimately, is to start a conversation. As the Arab Spring protestors showed us – and as my professional experiences constantly remind me – the traditional boundaries of persuasion are disappearing. We, as scholars, need to keep up.

Chapter 2: Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*: Arguing Through Definitional Essence and Religious Appeals

Introduction

Late in Leo Tolstoy's life, years after he had written *War and Peace* (1865-1869) and *Anna Karenina* (1878), he had a religious crisis. He concluded that "dogmatic Christianity" – his term for Christianity as it was practiced in Russia and throughout the Western world – distorted what he believed to be "true Christianity." According to Tolstoy, the Sermon on the Mount was to be followed literally and strictly, and Christians needed to re-evaluate their civic and spiritual lives in order to abide by Jesus' teachings. Tolstoy's new belief consumed him. He stopped writing secular fiction and started composing religious stories and essays exploring and propounding his new religious beliefs. Of these writings, the most fully developed is *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (1893) – a relentless, devastating, five-hundred-page polemic against churches, governments, militaries, and other organized institutions that, according to Tolstoy, prevent people from living by Christ's teaching.

In *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, Tolstoy's argument is uncompromising. It refuses to bend or to allow exceptions to its claims. At its crux, the text argues that churches – all churches – behave in opposition to Christ's teaching. It contends that governments – all governments – oppress and mislead. It claims that all military service – by definition – enslaves in the name of tradition. Tolstoy's argument permits no circumstances that might excuse or make exceptions

for specific churches, governments, or militaries. In *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, he argues that all churches, all governments, and all militaries prevent people from living in peace and in accord with Christian principles. According to Tolstoy, these institutions can and should be abolished through peaceful non-participation.

In this chapter, I contend that *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* builds its central argument upon global rhetorical tactics and religious appeals. The core of the essay's argument employs enduring rhetorical techniques to persuade audiences irrespective of where or even when they live. It positions audiences to consider essential, definitional natures of certain institutions that do not change from one place to another, because they contain attributes that must exist in the institution in order for that institution to come into being and maintain its existence. Specifically, Tolstoy does not argue that his Russian government oppresses or that his local Orthodox church perverts the teachings of Christ. Instead, Tolstoy argues that all governments and all churches – in essence and by definition, regardless of time or place – must and can only oppress and pervert. He describes how churches, governments, and militaries must behave in order to be churches, governments, and militaries. Then, once he has established these behaviors as inherent and definitional attributes of the institution, he posits that this behavior creates the institution's essence – an essence that exists in every church, government, and military regardless of particular circumstances. This argumentative technique, I contend, enables *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* to open and maintain its persuasive potential for global audiences. Furthermore, the arguments that use these tactics have the capacity to persuade audiences beyond Tolstoy's immediate context because they operate within a larger

Christian framework. Tolstoy roots the argument within a set of appeals – Christian truths and values – that have a history of persuading across cultures, languages, and time. Taken together, the rhetorical techniques and the set of Christian appeals give *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* the ability to persuade global audiences.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I define global rhetoric as "argumentation that maintains persuasive potential for audiences beyond the rhetor's immediate location and time." Now, I closely analyze a few select passages within *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* to isolate and explain how global rhetoric functions. With this analysis, I argue that appealing to religious truths opens global persuasive capacity, and I also begin to identify global rhetorical techniques – techniques that rhetors can employ when they wish to persuade global audiences. To identify these techniques and understand how they are working, I borrow theory and vocabulary directly from existing rhetorical scholarship, and I suggest broadening our understanding of these techniques to include their globally persuasive capabilities. In addition, I also fuse traditional vocabularies and concepts in order to create what I call "global rhetorical techniques." Before this analysis can begin, however, it is necessary to establish the context in which Tolstoy wrote and distributed *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. While rhetorical analysis of the text enables us to see how Tolstoy's argumentative methodology builds his global persuasive capacity, a strong sense of his contexts – social, political, religious, and literary – helps us better understand the purpose of his arguments, the audiences he sought to persuade, and the constraints under which he operated.

Tolstoy's Rhetorical Situation

Leo Tolstoy, of course, is best known for his classic novels *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*. Following his death, these two texts earned Tolstoy a place among the all-time literary greats. During his lifetime, however, Tolstoy's reputation as an author was more complex, especially within his native Russia. On one hand, he was considered by many to be an indisputable genius who stood at the helm of the mid-nineteenth-century Russian literary renaissance. When the six-volume bound edition of *War and Peace* was published in 1869, "the literary world...was at fever pitch," and Russian society recognized that "an event of major importance had taken place" (Troyat 314). A decade later, *Anna Karenina* fetched more money in advance than any previous Russian novel, despite Tolstoy publicly admitting that he questioned whether it was any good or even worth completing. His publisher weighed the risks and made the gamble, hoping that *Anna Karenina* might cause just half the sensation of *War and Peace* (Wilson 276-278).

Yet, Tolstoy's place among the literary elite did not insulate him from public disdain or political attacks. His moral heavy-handedness was unpopular, and readers objected to the prolonged philosophical digressions that interrupted the plot development of his novels. Furthermore, Tolstoy's social and political beliefs were unpopular. After publishing *War and Peace*, he was "hooted at by the left and right...The monarchists heaped abuse on [his] head because he had flaunted national values, and the liberals wanted to send him to the stake because he had flaunted the people" (Troyat 316-317). Indeed, even when Tolstoy was at the height of his career – surpassing both Alexander Pushkin and Fydor Dostoyevsky in significance and

influence – he was disparaged by Russia's authorities, taste-makers, and upper-classes. This rejection by the elite created an uneasy situation for Tolstoy, and it helps explain the unique circumstances in which he wrote *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*.

After the controversies of *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoy drifted to the fringes of Russian society, and, by the mid-1880s, he had become a genuine outcast. His estate in rural Yasnaya Polyana kept him isolated from the goings-on in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and, much to the irritation of his wife and the rest of his family, he became fully invested in re-thinking his spirituality and re-examining how to live in accord with Christ's teaching. This personal religious crisis turned his world upside down, as he strove to deprive himself of what he believed to be impure pleasures. He gave up rights to his property, abstained from having sexual relations with his wife, and turned vegetarian. He grew "ashamed of" his earlier writings and renounced all profit-making activities (Green, "Tolstoy as Believer" 166). The themes of his early works now appalled him. He began literary redemption, as Christians seeking forgiveness often do, with *A Confession* (1882). Tolstoy's intimate narrative of his own spiritual journey revealed to the public his most personal failings. It recounted the agony of his recent religious crisis and described in broad terms the populist and pacifist brand of Christianity that he would practice and preach until his death. Two years later, Tolstoy followed up with *What I Believe* (1884), in which he offered a detailed exploration of his Christian faith and a code of Christian conduct derived exclusively from the Sermon on the Mount. Together *A Confession* and *What I Believe* foreshadow the more strident, fully articulated challenges to and

condemnations of the Russian Orthodox Church that characterize *The Kingdom of God is Within You.* Both *A Confession* and *What I Believe* were promptly banned in Russia. Authorities actually seized the first print run of *What I Believe* from the printer's office – even though it consisted of only thirty copies.[4] With these two works, Tolstoy put his secular fiction and the kind of fame and privilege it brought him fully in his past, and he began his journey into the all-consuming project of understanding and then promulgating what it means to live life as a "true Christian."

It would be simplistic, however, to argue that Tolstoy's contemplation of religion, ethics, society, and Christianity was confined to his later years. Throughout early adulthood – even as he dabbled with conforming to aristocratic Russian society – his life was punctuated by deep religious reflections. In 1855, for example, when Tolstoy was twenty-seven years old and fond of drinking and gambling, he wrote in his diary:

> Yesterday a conversation about divinity and faith has suggested to me a great, a stupendous idea, to the realization of which I feel capable of devoting my life. That idea is the founding of a new religion of Christ but purged of faith and mystery...I understand that to accomplish this, the conscious labor of generations will be needed. One generation will bequeath the idea to the next, and some day fanaticism or reason will accomplish it. (*Tolstoy's Diaries* 101)

[4] Most of Tolstoy's religious texts were non-fiction, and most were banned in Russia. However, Tolstoy's fictional novella, *The Kreutzer Sonata* (1889), provoked censorship not only in Russia but also in the United States. Tolstoy's novella promoted abstinence, even within marriage, through the tale of a penitent murderer who recounts in evocative detail the ravaging sexual jealousy that drove him to kill his unfaithful wife. U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt was so appalled by *The Kreutzer Sonata* that he banned newspapers in which it was serialized. Of Tolstoy, he told confidant Robert Grant: "the man has a diseased mind. He is not wholesome. He is not sane" (Watts 107). While Roosevelt's ban was eventually overturned by U.S. courts, his response shows both the perceived power of his religious texts internationally and the vehement responses to Tolstoy's challenge to religious orthodoxy.

Numerous biographers and critics point to this diary entry as the seed for Tolstoy's later religious beliefs and for essays like *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*. However, Tolstoy's "great…stupendous idea" was not merely the product of a single "conversation about divinity and faith." By 1855, he had already been an avid and careful student of religious and ethical texts for years. Since Tolstoy's boyhood, for example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau had been a powerful intellectual influence. In particular, Rousseau's *The Confessions* (1782), in which he disclosed and reflected upon his own base instincts and actions, appealed to the self-critical Tolstoy. Arthur Schopenhauer and Petr Chelčický were equally formative influences. Schopenhauer, an early nineteenth century German philosopher, discussed the futility of human will, while Chelčický, a fifteenth century Bohemian, preached pacifism, non-violence, and non-dogmatic spirituality. As Tolstoy claims in the introduction to *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, his own thinking was much indebted to Chelčický's argument that the Pope and the emperor are "whales who have torn the net of true faith" and led others astray by provoking them to follow their errant lead (21-22). I do not intend to offer a detailed survey of Tolstoy's many influences. However, it is important to note that Tolstoy's deliberate physical isolation in Yasnaya Polyana did not translate into a sense of intellectual or spiritual isolation. Instead, Tolstoy's lifelong study of religious philosophy allowed him to imagine himself and his own religious texts as participating in an intricate, centuries-long, and still-vibrant conversation about how to live a life of non-resistance as a "true Christian."

In addition to contributing to this ongoing conversation, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* also responds to the demands of Tolstoy's contemporaries. Those who

saw themselves as his "followers" were calling for a definitive articulation of his religious convictions, and they wanted a guide that would outline how to live life as a true Christian. This external pressure is best seen through letters that Tolstoy exchanged throughout the 1880s and early 1890s. During this period, Tolstoy exchanged thousands of letters with Americans and others outside of Russia discussing religion, ethics, and society. Many of these letters came from Christians throughout Western Europe and North America who were inspired by Tolstoy's earlier religious writings. Often, these letters were filled with questions about how to apply strict religious directives to daily life. In one set of letters, for example, Tolstoy and a middle-aged woman in Waco, Texas exchange ideas about how Christians could best share land and avoid property taxes. Though Tolstoy had a profound influence on those who read his texts and wrote him letters, there is significant evidence to suggest that the influence worked both ways. According to Tolstoy scholar Robert Whittaker, who has collected and edited many of Tolstoy's surviving English-language letters from this period, it was primarily through these exchanges that Tolstoy learned of the numerous communities around the world where people were practicing or attempting to practice Christianity without violence, resistance, ownership, or participation in civic affairs. Indeed, as Whittaker shows, Tolstoy came to believe – through the letters – that there was a global grassroots movement emerging that aimed to eventually overtake the impure, artificial authority that governed global Christianity.

In fact, Tolstoyan communes were becoming widespread as people, inspired by Tolstoy's works, sought to create communities that abided strictly by the Christian

principles set out in the Sermon on the Mount. These Tolstoyans strove to live communal, pacifistic lives without the social, economic, and political trappings of late-nineteenth-century industrial society. Many communes were founded and funded by wealthy urbanites better equipped for the intellectual work of parsing Tolstoy's religious texts than for the physical work of starting and maintaining a rural community. Nevertheless, before and after publication of *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, Tolstoyan communes were scattered throughout the world. The most famous Tolstoyan commune – called Tolstoy Farm – was founded by Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948) on the outskirts of Johannesburg in 1910. With the help of a wealthy architect name Herman Kallenbach, Gandhi and 70 to 80 followers moved to the 1,100 acre farm, built a community, and lived for three years by the principles of self-reliance, religious tolerance, and spiritual self-realization (Weber 77). Gandhi corresponded with Tolstoy about the farm, and Gandhi later credited his experience on Tolstoy Farm as crucial preparation for his extended civil disobedience campaign in India (Weber 81). While Gandhi's experiment is perhaps the best known, thousands of now-anonymous settlers were similarly drawn to Tolstoyan Christianity. In the United States, a Florida man named John Chipman paid $1,000 for a defunct, 931-acre cotton plantation upon which he established the Christian Commonwealth Colony. From 1896 to 1900, a small group of permanent settlers, who committed themselves to "brotherhood" and "unselfish socialism," lived on the tract, eking out a living weaving towels on second-hand looms and publishing socialist tracts for sale (Fish 218-219). In the United Kingdom, several of Tolstoy's confidantes lived among scores of ordinary settlers in communes. Vladimir Chertkov – a disciple of Tolstoy's

who was exiled from Russia for his beliefs and religious activism – moved to the Brotherhood Church Colony (founded 1896) at Purleigh, Essex after he fled Russia. Aylmer Maude – the influential English-language translator of Tolstoy – helped start the Whiteway Colony (founded 1898) in the Cotswolds region. Historians have recorded the existence of small Tolstoyan communes in Bulgaria, Chile, Japan, and the Netherlands, as well. Though precise numbers are impossible to pinpoint, there were undoubtedly many thousands of people worldwide living in Tolstoyan communities in the decades spanning the 1890s to the 1920s.

Though Tolstoy was pleased that people around the world were rejecting the dogma of the church and the state, he was a reluctant figurehead for the movement. Tolstoy himself "strongly objected to being called a Tolstoyan" (Holman 194), and he insisted that people "not live by my conscience, as [they] wished, but by [their] own" (*What Is Religion?* 145). He was uncomfortable with his elevation to the status of "thirteenth apostle," and he disliked how the personalized mythology of his own asceticism had come to dominate the Tolstoyan imagination (Nojeim 80). What the movement really needed, Tolstoy seemed to believe, was not a figurehead but a creed: a definitive articulation of what true Christianity is and what true Christianity means for everyday life. Tolstoy seems to have felt called upon – spiritually and by his fellow Christians around the world – to write a capstone text for this emerging brand of Christianity.

Tolstoy believed there was a global audience prepared for and waiting for *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*.[5] Two letters, in particular, show how Tolstoy imagined his audience as well as his own role in either confirming or converting individuals within it. The first is an 1889 letter to Lewis G. Wilson, the son of Adin Ballou, a Unitarian preacher of non-resistance and leader of the Hopedale commune just outside of Boston. Writing to Wilson, Tolstoy invokes the Book of Luke: "I think that this time is coming, and that the world is on fire, and our business is only to keep ourselves burning; and if we can communicate with other burning points, that is the work which I intend to do for the rest of my life" (qtd. in Whittaker 567).[6] Tolstoy believed that there were scattered Christians throughout the world yearning for a precise articulation of "true Christianity" and that there was a sympathetic global readership already adhering to the principles from which *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* would build. Tolstoy, however, did not write his religious texts only for this sympathetic audience. In another correspondence, written to the son of American abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, Tolstoy argues that there are many Christians

[5] The introduction to *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* makes the same claim. Tolstoy begins the text with a lengthy overview of his global correspondences, and he details how sects of Christians throughout the world were practicing Christianity as he believed it should be practiced. However, I cite the actual letters here – rather than the introduction – because they provide a more authentic insight into Tolstoy's conception of his global audience. The introduction to *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* is, of course, part of the text's rhetorical structure, and Tolstoy's discussion of his correspondences could and should be considered part of the text's persuasive strategy. The letters, on the other hand, were written to individual persons with far less rhetorical intention.

[6] Throughout this dissertation, I have made every effort to locate and cite the original source of all quoted material. However, Tolstoy's original letters to both Wilson and Garrison are lost. Whittaker based his translations of the letters upon hand-written copies of them held at the State Tolstoy Museum in Moscow. In all instances where material is quoted from indirect sources, the original is either lost or only available in archives.

who still require conversion from dogmatic, impure Christianity. According to Tolstoy, William Lloyd Garrison and his fellow founders of the New England Non-Resistance Society were ahead of their time. The society's principles, codified in an 1838 "Declaration of Sentiments," pointed the way forward for "true Christians," because it rejected violence for any reason, promoted gender equality, and advocated governmental non-participation. Yet, even fifty years after their articulation, Tolstoy acknowledged that Garrison's principles still remained far from actualization:

> This Declaration, as it was constituted almost a half century ago, fully expresses the sentiments which we now hold and which all people will hold, because they express God's eternal law for man as disclosed by Christ and which are bound to be realized when all is accomplished. (qtd. in Whittaker 574)

Only "When all is accomplished" would Christians throughout the world – many of whom were now heavily invested in the false church – resign their incorrect beliefs and embrace true Christianity. Until then, Tolstoy knew that these "dogmatic" readers would not be sympathetic to his beliefs or his biblical interpretations.

As this chapter progresses and as it analyzes the methods of argumentation in *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, it assumes that Tolstoy was writing to both sympathetic and unsympathetic global audiences. On one hand, Tolstoy was addressing global Christians who already adhered to his beliefs – Christians who held his religious writings in the highest regard and were, in many cases, already devout Tolstoyans. But, on the other hand, Tolstoy also addressed neutral and even antagonistic global readers. These readers would be, in large part, Christians now

loyal to the church who, once the "fire spread," would come around to "true" Christianity.[7]

It is perhaps as a consequence of these broad, global, and religiously diverse audiences that Tolstoy found *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* to be the most frustrating writing experience of his life. He confided to Vladimir Chertkov that "No book has ever given me so much trouble" (qtd. in Troyat 525). Yet, for Tolstoy, writing the text was only half the challenge. In a heavily censored Tsarist Russia with a state church, Tolstoy's less blasphemous texts had already been banned by the censor, and this – the most resolute of them all – stood no chance at legal circulation. With its attacks against the state and the church, both individually and for their close relationship, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* expressed the very kinds of populist ideas that most alarmed the Russian government. And it did so in a tone that was strident, aggressive, and unforgiving. It has been widely reported that one censor declared *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* to be "the most harmful of all books that he had ever had an occasion to ban" (Simmons 191). Thus, throughout Tolstoy's multi-year struggle to compose *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, he knew that it could only circulate underground, pass through haphazard translations, and reach

[7] There was a third – and perhaps unintentional – audience to whom *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* appealed: non-Christians. Mohandas Gandhi, for example, claimed that *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* was one of the most important texts he had ever read. In his autobiography, which he wrote late in life, he claimed that as a young man living in South Africa he read *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and felt "overwhelmed" (120). Gandhi, of course, was a devout Hindu, but he still found appeal in the text. The reason, I argue, is that *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* is centered upon values that transcend individual religions – values such as non-resistance, forgiveness, penitence, and individual liberty. For further discussion on the globally persuasive capacity of values-based argumentation, see Chapter Four of this dissertation on the writings of Burmese democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi.

readers through a willy-nilly, patchwork publication process. Furthermore, Tolstoy also knew that the majority of his readers would encounter translations of his text in French, Dutch, German, and English. Indeed, Tolstoy did not imagine that *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* would cause the "fever pitch" of *War and Peace* or *Anna Karenina*, and he did not want it to. Tolstoy wanted to write a text that could serve as a guide – both philosophical and practical – for Christians around the world by articulating how to live not by society's rules and regulations but by the literal teachings of Christ. Yet, to more fully understand how *The Kingdom of God Is Within In You* was conceived and constructed for global audiences, we need to first examine how it was disseminated and how readers could have encountered physical copies.

A global publication history of *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* will always be imprecise. Along with his other religious writings, Tolstoy renounced copyrights to the text, and it was printed, copied, and distributed by anyone who wished, anywhere in the world. Yet, while the specifics are impossible to gather, we can gain a general understanding of how it was encountered by global readers. Throughout the 1880s and early-1890s, the Elpidin Press in Geneva, Switzerland, was the most prolific international publisher of Tolstoy's banned works. According to Leo Weiner's bibliographical "The Complete Works of Count Tolstoy" (1905), these editions were "the best texts" but still "not always reliable" (404). In England, the Brotherhood Publishing Company was – until 1897 – the most active disseminator of Tolstoy's works. Formed by the Brotherhood Church, the publishing company solicited funding on the last page of each of its books for the stated goal of issuing "good, cheap, and reliable editions, in English translations, of the Social and

Religious Works of Leo Tolstoy...[and others that] aim to fully and directly apply the principles of The Sermon on the Mount to individual and social life" (Kenworthy 377). Despite Tolstoy's open lines of communication with the Brotherhood Publishing Company, he granted the rights to publish "authorized" copies of his religious texts to his friend and disciple Vladimir Chertkov in 1897. Exiled to England for the religious beliefs he shared with Tolstoy, Chertkov quickly established Russian- and English-language presses, and these became the most sophisticated, broad-reaching organizations for disseminating accurate editions of Tolstoy's religious texts. To reach Russian audiences, printed copies were smuggled back into the country and then more copies were typed up and passed around the growing network of Tolstoyan communities within Russia. Chertkov's English-language publishing house, called the Free Age Press, marketed Tolstoy's work worldwide, shipping thousands of copies to Europe and North America and reaching clients as far away as South Africa and Asia. Yet, even as Chertkov's Free Age Press began circulating "authorized" copies of *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and other religious texts, Tolstoy refused to curtail the free publication of his works by others. While Tolstoy's texts were obviously circulating globally, Tolstoy's suspension of his copyrights makes it impossible to render a comprehensive account of their circulation.

The piecemeal nature of Tolstoy's late publication history also makes it difficult to know with certainty which translations of his works were the most common or the most historically significant. Consequently, scholars have long struggled to decide which translations to rely upon in their work. In the case of *The*

Kingdom of God Is Within You, the strongest case seems to be for the 1930s translation by Aylmer Maude. Maude was a friend of Tolstoy's who visited him at Yasnaya Polyana and who translated many of Tolstoy's works with the help of Louise Maude, his native Russian-speaking wife. It is known that Tolstoy approved some of Maude's translations, and Maude's work with Chertkov at the Free Age Press is as well-chronicled. Some critics, however, are not fully satisfied with Maude's translations, as evidenced by Henry Gifford's description of his work:

> Aylmer Maude and his wife were qualified in everything except a creative sense of language to make the ideal translation...The result is a lucid and accurate version, at home with the peculiarities of Russian life, and written in a serviceable and prosaic English...Their work can be counted on for those negative virtues which temper a style: sobriety, explicitness, a firm hold of the argument. (22)

Yet, as Gifford and most other critics concede, the Maude translations are often the best available, especially for the later religious texts. Consequently, throughout this chapter, I primarily use Maude's 1930s translation for close readings, supplementing with other translations as needed for additional reference. It is not ideal, I concede, to use a translation unavailable to those living in the Tolstoyan communes, but, as Gifford suggests, the Maude translation is the closest to the original Russian, and therefore it is the best translation to use for close analysis.

Rhetorical Analysis of Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*

Since *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* first appeared, a number of commentators and translators – who are not rhetoricians – have commented upon the text's unique argument. Constance Garnett, an early-twentieth-century English translator, claims in her preface that *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* has a

"powerful logic" that gives it "influence [that] is sure to be lasting and far reaching" (xiii). Aylmer Maude, in his preface to the influential 1930s translation previously discussed, claims that the text is "more topical to-day than…some forty years ago" (vii). What is interesting about both translators' introductions is that neither emphasizes the original context of Tolstoy's argument. Instead both discuss the text's timelessness and its potential to reach and influence broad audiences. More currently, the preeminent Tolstoy critic and biographer Martin Green contends that the argument of the text, though frustrating to many readers:

> is not hard to follow, once you understand the rules. Sometimes it may be hard to like – to follow sympathetically, as it were – just because of [its] geometrical exactitude. I call it geometrical because of Tolstoy's fondness for mathematical metaphors, which express his ambition to make his argument as clear and completely demonstrable as Euclid's. (Green, "Foreword" vi)

This "exactitude" and "demonstrability," I argue, is the effect of the global rhetorical techniques within the text. I agree with Garnett, Maude, and Green: *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* is built upon a "powerful logic" that remains current through its "geometrical exactitude." But I cast this effect in terms of global rhetorical theory: the text is built upon "argumentation that maintains persuasive potential for audiences beyond the rhetor's immediate location and time." Here, I analyze the argument of *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* to see how it argues to global audiences. It is impossible, of course, to consider the entire rhetorical structure of the five-hundred-page text, so I focus on a few key passages that, I believe, best capture the global rhetorical mechanics of Tolstoy's argument.

To begin to unpack the argument and show how its component parts function, I turn first to *The New Rhetoric*'s discussion of "act-essence" argumentation. As

Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca explain, an act-essence argument is one that tries "to connect and explain particular, concrete, individual phenomena by treating them as manifestations of an essence" (327). In other words, an act-essence argument builds upon the presumption that the essence of a person or an institution can be understood through its actions. When put into formulaic terms, an act-essence argument contends that actions Y and/or Z reveal or emanate from an essence of X. Or, alternatively, it is the essence X that drives and determines the actions Y and/or Z. If the formula feels abstract, it should become clearer when applied to an argument in natural language. Though Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca do not reduce the act-essence argument to a formulaic construction, I have done so here – and will do so throughout this chapter and dissertation – for two reasons. First, I think the formulas clarify the theory. Second, I want to highlight the informal logical appeal of the act-essence argument – as well as other techniques I discuss – to underscore the technique's global persuasive appeal, suggesting its formal structure regardless of the language that fills the structure. Furthermore, this informal logic also suggests that the conclusion of the argument should be self-evident. As I detail below, if readers accept that the actions are valid, then the essence is the inevitable consequence.

In *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, Tolstoy employs act-essence arguments to contend that the acts of institutions – of churches, governments, and militaries – define their respective essences. The first institution he discusses is the church. Though any number of excerpts could be analyzed to illustrate the text's act-essence argumentation, the following passage best represents Tolstoy's recurring use of this technique:

> A follower of Christ, whose service consists in an ever-growing comprehension of the teaching and an ever-growing fulfillment of it in a movement towards perfection, cannot, for that very reason, assert – for him or anyone else – that he understands Christ's teaching and fully fulfills it…a claim by any individual or society to be in possession of a perfect understanding and a complete fulfillment of Christ's teaching, is to renounce the spirit of the teaching. Strange as it may seem, the Churches as Churches have always been and cannot fail to be institutions not only alien to, but directly hostile towards, Christ's teaching…The Churches, as Churches – as institutions affirming their own infallibility – are anti-Christian institutions. Between the Churches as such and Christianity, not only is there nothing in common except the name, but they are two quite opposite and opposing principles. The one represents pride, violence, self-assertion, immobility and death: the other humility, penitence, meekness, progress, and life. (75-76)

This passage captures the tone and method of Tolstoy's discussions of the essence of Christianity and churches, and it represents how Tolstoy argues throughout much of *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*. He does not build sophisticated argumentative structures that lead readers to conclusions based on sets of premises. Instead, he emphatically states – and restates – claims about the nature of Christianity and the behavior of the Church. It is hard to imagine that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca would qualify it as the type of "philosophical argumentation" that they sought to analyze throughout *The New Rhetoric*, in general, and with the act-essence argument, in particular. Nevertheless, the act-essence technique is operating in this passage, and it does serve Tolstoy's rhetorical goal of positioning his global audience to analyze and re-consider the essence of the church and to conclude that any church is "opposed" to true Christianity.

Predominantly, as I have suggested, the passage above focuses on actions. The first critical actions are "claiming perfect understanding and fulfillment" and "renouncing the spirit." As Tolstoy suggests, the former action inevitably leads to the latter. By claiming to *understand* and *fulfill* Christ's teaching, the church

paradoxically *renounces* the spirit of Christ's teaching. These three actions, the passage argues, are demonstrations of the church's essence. And this essence – direct hostility to Christ's teaching – manifests itself through the actions. Additionally, there is another critical church action that reveals and emanates from its essence – that of "affirming [its] own infallibility." If readers accept Tolstoy's claim that no person or institution can perfectly understand or fulfill Christ's teaching when they say they do, then the church's act of "affirming infallibility" reveals an essence that is "hostile" to the "ever-growing comprehension" that lies at the heart of Christianity. These act-essence arguments, as previously stated, cleanly map onto a formula: actions Y and Z reveal and emanate from essence X. Or, stated conversely, essence X leads to acts Y and Z.

The methods in this passage are typical of those that appear throughout the many act-essence arguments in *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*. Actions are stated in the abstract, and they are given little or no connection to specific historical episodes. Indeed, throughout the text, Tolstoy's arguments against the church, government, military, etc., often remain conceptual and unconnected to single or particular events. While this lack of specificity may fail to appeal to certain readers – most likely those who are not predisposed to agree with the claims – I contend that this abstraction also gives Tolstoy's argument an added persuasive dimension. This new persuasive dimension arises from the actions' ability to put the church into a new light that all readers, both hostile and sympathetic, must consider as they read the text. The church, as Tolstoy acknowledges, is an integral part of the fabric of many people's spiritual and social lives, and people have become, as Tolstoy claims

throughout the text, "hypnotized" into thinking that the church is a good, beneficial, Christian institution.[8] In other words, people are accustomed to the church, they unthinkingly assume it has a Christian essence, and they are not inclined to re-consider deeply its nature. Tolstoy, thus, through act-essence arguments, positions audiences to re-think and re-evaluate an intimately familiar institution that they have been "hypnotized" to revere.

For Tolstoy's argument to hold persuasive potential to global audiences, readers must accept that the act-essence argument applies not just to the Russian church but to all churches regardless of their circumstances. Many readers would resist this broader application. The Russian Orthodox Church had a reputation as the right-arm of the authoritarian Russian government, which, in the 1880s and 1890s, was particularly stringent and brutal in its repression of religious and political dissent. The church had reason to worry. On March 13, 1881, a bomb attack by three young leftists on a St. Petersburg street killed Tsar Alexander II, as his son and successor looked on in horror. The assassination ushered in decades of increased police surveillance and repression of freedoms. Political and religious reformers, like Tolstoy and his followers, would bear the brunt of the new Tsar Alexander III's desire to reassert the government's control of all facets of Russian life. For those living in Russia, especially in urban centers, the strength of the alliance between State and Church would have been felt daily: Tsar Alexander III's regime persecuted all non-Orthodox religious groups, and scores of churches – most notably, The Church of

[8] Both the Maude and Garnett translations use the term "hypnotized" and "hypnotism."

the Savior on Spilled Blood built on the site of Alexander II's assassination – were constructed in these years to honor the royal family.

Given the Russian Orthodox Church's obvious and widely known complicity in repressing the Russian people, it would have been easy to assume that Tolstoy's act-essence argument, while valid in his situation, was only accurate in circumstances of extreme religious control. To avoid this interpretation – to maintain the global appeal of his argument against churches – *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* insists that the Russian Church is not an exception and that all Churches are, by definition, one and the same. This is accomplished through two methods. First, Tolstoy simply states it:

> "But that is so only in barbarous Russia," a European or American reader will say. And such an observation is correct, but only in so far as it refers to the Government which aids the Church in its stultifying and depraving activity in Russia. It is true that nowhere in Europe is there such a despotic Government or one so closely allied with the ruling Church...But it is not true that the Russian Church differs from any other Church in its influence on the people. The Churches are alike everywhere...The Church, as a Church, whatever it may be – Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, or Presbyterian – every Church, in so far as it is a Church, cannot but aim at what the Russian Church aims at: namely, at hiding the real meaning of Christ's teaching and substituting its own doctrine. (87)

Thus, while Tolstoy concedes that the Russian church is *circumstantially* more hostile to the teachings of Christ, it is *essentially* the same as all other churches throughout the world. As Tolstoy claims, all churches "aim" for the same thing – i.e., to "hide" Christ's teachings behind their own doctrines.

Second, in Tolstoy's effort to globalize the act-essence argument, he also posits that the essences discussed in the passage above are *definitional*. This definitional status, I contend, interacts with the act-essence argument to create a mode

of argumentation specifically capable of persuading global audiences. Before I discuss this argumentative technique as it operates in *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, I offer an overview of Richard Weaver's theory of the "argument from definition." As I detail below, Weaver's work is a critical theoretical underpinning for this chapter's argument about Tolstoy's global rhetorical technique, and a detailed discussion of "the argument from definition" is necessary background. For Weaver, the argument from definition – and all forms of argumentation – are intimately and inextricably connected with philosophy and moral reasoning. The ways that rhetors decide to argue reveal their values and priorities, because arguments emanate from a rhetor's "philosophical position." According to Weaver, "a man's method of argument is a truer index in his beliefs than his explicit profession of principles" (*Ethics* 58). This so-called "conservative" theory of language and rhetoric frames Weaver's taxonomy of argumentative methods – including the argument from definition. Moreover, Weaver's theory of rhetoric insists that argumentative choices are not morally neutral. Weaver believes in a hierarchy of rhetorical methods, and the "source of argument" that rhetors choose both originates from and reveals their soul. In the discussion below, I outline the rhetorical techniques Weaver discusses by referring to two of his texts: "Language is Sermonic" (1963) and *The Ethics of Rhetoric* (1953).[9]

[9] "Language Is Sermonic" is the title of both an essay and a collection of essays written by Weaver. "Language Is Sermonic," the essay, was first published in Roger E. Nebergall (ed.) *Dimensions of Rhetorical Scholarship* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1963). *Language is Sermonic*, the collection of Weaver's essays, was published posthumously in 1970, and it contains eight of Weaver's essays, including "Language Is Sermonic." All citations and references in this discussion are taken from the essay "Language Is Sermonic" as it appeared in the 1970 collection.

According to Weaver, there are "four general ideas" for "reading or interpreting the world," and these ideas manifest themselves into four sources of argumentation: being, cause, relationship, and authority ("Language is Sermonic" 209). The first – the argument of being – is an argument that defines the nature and captures the essence of the thing being discussed. This is the argument that addresses fundamental and unchanging properties. According to Weaver, this argument has "the highest order of appeal"; it "transcends the world of change and accident" ("Language is Sermonic" 211-212). In both "Language is Sermonic" and *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, Weaver makes it quite plain that he believes that arguments based on definitions are the best and most noble form of argumentation. The second type of argument – the argument of cause or consequence – attempts to persuade by "appealing to prudential considerations." It argues about what is "happening or threatening to happen" ("Language is Sermonic" 215). According to Weaver, this is the least "exalted" source of argument ("Language is Sermonic" 214). Furthermore, this argument includes the sub-category of the "argument from circumstance," which Weaver claims "surrenders reason" and concedes that "there is nothing else to be done about it" ("Language is Sermonic" 215). The third type of argument in Weaver's system is the argument from relationship. These are arguments that express probability as well as similarity and dissimilarity, including arguments from metaphor or analogy, as well as other types of figuration. According to Weaver, the argument from relationship is better than the argument from consequence, but worse than the argument from being. The fourth and final category – argument from authority – does not fit within this hierarchy. Its appeals are "external," as they are taken from the

validation or invalidation of a third-party, and, thus, they are not directly connected to a rhetor's philosophy and conception of the world ("Language is Sermonic" 209). According to "Language is Sermonic," all arguments fit into one of these categories. Weaver does concede that an argument may make multiple appeals at once – to being and figuration, for example – but, even as they do so, they maintain a central, fundamental appeal.

In *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, Weaver expands upon this classification system, offering close readings that analyze how Edmund Burke and Abraham Lincoln argue from circumstance and definition, respectively. In the case of the former rhetor, Weaver contends that Burke "merely reads the circumstances – the 'facts standing around' – and accepts them as coercive, or allows them to dictate the decision" (*Ethics* 57). To support this claim, Weaver provides a number of examples of Burke's arguments about how the British should handle their unruly colonies. Specifically, Weaver cites speeches in which Burke contends that Britain should allow its Irish and American colonies more religious and political freedoms because this autonomy would serve the interests of the British Empire. Also, because the Irish and American populations were so large and difficult to manage, it would require too much British expenditure to keep them fully under the rule of the crown. According to Weaver's analysis, what was at stake for Burke was not the fundamental issue of whether all people, by definition, deserve political and religious rights. The question, instead, centers upon which course of action was the most expedient for the British government at that time.

After this unsympathetic analysis of Burke's argumentation, Weaver turns to Lincoln and explores his use of the argument from definition. According to Weaver's analysis, Lincoln's arguments were consistently rooted in definitions and essences; they argued "from the nature of the thing" and contended that "a member of the class will accordingly have the class attributes" (*Ethics* 86). While Weaver looks at a number of Lincoln's arguments, most of his attention is given to Lincoln's anti-slavery argumentation. Lincoln's position against slavery, according to Weaver, was built from his belief in "the nature of man." Unlike many of his contemporaries, Lincoln, according to Weaver, was uninterested in the political economy of slavery. More important to him was the essence and definition of what it meant to be human, and it was this thinking, according to Weaver, that led Lincoln to his ultimate opposition to slavery. Additionally, Weaver provides a close reading of Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, claiming that this speech is driven by arguments from definition – arguments about the nature of governments, the nature of contracts, the nature of the American Union, etc. From this analysis, Weaver concludes that, throughout his life, Lincoln "clung tenaciously to this concept of genus" and that this philosophical position enabled Lincoln to construct "timeless" and "transcending" arguments (*Ethics* 93). For *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and for this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric, Weaver's distinction between the argument from circumstance and the argument from definition is important. The argument from definition enables rhetors to create arguments in which even a single species, example, or manifestation both reveals and is justified by a larger, unchanging, genus-level, definitional nature.

When Tolstoy's argument against churches – captured in the passage cited earlier – is read as an argument from definition, the church's actions make it an "anti-Christian" institution not only in its individual manifestations – not only in Russia – but also by its very nature, all over the world. The individual church is, Tolstoy contends, irrevocably determined by the genus that "affirms infallibility." Thus, as an argument from definition, there is no potential for any church to be anything other than an anti-Christian institution, regardless of its circumstances or location. No individual church can alter or deviate from the nature of the genus of "self-preserving institution." To ensure that audiences recognize that the argument is operating at the definitional level, Tolstoy repeats the phrase "churches as churches" multiple times throughout this argument. In his rhetorical situation – as a Russian writing to global audiences – this is a vital part of what opens the global persuasive potential of the argument and prevents it from being interpreted as a history lesson on the corruption of the Russian government and church. By framing his argument as an argument from definition, he keeps his discussion at the genus-level – a level where "churches as churches" share the same essential, definitional attributes.

Yet, while Weaver's theory helps us analyze this aspect of Tolstoy's argument, Weaver's discussion of the argument from definition pays very little attention to the linguistic elements of such argumentation. In both *The Ethics of Rhetoric* and "Language is Sermonic," Weaver does not analyze how linguistic and grammatical choices influence the ways in which arguments from definition can develop and operate. Thus, because neither Weaver's theories nor *The New Rhetoric*'s "act-essence" theory can fully account for Tolstoy's argumentative

method, I wish to suggest a new term that can: "the argument from definitional essence." This is an argumentative technique that *isolates actions of a person or an institution, posits that these actions are inherent at the genus level, and contends that these actions reveal an essence that must exist in every individual manifestation.* Alternatively, a formulaic expression may be clearer. An argument from definitional essence contends that *because X does Y, Y is the essence of X; and because X must and can only do Y in order to be an X, Y is the essence of all Xs*. The "churches as churches" passage above, I contend, is an argument from definitional essence. It isolates the act of "affirming infallibility," then it applies this action to the genus-level to include all churches. Because the argument from definitional essence can state its claims without contextual specificities, this technique, I argue, contains the potential to be globally persuasive. While this argumentative technique may fail to pass a logic test, it nevertheless gives *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* the impression of "powerful logic" and "geometrical exactitude" that critics and translators have noted throughout the past century.

Nevertheless, the argument from definitional essence has a severe limitation. Audiences must accept the actions that Tolstoy attributes to the church as accurate in order for the argument to hold full persuasive potential. If readers reject the abstract action, trait, or property that serves as the argument's premise – that churches are institutions that affirm their own infallibility – then the rest of the argument is stunted. In this sense, the argument from definitional essence runs the same risk as any generalizing argument: the invalidating example can undercut it and reduce its ability to persuade. Tolstoy, it seems, recognizes this risk. Throughout *The Kingdom*

of God Is Within You, he prepares for these potential counter-arguments in two ways. First, he sometimes adds succinct, commonly known examples as illustrative evidence. That is, he mentions historical episodes – like the Inquisition, the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, etc. – that his global audiences would both quickly recognize and associate with a set of actions that are unchristian. He does not do this consistently, but he does do so multiple times throughout the text.

Second, Tolstoy offers additional sets of actions that can serve as the first premise of the argument from definitional essence. Immediately following the "churches as churches" passage above, Tolstoy writes:

> Not only have the Churches never united, they have always been one of the chief causes of disunion among men, of hatred of one another, wars, massacres, Inquisitions, Eves of Saint Bartholomew, and the like. And the Churches never serve as mediators between man and God. Such mediation is unnecessary, and distinctly forbidden by Christ, who revealed his doctrine directly and immediately to each individual. The Churches set up dead forms in place of God, and far from revealing Him they conceal Him from men's sight. The Churches, which arose from a failure to understand Christ's teaching, and maintain this misconception by their immobility, cannot but persecute and drive out every true conception of the teaching of Jesus. (76)

It does not require a close rhetorical analysis to highlight or pinpoint the actions that are at the heart of this argument. Clearly, Tolstoy is criticizing the church because of the ways in which it behaves. Because previous language and argumentative structures have established that the argument is operating at the definitional level, these act-essence arguments become arguments from definitional essence. Skeptical readers could certainly maintain that these actions do not describe their own church any better than those previously cited. And one must concede the validity of this objection. However, the goal of the current analysis is not to evaluate the exact historical persuasive success of *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*. Instead, the

purpose is to isolate and analyze the rhetorical techniques that globalize the argument and open persuasive capacity to readers far removed from Tolstoy's immediate situation. If the above argument fails to persuade, then this failure, I contend, is a shortcoming in the rhetor's choice of actions to serve as premises – not a failure of the rhetor's choice of argumentative method.

In fact, Tolstoy is so confident in his argumentative methodology that he uses the same strategies from the "churches as churches" passage to attack the violent, corrupt nature of governments. Consider the similarities between his arguments against churches and the following argument against governments. In both arguments, Tolstoy uses abstract actions to put the institutions in a new light, as well as act-essence arguments that operate at the definitional level. He writes:

> To suggest to governments not to have recourse to violence but to decide their differences in accord with equity, is a proposal to abolish themselves as governments, and no government can agree to that…it is the nature of a government not to submit to others but to exact submission from them, and a government is a government only in so far as it is able to exact submission and not itself to submit, and so it always strives to that end and will never voluntarily abandon its power…government has always in its essence been a force that infringes justice. (161-162)

The extent to which this passage relies upon act-essence argumentation should be evident. Abstract, ahistorical actions define the government – having recourse to violence, exacting submission, infringing justice – and they reveal, emanate from, and are justified by the government's violent, corrupt nature. Furthermore, these act-essence arguments are operating at the definitional level. As Tolstoy articulates them, they apply to all governments. The other language in the passage – "to abolish themselves as governments," "no government can agree to that," "the nature of a government," "it always strives," and "government has in its essence always been" –

further discourages readers from interpreting Tolstoy's claims as circumstantial. Therefore, these globalizing linguistic choices combine with the act-essence argument to create an argument from definitional essence. The argument, in brief, claims that the abstract actions of government reveal and emanate from an essence that exists in all governments. Additionally, it contends that if a government does not perform these actions, then it is no longer a government. Like the argument against churches, this argument maps cleanly onto a basic formula to which Tolstoy allows no exceptions: X does Y. Y is unjust. Therefore, X is unjust.

Once again, however, the objection could be raised that the abstract, ahistorical actions that serve as the premises will fail to win the assent of a number of readers, especially those who may be unsympathetic to Tolstoy's argument. At the end of the nineteenth century, it would be safe to say that many readers throughout the West would not identify these abstract actions with their governments. As such, these actions would not serve as adequate premises from which the argument could build. This objection, I concede, is valid. It is hard to imagine that many members of the British ruling class or of the American middle class would have attributed these actions to their own government. Here, it is useful to recall what *The New Rhetoric* says about how arguments presuppose some agreements from the audience. If this argument does not presuppose that the audience agrees with the premises (the observations on how governments behave), the subsequent steps of the argument will fail to persuade. This raises a very important point about the global persuasive capacity of arguments from definitional essence: if audiences do not agree with the actions premised, then the rest of the argument will fail to develop and win assent.

As *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* develops, the focus and tone of Tolstoy's arguments evolve, becoming increasingly general as he tries to persuade global audiences with a broad range of lived experiences. In the next substantial argument from definitional essence, the actions that serve as the founding premises require less audience buy-in in order for the argument to begin. In other words, the argument aims to build from the *action-premises* even if readers do not already agree that governments are inherently and essentially corrupt. The argument – which focuses on the essences of ruling and power that are determined at the genus level – could hold appeal for audiences that would disagree with Tolstoy's previous characterizations of government. The argument turns reader attention to a deeper, more intrinsic element of how government works. As Tolstoy frames it, the acts of ruling and retaining power in themselves require corrupt, unjust, and malicious intentions:

> To seize power and retain it, it is necessary to love power. But love of power goes not with goodness but with the opposite qualities – pride, cunning and cruelty...ruling means using force, and using force means doing what the man subjected to violence does not wish done, and to which the perpetrator would certainly object if the violence were applied to himself. Therefore to rule means to do to others what we would not have done to ourselves – that is, doing wrong. (264-265)

At a structural level, this argument uses acts to define genus-level essences, and these essences are implied – though not specifically stated – to exist in each species or manifestation.[10] At a rhetorical level, the argument generalizes the actions that act as the premises. It positions readers to analyze the most fundamental aspects of ruling

[10] The simple reason why the argument does not specify that these essences exist at the species-level is that, by this point in the text, the implication is obvious. Tolstoy has been using the technique for over a hundred pages and specifying the ultimate implication (that genus dictates species) would be both redundant and tedious.

that must exist in all governments, and it subsequently opens a new potential avenue to persuade global audiences.

This rhetorical strategy, I argue, offers a key insight into the argument from definitional essence. When constructed generally, and when the *action-premises* turn reader attention to the most fundamental aspects of an institution, the argument from definitional essence opens its potential appeal and gives global audiences new opportunities to identify with the thesis. If we examine the acts that begin the above argument, it is clear that many of them would be difficult for readers to completely reject. "Seizing power" and "retaining power" are the fundamentals of government – even of elected governments. An audience could object to the term "power" being applied to government, but, if so, then this audience would never be persuaded by Tolstoy's thesis, anyway. Thus, these two actions – seizing power and retaining power – are the basic tenets of any kind of government. The next action, "to love power," would be easier to reject, but the informal logic of the passage ties it to "seizing power." Loving power, as Tolstoy frames it, is the motivation behind "seizing" and "retaining" it. The next critical action is "ruling" – an action that, according to the argument, is predicated upon the use of force. "Force," as a term, carries far more connotative negativity than "ruling." It is a term that is more common in discussions about discipline than political theory. And this connotative suggestion is immediately reinforced by the term "violence." Thus, ruling – or act X – is done through force and violence – acts Y and Z. In the argument, X requires Y and Z in order to be X, and no X can be X without Y and Z. No circumstances can change this requirement, this essence, or this definitional nature, and if an audience

accepts the premises, the argument allows them no room to exclude their government from the genus.

By now, two things should be clear. First are the methods, possibilities, and limitations of the argument from definitional essence. Second is the extent to which *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* relies upon this argumentative technique. However, it would be both incomplete and disingenuous to end this analysis of the text without considering the arguments that conclude it.[11] Interestingly, the final pages of *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* enter "an argument from circumstance" by analyzing and compiling "the facts standing around" (*Ethics* 57). All the concern with essences and natures is left behind, and a new argumentative mode begins. With surprising, jarring repetition, Tolstoy argues by citing the changes in "public opinion" that are currently happening.[12] In dozens and dozens of consecutive sentences, he uses the phrases "now," "nowadays," "already," and "is happening." He writes:

> And yet we need only realize what is happening, and what no one can prevent – namely, that a Christian public opinion is replacing the pagan one and is being established with the same strength and universality, and that the majority of men today are as much ashamed to take part in and profit by violence as they are of swindling, thieving, begging, or cowardice…the Christian public opinion that is growing up will overcome the obsolescent pagan public opinion that permits and justifies deeds of violence. (291-292)

[11] To be clear, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* ends with a one-hundred-plus page conclusion that reads as a post-script. It begins, "I was just finishing this two years' work when on September 9…" The "final pages of the argument" that I refer to above are the final pages preceding this long post-script.

[12] In the Constance Garnett translation, "public opinion" is translated as "conception of life" (90). This difference in translation is significant, but it is also irrelevant to the present argument. The focus here is on the transition of the argument's focus – from essences to circumstances. In both translations, this overall shift is clear, despite the differences in how key words were translated.

As this passage demonstrates, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* ends with a very different rhetorical strategy. In the text's conclusion, Tolstoy argues that, at present, numerous people are discovering ways to live within their conscience and are refusing to participate in civic affairs. He describes these events in generalized language, and makes the subjects of the sentences – the people doing the actions – plural, thus suggesting it is happening on multiple occasions. Tolstoy also argues that this change is happening in "Russia and Turkey, as well as in France and America" (294). And he provides dozens of succinct anecdotes about how people in various professions, all over the world, are renouncing the old, violent way of life – from government officials, to police, to landowners, to peasants, to priests, to judges, to executioners, to tax-collectors, and more. Tolstoy writes:

> The judges whose business it is to try to condemn criminals, conduct proceedings so as to acquit them…The clergy preach tolerance and sometimes even condemn the use of violence…Governors, police-officials, and tax-collectors, pitying the peasants, often try to find pretexts for not collecting the taxes from them. Rich men are reluctant to use their wealth for themselves alone, and disburse it for public purposes. Landowners build hospitals and schools on their land…Mill owners and manufacturers arrange hospitals, schools, savings-banks and pensions…There are capitalists who devote part of their capital to educational, artistic, philanthropic and other public institutions. (296-298)

This pages-long discussion is the epitome of "the argument from circumstance," and it stands in abrupt, sharp contrast to the rhetorical strategies in the majority of the text.

There could be any number of reasons to end a text driven by arguments from definitional essence with arguments from circumstance, but here the simplest conclusion is also the most fitting. Tolstoy's goal, in the end, was to persuade and incite people to action. He wanted readers of his text to abolish churches,

governments, militaries, and other organizations through peaceful non-participation. While the argument from definitional essence may be uniquely capable of globalizing an abstract belief and making it applicable to countless situations across the world, it does not give practical guidance. It does not show people how they can change the ways that they live to align their lives with their beliefs. The argument from circumstance, on the other hand, offers an established method for motivating action: it can argue through precedent, showing that something can or is going to happen because it has already begun. In *Rhetoric*, Aristotle argues about "future facts" along similar lines, claiming "a thing will be done if there is both the power and the wish to do it" (132; bk. 2, ch. 19). Tolstoy's anecdotes simply illustrate that individuals have the "power" to live as "true Christians" if they "wish" to do so.

In a theory of global rhetoric, this combination of arguments is illuminating. While it may seem that circumstantial argumentation is incompatible with a global rhetoric, the conclusion to *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* suggests the opposite. In fact, the text turns our attention to the potential persuasiveness of an argument that combines both definition and circumstance. To be sure, it is not Tolstoy's argument from circumstance that led critics to suggest the text was built on a "powerful logic" or "geometrical exactitude," but the combination of arguments from definition and circumstance raises intriguing questions about how to persuade global audiences – especially when the ultimate goal is to induce a mode of behavior based upon an abstract re-interpretation of a set of ideas. The potential complementary nature of these two modes of argumentation in global rhetorical situations would be a compelling subject for further critical inquiry.

In *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, Richard Weaver contends that Abraham Lincoln's use of arguments from definition reveals his "habit of perspective" – a perspective that "sees the universe as a paradigm of essences" (110-112). Weaver claims that the argument from definition is the rhetorical output of a rhetor who has the "habit of viewing things from an Olympian height…looking at the little act from some ultimate point in space and time" (*Ethics* 109). This metaphor is suggestive when applied to the argument from definitional essence in *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*. From a divine height, borders of nation, culture, and language fade behind definitional essences. While Tolstoy did not argue from "some ultimate point in space and time," he was addressing and invoking a global audience, and he was designing an argument that could hold persuasive potential as it traveled around the world. As Gandhi learned while studying the text in South Africa, not all arguments are limited to their immediate rhetorical situations. Some arguments, like *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, build upon rhetorical techniques and sets of appeals that are designed to persuade global audiences. The argument from definitional essence, I contend, is a technique particularly well-suited to such global rhetorical situations. *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, however, only demonstrates one set of techniques and appeals. To further build towards a theory of global rhetoric, I turn now to Randolph Bourne's "The State." As we will see, Bourne's text offers a complementary illustration of how a rhetor can persuade global audiences.

Chapter 3: Randolph Bourne's "The State": Arguing Through Definitional Essence and Disciplinary Appeals

Introduction

The Kingdom of God Is Within You offers an exemplary model of how a Christian rhetor can persuade global audiences, but it also raises a significant question: What other argumentative techniques and appeals can global rhetors use to create arguments with broad persuasive potential? In this chapter, I offer an answer to this question by analyzing Randolph Bourne's "The State" (1919) – a vitriolic but also a carefully and insistently academic argument against U.S. entry into World War I. In "The State," Bourne addressed a potential global audience of academics and intellectuals who were conversant with social science and the standards of arguing to such communities. The fundamental thesis of the essay is that when a state leads a country into war – any state leading any country into any war – there is a predictable, inevitable set of undemocratic and socially oppressive consequences. War, according to Bourne, was not a "pragmatic" means to make the world more democratic, as many of his academic peers were arguing. Rather, war was a tool used by an elite to goad obedience and enhance their own power.

The Kingdom of God Is Within You and "The State" are, in some ways, similar types of arguments. Both Tolstoy and Bourne identify a despotic, anti-democratic essence at the core of war-waging nation-states, and both contend that this essence is determined at the level of genus rather than of individual species. Furthermore, each rhetor was – actually or effectively – exiled for his unwavering and unpopular views. Yet despite these similarities, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and "The State" are

very different texts, most notably for how and where they root their global appeals. *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* operates within a Christian framework, and Tolstoy argues that his analysis applies globally because it abides strictly by Christ's teachings at the Sermon on the Mount. Bourne, on the other hand, refused allegiance to any religious, social, or political group. He detested ideologues and thought that groupthink was exactly what had caused the war in Europe and what was pulling the U.S. in an equally violent, paranoid direction. In "The State," therefore, Bourne resists constructing himself as the spokesman for a political community or movement. He could have framed his argument to fit within the discursive and ideological conventions of either the international socialist or pacifist movements – and he would have found large, pre-disposed audiences if he had chosen to do so.[13] But Bourne did not go down this path. Instead, Bourne roots the global appeal of "The State" in early

[13] This is not to say that Bourne would not have imagined the international socialist and pacifist movements as potential secondary audiences. When he wrote "The State," however, Bourne refused to affiliate himself with either group – even though he was sympathetic with their goals, and even though he had, in earlier years, been closely aligned to each group. At Columbia, for example, Bourne was a member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, even travelling to Vienna in 1913 as their representative to an international socialist conference (Hansen 28). From this early period of socialist experimentation, Bourne would have known that the global socialist audience was thriving and expanding, particularly in Australia, France, Germany, and Italy where socialist parties were enjoying unprecedented electoral success in the 1910s. Yet, Bourne could not find his intellectual home in socialism, and he also ultimately "shunned…what he had identified as the dogmatic elements of Marxism" (Hansen 28). Thus, while many socialists found his claims compelling, Bourne does not tailor his arguments to court a global socialist audience. Bourne's relationship to American and international peace activists – who constituted a much smaller, but still significant potential audience – was similar. Bourne staunchly opposed U.S. involvement in WWI, but he refused to become involved in high-profile group activism. For example, Bourne declined to join Henry Ford on his Peace Ship mission to Europe in 1915, instead "preferring behind-the-scenes intellectual exchanges" (Nichols 235). Bourne's only allegiance to any group was to his idea of the intelligentsia – to his notion of what a revitalized social sciences discipline could do to improve people's lives and their nations' behavior.

twentieth-century social sciences and within its discourse conventions. Yet, just as he does so, he needles the discipline's argumentative norms and expectations.[14] He tries to infuse his argument with energetic, unexpected rhetorical tactics in order to offer an "academic" argument that, Bourne believed, would be far more vital than what his peers were writing.[15]

In "The State," Bourne draws from his extensive formal training in sociology to present himself as a social scientist – a disciplinary "insider" – writing as a member of a select discourse community. In many ways, the essay abides by the conventions of the social sciences: it uses the register of the discipline; it presents its line of inquiry as a knowledge-building investigation; and it positions its readers into a familiar role in which they are to examine how people behave in a given set of circumstances. Yet, there are aspects of "The State" which push against and depart entirely from disciplinary conventions. The essay is peppered with fiery, derisive language, and its thesis is brash and uncompromising. As I discuss in detail below, "The State" was designed to refute the pro-war arguments made by the intellectual heavyweights of Bourne's time, including his college mentor John Dewey and his old boss at the *New Republic*, the magazine's co-founder and editor Herbert Croly. When Dewey, Croly, and others on the pro-war Left, like Walter Lippmann and Walter

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[14] In this chapter, I use the term *discipline* to refer to the social sciences; when specifying a particular academic branch – sociology, anthropology, psychology, etc. – I use the term *field.*

[15] The tendency for social scientists to be "unduly coy" (191) about their arguments' conclusions is discussed in Richard Weaver's *The Ethics of Rhetoric* (1953). Because Weaver was writing three decades after Bourne, Weaver's criticism of social science writing cannot be suggested to be a direct assessment of Bourne's contemporaries. It is notable, however, that Weaver's criticism of social science argumentation – for being "excessively modest" (192) – is the same convention that Bourne is positioning "The State" against.

Weyl, supported President Woodrow Wilson's vision that U.S. entry into World War I would make the world "safe for democracy" ("Request"), Bourne was horror-struck. He felt morally and intellectually betrayed. "The State" is Bourne's response.

Thus, in writing "The State," Bourne had two overarching goals. First, he wanted to write a timeless, borderless argument about the anti-democratic consequences of war. The "pragmatic" explanations about the positive outcomes of war were, to Bourne, entirely wrong. He believed that war set off a machine that – as Bourne might phrase it –annihilated everything good and worthwhile about a culture. Second, Bourne wanted to shake up and revitalize social science thinking and argumentation. While he very much respected the knowledge generated by social scientific inquiry and approved of the discipline's methodologies and goals, he thought that his peers' support of the war revealed a major problem. To Bourne's thinking, the discipline's ability to critically analyze had grown stale. And Bourne's ultimate allegiance was not to the social sciences, but to critical thinking. In "The State," Bourne tries to rattle the discipline out of its customs, because he believed that the social sciences – like all realms of knowledge – needed to constantly reflect and develop to avoid becoming dogmatic. It is this second goal that explains why Bourne employs such an odd, mish-mash form of argumentation in "The State." He thought that by deliberately and strategically breaking some disciplinary conventions, he could revitalize social science discourse and thinking. Thus, while Bourne roots his global appeal in disciplinary knowledge in "The State," he is simultaneously trying to spur a discipline to re-engage in self-reflexive critical thinking. Before I analyze this

argumentative strategy further, it is necessary to first examine Bourne's rhetorical situation.

Bourne's Rhetorical Situation

Randolph Bourne is often treated in scholarship as a philosopher, a critic of culture, politics, and literature, and – regrettably – a curious personality defined by his physical anomalies. Scholars very rarely examine Bourne as a rhetor, and his essays are seldom analyzed in terms of their argumentative goals and strategies. "The State" is no exception. The rich, complex argument that emerges throughout "The State" has been virtually ignored by both hostile and sympathetic critics alike. From its first publication in 1919 to the present day, scholars and activists – including famed American novelist John Dos Passos – focus almost exclusively upon a single sentence from the essay: "War is the health of the State" (71). Furthermore, the vast majority of critical scholarship reads Bourne's essays in order to see how they represent – and therefore help us to better understand – the intellectual currents of the United States in the 1910s. Bourne is most often characterized as embodying the bohemian and radical communities, and he is posited as the figure who captures the rift between these communities and the Progressives and pragmatists who dominated the mainstream intellectual landscape. Much of this scholarship is indeed very good and insightful, but I contend that scholars need to pay further attention to how Bourne constructs his arguments.

Consider, in this brief critical overview, how Bourne is consistently treated as a representation of cultural and intellectual dynamics rather than as a rhetor. Edward

Abrahams's *The Lyrical Left* (1986) attempts to "recreate the intellectual world of Randolph Bourne" (xi), speculating at length about how Bourne's physical deformities contributed to his vehement rejection of the status quo (34). Offering a slightly less personal reading of Bourne's socio-politics, Casey Blake's *Beloved Community* (1990) outlines how Bourne and his fellow "Young Americans" blended intellectual and philosophical traditions to create a new mode of cultural and political criticism. Blake outlines, in great detail, how Bourne and his community tried to re-shape ideas about self-expression and cultural participation. Leslie Vaughan's *Randolph Bourne and the Politics of Cultural Radicalism* (1997) directly responds to Blake's text, arguing for a different understanding of Bourne as a political and cultural critic. Vaughan's interpretation is deeply theoretical, situating Bourne in Jacques Lacan's "third space" (6). One notable exception to the critical habit of examining Bourne as a representation rather than a rhetor is Tom Curtis's short article for *The Antioch Review,* entitled "Bourne, MacDonald, Chomsky, and the Rhetoric of Resistance" (1969). Despite its promising title, Curtis's article does not rhetorically analyze Bourne's work. Curtis contextualizes Bourne's anti-war writings within an ongoing critical conversation, and he examines the language of Bourne, Dwight MacDonald, and Noam Chomsky, but his rhetorical analysis is superficial.

Beyond these scholarly contributions – and a handful of others that I have not summarized here but that fit within these general approaches – Bourne remains much of a mystery. As critics have noted – and complained – there is more myth around Bourne than actual understanding. Dos Passos's versified eulogy of Bourne in *1919* (1932) is often targeted as the origin of the Bourne myth. Though Dos Passos quotes

only the essay's famous line, he does offer the most influential eulogy of Bourne and critique of "The State." Dos Passos's eulogy extends for three pages in *1919*, and the following passage captures its tone and impression:

> This little sparrowlike man,
> tiny twisted bit of flesh in a black cape,
> always in pain and ailing,
> put a pebble in his sling
> and hit Goliath square in the forehead with it.
> *War*, he wrote, *is the health of the state.* (80)

Dos Passos's lines are poignant, and Bourne was, in some ways, a David-figure. However, he was also a skilled social scientist and a masterful rhetor whose work merits serious scholarly consideration. Therefore, in this chapter, I have two goals. First, I offer a new, rhetorical interpretation of "The State." I analyze the essay as an argument, and I treat Bourne as a rhetor, not as a philosopher, a political commentator, a literary critic, or a mythological figure. Second, I use this analysis to further develop this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric. But, before beginning my analysis of "The State," it is worth pausing briefly to trace how Randolph Bourne became a global rhetor.

Randolph Bourne was born on May 30, 1886 into a middle-class family in Bloomfield, New Jersey, a suburb just outside New York City. At birth, Bourne became permanently disfigured by the misuse of forceps. At age four, he contracted spinal tuberculosis, and his growth was stunted and his back permanently hunched. His father was an alcoholic and, over time, became incapable of supporting his family with the income from his fledging real estate business. Bourne's mother was a devout Presbyterian, and as she raised her four children, her family's misfortunes – especially those of Bourne – weighed heavily upon her. In the mid-1880s, her brother

became the financial benefactor for the family, and he insisted that Bourne's father separate from them altogether. Thus, as Bourne's financial security increased, he was left fatherless. His uncle did maintain his financial commitments to the family, but he refused to pay for Bourne to attend Princeton University upon high school graduation. Bourne spent the following six years working different jobs – a secretary, a teacher, a piano manufacturer. He saved his money, and in 1909, at age 23, he entered Columbia University with a scholarship.

Though Bourne's pre-college employment provided him with experiences and insights that would inform his later writing – his time spent making pianos, for example, is the foundation for his essay "What Is Exploitation?" (1916) – it was as an undergraduate at Columbia University that Bourne became a vigorous intellectual and rhetor. Bourne was a standout student at Columbia, and under the tutelage of the John Dewey and others, Bourne became sympathetic with liberal, progressive social agendas. In Blake's words, Bourne "imbibed the social-scientific indictment of laissez-faire capitalism" and became convinced of the "social character of all human activity and beliefs" (70). Within this intellectual niche, Bourne started writing and publishing. Success came fast. As an undergraduate, Bourne published multiple times in the *Columbia Monthly* and *The Atlantic*. The titles of his essays reveal the subjects that interested him at this early stage of his career: "Some Aspects of Good Talk" (1910), "The Handicapped – By One of Them" (1911), "Socialism and the Catholic Ideal" (1912), and "The Social Order of an American Town" (1913). More specifically, these essays reveal Bourne's exploration of socialist thought. He strongly objected to existing social divisions and class hierarchies, and he argued for

egalitarianism in regards to class, gender, and educational access – much like his mentor John Dewey. The rhetorical brilliance and widespread distribution of his early essays garnered for Bourne "a national reputation as a spokesman for an emerging youth culture" (Blake 63). Despite his growing fame, Bourne remained intensely focused on academic achievement. He became a star pupil of Dewey's and matriculated into a Master's program in Sociology at Columbia, writing and publishing high-quality academic work. In 1913, he graduated with a Master's Degree in Sociology, and he was awarded one of Columbia's most prestigious prizes, The Gilder Fellowship, which paid for a year's travel to Europe. While Bourne was in Berlin, Austria declared war on Serbia, and the onset of World War I forced him to go home early (Nichols 217).

When Bourne returned to the U.S., his writing career quickly blossomed. Bourne went back to living in New York City, and, from 1914 to 1916, he published extensively. In *Columbia University Quarterly*, he recounted his trip to Europe in the essay "Impressions of Europe, 1913-1914" (1915). This autobiographical essay is worth quoting at length to show the extent to which Bourne applied his sociologist's lens as he studied and tried to make sense of the world:

> I concerned myself with getting, first, a clear impression of the physical body in which each country clothed itself, – the aspect of town and countryside, villages, farms, working-class quarters, factories, suburbs, plans of towns, styles of architecture, characteristic types and ways of living, of modern Europe; and, second, the attitudes, social and political, of various classes, the social psychology of the different peoples. (233)

In addition, Bourne remained interested in exploring the conflicts between capitalist and socialist philosophies. His 1914 essay "In the Mind of the Worker," which he published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, is perhaps his most orthodox socialist piece,

though, even here, he does interrogate socialist doctrine with more critical inquiry than many of his contemporary socialist counterparts. During this time, Bourne also became a regular contributor to the prestigious *New Republic*, publishing dozens of essays in the magazine, including "American Use for German Ideals" (1915), "The Price of Radicalism" (1916), "A Moral Equivalent for Universal Military Service" (1916), and "What Is Exploitation?" (1916). These essays explore questions of politics and political philosophy, and they reveal how Bourne's intellectual allegiances began shifting or, perhaps more accurately, evaporating altogether.

Indeed, it was during this time – and through these essays – that Bourne became a striking critical thinker whose argumentation was unpredictable, provocative, and unclassifiable. He began to reject the intellectual orthodoxies of what he would sarcastically call "the significant classes," and he wrote to agitate people out of their comfortable ways of thinking, including the socialists with whom he had once been intellectually allied. He wanted to engage people through new ideas and provoke them into holding private, genuine intellectual dialogue. His essay "American Use for German Ideals" is a case in point. Bourne wrote and published the essay in the midst of World War I, and his thesis posits that Americans should strive to capture what is best about the German national spirit. According to Bourne, the German ideal is "bursting with spiritual energy" and "heroic power," and it is "a true pioneer of twentieth-century civilization" (48-49). He concedes that the German system is flawed, but he maintains that the U.S.'s "ideal must be just as creative, just as social" (51). The essay is not one of Bourne's masterpieces, but it does suggest how Bourne began developing his intellectual and rhetorical life: he saw an indolent,

obedient ethos emerging among American and European populations, including the intellectual elite. The solution to what he would call in "The State" this "herd" (72) mentality was argumentation and the dialogue it could incite.

During these years, Bourne also began to pit himself against the pro-nationalist argumentation of the Progressive movement. As war escalated in Europe, Bourne contended cultural plurality was the key to preventing war. He argued that peace would best be secured if people of various races, languages, and cultures embraced their differences and tried to learn from each other. It is an argument that seems like a truism to many audiences in the twenty-first century, but, in Bourne's historical moment, it was radical. His position is most fully articulated in "Trans-National America," a short essay that has become one of his most widely cited works. Published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1916, the essay appeared at a time when the United States had recently seen surges in immigrants from Ireland, Italy, Germany, and other non-Anglo European countries. In response to this immigration, President Wilson and other elites began arguing that immigrants should conform to the language and culture of the white American middle-class. In "Trans-National America," Bourne responds by arguing that cultural plurality – what he calls "hyphenated Americanism" (111) – was the key to securing peace in the U.S. He calls for an America that reaches for "a higher ideal than the 'melting-pot'" (108). According to Bourne, diversity was not undermining the strength of the American union; it was the U.S.'s best means of promoting peace domestically and internationally. What had caused the war in Europe, Bourne argued, was the same kind of cultural homogeneity that was fermenting in the U.S.; and this homogeneity

engendered a "jealous nationalism" that led to war (117). For America to lead the world in a less violent direction, Bourne contends that the U.S. would need to create the world's first "federation of cultures" (115). According to Christopher McKnight Nichols, Bourne wanted the U.S. to become "a 'no-place' in nationalist terms" (223).

Bourne's novel, non-conformist arguments earned him a distinguished reputation among New York radicals and intellectuals. After Bourne left the *New Republic* in protest of the magazine's support for U.S. involvement in World War I, he became most closely associated with the Young American movement, along with Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Lewis Mumford. The Young Americans, as Casey Blake details at length in *Beloved Community*, were skeptical of all kinds of doctrines and were committed to critical inquiry above all other social, political, or intellectual allegiances. The Young Americans borrowed eclectically from various intellectual traditions, including romanticism, republicanism, humanism, pragmatism, and socialism. According to Blake:

> The political perspective of the Young Americans' criticism has proved so perplexing to many commentators because its roots lie in traditions that are far removed from the categories of conventional liberal and socialist politics in the twentieth century…the Young Americans launched a critique of modern society that was moral, aesthetic, and, above all, personal. It was the personal failure of modern industrial life – its inability to give meaning and satisfaction to individuals – that was its most damning feature…By simultaneously invoking romantic themes of self-transcendence through art and republican ideas of participatory politics, these [Young American] critics kept a steady pressure on the underlying assumptions of their country's institutions. (3-5)

Bourne felt intellectually at home among the Young Americans in the bohemian, avant-garde streets of New York City's Greenwich Village. And it was with these Young Americans that Bourne would thrust himself to the forefront of anti-war thought and argument.

In 1916, the Young Americans began *The Seven Arts,* a journal that would become a near-overnight success. Within months of launch, *The Seven Arts* drew contributions from some of the most prestigious American and British writers at the time, including Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, Robert Frost, Kahlil Gibran, D.H. Lawrence, and Amy Lowell. The magazine quickly found itself at the crest of a burgeoning American renaissance, and its pieces were – in a time of blunt, unblinking patriotism – meant to examine cultural attitudes and stimulate fresh thinking. But the glory was short-lived. Within the year, *The Seven Arts* collapsed, thanks largely to Bourne's anti-war essays. The journal's funder, Annette Rankine, pulled her financial support in the face of fierce public outrage and pressure from the U.S government; the furor brought against her may have even contributed to her suicide (Abrahams 87). In the magazine's short life, Bourne published five inflammatory anti-war pieces: "The War and the Intellectuals" (1917), "Below the Battle" (1917), "The Collapse of American Strategy" (1917) and "A War Diary" (1917). He also wrote "Twilight of the Idols" (1917), in which he confronted his former mentor, John Dewey, for his support of American entry into the war. Bourne's disgust at Dewey's support for the war – and the broader support throughout the Left – manifested itself in the pages of *The Seven Arts*, and it turned the magazine from a dynamic space for provocative writing into one dominated (at least in the public eye) by Bourne's anti-war polemics. Critics – both current and historical – agree that Bourne's essays catalyzed, and perhaps even caused altogether, the demise of *The Seven Arts*. According to poet Robert Frost, the journal "die[d] a-Bourneing" (qtd. in Vaughan 36).

After *The Seven Arts*, Bourne was largely exiled from cultural and intellectual life. His positions against U.S. entry into the war were mostly shunned, and the public nature of his dispute with Dewey angered many in the American intelligentsia. Given Bourne's role in the dramatic collapse of *The Seven Arts,* publishers were afraid (or disinclined) to print his work, and the U.S. government placed him under sporadic surveillance. He was arrested once on suspicion of espionage, and police ransacked and confiscated a trunk of his letters (Beringause 597). Between the summer of 1917 and his death in December 1918 – just a month after German surrender – Bourne was poor, isolated, and cut-off from the communities in which he had quite recently been a vibrant contributor. But while he disappeared from the pages of magazines and the parlors of Greenwich Village, he did not stop writing. Indeed, it was during this period that Bourne wrote "The State" – an essay that has become one of his definitive works.

The publication history of "The State" can only be traced in part. Biographers mostly agree that Bourne had intended for the essay to become part of a book-length project that would capture his political thought. Somewhere in the process, though, it seems that Bourne became too discouraged to continue. When the Spanish influenza virus suddenly took his life in December of 1918, "The State" was found un-paginated and rolled up in his trashcan. If Bourne discarded the essay out of frustration, one can understand why. At a young age, Bourne had become a widely published, considerably influential figure, situated at the heart of an intellectual movement. Then, quite suddenly, Bourne fell afoul of opinion-makers (and authorities) for his unwavering objections to U.S. entry into the war and his open

disagreement with the elite intelligentsia. He became un-publishable. According to James Oppenheim, the American poet and novelist and the first editor of "The State," "it was difficult even for [Bourne] to get publication for book reviews" (7). Furthermore, the very ideals that motivated Bourne's writing – critical inquiry, intellectual skepticism, and analytical dialogue – seemed to him to have been crushed by the juggernaut of wartime culture. If Bourne had long been a skeptic, he became disillusioned after *The Seven Arts*.

It was amid this more intense period of disillusionment that Bourne retreated and wrote "The State." Within a year of his death, "The State" was first published by B.W. Huebsch, an American who ran his own publishing house in New York. Oppenheim – Bourne's editor at *The Seven Arts*, a fellow anti-war intellectual, and a personal friend – edited "The State" and convinced Huebsch to publish it alongside some of Bourne's other anti-war essays as *Untimely Papers* (1919). Though many publishers were scared of Bourne, Huebsch had a reputation at the time for his daring publishing decisions, and – as a result of his willingness to take risks – he was closely associated with many of the writers whom we now recognize as the era's most important. Huebsch was the first to publish James Joyce and D.H. Lawrence in the U.S., and he also issued the first edition of Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio* (Beja 187). Unfortunately, Huebsch destroyed his publishing records, and exact figures of his publication and circulation of "The State" cannot be known. It was not until 1946 that there is record of another printing of "The State." The Resistance Press, an alternative press based in New York, ran a small print run of 2,500 copies. In 1977, Olaf Hansen's *The Radical Will* included "The State," with an introduction

by Christopher Lasch, the Columbia graduate and University of Rochester historian who wrote *The Culture of Narcissism* (1979). More recently, a few other editions have been published which include "The State," as well as other essays by Bourne. Yet even with this increase in attention and publication, "The State" remains relatively unknown and partially understood.

Even as more editions of "The State" become available and as scholars begin to recognize Bourne as a "global" figure, critical attention has continued to focus exclusively on Bourne's intellectual engagement rather than his rhetorical tactics and audiences. Indeed, for nearly a century, critics have noted Bourne's insistent mission to think outside traditional boundaries, by looking beyond national borders or across different communities in a very multicultural New York City. In his prefatory essay to the first printing of "The State," Oppenheim recognizes that Bourne was self-consciously engaged in a global revitalization project (1). More recently, Vaughan situates Bourne at the heart of New York's "multi-ethnic, poly-centric culture," and she suggests that Bourne imagined his local audience as a "federated, trans-national democratic culture" (453). Similarly, Nichols contends that Bourne "thought of himself as part of a larger progressive and trans-Atlantic conversation," one that aimed to "change the world" (225). My framing of Bourne as global rhetor differs from these scholarly assessments in two important ways. First, I analyze how Bourne's arguments were constructed to be globally persuasive. Scholars, like Vaughn and Nichols, look not at his arguments, but at his philosophies and intellectual influences and at how he casts the world's problems and sees their solutions. Second, I frame Bourne as a global rhetor by situating him within the

global discourse of an academic community. I argue that the global appeal of "The State" is the result of how Bourne works within – and expands – the conventions of the social science discipline.

Still, my claim that Bourne and "The State," neither of which have enjoyed a vibrant intellectual afterlife, qualify as an exemplary case study for this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric requires a brief explanation. The historical success of the text – its circulation, its readership, its influence – is, I argue, immaterial to the goals that Bourne had when composing it. Bourne imagined himself writing to an audience of academics and intellectuals who were, first and foremost, committed to the knowledge, principles, and methodologies of a discipline that were valid globally, at least according to its practitioners. So while Bourne's premature death and his damaged reputation colluded to prevent "The State" from finding broad circulation, he did set out to write a globally persuasive text. As I illustrate below, the argument within "The State" – and the ways that it warrants its appeals within a discipline while simultaneously breaking the conventions of that discipline – deserves thorough rhetorical attention. Indeed, in addition to being an exemplary global rhetorical text, "The State" captures the ultimate argument of a vital – and largely forgotten – American intellectual at the crossroads of World War I American politics, culture, literature, and academia.

Rhetorical Analysis of Bourne's "The State"

As I outline in the introduction of this chapter, Bourne has two primary rhetorical goals in "The State": to write a globally persuasive anti-war argument, and

to upset the conventions of social science argumentation and thinking in order to revitalize it. Unfortunately, we can never know how exactly Bourne would balance these two goals. When he suddenly died in December 1919, "The State" was unfinished. We can only imagine, therefore, what a "final" product would have looked like. The draft that we do have, though, feels almost like two separate pieces: in the beginning of the essay, Bourne is at his finest. He juggles and weaves competing styles of argument and language, and he synthesizes them into a unique, unforgettable exordium. In the remaining pages of "The State," though, the essay switches to a more conventional academic mode. The fire that burns bright through the first pages doesn't endure. Had Bourne lived to complete the essay, would the flames in the first few pages have spread? Or would the more careful writing of the body have tempered the long, blazing introduction? We can never know the answer to this question, of course, but it is rhetorically instructive to witness how Bourne attempts to balance his competing desires to both persuade and aggravate.

From the outset of "The State," there are distinct signs that the essay will abide by the disciplinary conventions of the social sciences. Most notably, Bourne puts his audience into a role in which they are to examine what he calls "habits of thought." Bourne's audience – social science academics and other intellectuals interested in and accustomed to the rhetorical conventions of the new discipline – would have felt comfortable in this role, as it was a role into which social science rhetors often put their audiences. From the first lines of "The State," Bourne asks his audience to analyze how people across national borders think about their governments and their states. He writes:

> To most of the Americans of the classes which consider themselves significant, the war brought a sense of sanctity of the State, which, if they had had time to think about it, would have seemed a sudden and surprising alteration in their habits of thought. In times of peace, we usually ignore the State in favor of partisan political controversies, or personal struggles for office, or the pursuit of party policies. It is the Government rather than the State with which the politically minded are concerned. The State is reduced to a shadowy emblem which comes to consciousness only on occasions of patriotic holiday. (65)

This introduction does not ask readers to consider how they think about their government and their state; and they are not asked to evaluate a specific historical incident. Instead, Bourne positions his audience to think generally about governments and states. This type of detached, definitional-level inquiry would have been anticipated for veteran readers of social science argumentation in the early twentieth century.[16]

Just as Bourne puts his readers into a familiar role from the essay's first sentence, he simultaneously distinguishes "The State" from standard disciplinary argumentation. The essay's terminology and its sarcastic, tongue-in-cheek tone signal immediately that this social scientific essay will not "play by the rules." In the first

[16] Consider, for example, John Dewey's seminal *Democracy and Education* (1916), in which Dewey explores the necessity and philosophy of education in the industrialized democracies of the young twentieth century. One of the text's most influential sections, "The Democratic Conception of Education," positions its audience just as Bourne does in the introduction of "The State." Readers are asked to analyze general, essential attributes of a democracy, as these attributes would apply across any number of nations. Dewey writes: "The devotion of democracy to education is a familiar fact. The superficial explanation is that a government resting upon popular suffrage cannot be successful unless those who elect and who obey their governors are educated. Since a democratic society repudiates the principle of external authority, it must find a substitute in voluntary disposition and interest; these can be created only by education" (101). Numerous other examples from the discipline could be cited here to offer a contextual parallel, but I choose Dewey because, first, he was Bourne's mentor; and, second, he was one of the most influential social scientists writing on either side of the Atlantic in the latter-half of the 1910s.

sentence, when Bourne refers to the subject of people that he wants to discuss, he chooses a conspicuous phrase: "the classes which consider themselves significant." In the early twentieth century, academics were using the terms "upper-class" or "middle-class," and Bourne could have obliged convention and chosen these terms. He did not, of course, and thus from the first sentence of "The State" Bourne is deliberately breaking norms and situating the essay both within the discipline but also outside of it. His readers, thus, are put into a novel and perhaps even uncomfortable role: on one hand, they are asked to be analysts of global phenomena and to consider "The State" as if it were a standard academic text; on the other hand, they are asked to do so even while Bourne laces his argument with language that is clearly non-academic. Bourne knows that he asks his readers to walk a fine line, and there is evidence in the introduction that he wanted to proceed cautiously.

A closer look at the linguistic and grammatical choices in the passage above reveals that – even with his sarcastic flourishes – Bourne very much wanted his readers to engage with his text in a serious, scholarly manner. Intellectually, Bourne asks readers of "The State" to detach themselves from the subject of analysis in the essay – the American people – and to consider this subject as an illustrative example of larger truths, just as they would in their professional work. Bourne's language choices reveal how he seeks to accomplish this goal. His choice of proper nouns and pronouns, specifically, reveal how he constructs his readers into a role in which they are to be critical analysts. In the first sentence of the essay, the introductory clause uses the proper noun "Americans," and the next segment of the sentence discusses how Americans altered their feelings about the American state during the war. As the

sentence progresses, Bourne substitutes the pronoun "they" for the term "Americans" in the conditional clause. He writes: "To most of the Americans...if they had time to think about it" (65). Rhetorically, this pronoun separates his readers – even and especially his American readers – from the subject of analysis, and it asks them to analyze how Americans' attitudes changed during wartime. With the audience thus positioned, Bourne transitions the argument's focus to "the state" and shifts to the pronoun "we." The use of the third-person plural pronoun suggests an inclusiveness in which readers and rhetor are part of the same group, but the Americans who "consider themselves significant" are separate. The "we" contrasts with the "they" that serves as the umbrella pronoun for Americans in the previous sentence, and it invites readers to become members of an intellectual audience that exists at a level of thought above the "politically minded." Rhetorically, Bourne makes it clear from the outset that he is not writing to the American people about their "habits of thought" regarding the American state, but to a nation-less "we" who must assume the role of analyst to consider how war changes "habits of thought" not only for Americans, but for people in similar types of political systems around the world.

In the concluding two sentences of the first paragraph, we can see other grammatical cues that position the audience into the role of analyst. To re-quote: "It is the Government rather than the State with which the politically minded are concerned. The State is reduced to a shadowy emblem which comes to consciousness only on occasions of patriotic holiday" (65). The language in these two sentences avoids specifics, instead drawing readers' attention to some of the definitional attributes that determine the nature and character of all states. Neither of the two

concluding sentences has a subject that is modified by an adjective or a pronoun, and both subjects – government and state – are preceded by definite articles that connote genus-level analysis. In effect, the causes for why the state is or is not a "shadowy emblem" are posited as rules. Bourne has not arrived at this conclusion based on one observation, but on an understanding of the essential nature of states and governments. Thus, as Bourne frames it, the inverse ratio between "times of peace" and the increased visibility of "the State" is not a particular example, but a rule. This ratio does not only apply to America's involvement in World War I. It applies to all wars. Bourne's argument is that the state (as a state, any state) depends upon war (a war, any war) in order to "come to consciousness."

This rhetorical positioning of the audience – positioning them as intellectual analysts examining rules rather than specific examples – prepares them to consider the fundamental claim of "The State." The argument that Bourne is building up to through this introduction would be, for most in his audience, odd, definitive, and seemingly irrational. In contending that there is a genus of "state" that has a nature that overrides and determines individual species, Bourne is asking his audience to take an intellectual journey and to reexamine many of their geopolitical and philosophical assumptions. To lead his audience through this process, Bourne employs a series of arguments from definitional essence. The argument from definitional essence – as I discuss in Chapter Two in my analysis of Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* – is an argument that isolates actions of a person or an institution, posits that these actions are inherent at the genus level, and contends that these actions reveal an essence that must exist in every individual manifestation. In

other words, if one state performs act X, act X is used to reveal the essence of each and every state. This argumentative technique has unique global persuasive potential, I argue, because it can state its claims without relying upon contextual specificities. That is, it can make claims about what is true at a definitional level without limiting the application of these claims because of specific details. In "The State," the arguments from definitional essence begin very early in the essay. Bourne writes:

> even in countries where the business of declaring war is theoretically in the hands of representatives of the people, no legislature has ever been known to decline the request of an Executive, which has conducted all foreign affairs in utter privacy and irresponsibility…put to the stern pragmatic test, the difference [between "popular Parliament or Congress" or "absolute monarch or ruling class"] is not striking. In the freest of republics as well as in the most tyrannical of Empires, all foreign policy, the diplomatic negotiations which produce or forestall war, are equally the private property of the Executive part of the Government, and are equally exposed to no check whatever from popular bodies, or the people voting in mass themselves. (66-67)

In this passage, Bourne's rhetorical goal should be clear: to show that "the freest of republics" and "the most tyrannical of Empires" behave in identical manners when it comes to declaring and managing war. Because they act the same, Bourne argues, they are essentially the same, because the acts define the essence. Bourne's claim – that free republics and tyrannical empires are one and the same – would have been a near-heretical argument to make at the close of World War I. This is especially true when arguing to an audience of social science academics and allied intellectuals who – as Bourne saw it – had become substantially invested in the prevailing political classification schemes. Bourne, of course, understood the inflammatory nature of his thesis, and the ways that he builds an argument around it merit further examination.

In the passage above, the subject or the "doer" – the thing that is being defined by the actions – is the executive. This executive, according to the argument,

is responsible for performing three actions: requesting war from a legislature; conducting foreign affairs in privacy and irresponsibility; producing and/or forestalling war without check from popular bodies or the vote. These three actions, Bourne contends, reveal that the distinctions drawn between executives of free republics and tyrannical empires are only superficial. According to Bourne's argument, executives in all forms of government do the same three things – actions X, Y, and Z. This rhetorical technique, as I have suggested, endows the argument with a certain self-evident appeal that gives it persuasive potential, even as it disputes what many believe to be "common sense." The final implication of Bourne's argument from definitional essence is that these three actions – actions X, Y, and Z, as I have cast them – define the essence of the executive, regardless of place or time. Indeed, it is not just that the declaration of war is anti-democratic, but the institutions themselves are anti-democratic, because their actions both identify their essence and emanate from it.

The persuasive potential of this argument, one could certainly argue, is very limited and would only persuade readers who were already highly predisposed to agree with it. Indeed, it could be argued that even if the early rhetorical strategies of "The State" were successful – that the essay appealed to disciplinary knowledge about how societies function in general, that the larger audience would occupy the role of analyst, and that the audience was sufficiently prepared to consider the genus of "state" in place of the species – the basic matter of the essay's claims was too unorthodox to be broadly persuasive. There is merit to this objection. This merit, in part, reveals how the argument from definitional essence may be limited in its ability

to argue radical theses. As we see here – and as I discussed in the previous chapter on *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* – the argument from definitional essence uses actions as its premises. For the argument to develop, and for it to gain its self-evident appeal, readers must first accept that the actions are characteristic of and belong to the thing being analyzed. In Bourne's argument quoted previously, this means that readers would need to agree that these three actions – requesting war, conducting foreign affairs privately, producing war without consent – belong to their own country's leaders. Given that Bourne's audience consisted largely of academics and intellectuals who were both well invested in and well served by the current system, these accusations were unlikely to resonate. And if the audience rejects these action-premises, the argument from definitional essence has no foundation from which to build. This is a valid problem, and also one that Bourne seems to have recognized. In subsequent arguments from definitional essence, Bourne uses stylistic elements – tense, tone, register – to make it more difficult for readers to wholesale reject the action-premises. As this chapter continues and examines additional arguments from definitional essence within "The State," I pay particular attention to the rhetorical strategies that Bourne uses to prevent readers from fully dismissing the argument from its initial premises.

One of the most important strategies that serves this goal is an argument from dissociation. In a passage in which Bourne builds an argument from definitional essence, he uses this tactic to dissociate "country" and "state." Before turning to this passage, it is useful to recall *The New Rhetoric*'s theory of *association* and *dissociation*. According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca:

> By processes of association we understand schemes which bring separate elements together and allow us to establish a unity among them….By processes of dissociation, we mean techniques of separation which have the purpose of dissociating, separating, disuniting elements which are regarded as forming a whole or at least a unified group within some system of thought: dissociation modifies such a system by modifying certain concepts which make up its essential parts. (190)

The New Rhetoric's concept of arguments of dissociation offers a useful framework for understanding how Bourne tries to manage his audience's resistance to his thesis. However, one slight point should first be made about the discussion of association and dissociation within *The New Rhetoric*. According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, dissociations work to separate "elements" that are "regarded as forming a whole" or "at least unified." Bourne's dissociation works slightly differently. The academic and intellectual audience he addressed would not necessarily imagine the two concepts – the country and the state – as either a whole or a unity. Mostly likely, his audience would have a loosely defined understanding of the differences between the two – or they would define the two concepts in a manner different from Bourne. But the argument of dissociation is important rhetorically because it clearly defines the two as separate, thereby enabling Bourne to direct his attack at one but not the other.

Consider the passage below. Bourne identifies each entity's characteristic actions (the country and the state), and he uses these actions as a means to define their essences. For readers who would be loath to accept Bourne's striking condemnations against their government, the dissociation between country and state establishes two distinct, clearly defined entities, and it enables one (the state) to take the substance of

the criticism while the other (the country) is not accused of wrongdoing. Bourne writes:

> Our idea of Country concerns itself with the non-political aspects of a people, its ways of living, its personal traits, its literature and art, its characteristic attitudes toward life…The State is the country acting as a political unit, it is the group acting as a repository of force, determiner of law, arbiter of justice…When a country acts as a whole in relation to another country, or in imposing laws on its own inhabitants, or in coercing or punishing individuals or minorities, it is acting as a State. (67-68)

According to this argument, we can only differentiate "country" and "state" by evaluating how each behaves. A country and a state are one and the same entity until they begin behaving differently. In other words, a state only becomes a state by doing certain things.[17] Thus, for an audience who would have been unenthusiastic about agreeing with Bourne's thesis, the dissociation offers a less drastic means through which they can consider Bourne's ultimate argument.

Beyond the argument of dissociation, Bourne also tries to "ease" his readers into his argument and prevent them from fully rejecting the action-premises by using a strategic set of linguistic choices. In the following passage, I argue that Bourne's tone and his grammatical structures work to defend the argument from definitional essence against objections about the validity of its action-premises. Bourne writes:

> Minority opinion, which in times of peace, was only irritating and could not be dealt with by law unless it was conjoined with actual crime, becomes, with the outbreak of war, a case for outlawry….Public opinion, as expressed in the newspapers, and the pulpits and the schools, becomes one solid block….War

[17] This argument has drawn criticism from scholars who, like Elsie Clews Parsons in an early book review of *Untimely Papers*, accuse Bourne of constructing the state as "the conceptual scapegoat" for national ills and "leaving nation and country worthy of devotion" (Parsons 369). This objection, however, reflects concern with the substance of the argument, not its technique.

> is the health of the State. It [war] automatically sets in motion throughout society those irresistible forces for uniformity, for passionate cooperation with the Government in coercing into obedience the minority groups and individuals which lack the larger herd sense. The machinery of government sets and enforces the drastic penalties, the minorities are either intimidated into silence, or brought slowly around by a subtle process of persuasion…Minorities are rendered sullen… artistic creation, knowledge, reason, beauty, the enhancement of life, are instantly and almost unanimously sacrificed. (70-71)

One notable stylistic choice in this passage is the shift from active to passive construction. In the active construction, the agent or the "doer" sits as the sentence's subject, and the recipient of the action appears after the verb. In the passive construction, the order is reversed, with the subject moved to the end of the sentence or omitted altogether. There are also changes to the verb, but what is important here is how a sentence in the passive construction can simultaneously de-emphasize the role of the "doer" and emphasize the consequences of the actions. In the passage above, I argue that the passive construction is a rhetorical strategy meant to lessen the extent to which an audience would need to agree that the action-premises characterize the state.

Bourne's use of passive construction serves this end because it de-emphasizes the role that the state plays in creating certain outcomes. Indeed, the passive construction enables Bourne to omit the term "state" from the sentence altogether. Consider, for example, the following sentence: "Minorities are rendered sullen." Written in the active construction, it would read "The State renders minorities sullen." This latter construction would require the audience to consciously accept that this action is characteristic of the state. As we have seen, many in Bourne's audience would not be predisposed to agree with this claim. But in the passive construction, the

connection between the action ("rendering minorities sullen") and the actor ("the State") is, quite literally, less present on the page. It is obvious, of course, that within the context of the argument Bourne is suggesting that "the state" is responsible for "rending minorities sullen." Yet, the passive construction allows for a degree of agency to be removed. As we see in the passage above, the sentence "Minorities are rendered sullen" is not the only passive construction that serves this end.

This passage is equally notable for its mix of brash and academic language – as non-academic phrases like "irresistible forces for uniformity" and "machinery of government" sit alongside esoteric terminology like "larger herd sense" (see discussion below). As I note earlier in this analysis as I discuss the essay's first line – when Bourne refers to "the Americans of the classes which consider themselves significant" – "The State" deliberately infuses scholarly arguments with very non-scholarly language. The point, I suggest, is to imbue the argument with an unconventional force and vitality. It is interesting, however, that in "The State" one of the rhetorical tactics that gives the essay so much force is a stylistic convention of social science discourse. This is Bourne's use of the present simple tense. This tense, as Jeanne Fahnestock argues in *Rhetorical Style* (2011), enables a rhetor "to relate actions or states held to be always in effect, always happening. It is therefore rhetorically important as the tense of shared truths" (155). In *Deciding Usage* (2000), Stephen Sherwin offers a similar assessment: the present tense "refers to an unspecified time that stretches from the past through the present and into the future" and it can be used to "express futurity…and to make statements not tied to a particular time" (539-540). For a rhetor wishing to argue to global audiences about

the inherent, definitional nature of the state – a nature that transcends both place and time – this is a rhetorically effective choice of tense. Consider, for example, how the present tense expands the reach of the argument:

> **"The State" as it was written, in the present simple**: "Public opinion, as expressed in the newspapers, and the pulpits and the schools, *becomes* one solid block…War *is* the health of the State." (70; emphasis added)
>
> **"The State" revised to the past simple**: "Public opinion, as expressed in the newspapers, and the pulpits and the schools, *became* one solid block…War *was* the health of the State."

In the present simple tense, the argument has further reach, durability, and applicability. In the past simple tense, Bourne's most famous line reads as a claim in a history lesson rather than the thesis of an argument for global audiences. As exemplified in this passage, this hybrid mode of argumentation – mixing unconventional language with conventional usage of tense – is much of what gives the early pages of "The State" so much rhetorical force. His audience would recognize much of the argument as standard disciplinary writing, but interwoven throughout are jostling rhetorical and linguistic choices that distinguish the essay.

As I have discussed, "The State" reads almost as if it were two separate pieces. The excerpt quoted previously is one of the final passages of the fiery, contrarian introductory argument.[18] After this introduction, Bourne transitions into

[18] The following passage begins part two (of two) of "The State." There is nothing exceptional about the passage; I choose it here because it represents the tone, register, and argumentative appeal that prevail throughout the latter-half of the essay. To begin part two, Bourne writes: "An analysis of the State would take us back to the beginnings of society, to the complex of religious and personal and herd-impulses which has found expression in so many forms. What we are interested in is the American State as it behaves and as Americans behave towards it in this twentieth

the body of his argument, and he begins to employ very learned terminology from social science discourse. This change of tone and register connects his argument to the kinds of academic arguments that investigate essential human nature, not cultural habits – and it roots the argument more deeply within appeals to disciplinary knowledge. In this section of the essay, Bourne argues that people, through biological or psychological impulse, behave in specific ways when they feel threatened by force or violence. In trying to locate his argument in "human nature," Bourne was aligning with the larger project of the social sciences at this time. The following passage illustrates this mode of argumentation:

> There is nothing invidious in the use of the term, "herd," in connection with the State. It is merely an attempt to reduce closer to first principles the nature of this institution in the shadow of which we all live, move and have our being. Ethnologists are generally agreed that human society made its first appearance as the human pack and not as a collection of individuals or of couples. The herd is in fact the original unit…Psychologists recognize the gregarious impulse as one of the strongest primitive pulls which keeps together the herds of the different species of higher animals. Mankind is no exception…Animals crowd together for protection, and men become most conscious of their collectivity at the threat of war. (72-73)

Beyond the obvious references to the academic fields of ethnology and psychology, Bourne further roots himself in social science discourse and disciplinary knowledge, as his argument hinges upon jargon terms of the discipline: "herd," "human pack," and "primitive pull." These terms signify a jarring break from the kinds of anti-war essays that he published in *The Seven Arts*. It is worth considering these terms more closely to see why they are rhetorically significant, what they would have meant to

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century, and to understand that, we have to go no further back than the early English monarchy of which our American republic is the direct descendent" (91).

Bourne's audience, and how they would have argued that his analysis is rooted in an essential, definitional nature of people, society, and political organization.

In the passage above, one of most rhetorically significant terms is "herd." To contemporary readers, "herd" may seem like it would belong mostly within the register of animal sciences. In the first decades of the twentieth century, however, the term, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, could be used for "denoting feelings, actions, thoughts, etc., common to a large company of people" ("herd"). In addition, "herd instinct" was used to describe "an instinctive tendency to think and act as one of a crowd" ("herd"). Clearly, this is the definition that Bourne has in mind. Interestingly, however, the majority of the examples cited by the *Oxford English Dictionary* are taken from psychological argumentation. In using "herd," it seems that Bourne anticipated that the term would have undesirable connotative significance (that of a crowd of animals) for readers who were not fluent in the language of psychology – and he uses this connotation to further suggest the corrupt nature of the state. Indeed, even though Bourne claims that there is nothing "invidious" in his usage of "herd" as he refers to how people behave under the power of the state, he switches from "herd" to a slightly more benign term "human pack" as he transitions his discussion from the state to ethnologists. To re-quote: "There is nothing invidious in the use of the term, 'herd,' in connection with the State…Ethnologists are generally agreed that human society made its first appearance as the human pack and not as a collection of individuals or of couples." It is a subtle move, to be sure, but it remains significant for two reasons. First, it argues that humans only behave as a

"herd" when ruled by the state.[19] Second, it suggests that not all collective human behavior amounts to "herding." Indeed, "herding" only describes the type of human behavior that occurs when the state brings the populace to war. For when "human society" originated, we traveled in "human packs." Yet, when we find ourselves under the authority of the state, we become members of a "herd." As "The State" progresses, it dives deeper into this kind of argumentation – argumentation that relies heavily upon an esoteric, learned academic register. It remains interlaced with non-conventional rhetorical tactics, but the overall argument of the essay evolves further into the kind of argumentation characteristic of the discipline.

As I have argued in this chapter, Randolph Bourne's "The State" sought to persuade a potential global readership through a complex and delicate rhetorical strategy – a strategy that was constructed not only from his desire to persuade academics and others in the intelligentsia, but also to revitalize the thinking and argumentation of the social sciences. Had Bourne sought only to persuade audiences sympathetic with his argument – that war had awful costs on society and culture regardless of when, where, how, or by whom it was waged – a simpler argument could have sufficed. The international socialist and pacifist movements had tight, far-

[19] The dynamics of the social sciences register that Bourne is playing with would probably lose rhetorical nuance for second-language readers – even academics and intellectuals – who were not deeply fluent with the discourse. Consequently, one could object that, framed as an argument for global audiences, this portion of "The State" would have only "local" persuasive potential. This objection has certain merit, but it does not discredit this portion of Bourne's global rhetorical strategy. There are two reasons why. First, as Aristotle has noted, rhetoric relies upon all available means of persuasion. Bourne's register shifting is simply one available means, and not the sole or even primary tactic for inducing persuasion. Second, rhetoric is trans-lingual, and while certain terms may lose their connotative precision through translation, centuries of translating texts have shown that arguments can maintain their persuasive potential in any given number of languages.

reaching networks, and Bourne's thesis would have resonated well outside his immediate situation. But Bourne had larger ambitions in "The State." He wanted to craft an electric, penetrating argument that would persuade a hostile audience and shake up its discipline's dogmas and conventions. Bourne believed deeply in the knowledge, methodologies, and capabilities of the social sciences, and "The State" is both a vital anti-war statement and a disciplinary monkey wrench. It is very much a shame that we do not have a "final" version of the essay, because it would be insightful to see how Bourne resolved the competing tensions – of embracing and breaking disciplinary conventions – that shape the argument of the text. What we do have in "The State," though, is a text that exemplifies how rhetors can persuade global audiences through disciplinary appeals.

As I suggest at the beginning of this chapter, "The State" shares many similarities with Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* – as well as important differences. In looking at the two texts together, we see two examples of how the argument from definitional essence can argue radical theses to global audiences. This is a valuable piece for this dissertation's goal of beginning to develop a theory of global rhetoric, but it is only a piece. In the next chapter, I turn to Aung San Suu Kyi's "In Quest of Democracy" to examine how a global rhetor can root an argument's appeals in a widely recognized, bureaucratically endorsed set of values. This analysis will complement Chapters Two and Three and illustrate a very different sort of global rhetoric.

Chapter 4: Aung San Suu Kyi's "In Quest of Democracy": Arguing Through Shared Values and Appeals to Human Rights

Introduction

As I turn to Aung San Suu Kyi's "In Quest of Democracy," it is worth noting that both Tolstoy and Bourne sought to create globally persuasive texts for much the same reason. Each rhetor wanted to upend conventional, dogmatic thinking and revitalize a set of beliefs – Christianity for Tolstoy, the social sciences for Bourne – that were being misapplied. Thus while I do want to suggest that both *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and "The State" are exemplary, illustrative global arguments, my analysis of these two texts does raise a critical question: how can rhetors construct globally persuasive texts when their theses are in line with global norms, standards, and conventions?

To answer this question, I offer a case study of Aung San Suu Kyi's "In Quest of Democracy." My analysis of this essay supplements Chapters Two and Three, because of Aung San's far different approach to – and reason for – building her global appeal.[20] As I discuss in detail in this chapter, Aung San is not a malcontent like Tolstoy or Bourne. She does not make sweeping arguments about the inherent corruption of authority and power, and she does not believe that something sacred or intellectually valuable is being abused. Instead, Aung San roots her global appeals

[20] In this chapter, I refer to Aung San Suu Kyi as Aung San. In Burma, a person's surname precedes the first name. Calling her Aung San, however, can be confusing. In most writings about Burma, her father – the leader of Burmese independence – is also referred to as Aung San. In this chapter, I refer to her father as Bogyoke Aung San. "Bogyoke," which means "Army General," is a formal title by which her father has long been known.

within the global discourse of human rights, particularly those articulated in – and, as much as possible, protected by – the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR). "In Quest of Democracy," therefore, illustrates how rhetors can build texts with global persuasive potential by appealing to established global values and beliefs. Through these appeals, Aung San seeks to coalesce readers into a global audience who will exert international pressure on the ruling military regime in Burma.

Aung San's Rhetorical Situation

The story of Burma in the twentieth century is one of occupation – first by the British (1824-1942), then by the Japanese (1942-1945), then by the British again (1945-1948), and, finally, for the past half-century, by Burma's own military autocrats (1962-present).[21] The only break in successive occupations came between independence from Britain, formally granted in 1948, and the military coup that brought General Ne Win to power in 1962, and even these years were marked by ethnic conflicts and unstable rule. Perhaps the only moment of national political cheer was in 1947, when the country stood at the brink of independence. The Burmese rallied behind a new, local hero – a young nationalist named Bogyoke Aung San (1915-1947) who had successfully maneuvered Burma free from both Japanese occupation and British occupation. Bogyoke Aung San had also brought together,

[21] Throughout this chapter, I use the country name "Burma" and not "Myanmar." Though the name "Burma" is a relic from the era of British imperialism, it is preferable to "Myanmar," a name that the ruling military government officially created for the country in 1989. In using "Burma," I follow the choice of Aung San and other supporters of Burmese liberation and independence.

with varying levels of success, many of Burma's ethnic-minority communities that were scattered throughout the rural nation. Yet, just as Burma seemed poised to realize its independence – and exactly one month after Bogyoke Aung San's daughter, Aung San Suu Kyi, celebrated her second birthday – he was assassinated by political rivals. In the years following his death, Bogyoke Aung San was written into history as the hero and father of an independent, if not fully democratic, Burma. And the party he founded – the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League – remained in control of Burma, but it was severely weakened by the loss of its charismatic leader. Bogyoke Aung San's wife, Khin Kyi (1912-1988), remained politically active, serving first as Burma's Minister of Social Welfare and later as the country's Ambassador to India.

Somewhat paradoxically, it was Khin Kyi's political success – specifically, her appointment to the Indian post – that set in motion the events that kept her daughter Aung San away from Burma for the better part of three decades. Aung San was a teenager when she accompanied her mother to India, and she remained in India for university, taking a degree from the University of Delhi. Aung San then continued her education in England, studying at Oxford and finally earning a doctoral degree from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Aung San continued to live in England (with brief stints in Bhutan and New York), marrying an Englishman and raising two children. Thus, in her early adulthood, Aung San had complicated connections to Burma. She was the daughter of both the country's father of independence and one of its most prominent female politicians, yet she had emigrated to the West, studied in the West, married a

Westerner, and allowed her two sons (Alexander and Kim) to be citizens of Burma's former colonizer.

Thus, while her father remained a national hero, Aung San was an unknown figure in Burma. When she visited Burma in 1988 to care for her dying mother, she had built a comfortable life for herself in Oxford, with no intentions of becoming involved politically in Burma. But on her return, the country she found after years away was far different than what her revolutionary father had envisioned and fought to realize. For over two decades, Burma had been held at the mercy of the isolationist, despotic rule of General Ne Win and the Burma Socialist Programme Party. Even though Burma had one of the region's richest reserves of natural resources, its people were poor, its infrastructure was under-developed, and its record of human rights violations was extensive. Aung San knew of the troubles – at least at an abstract, academic level – but it seems that witnessing them first-hand changed her perspective. And things took a turn for the worse when she was at her mother's bedside. In August 1988, social unrest reached new heights, and, during a massive demonstration against the ruling regime, an estimated 1,000-plus demonstrators (and bystanders) were killed in Rangoon in a "Tiananmen Square-style crackdown" (Bradley). Numerous other demonstrations took place during this historic summer of revolt, and scores of Burmese were imprisoned, injured, killed, or relocated to malaria-infested hinterlands in a program that the regime dubbed "urban beautification" (Pedersen 107). As Aung San tended her mother, the Burmese people fought, the regime fought back, and political tensions rose ever higher.

It was amid this environment of violence, unrest, and revolutionary fervor that Aung San took the first step in her leadership journey, delivering a speech on the steps of Rangoon's Shwedagon Pagoda that has since become the stuff of legend. On August 26, Aung San left her family's compound to join a half-million demonstrators at the iconic Pagoda, and the messages of her speech – delivered in impeccable, idiomatic Burmese – struck like lightning. Aung San offered simple, bold ideas about the potential and power of democracy, and she introduced a welcome vision of how democracy would improve the lives of Burmese citizens. According to a *New York Times* report at the time, Aung San's speech codified and empowered the Burmese people, articulating for the first time "the aspirations of the ordinary Burmese" (Erlanger). Britain's *The Guardian* offered a similar interpretation, reporting that her speech received "exuberant support" from the gathered crowd (Cumming-Bruce). In the weeks and months that followed, Aung San seized the national spotlight. She transformed herself into a tireless, fearless speaker for and convener of pro-democracy citizens who had long been silenced and frightened into submission. She remained in Burma after her mother's death in December 1988, travelling the country and touting her platform of viable democracy in dozens of speeches and talks each month. In April 1989, less than a year after her speech at Shwedagon Pagoda, her influence had reached such proportions that, during a visit to a rural region, an army captain ordered six soldiers to assassinate her. At the last moment, a ranking officer countermanded the order, and Aung San – startled but defiant – continued her political campaigning at a furious pace.

By the summer of 1989, it had become clear to both pro-democracy supporters and to the military regime that the current political unrest could not be quieted through the usual authoritarian tactics that had been working for decades. Local democracy movements had become stronger and broader than ever before, and the military regime grew desperate. It cut off contact with the international community, hoping that closing the country's borders would enable them to manage their business in private. A report from the *Economist* in July 1989 illustrates how the global press saw the situation:

> Anyone outside the country trying to telephone Rangoon has failed. The government seems to have closed down communications with the rest of the world. The reason for the shutdown is that the army does not want an audience for any action it may take against the country's democracy movement. ("Hope Abandoned" 62)

Indeed, that same month, General Ne Win and his government identified Aung San as one of the ringleaders of the pro-democracy movement, and they placed her under house arrest in her family's compound just outside Rangoon. Under incarceration, Aung San was given a choice: she could leave the country and not return, or she could stay and remain under detention, with no prospect for a fair trial. Even though she had left her family in England the prior year with the intention of nursing her mother and then returning home, Aung San refused to leave Burma. Her house arrest would continue largely uninterrupted for the next two-plus decades.

With Aung San under house arrest, General Ne Win and his cohorts tried to reestablish themselves as a legitimate, credible administration, both nationally and globally. Within Burma, the authorities launched a smear campaign against Aung San and the party she had helped form – the National League for Democracy (NLD).

Aung San was derided in the state-run papers on a near-daily basis. The most common criticisms were the choices she had made in her personal life: her marriage to British scholar Michael Aris, her raising of Bogyoke Aung San's grandchildren in England, and her supposed preference for life in the West over Burma. She was also accused by the state-run papers of attempting "to destroy the armed forces and revive anarchy" ("Hope Abandoned" 62). Furthermore, the NLD was mocked as a shadow organization acting at the behest of Western, anti-Burmese imperialists.

Beyond Burma's borders, Burmese officials endeavored to shed their reputations as isolationist autocrats. The national economy, still further crumbling, gave powerful impetus to their attempt at re-branding. By the fall of 1989, with the economy reaching new lows, the government feared that the national, regional, and global organizations that had thus far been neutral on the question of Burmese politics would begin to see the regime as unfit to rule. The government sought assistance, without success, from multi-governmental organizations like the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank. According to the *Economist*, these global organizations were skeptical about the Burmese government's motivations and decided to keep "their hands in their pockets until Burma shows it is sincere about economic reform" ("Beneath the Whitewash" 84). The decisions by the IMF, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank to withhold assistance were likely influenced by the antipathy with which Western governments regarded the Burmese government. At a diplomatic level, Burma's leaders had fully fallen out of favor with the West. After the 1988 massacre in Rangoon, the West banned arms sales to Burma and stopped aid programs. The

United States, in particular, banned all Thai imports that were made from Burmese teak, and extensive sanctions were imposed largely through the leadership of U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Nations in Europe and North America, as well as Japan, started pressuring the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to intervene – or at least to put diplomatic and economic pressure on the government. Yet, despite this Western pressure, Burma's economic and political situation remained – for a time – a bit brighter at the regional level. Broadly speaking, a doctrine of non-interference prevailed, and economic relations between Burma and its regional neighbors continued unabated. Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong later captured the region's attitude: "We don't set out to change the world and our neighbors. We don't believe in it. The culture of ASEAN is that we do not interfere" ("Myanmar's Monsters" 15).[22] But in the spring and summer of 1990 – across the world and also in the region – the Burmese government's reputation went from bad to worse: Aung San and her NLD party won by a landslide the first Burmese elections held in 29 years.

Exactly why the Burmese government decided to hold elections in May of 1990 is the subject of debate among scholars, journalists, and other observers. The prevailing theory – and also the most persuasive – is that the government had become so drunk with power that it could not imagine that Aung San and the newly formed NLD posed any real threat. Furthermore, a legitimate election was the keystone of the

[22] To be fair, Goh Chok Tong's position is backed by the founding document of ASEAN. In 1967, when the organization formed, one of the fundamental principles guiding ASEAN's creation and mission was non-interference. While many have argued that the Singaporean Prime Minister's attitude was based in self-interest, it must be recognized that his position, even if self-interested, had clear foundation and historical precedent.

regime's national, regional, and global re-branding campaign, and it seems likely that the whole thing was simply a strategic miscalculation prompted by hubris. Regardless of the exact reasons for the election, the results were clear: the NLD triumphed, securing 392 of 485 parliamentary seats. The results spoke volumes. The NLD's platform put them in direct opposition to the ruling regime. Seven months before the election, in November 1989, the NLD articulated its position and philosophy in the Manifesto of the National League for Democracy, stating "The National League for Democracy firmly believes that, today, in Burma, the masses of people are earnestly aspiring for the formation of a Democratic government that will guarantee basic human rights" ("Manifesto"). Though Aung San was under house arrest during the release of the Manifesto, scholars suggest that she was involved in the drafting. According to Josef Silverstein, "it must be assumed that no document of this kind could have been made public without her knowledge and approval" (1017).[23] The document helped galvanize the NLD, and it positioned the party to win the election that chastened the Burmese government.

After the election, a sense of euphoria overtook the country. One British news report captures the mood: "The Burmese can hardly believe it has happened. After decades of misrule so severe it would be comic had it not caused so much suffering, Burma's military junta suffered a humiliating defeat…and seems for the moment to have accepted it" ("A fair day in Burma" 63). The acceptance was momentary indeed.

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[23] Importantly, the Manifesto begins by citing and supporting the United Nations' Charter and its article on human rights. As I discuss below in greater detail, Aung San's global rhetorical tactics are rooted in human rights principles, and she appeals to global audiences by arguing about shared, common values articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

By August, the government had placed a number of restrictions on the transfer of power: contracts with Thai teak logging companies had to be maintained; peace talks with "ethnic insurgents" were to be banned; and Aung San was to have no part in national politics. Ultimately – if not surprisingly – the Burmese government ignored the results of the election altogether and held on to its power. The NLD, rather than assume its rightful place in Parliament, saw its members and supporters further punished, imprisoned, and exiled. Nevertheless, the election did expose in no uncertain terms what was happening politically in Burma. The regime could no longer hide behind pretenses, and the international community became far more vocal about the human rights violations that were taking place within the country's borders.

It is within this social, political, and economic context that Aung San arose as a global figure and, under house arrest, captured the imaginations of both domestic and global audiences. In October 1991, Aung San was the awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her peaceful leadership in the struggle for democracy. In the West, the reaction to Aung San's Nobel Prize was swift and unabashed; with the award, Aung San had secured her place among the great non-violent leaders of the twentieth century. *The New York Times* wrote that Aung San is "an Asian equivalent" of Vaclav Havel, the leader of the Velvet Revolution that overthrew communist rule in Czechoslovakia in 1989 (Mitgang). The *Journal of Democracy* went further, saying that Aung San is

> the inheritor, chronicler, and guardian of the [Bogyoke] Aung San tradition…In solitary confinement she will, like Gandhi, Nehru, Nelson Mandela, and many others before her, grow in strength of character and commitment to her (and her father's) ideals…During her enforced solitude her words, kept alive by others, will remind both Burma's neighbors and the world at large that only the recovery of her and her country's freedom can

> enable Burma once again to contribute to building a dynamic and prosperous Asia. (Woodward 4)

Perhaps most importantly, the Nobel Prize prompted her husband Michael Aris, himself a Harvard and Oxford scholar, to collect and publish a volume of Aung San's essays, which he titled *Freedom From Fear* (1991). This text – which contains a range of essays that cover topics including Burmese culture, political theory, and the Burmese political struggle – became "her words, kept alive by others" and her voice that the regime had struggled so hard to stifle. Of the many essays in the collection, "In Quest of Democracy" has come to be the most widely cited and most recognized. Aung San wrote "In Quest of Democracy" in the whirlwind year of 1988, after she returned to Burma to tend to her dying mother and, unexpectedly, experienced her meteoric rise to national (and soon international) prominence as a democracy advocate (Wintle 356; McCarthy 167). At this pivotal, complex moment, Aung San composed the essay that scholars and commentators agree is her fullest, most sophisticated articulation of what was going on in Burma and how those events connected to a broader political philosophy.

Thus, as Aung San sat silenced in her family compound in Rangoon, "In Quest of Democracy" came to speak to audiences around the world. When Aung San was awarded the Nobel Prize, "In Quest of Democracy" was cited as the essay that best captures her political beliefs, in general, and her analysis of the Burmese situation, in particular. In his Nobel Prize introductory speech, Chairman Francis Sejersted quoted "In Quest of Democracy," introducing the passage as follows: "in its most basic form, the concept of human rights is not just a Western idea, but common to all major cultures. Permit me in this connection to quote Aung San Suu Kyi's

essay, 'In Quest of Democracy'" (Sejersted). Sejersted then cited a portion of the essay in which Aung San relates the political struggle in Burma to the principles of Buddhism (I discuss this aspect of the essay in detail later in this chapter). In addition, Aung San's son – who delivered her acceptance speech in her place – also quoted "In Quest of Democracy": "The quest for democracy in Burma is the struggle of a people to live whole, meaningful lives as free and equal members of the world community. It is part of the unceasing human endeavor to prove that the spirit of man can transcend the flaws of his nature" (179).[24] The article in *The New York Times* on Aung San's Nobel Prize includes an excerpt of Sejersted's speech, specifically the section where he quotes from "In Quest of Democracy" (Tagliabue). Soon after she was awarded the Nobel Prize, the *Journal of Democracy* published "In Quest of Democracy" in full. The journal, which claims to be "the world's leading publication on the theory and practice of democracy," led its January 1992 issue with Aung San's essay ("About the Journal"). It also offered an editorial introduction in which it claimed that Aung San's "words and her example continue to inspire the Burmese people and all those who support its struggle for human rights and democracy" (Woodward 3). As "In Quest of Democracy" came to represent Aung San's political beliefs and positions, it enjoyed very high-level modes of circulation: speeches at the Nobel Prize ceremony, quotations in *The New York Times*, and print circulation in a journal that positions itself as the world's preeminent voice on human rights.

These elite sites of publication, however, were not the only avenues through which Aung San's arguments reached global audiences. In the early 1990s, new

[24] It is worth noting that both Sejersted and Alexander Aris, Aung San's son, quoted only "In Quest of Democracy" and no other essay she wrote.

technologies were creating fast, broad, and informal communication networks that were globally connecting people who had an interest in human rights. Indeed, the late-1980s and early-1990s can be seen, from the perspective of distributing information and arguments to vast readerships, as a historic turning point. Writing in 1989, the political scientists Richard Pierre Claude and Burns H. Weston describe the emergence of the global human rights community and the network they used to communicate:

> No longer does the world consist of independent sovereign states…In 1987, for example, the Paris-based League for Human Rights set up a twenty-four-hour international hot line for information on major human rights issues. In another recent development, an international computerized information-sharing network, called the Human Rights Information and Documentation System (HURIDOCS), has become operational. Electronically stored and transmitted information is used by a network of institutions that participate in gathering and disseminating the data. The system has been made widely accessible through the creation of coordinating structures in Western Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere. In short, human rights groups everywhere are developing improved capabilities in rapid international communication such that private individuals and groups from throughout the world can and do participate in international relations directly…In sum, contemporary international human rights law and policy process reflects a globe webbed by networks of interconnected and interconnecting state and non-state actors. (12)

Though a "twenty-four-hour hot line" may seem quaint to twenty-first century audiences accustomed to wireless internet service on mobile devices, the distribution dynamics that emerged in the late 1980s gave human rights advocates, audiences, and rhetors new channels of communication. The extent to which "In Quest of Democracy" or any of Aung San's argumentation traveled through these new networks is not known. But it is important to understand that, as the essay circulated at the highest levels of media and thought leadership, it also moved throughout a

quieter, secondary, but still global network used by human rights activists to share insights, stories, and updates among themselves.

More broadly, it is clear that new technologies and the distribution channels they opened had enormous consequences for the global human rights community. In 1989, Claude and Weston describe the transformation as follows:

> human rights groups are proliferating…[there are now] eight hundred such groups in Western Europe; more than five hundred in the United States and Canada; nearly four hundred in Latin America, Africa, and Asia; and in excess of two hundred unofficial as well as "approved" groups in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, with many others remaining unlisted for fear of political reprisals. All of these organizations greatly increase the numbers of people worldwide who are engaged in human rights activities that have global impact. The international law of human rights has, in other words, an *attentive global constituency.* (11, italics mine)

These new technologies and channels of information sharing created a global audience of human rights advocates and enabled them to become "attentive" to global developments that would, only a few years prior, likely have remained local. It was within this new era of global communications networks that Aung San's Nobel Prize was awarded and that "In Quest of Democracy" was published in *Freedom From Fear* and the *Journal of Democracy*.[25]

To understand the rhetorical situation of "In Quest of Democracy," it is crucial to recognize how this emerging "attentive global constituency" breathed new life into the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UNDHR),

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[25] It is far beyond the scope of this chapter to explore where and how human rights organizations cited Aung San, "In Quest of Democracy," the Burmese situation, the Nobel Prize, etc., but it would be a compelling pursuit for further scholarship. For example, what arguments or claims of Aung San's (or her peers) were most widely distributed? How did her essay(s) shape the overall discourse about human rights violations in Burma? These questions, and many more, would be fascinating for scholars from a range of fields to pursue.

which by this time was nearly a half-century old and was contested by observers for its usefulness in affairs of global human rights. Yet, at this critical point in time, hundreds of human rights organizations – with a "combined [global] membership…of several million people" – had begun cite to the UNDHR as their foundation (Morsink vii). For Aung San, especially, the UNDHR was her rhetorical foundation, because it articulates a set of principles that people from around the world already supported, fought to uphold, and imagined themselves as united around. Just as Tolstoy and Bourne root their global appeals in religion and an academic discipline, respectively, Aung San roots her global appeal in the principles of the UNDHR.

Given the critical importance of UNDHR to Aung San's "In Quest of Democracy," it is worth briefly examining the document's history, intellectual context, content, and response. In the aftermath of World War II, the United Nations recognized that its Charter alone – which called for "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms" – did not adequately articulate a set of human rights standards that would give the UN firm, incontrovertible grounds upon which to condemn violations ("Charter," ch. 9). Thus, in January 1947, the UN Commission on Human Rights was convened to imagine how to create a more detailed, robust, and widely supported document. According to Eva Brems, the UN's first meeting was heavily influenced by "the experience of World War II, which had shown the horror that may result from excluding certain people from the status of full human beings and from not granting equal rights to all" (20). Charles Malik, a UN representative from Lebanon who was involved in the core UNDHR drafting team, expressed similar sentiments at the time. According to Malik,

the document was "inspired by opposition to the barbarous doctrines of Nazism and fascism" (qtd. in Morsink 36). Headed by Eleanor Roosevelt and teamed by seventeen other representatives from around the world, the Committee set out to write a document that would help prevent similar human rights atrocities in the future.[26] Some on the Committee wanted the document to become a covenant that would hold the power of international law; others believed that a declaration would be sufficient (and far more expedient). The latter was the eventual chosen course, and the Committee drafted the document collectively and sought extensive input from representatives from other UN nations that were not on the Committee, as well as external groups, including labor organizations and religious congregations. The drafting process was meant to be highly collaborative, and it involved hundreds and hundreds of revisions, only very few of which were ever attributed to a single source. According to Johannes Morsink, the drafters "were proud of the inclusiveness of the drafting process" and believed that this process justified the claim that the document should have "worldwide applicability" (12). The Committee, given its vigorous open-door drafting process, believed the UNDHR would be globally influential, even if it would not eventually become a covenant and have the force of law, as some had wished.

The United Nations' claim that the UNDHR has global or "universal" application has come under heavy fire. Most fundamentally, detractors claim that the Declaration is not universal at all, but an agreement among Western, liberal,

[26] The seventeen nations were: Australia, Belgium, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Egypt, France, India, Iran, Lebanon, Panama, Philippine Republic, United Kingdom, United States of America, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

democratic allies. Detractors point out that the contributing authors on the Committee had a heavy Western bias and did not represent the global population.[27] There is ample factual data to support this objection. At the broadest level, the United Nations as a whole was not globally representative when it adopted the UNDHR. Philippe De La Chappelle breaks down the United Nations membership in 1945 as follows: "North and South America with 21 countries represented 36% of the total, Europe with 16 countries 27%, Asia with 14 countries 24%, Africa with 4 countries a mere 6%, and the South Sea Islands with three countries 5%" (qtd. in Morsink 96). From these numbers, Morsink concludes that "Africa and Asia were grossly under-represented" (Morsink 96). More specifically, critics point out that the drafting Committee itself had even greater Western dominance. Once again, there is sufficient data to back the claim.[28] This Western majority, it has been argued, is especially problematic given that many Western nations still held colonies and were, at that very historical moment, involved in repressing independence movements. Furthermore, critics also assert that the Buddhist and Islamic traditions were effectively ignored, and the Confucian tradition – which China was meant to represent with its participation in the drafting Committee – was overpowered by the domination of Western, Christian thought. The criticisms against the universality of the UNDHR also operate at a more philosophical level. Critics object to the very premise upon which the UNDHR builds – that there can be anything "universal" guaranteed to all people. These arguments often contend that there is no such thing as a universal

[27] To offer only one example, prominent political scientist Samuel P. Huntington describes the UNDHR as "human rights imperialism" in *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996) (41).
[28] See previous footnote for a list of all nations on the drafting committee.

human nature; that the whole idea of human rights is bound in the tradition of Western philosophy, in particular the "natural rights" philosophy that underpins the French and American constitutions; and that human rights are inseparably intertwined with particular sets of religious beliefs. Criticisms like these began during the UNDHR drafting process and were heightened in the late 1980s and early 1990s when, as previously discussed, issues of human rights garnered increased global attention and scrutiny.

This is especially true in Asia, where the debate over "human rights" and "values" began to simmer at the time of UNDHR's drafting but reached a boil in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In what has come to be known as the "Asian values debate," leaders in Asia – most notably Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and Malaysia's Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad – argued that "human rights, in particular civil and political rights, were culturally specific and could not be applied universally" (Avonius 1). Proponents of "Asian values" believed – or at least argued – that "Asian cultural particularity justified the rejection of liberal democracy [and was responsible for] impressive economic results" (Thompson 154). Critics viewed these sorts of claims as nothing but a smokescreen for authoritarian rule. Francis Fukuyama, for example, argues that the "Asian values" argument was merely an excuse to limit political participation, "a matter more of convenience than of principle" (24). Furthermore, opponents of "Asian values" arguments point out that Asia is too large and too diverse to articulate or adhere to a single set of distinct, shared values. Leena Avonius and Damien Kingsbury claim that the prevailing understanding of "Asian values" was "equated with Confucian values, thus leaving

the Buddhist traditions of Asia out of the argument altogether" (7). Fukuyama concurs: "The idea of Asian values was, however, problematic from the start…there are huge cultural differences not only among the various countries but also among the ethnic groups that make up multicultural societies" (23-24). Ultimately, the "Asian values" doctrine was thoroughly discredited not by academic or philosophical arguments, but by the recession of the Asian economy. The argument for a separate, distinct set of "Asian values" had been largely justified by impressive economic growth in the 1980s in Malaysia and Singapore, and when the east Asian financial crisis of the early 1990s devastated both nations' economies, the debate effectively ended (Thompson 155). Yet, the "Asian values" argument did not cease without leaving its bureaucratic mark. In 1993, preceding a global conference on human rights, officials from Asian nations convened in Bangkok to articulate their region's position on human rights. In what is known as the Bangkok Declaration, these officials voiced support for the UNDHR and affirmed the usefulness of a global set of human rights, but they also contended that Asian nations needed to interpret and manage these rights in their own ways given the unique development challenges and needs that they faced.[29]

This debate – whether or not there are a particular set of Asian values distinct from those articulated in the UNDHR – is critical to understanding the global rhetorical appeal of Aung San's "In Quest of Democracy." In the rhetorical analysis

[29] The Bangkok Declaration is important in establishing Aung San's rhetorical situation because it shows the prominence of the Asian values argument as well as Asian leaders' attempts to articulate a "middle ground" between the UNDHR and Asian values arguments. However, the geopolitical legacy of the Bangkok Declaration has not been substantial. The Declaration did not shape global discourse to the extent that, one imagines, the framers had hoped.

section that follows, I show how Aung San's essay takes a position clearly opposed to "Asian values" arguments as well as to the authoritarian actions that would be justified by the acceptance of these values. Indeed, what the "Asian values" debate highlights is that the UNDHR created a void. In the UNDHR, Asia was, recalling Morsink's characterization, "grossly underrepresented." And once the region gained global credibility by virtue of its unprecedented economic success – uneven and patchwork, though this success was – the question arose as to whether the global community was to concede that Asian nations would operate under their own set of principles or whether it was to demand that "universal" principles be applied. In Aung San's "In Quest of Democracy," Aung San, I argue, takes the clear position that the human rights values embraced by the West and Japan and articulated in the UNDHR do indeed apply to Asia, even to the economic left-behinds like Burma. Aung San's argument seeks to address long-standing, yet growing global audiences of activists, policy-makers, thought leaders, and laypeople who adhere to and are committed to upholding the UNDHR, in particular, and to spreading the notion of "basic" or "universal" human rights in general. In the section that follows, I analyze how Aung San constructs this argument – how she builds a case that the UNDHR and the fundamental concept of a universal set of human rights applies to Burma, even with its unique set of social, cultural, economic, and political circumstances.

Rhetorical Analysis of Aung San's "In Quest of Democracy"

Aung San's rhetorical objective in "In Quest of Democracy" is, I argue, to persuade global human rights advocates to support the Burmese people and

democratic activists in their struggle against the ruling government. To this end, Aung San constructs an argument to show how the values of global human rights advocates – values about the need for fundamental human rights for all people, as articulated in the UNDHR, and values that serve as the rallying point for human rights organizations – are the same values that the Burmese people are seeking to protect. To examine how Aung San structures her argument to achieve this objective, it is worth turning to Kenneth Burke's concept of identification, as outlined in *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969). According to Burke, "You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his" (55, italics in original). At a basic level, Burke's concept of identification theorizes how a rhetor can persuade an audience by enabling it to identify with him or her. For Aung San, this is a critical first step. She must present herself as a credible, trustworthy spokesperson for the pro-democracy movement, as someone with whom her audience would willingly identify.

Additionally, however, Aung San also needed to create the potential for identification on a second, less evident level. To achieve her rhetorical objective, she had to enable her global audience to identify with the Burmese people and with Burmese democracy activists. In Burke's terms, she had to identify one group's ways with the other group's ways. It is not enough that readers find Aung San to be a reliable interpreter of the Burmese political situation. To unite the global human rights audience with the Burmese democratic movement – thereby increasing the international pressure on the Burmese government – Aung San needed to create identification between this "attentive global constituency" and the actual people who

were engaged in the struggle. The ability to bring about this level of identification is, I posit, a valuable rhetorical tactic to investigate, in particular within the context of a theory of global rhetoric. There are two reasons why. First, it is essential in terms of understanding how "In Quest of Democracy" seeks to persuade global audiences. Second, it raises the important question: how can a rhetor insert a global audience into a role where it can identify with a group of people from (often vastly) different social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds? In the rhetorical analysis that follows, I closely examine "In Quest of Democracy" to understand how Aung San creates an argument that enables this level of identification.

As I analyze "In Quest of Democracy," I proceed in a slightly different manner than I did in my case studies of *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and "The State." In Chapters Two and Three, I propose a new term for a specific argumentative technique – the argument from definitional essence – that has unique persuasive potential in global rhetorical situations, because it shows how an institution's behavior is determined at the genus level, regardless of particular situational differences. In this chapter, I employ a rhetorical concept that has been discussed extensively in scholarly literature – Burke's identification – and I explore how a global rhetor can enable a global audience to identify with a foreign concept (in this case, a group of people) through values-based argumentation. As I analyze "In Quest of Democracy," I posit that Aung San's values-based argument of identification rests upon two rhetorical pillars. On one hand, she argues that the Burmese democratic movement seeks to achieve the same human rights that are codified in the UNDHR and that are foundational to the missions of the many human rights organizations that

have formed in the wake of the UNDHR. On the other hand, Aung San argues that Buddhism, the religion of the vast majority of the Burmese people, also aligns to the UNDHR because both seek to protect the same set of human rights. According to Aung San, the difference between the two doctrines – Buddhism and the UNDHR – is only superficial. In the analysis below, I discuss how Aung San aligns the values of the UNDHR with the Burmese pro-democracy movement, then I turn my attention to how Aung San frames Buddhism and the UNDHR as fundamentally alike.

Burma's Pro-Democracy Movement and the UNDHR

To enable her global audience to identify with the Burmese people – and simultaneously to *de*-identify with the Burmese government – Aung San created a clear, clean storyline about the political confrontation in Burma. She framed the confrontation in a way that distinguishes it from so many other then-current geopolitical conflicts in which there were no discernible "heroes" and "villains." The rhetorical technique that structures her storyline – and drives the identification throughout the essay – is an argument of values. Critically, Aung San locates this values argument within the UNDHR, a document that had, by the late-1980s, been shaping global discourse about human rights for forty years. This three-fold fusion – what the UNDHR articulates, what global human rights audiences seek to protect, and what the Burmese pro-democracy activists are fighting for – creates an authority for these values that elevates them above capricious, geographically particular debates about, for example, why a separate set of "Asian values" should be recognized. For Aung San, it was crucial to draw this clear distinction. "Asian values" debates were

gaining global attention just as the Burmese political confrontation intensified, and Aung San needed to explain to her global audience – especially those who were unfamiliar with the specifics of the Burmese situation – exactly what values the pro-democracy movement sought to protect and what goals it wanted to achieve. Her three-fold fusion of human rights values offers a clear counterpoint to "Asian values." According to Aung San, the UN's articulation of human rights cut across geographies, cultures, and religions, and they applied fully to all people and all nations, even mismanaged ones like Burma. According to Aung San, these rights were, indeed, universal.

Throughout "In Quest of Democracy," Aung San is engaged in arguments about values, many of which establish points of potential identification between the global audience and the Burmese people. The following passage is especially representative of this mode of argumentation:

> The people of Burma view democracy not merely as a form of government but as an integrated social and ideological system based on respect for the individual. When asked why they feel so strong a need for democracy, the least political will answer: "We just want to be able to go about our own business freely and peacefully, not doing anybody any harm, just earning a decent living without anxiety and fear." In other words they want the basic human rights which would guarantee a tranquil, dignified existence free from want and fear. (173)

As Aung San frames the argument in this passage, the goals of the Burmese people – and the values upon which these goals are predicated – fit well within the protections sought by the UNDHR and the many human rights watchdog groups that use the UNDHR as their foundation. In this passage, Aung San captures these goals through a set of values-based terms: *free, peaceful, tranquility, dignity*. Furthermore, Aung San distinguishes these values by juxtaposing them against a string of negative

corollaries: *anxiety, fear,* and *want*, which, in her argument, clearly suggest the character of the ruling Burmese military regime. In the short passage above, the ratio of values-based terms is high. Two of the three sentences (the second and the third) are constructed with series ending with an X, Y, and Z. In both sentences, the X, Y, and Z slots are filled with values-based terms that induce the global audience to identify with the Burmese people and that locate this identification clearly within the framework of the UNDHR.

The passage above hinges much of its values-based argument – and its ability to enable identification – on the term *democracy*. Aung San, after all, had to connect the Burmese democracy movement to a set of human rights principles that were designed by the UN to apply equally to people living under all types of governments. From one point of view, the two do not match up: the Burmese democratic movement is political; the UNDHR is moral and ethical. To bridge this gap, Aung San discusses the term *democracy* through language that works to depoliticize it. As Aung San suggests, democracy is little more than a means to an end for the Burmese people and democracy activists. Democracy is neither the realization of a philosophical ideal nor a practical matter of votes and elections. According to the argument above, democracy is, first and foremost, a vehicle for securing the basic human rights that are currently being refused by the ruling military regime. Aung San argues that democracy is "not merely" a form of government, but equally a "social and ideological system based on respect for the individual" (173). What is at issue here is not "merely" which political system is the best to authorize power, but which system can grant and protect fundamental human rights. Given Aung San's rhetorical

objective, this move is significant. For many readers – especially those in left-leaning human rights advocacy groups – democratic systems are often seen as imperfect and prone to manipulation by the powerful, especially in "third-world" scenarios, as Aung San characterizes Burma throughout the essay. In other words, democracies – qua democracies – are not necessarily worth fighting for. Therefore, if Aung San were to construct democracy as the ideal within the essay – as an ideal that would cure all of Burma's ills; as the ultimate endpoint for which the Burmese are fighting – she opens the door for her readers to de-identify with the goals of the Burmese people. Or, worse, she gives readers potential evidence to conclude that both she and the Burmese are naïve about the ways that politics work. In her geopolitical context, one can understand why readers might react this way. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, numerous democracies around the world were being criticized for human rights violations. India and Bangladesh, to offer two neighboring examples, were both run on democratic systems, with the former often touted as the "world's largest democracy." Yet, both nations were, at this time, being chastened for political repression, ethnic intolerance, and human rights violations. Thus, Aung San does not argue that democracy is the perfect, ultimate solution. Instead, Aung San posits that democracy is the means through which universal human rights can be achieved in Burma.

Furthermore, Aung San would have been on tenuous ground if she tried to justify her advocacy for a democratic Burma within the UNDHR – or the subsequent global human rights discourse that it shaped. The UNDHR does not explicitly favor representative democracies as the preferred political system for securing basic human

rights, and it does not imply preference for such systems more broadly. The UNDHR uses the term "democracy" only once. In Article 29, it states:

> In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society. ("Universal Declaration")

This usage of "democratic society" does give pro-democracy activists a small point of leverage within the UNDHR, but the claim is far from definitive. From a historical perspective, the footing for such a claim is quite slippery. As Morsink illustrates through very close readings of the proceedings and minutes of the UNDHR drafting Committee, the delegates who cooperated to write the UNDHR never came to a "consensus on what the word 'democracy' stood for" (250). Furthermore, there is ample evidence to suggest that the term, as it was used by the Committee, did not have a liberal, Western bias. For all the criticisms aimed at the UNDHR drafting Committee for excluding African and Asian voices, the Communist bloc had a notable presence. The Soviets, in particular, played an outspoken role, and, along with their political allies in Eastern Europe, they worked to be sure that Western political values and preferences did not dominate the document. Though all six communist nations at the drafting table ultimately refused to vote for the UNDHR's adoption, the thrust of their objections was not due to any perceived favoritism toward Western notions of democracy. Rather, they abstained because, the UNDHR, they believed, overlooked the dynamics of class struggle and capitalist exploitation,

especially as it described the individual's relationship to the state.[30] Importantly, no participating UN nation voted against the UNDHR, suggesting that the document was – at least on the most fundamental level – acceptable to all participating nations. Following the UNDHR, Aung San seeks to maintain "universal" human rights rather than a democratic or any other political system as the ultimate goal of her argument.

Beyond Aung San's strategic depoliticization of the term *democracy* – as represented in the passage quoted earlier – "In Quest of Democracy" also seeks to enable identification through arguments about values by employing the rhetorical device *prosopopoeia*, or "giving voice" and "inventing speech" for another.[31] To re-quote the *prosopopoeia* in the passage above:

> When asked why they feel so strong a need for democracy, the least political will answer: "We just want to be able to go about our own business freely and peacefully, not doing anybody any harm, just earning a decent living without anxiety and fear." (173)

The *prosopopoeia* in this passage gives the Burmese people an opportunity to "speak" and articulate for themselves what their goals are and what values they seek to gain or protect through their political movement. The common, on-the-ground democracy activists did not enjoy the same privileges as Aung San, and their voices, subsequently, were silenced. Indeed, part of what catapulted Aung San into her leadership position was her experience living outside Burma: she had grown up in diplomatic circles, had earned a PhD in Britain, had published academic essays and

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[30] In total, there were eight abstentions to the UNDHR vote. Within the Soviet bloc, the USSR, Ukraine, Belarus, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia abstained. The other abstentions were Saudi Arabia, on grounds that the UNDHR stated that individuals have a right to change their religion, and South Africa, because the UNDHR was incompatible with Apartheid politics.

[31] The phrase "invented speech" is adopted from Jeanne Fahnestock's *Rhetorical Style* (317).

lectured on the university circuit. Also, of course, her family's fame and authority bestowed upon her a distinct credibility that gave her agency and an audience. Therefore, to enable her global audience to identify with the democracy movement (not just its worldly leader), Aung San uses *prosopopoeia* to let the Burmese people "speak" for themselves.

Aung San's use of *prosopopoeia* has rhetorical significance on multiple levels. It allows her to show, first, that a set of values unites the Burmese people into a community and, second, that it is this united, values-based community which is engaged in political struggle. The third-person plural pronouns of the *prosopopoeia* – *We* just want; *our* own business – suggest that these values are shared and that the stakes in the Burmese struggle exceed individual wants and desires. Furthermore, these pronouns suggest that the abuses inflicted by the regime are not particular to any person or group of people but, instead, are consistent throughout the population – the same population that has now coalesced into a pro-democracy movement. Aung San's pronouns depict the Burmese people as united in an *us-versus-them* scenario that has formed on the basis of who holds which values – not who favors which political system. The global audience, of course, is invited to join the pro-democracy activists because their shared values make them like each other. Indeed, it is the sharing of these values that makes the pro-democracy Burmese people more like the global audience – an audience made up of people of various nations, cultures, races, etc. – than their fellow Burmese who run the government and the military.

As should be evident, Aung San's use of *prosopopoeia* further grounds the Burmese democratic movement within the UNDHR. The aspirations that Aung San

has the Burmese people articulate – freedom from fear, freedom from want – are the fundamental principles upon which the UNDHR was built. As scholars and human rights advocates often note, one of the foundational texts that helped shape the UNDHR as it was first being drafted was United States President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 1941 State of the Union Address in which he articulated four freedoms: the freedom of speech and expression; the freedom of worship; the freedom from want; and the freedom from fear. This last freedom became the title of one of Aung San's essays as well as the title of the collection of her essays, which included "In Quest of Democracy," that Michael Aris published after she won the Nobel Prize. Of course, it can only be guessed the extent to which Aung San's global audience would recognize the heritage of the freedoms captured in her *prosopopoeia*. Nevertheless, Aung San's use of *prosopopoeia* is clearly meant to argue that the pro-democracy community in Burma has formed on the basis of human rights, that basic human rights were being denied, that the UNDHR was being systematically violated, and that the ruling military regime was the single force preventing millions of people from exercising their human rights.

Buddhism, Code Meshing, and the UNDHR

As I have discussed, Aung San creates a values-based argument to enable her global audience to identify with the Burmese activists. She de-politicizes the pro-democracy movement and suggests that the ongoing confrontation is more about human rights than about which political system should prevail. In "In Quest of Democracy," there is one additional argument at the core of the essay: an argument

about Buddhist values and the overlapping goals of Buddhism and the UNDHR. This was an important argument for Aung San to make in her rhetorical situation, because Buddhism – the predominant religion in Burma – was excluded from many conversations about "universal" human rights. As noted earlier, the UNDHR drafting process did not account for Asian perspectives, and Buddhist values and traditions were at the core of this omission. Yet Aung San responds to this omission not by joining calls for a separate set of "Asian values" but by showing the similarities between Buddhist values and the human rights values set out in the UNDHR. In other words, Aung San offers a counterpoint to other regional leaders by arguing for the applicability of the UNDHR in Burma – and, by extension, Asia and all parts of the world. In the remainder of this analysis, I examine how "In Quest of Democracy" shows the compatibility between Buddhism and the UNDHR and, by extension, the global human rights discourse that the UNDHR shapes.[32] In this discussion, I continue to focus on values-based argumentation, but I also turn to the theory of code meshing, the rhetorical practice of integrating multiple languages (or dialects, registers, etc.) into one text.

In "In Quest of Democracy," Aung San's overarching rhetorical goal in regards to Buddhism and the UNDHR is to show how, despite their extreme differences in origin, philosophy, commitments, etc., these two doctrines share a fundamentally identical goal. She claims:

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[32] Several scholars, including Josef Silverstein (1998), Stephen McCarthy (2006), and Joseph A. Camilleri (2004, 2007), have analyzed how "In Quest of Democracy" argues for the similarity between Buddhist and democratic values. However, to my knowledge, my work is the first to rhetorically analyze the essay and show how Aung San draws connections between the values upheld by Buddhism and the UNDHR.

> The Buddhist concept of law is based on *dhamma*, righteousness or virtue, not on the power to impose harsh and inflexible rules on a defenceless people. The true measure of the justice of a system is the amount of protection it guarantees to the weakest. Where there is no justice there can be no secure peace. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes that "if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression," human rights should be protected by the rule of law. (177)

In this passage – and throughout the essay – Aung San contends that Buddhism and the UNDHR both seek to protect the rights of the people. Both doctrines conceptualize "justice" similarly; they simply use a different set of terms to secure it. For Buddhists, justice is secured through *dhamma*. For human rights advocates and others in the international policy community, justice is secured through rule of law and acceptance of "universal" principles. This parallelism is important to Aung San's goal of enabling her readers to identify with the Burmese – and to keep this identification located within the values of the UNDHR, even as she incorporates Burma's particular religious traditions into her argument. Indeed, linking this core value of Buddhism directly to the UNDHR highlights the commonality between the two doctrines.

Throughout "In Quest of Democracy," Aung San argues that Buddhism and the UNDHR overlap and parallel one another in the values they seek to protect. In seeking to achieve this rhetorical end, her predominant argumentative tactic is code meshing. Code meshing is of particular interest to this chapter because it helps explain how "In Quest of Democracy" persuades global audiences, but also to this dissertation as a whole, as it provides new insight into ways that rhetors can persuade vast, diverse audiences. To analyze Aung San's use of code meshing in this way is a departure from most scholarly discussions of the practice, which occur almost

exclusively in the fields of composition pedagogy or applied linguistics. Yet, I argue that re-examining code meshing in the context of global rhetorical analysis, particularly within the theory of identification, helps to answer two broad and important questions. First, how does code meshing help Aung San identify the global audience with the Burmese people? Second, how does rhetorical analysis – with a global audience in mind – help us recognize a new dimension of code meshing? The answer to the first question is, of course, central to the goal of this chapter. The second question, however, helps achieve the broader goal of this dissertation, which is to build towards a theory of global rhetoric. The first step to answering both of these questions is to briefly overview the theory of code meshing as it is presented in composition theory and applied linguistics, most notably in the work of A. Suresh Canagarajah.

Canagarajah's theory of code meshing is defined against theories of rhetoric and composition that, according to Canagarajah, begin with "monolingualist assumptions" about the writing processes of multilinguals. These assumptions, Canagarajah contends, presume that multilinguals are "influenced" and "conditioned" by their first language as they write in English as a second language. Canagarajah disagrees with this one-way view of linguistic influence, and he argues that multilingualism is a means of empowerment because it enables rhetors to negotiate conventions for rhetorical effect. As one example, Canagarajah analyzes how a multilingual Sri Lankan academic edited a single article to get it published in professional journals in Sri Lanka, Sweden, and the United States. According to Canagarajah's analysis, this writer adapted the essay's voice, structure, exigence, and

argument in order to fit it within the rhetorical norms of each country. Yet, Canagarajah argues, while this writer edited his essay to abide by publishing conventions, the writer also strategically broke certain norms in an "act of rhetorical resistance....finding surreptitious ways of fulfilling certain Western conventions...[with a] satirical and parodying act" ("Toward a Writing" 598-600). For Canagarajah, multilingualism is an asset that enables writers to modify, break, and recreate an audience's rhetorical assumptions.

Code meshing is a central tenet to Canagarajah's conception of multilingualism as a rhetorical resource. In an article he wrote with Sara Michael-Luna, Canagarajah defines code meshing as "a communicative device used for specific rhetorical and ideological purposes in which a multilingual speaker intentionally integrates local and academic discourse as a form of resistance, reappropriation, and/or transformation of the academic discourse" (56). In recent years, code meshing has attracted much attention from composition scholars, and it has been explored for its potential to respect and empower second-language writers in "monolingual" academic contexts that need to improve their sensitivity to issues faced by multilingual students. Code meshing has largely been framed as a rhetorical device that enables writers to negotiate conventions while also preserving their unique linguistic heritage. For present purposes, however, the scholarship on code meshing is most relevant for what it has missed. I argue that code meshing has an additional rhetorical potential – one that only becomes evident when analyzed through the lens of global rhetoric. Specifically, as demonstrated in "In Quest of Democracy," code meshing can be used not only to defy, instruct, empower, or

parody. It is also, as Aung San illustrates, a rhetorical device with unique potential to bridge gaps. Throughout "In Quest of Democracy," Aung San code meshes to further her rhetorical purpose of enabling identification between her global audience and the Burmese people.

For Aung San, code meshing works to highlight the overlap between two seemingly distinctive systems of values – those that are articulated in the UNDHR and those of Buddhist philosophy. As I have shown, the UNDHR was written and edited with little to no input from individuals from the Buddhist tradition, and Aung San was making a novel argument in showing how they overlap and seek the same protections for the individual. In "In Quest of Democracy," she emphasizes similarities – and thereby enables identification – by inserting (or "meshing") Burmese terms into the English-language essay. More specifically, Aung San uses a number of Burmese terms that most in her global audience would not recognize. In bringing together these two languages to make a single argument, Aung San emphasizes likenesses – likenesses between the concepts and values that each language's terminology symbolizes, likenesses between the groups of people who speak these two languages, and likenesses between what both Buddhism and the UNDHR recognize as just and inherent to all people.[33] In "In Quest of Democracy," this act of meshing the English language with terms from Burmese occurs throughout the essay in small, subtle places. In fact, only twice in the entire essay does the code

[33] This emphasis on similarity, of course, deviates from the traditional discussion of code meshing that emphasizes difference and negotiation. This alternative interpretation does not discredit or undermine the traditional understanding of code meshing as a compositional practice; it simply suggests an alternative understanding and rhetorical practice.

meshing draw attention to itself (as I detail below). This subtlety, I argue, is part of Aung San's rhetorical goal. In arguing that the values of Buddhism and the UNDHR overlap and line up, her code meshing must feel artless. The two languages − like the concepts and values being associated − must seem to global audiences as if they mesh together naturally.

Below, I excerpt three sentences in which Aung San meshes together the English and Burmese languages. In the text, these sentences are not consecutive; they appear throughout a passage that runs roughly five hundred words. Each of these sentences is used to detail "the Buddhist view of kingship." This kingship, she explains, is one that is "chosen by popular consent" and is not invested "with the divine right to govern the realm as he pleases" (170). Aung San writes:

> –The first duty of liberality (*dana*) which demands that a ruler should contribute generously towards the welfare of the people makes the tacit assumption that a government should have the competence to provide adequately for its citizens (170, italics in original).
>
> –Morality (*sila*) in traditional Buddhist terms is based on the observance of the five precepts, which entails refraining from destruction of life, theft, adultery, falsehood and indulgence in intoxicants (171, italics in original).
>
> –The seventh, eighth, and ninth duties − non-anger (*akkodha*), non-violence (*avihamsa*) and forbearance (*khanti*) − could be said to be related (172, italics in original).

These duties, as Aung San details them, would reside in her global audience's imagination as the traits that have defined some of the great human rights defenders of the past century. For an American, Abraham Lincoln or Martin Luther King, Jr. might come to mind; for south Asian readers, it might be Mohandas Gandhi. As Aung San frames the argument, the connotations of the "duties" remain open and floating, and they can connote different corollaries for different readers. From a rhetorical

point of view, what is most significant here is how Aung San's code meshing reinforces the translatability and "universality" of human rights and authorized leadership. It suggests these "duties" can be seamlessly translated into values – at both linguistic and conceptual levels – that human rights advocates around the world would support and rally to defend.

To end the analysis of Aung San's code meshing here, however, would be to provide an incomplete picture of how the rhetorical device operates in "In Quest of Democracy." In two separate instances, out of twenty-nine uses in total, Aung San's code meshing does draw attention to itself and invite a reader's scrutiny. In the first case, Aung San points out how one Burmese term for an ancient Buddhist concept does not have an exact translation into English:

> The third duty, *paricagga*, is sometimes translated as generosity and sometimes as self-sacrifice. The former would constitute a duplication of the first duty, *dana*, so self-sacrifice as the ultimate generosity which gives up all for the sake of the people would appear the more satisfactory interpretation. (171, italics in original)

In the second case, Aung San reflects on what a Burmese term means − a compound term that had been created by the Burmese regime and had since lost its previous denotations:

> Some years ago a prominent Burmese author wrote an article on the notion of law and order as expressed by the official term *nyein-wut-pi-pyar*. One by one he analysed the words, which literally mean "silent-crouched-crushed-flattened," and concluded that the whole made for an undesirable state of affairs. (176, italics in original)

These two passages do not, I argue, undercut Aung San's rhetorical goal of using code meshing to argue for the overlap between the values of Buddhism and the UNDHR. In fact, I contend that these passages *reinforce* her goal. The self-reflection

of these two passages serves to pull reader attention away from the other instances of code meshing. In this essay, twenty-three different Burmese terms appear a total of twenty-nine times. Yet, only twice does Aung San suggest that these Burmese terms do not seam in perfectly with the English language – both linguistically and conceptually. The proportion suggests a candor with her use of code meshing. For the overall purpose of bridging cultural and linguistic barriers and enabling identification, code meshing − even when it draws attention to itself − is an integral component in Aung San's efforts to persuade her global audience. In "In Quest of Democracy," code meshing suggests likeness in the face of historic, geographic, cultural, and linguistic difference, and it helps Aung San's readers identify with the goals and values of the Burmese people.

In many ways, Aung San is a rhetor antithetical to Leo Tolstoy and Randolph Bourne. She does not disdain a genus of political system as inescapably oppressive, and she does not set out to re-define how people should participate in state affairs. Instead, Aung San argues from tradition. She appeals to global audiences through a set of standards established by the bureaucracy of the United Nations. She argues that what is best for Burma is a set of values that audiences around the world – including national governments of all political types – would hold to be "universal." Yet, for all their differences, Aung San, Tolstoy, and Bourne all faced the same rhetorical challenge: how to persuade vast, diverse audiences. As this discussion of Aung San should illustrate, a rhetor can build global appeal by emphasizing similarities and shared values. Global rhetors can root their appeal in texts that, however problematically, claim "universal" application.

Taken together, Chapters Two, Three, and Four have aimed to identify global rhetorical techniques – techniques that rhetors can use to persuade global audiences. Each of the rhetors discussed in these chapters has looked outside his or her immediate rhetorical situation to identify audiences that could be united through a set of shared values, despite their social, political, or geographic differences. As we have seen, rhetors can appeal to religious truths, disciplinary knowledge, or "universal" human rights as the foundation for their theses. Yet, as these three chapters should suggest, Tolstoy, Bourne, and Aung San are remarkable, highly skilled rhetors operating at extremely sophisticated levels of argumentation. This limited selection of rhetors has enabled me to examine global rhetoric at its finest, but it also raises a critical question: What about the rest of us? In this borderless, multilingual twenty-first century, how can students and professionals prepare to be global rhetors? In the final two chapters of this dissertation, I seek to answer these questions.

Chapter 5: Practicing Global Rhetoric: Globalizing A Consulting Firm's Core Presentation

Introduction

The three case studies of global rhetoric that I have offered in this dissertation examine masterful, exemplary, once-in-a-lifetime argumentation. Leo Tolstoy's text captures the summa of his decades-long religious exploration. Randolph Bourne's "The State" was his final – and unfinished – articulation of his deep anti-war beliefs. And Aung San Suu Kyi wrote "In Quest of Democracy" while confined in her family's estate and surrounded by armed guards. These magnificent, extreme examples have enabled me to pull insights that build a foundation for a theory of global rhetoric – but they do not answer questions about everyday needs. Indeed, global rhetoric is not just for extraordinary circumstances. It is the stuff of everyday communications. In this era when goods, services, and communications cross national borders innumerable times per day, it is common for rhetors to address global audiences. And audiences themselves have become accustomed to the global nature of argumentation, and they are readily cast into global roles.

As the borders of communication get further knocked down everyday, the English language continues to emerge as the world's lingua franca. Across industries, countries, and discourse communities, English is, more and more, what people speak to get things done. Scholars have made this point in no uncertain terms. Writing in the journal *English for Specific Purposes,* Anna Mauranen, Niina Hynninen, and Elina Ranta assert that English has become "unquestionably the world language" in academia (183). In the public sector, English is used as the *de facto* common

language, even against the preferences of many of its users. The integration of the European Union is a case in point. Despite listing 23 "official languages" ("Determining the Languages"), English is used "not only in communication between member states, but also in internal communication" (Jablonkai 253). For the United Nations, the situation is similar. The UN recognizes six official languages, but, on a daily basis, English prevails. In my capacity as a professional consultant at Global Consulting Services (GCS), I work regularly with the UN.[34] In our many teleconferences, which include participants from all over the world, English is spoken exclusively. In the private sector, English's status as the lingua franca is, according to Catherine Nickerson, professor of business communication at Dubai's Zayed University, "seemingly beyond dispute" (367). Interestingly, much of the English spoken in the business world is between two speakers who are not first-language users of English. According to Edmond Weiss, author of *The Elements of International English Style: A Guide to Writing for a Global Audience* (2005), those who speak English as a first language are "declining, if not absolutely then as a proportion of the world's population, whereas the number of [second-language users] is growing" (5). Thus, as arguments become increasingly global, they're doing so in the English language.

There is no evidence to suggest things are going to change course. Thus, it is imperative to bring a theory of global rhetoric to bear on business communication and to pay particular attention to how global rhetoric operates in the English language. In

[34] For purposes of confidentiality, I refrain from using the actual name of the firm where I serve as the in-house speechwriter. Instead, I refer to the firm as Global Consulting Services (GCS).

this chapter, I offer a case study to show how a theory of global rhetoric can be applied in professional practice. More specifically, I offer a case study in which I compare two English-language PowerPoint presentations – one created for an American audience, one created for a global audience – and I analyze how the former presentation was revised to become the latter. The two presentations I compare were created by and for a professional services consulting firm (GCS), where I work as the in-house speechwriter. I refer to the first presentation, which we created for American audiences, as the "core presentation," and to the second presentation, which we revised for global audiences, as the "core global presentation." Because I managed the creation of both the core presentation and the core global presentation, I am able to discuss in depth both the revisions that were made to "globalize" the core presentation as well as the rhetorical rationale behind these revisions. This comparative analysis further contributes to the theory of global rhetoric developed in this dissertation by detailing additional rhetorical techniques suitable for global audiences, and it provides professional business communicators with an example of how they can apply global rhetorical thinking to situations in which they must create presentations that combine verbal and visual elements. However, before I detail the revision process, I offer a brief literature review of cross-cultural communications scholarship in order to contextualize the decision-making process that informed the revisions.

Literature Review: Communicating Across Cultures

Over the past several decades, there has been a marked increase in scholarly interest in cross-cultural communication. Edward Hall and Geert Hofstede, who are widely recognized as the field's pioneers, began the scholarly investigation into culture and communication nearly forty years ago. In 1976, Hall published *Beyond Culture*, a groundbreaking work that contends that culture determines all aspects of an individual's identity, including his or her communicative style, needs, and preferences. An anthropologist by training, Hall argues that people absorb their culture through a subtle process in which cultural traits become subconscious. These cultural traits only return to the level of consciousness when outside events – such as intercultural encounters – force people to recognize, evaluate, and re-examine their inclinations. Hall believes that culture ultimately imposes limits upon people, and he hopes that we can one day, as the title of his book suggests, move "beyond culture." Until then, however, Hall contends that the only way to improve our cross-cultural communication and problem-solving capabilities is to better understand what culture is and how it operates to shape individuals' communication needs and preferences.

In the field of business and technical communication, Hall's theory of "high-context" (HC) and "low-context" (LC) cultures has been particularly influential, figuring prominently in cross-cultural communication training over the past three decades.[35] According to *Beyond Culture*, all nations around the world can be plotted on a continuum that ranks their cultures as either "high-context" or "low-context":

[35] Peter Cardon's 2008 "A Critique of Hall's Contexting Model" provides a clear, succinct articulation of the differences between Hall's high-context and low-context cultures. Cardon explains, "In HC cultures, information is widely shared and thus

> A high-context (HC) communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context (LC) communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code. (79)

For decades, Hall's HC/LC model and his accompanying rankings of national cultures provided both a theoretical justification of and the practical guidelines for adapting business and technical writing to suit the supposedly different needs of specific national audiences. For Hall, effective business communication requires writers to note the nationality of their audience, refer to their place on the HC/LC continuum, and adapt accordingly.

Building on Hall's work, Hofstede emerged in the early 1980s as a second founding thinker in the field of cross-cultural communications. Hofstede's stature in the field has resulted not from one seminal book – although his *Culture's Consequences* (1980) remains an oft-cited text – but rather from the steady stream of dozens of articles he has authored or co-authored for the past three decades. In sum, Hofstede's work presents even broader claims about the communicative preferences of national groups and seeks to offer practical, usable tips for effective business

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requires extensive cultural programming whereas in LC cultures, information is less widely shared and thus requires less cultural programming...HC cultures emphasize stability whereas LC cultures emphasize change and mobility. In HC cultures, providing too much information is considered talking down to others whereas in LC cultures, doing so is considered being thorough. In HC cultures, communication is an art form that is unifying and cohesive and thus displays sophistication, nuance, and cultural identity. In LC cultures, communication is primarily task oriented. HC cultures appreciate slow, indirect messages where LC cultures insist on fast, direct messages. HC cultures extensively use informal information networks whereas LC cultures prefer formal information networks. HC cultures interpret laws with personal involvement and thus bend rules to accommodate relationships whereas LC cultures interpret laws impersonally and thus maintain strict adherence to rules. Fundamentally, HC cultures tend to employ more holistic thinking whereas LC cultures tend to employ more linear thinking" (401).

communication. Hofstede contends that national cultures play a defining role in communication, and he developed a model that ranks nations on a scale from 0 to 100 along what he calls "five dimensions": 1) power distance; 2) individualism/collectivism; 3) masculinity/femininity; 4) uncertainty avoidance; and 5) long-term/short-term orientation.[36] These five dimensions, Hofstede claims, can help business communicators both better understand their audiences and adapt to their preferences.[37] Hofstede argues explicitly against developing documents that attempt to meet universal communication needs, claiming that all communication should be developed with a specific national culture in mind. Over the past few decades, Hofstede's model – an extension of Hall's earlier work – has been treated as an indispensable part of business communication training in academic and professional settings. Along with Hall, Hofstede has become what scholar Peter Cardon calls a "fixture" in "nearly all of the academic literature having anything to do with cross-culture comparisons" (399).

[36] According to Hofstede, 1) Power distance dimension is "the extent to which less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally." 2) Individualism/collectivism is "people looking after themselves and their immediate family only, versus people belonging to in-groups that look after them in exchange for loyalty." 3) Masculinity/femininity is differentiated by values – "dominant values in a masculine society are achievement and success; the dominant values in a feminine society are caring for others and quality of life." 4) Uncertainty is "the extent to which people feel threatened by uncertainty and ambiguity and try to avoid these situations." 5) Long-term/short-term orientation is "the extent to which a society exhibits a pragmatic future-oriented perspective rather than a conventional historic or short-term point of view" (de Mooij and Hofstede 88-90)

[37] In 2010, Hofstede added a sixth dimension: indulgence versus self-restraint. This dimension measures the extent to which societies favor the pursuit of appetites or the practice of moderation. For further discussion of this dimension, see *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (2010).

Yet, in recent years, both Hall's and Hofstede's work has been challenged. Many scholars have begun to question Hall's methodology and the evidentiary basis for his classification of cultures into HC and LC groups. Cardon, most notably, studied 224 articles published between 1990 and 2006 from seven different business and communication journals and concluded that Hall's contexting is "a nonrigorously developed model without empirical support" (423).[38] He elaborates:

> I have found that Hall (1976) provided no explanation of the method or analysis he used in creating his contexting model. He also provided no explanation for his ranking of various cultures along the contexting continuum, which has become a prominent part of nearly all intercultural texts and courses…[Subsequent studies by other scholars] have done little to validate Hall's contexting model. (Cardon 410)

Consequently, Cardon argues that the "role of contexting in IBTC [international business and technical communication] textbooks and courses should be diminished until reliable research about contexting is available" (424). Cardon's argument focuses on Hall and omits Hofstede because Hofstede's "works have been published in refereed journals and extensively tested, replicated, refined, and critiqued" (400). However, Cardon's skepticism of Hall's contexting model represents scholarly reassessments of both models.

Hofstede's methodology and his cultural dimensions have also come under intense attack, most notably from a group of scholars led by The Wharton School's Robert J. House. In 1991, House and his colleagues began one of the largest ever cross-cultural communication studies, collecting data from over 17,000 middle

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[38] These seven journals are *The Journal of Business and Technical Communication, The Journal of Business Communication, Business Communication Quarterly, Management Communication Quarterly, Technical Communication, Technical Communication Quarterly,* and *The Journal of Technical Writing and Communication.*

managers working in 950 different organizations in 62 countries. At the start, the group accepted Hofstede's cultural dimensions as foundational. However, after the study was published, House characterized his Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) model as "mov[ing] beyond Hofstede's approach" and providing, in contradistinction to Hofstede's work, a set of "constructs and scales that are more comprehensive, cross-culturally developed, theoretically sound, and empirically verifiable" (899).[39] In a heated exchange, Hofstede responded and the GLOBE team countered in the November 2006 issue of the *Journal of International Business Studies*, with each party dismissing the other's methodology and conclusions. Yet, despite their mutual critiques and undeniable differences, both the Hofstede and GLOBE models share the same approach to cross-cultural communication. Both assume that the communication practices and preferences of a national culture are consistent and can be known, and both believe that country-specific information enables better business communication. Today, nation-specific communication models continue to evolve, and they remain common for teaching and practicing business and technical communication. For many scholars and businesspeople alike, the assumptions that undergird the work of Hall, Hofstede, and

[39] The GLOBE model adopts two of Hofstede's five dimensions and develops seven new dimensions. However, there are two major methodological differences between the studies. Hofstede's data is drawn from within a single organization (IBM) while GLOBE worked with respondents from almost 1,000 organizations. Additionally, Hofstede asked employees to describe their own communications preferences, whereas the GLOBE scholars asked respondents to describe communication practices within an organization, both as they are and as they should be. For detailed comparison of the two models – and a look into a fascinating scholarly spat between House and Hofstede – see the *Journal of International Business Studies* 37.6 (2006).

House remain compelling. Indeed, there remains an active business community continuing in this line of work, striving to improve nation-specific models.

Most scholars today, however, are less enthusiastic about this approach. Scholars generally position themselves against it in one of two ways. The first school, which is growing and gaining influence in the field, argues that nation-specific models are simplistic. These scholars contend that high cultural theory is a better lens through which to examine and seek to improve cross-cultural communications practices in the workplace. The second school, which is much smaller, suggests that today's global businesspeople have similar communications needs and preferences, and, therefore, we should strive to identify and use "universal" and "culture-free" communications practices. In the discussion below, I overview both of these critical responses, and I suggest how my work more closely aligns with this second school.

Over the last fifteen years, an increasing number of scholars have been arguing in technical and professional communications literature that race, class, gender, and sexual orientation – in addition to and perhaps even more than nationality – shape an individual's relationship to language. They argue that what is needed to improve cross-cultural communication is not a scale or continuum, but a theoretically informed understanding of culture, language, and language use. Consider, for example, Laurie Grobman's influential 1999 article, "Beyond Internationalization: Multicultural Education in the Professional Writing Contact Zone." Here, Grobman argues that professional writers must move away from "instrumental models" (429), in which communicators seek simply to find "the most efficient way to convey" information, and towards "social models" (430) that require a deeper understanding

of "the complex relationship between language…and the underlying forces that shape and reflect the ways we use language" (428). Because language and our relationship to it are so complex, Grobman argues that nationality is too blunt a concept to offer predictive value for scholars or professionals. Grobman argues against teaching professional communicators to use nation-specific metrics, and instead she suggests that businesspeople should gain a deep, confident understanding of language and of the many ways that it shapes an individual's relationship to it. Grobman claims that once businesspeople are comfortable viewing communication as an individual, dynamic, interactive process – and one that is not always predictable –they will become more agile and proficient at writing and speaking with broad, culturally diverse audiences.

Following Grobman, other scholars also began arguing that nation-specific models oversimplify culture. To cite just one example, in 2002, Danielle DeVoss, Julia Jasken, and Dawn Hayden argued that all business communication – even between people of the same nationality – must be understood as taking place on a continuum of intra- to inter-cultural communication. For DeVoss et al, intra-cultural communication is not the norm from which inter-cultural communication deviates. Instead, the vast majority of communication, even within national boundaries, occurs between people who have different cultural backgrounds. Consider the following example: a Thai female executive accustomed to life in cosmopolitan Bangkok might share little in the way of rhetorical or cultural preferences with a male garment factory manager living on the outskirts of town. However, her communication practices and preferences would reasonably be expected to resemble those of another

female, urbanite executive living in Singapore or, for that matter, in London or New York. Such examples abound – in which an individual's communication preferences are more powerfully shaped by gender, class, profession, etc. than by nationality. Scholars like Grobman and DeVoss argue that this more complex understanding of language and culture is what businesspeople need in order to communicate effectively across cultures.

Scholars in the fields of business and technical communication are increasingly responding to calls like these for deeper understandings of language and culture, and they are turning to the work of cultural theorists to do so. R. Peter Hunsinger's 2006 article, "Culture and Cultural Identity in Intercultural Technical Communication," typifies the trend. Hunsinger argues, at length, that most business communicators currently rely on:

> theoretical concepts of culture or cultural identity [that] have yet to be examined critically for their impact on our disciplinary exchanges and activities. More important, perhaps, the notorious difficulties inherent in discussing the contested field of culture, such as oversimplification, essentialism, or ethnocentrism…stem from a problematic theoretical framework based largely in cultural heuristics and ethnographic descriptions that place too high a value on locating definitive culture. (31)

Hunsinger draws heavily on Arjun Appadurai's *Modernity at Large* (1996), and he argues that culture cannot be understood definitively or heuristically but instead must be treated "as an active, deterritorialized process" (38). Mikka Lehtonen, citing Frederic Jameson rather than Appadurai, makes a similar claim, arguing that business communicators must come to understand culture not "as something imposed on and inherited by individuals" but as something that individuals are continually "participating in" and "constructing" (469). Catherine Nickerson's 2005 article,

"English as a Lingua Franca in International Business Contexts," stresses the urgency of implementing such theoretical interventions into the training of business and professional writers. Nickerson claims that professional writing pedagogy has lagged behind scholarly research in the move away from "instrumental" (Grobman), "prescriptive" (DeVoss et al), or "heuristic" (Hunsinger) models and toward more "social" (Grobman) or "discursive" (Nickerson) models (369). She argues that analyses of "the language used in isolated written texts or speech events" must be replaced by analyses of "contextualised communicative genres, emphasising the organisational and/or cultural factors that contribute to the realization of the individual text/event under investigation" (Nickerson 369). In order to be effective business communicators, she claims that business students must learn not merely to speak or write for unpredictable (and almost always multicultural) audiences but, more importantly, to understand and negotiate dynamic, deeply contextualized linguistic strategies. Ultimately, Nickerson contends that successful business communicators will not attempt to prepare for and to control each individual encounter – as Hall, Hofstede, and House recommend – but instead will develop a core set of adaptable strategies (369). For these scholars, the key to improving intercultural communications is giving future businesspeople more sophisticated, dynamic, and adaptable understandings of language and culture.

The other school of scholars that has emerged in recent years – led by Valerie Goby and Edmond Wiess – has tried to nudge the field in a different, more practical direction. It is with this school that my project most closely aligns. Goby and Weiss differ from Hall, Hofstede, and House because they believe that communication

needs and strategies rise above national and cultural differences. They differ from Grobman, DeVoss, Hunsinger, Lehtonen, and Nickerson because they do not believe that businesspeople must master complex theories of language and culture to communicate effectively.[40] Instead, Goby and Weiss argue that scholars and professional business communicators need to identify practical communication strategies that appeal as broadly as possible. These strategies enable professionals to persuade diverse audiences, because they build from communication preferences that are "universal" (Goby) or from a linguistic style that is "culture-free" (Weiss). Both Goby and Weiss believe that business communicators and their audiences – by virtue of their professional and not national identities – share an identifiable set of communication practices and preferences. If business professionals across national and cultural borders are ready to or perhaps even expect to be addressed as members of a global business culture, then Goby and Weiss argue that scholars, instructors, and practicing rhetors should focus their efforts on identifying these shared expectations.

Since the late-1990s, Goby has been the leading proponent of "universal" communication needs, skills, and strategies. Goby, who speaks English as a first language, has spent her professional career teaching English-language business communication to English-as-a-second-language students in universities from Cyprus

[40] It could be argued that Nickerson aligns most closely with Goby and Weiss. All three, one could argue, emphasize "strategies" that enable professional business rhetors to communicate across cultures. While there are similarities, I contend that Nickerson fits best in the school of high cultural theory, because of the ultimate guidance her scholarship suggests. Unlike Goby and Weiss, her theories do not directly lead to professional communication tips, practices, or guidelines. Nickerson's suggestions are less about how communicators can take practical action and more about how they can broaden and enrich their understanding of the "cultural factors that contribute to the realisation of the individual text/event under investigation" (369).

to the United Arab Emirates to Singapore. Drawing from these experiences, Goby argues that there are a "universal" set of communications needs and desires. Her core critical claims are captured in the title of her 1999 article: "All Business Students Need to Know the Same Things! The Non-Culture Specific Nature of Communication Needs." Here, Goby contends that there are "good communications techniques that are universal in nature" ("All Business" 181) and that business communication scholars should focus the bulk of their efforts on striving to identify, examine, and teach these "universal" needs. Goby characterizes her approach as "polycentric" and "geocentric," and she contrasts her work with "ethnocentric" and "culture-specific" models ("All Business" 186). Eight years later, in "Business Communication Needs: A Multicultural Perspective" (2007), Goby reiterates her thesis, arguing that if scholars sought to discover universals instead of categorizing differences, they "would uncover, alongside culturally determined communication differences, a universal core of business communication needs" (428).

In both the 1999 and 2007 articles, Goby bases her "universalist" position on surveys that she conducted as a business-English-as-a-second-language instructor. First in Singapore and then in Cyprus, Goby asked her graduate and undergraduate business students to rank their top needs in business communications. Goby compares her students' answers to similar studies done in the U.S., and she finds that, in the U.S., Cyprus, and Singapore, students desire the same communications skills and competencies – namely, strong interpersonal communication, fluent international business communication, and better job interview skills. For Goby, the similarity of students' goals – despite their cultural and linguistic differences – argues for a global

"nucleus of similar business communication needs" ("Business Communication" 428). After offering evidence of "universal" communication needs, Goby calls for a shift in "our perspective to commonality," for the development of "communication skills training that is global, or common in nature," and for "unifying rather than diversifying approaches to international management preparation" ("All Business" 185). For Goby, the way to train future business professionals to communicate effectively in the global, twenty-first-century workplace is to identify, teach, and practice "core," "common," and "global" communication competencies.

Weiss's work seems to respond to calls like Goby's for universally effective communication skills. However, Weiss focuses narrowly on linguistic solutions to cross-cultural communications challenges. Weiss, who is more interested in praxis than pedagogy, argues in *The Elements of International English Style* that writers can create English-language texts that avoid communication complications brought about by cultural difference.[41] His approach suggests that writers can eliminate the need for nation-specific metrics by using an "international style" that reduces the ambiguity of English and the potential for misunderstanding. Weiss's argument for an "international English style" is less theoretical than Goby's work. Weiss is, in fact, less theoretical than any of the other scholars discussed thus far. Weiss is concerned, he specifically states, with discovering a style of English that is "clear, efficient, reliable, readable, and translatable" and "cost-effective" in business settings (xv). In

[41] Edmond Weiss is not the only scholar or practitioner writing about "globalizing" the English language through stylistic choices. I focus on Weiss here because his discussion is, I believe, the most interesting, influential, and useful. For other texts similar to Weiss, see Fiona Talbot and Sudakshina Bhattacharjee's *Improve Your Global Business English* (2012) and Fiona Talbot's *How to Write Effective Business English* (2009).

The Elements of International English Style, Weiss outlines fifty-two "culture-free" tactics for "globalizing" English and "producing a one-size-fits-all solution for a diverse world of English speakers" (xi). At times, these tactics contradict what writers may have learned in such classic style manuals as William Strunk and Roger Angell White's *The Elements of Style* or Joseph Williams's *Style: Lessons in Clarity and Grace.* Weiss's "international English style" recognizes that, in global settings, "clarity" and "grace" are often at odds, and, he argues, the former should take precedence over the latter. For example:

> sometimes the best way to contain the risk [of miscommunication] is to write in an unusually readable style…Familiar, clear words, including *make, set, fix,* or *hold*, can have too many context-dependent meanings and might better be replaced with longer words that have fewer meanings: *construct, define, repair*, or *conclude*, for example. Everyday phrasal verbs, notably *check out*, might be replaced with *investigate* or *leave*, depending on what is intended. (Weiss xii)

As Weiss concedes, his guidelines produce a style of English that is "rather dull and colorless" (xv), but, for global audiences of business professionals, Weiss contends that this is a worthwhile opportunity cost if paid to increase clarity.

It is worth noting that Weiss's "international English style" is much more nuanced and colorful than the highly influential system for global English set out in Charles Kay Ogden's iconic *Basic English* (1930). Ogden, in working with his colleague, I.A. Richards, popularized a system – consisting of 850 core words and rules for applying prefixes and suffixes – aimed at making English more accessible and, thus, of smoothing international communication. Ogden's and Richards's system was simple to learn and widely adopted. Yet, this system is also, as Ogden's title suggests, quite "basic." Of all the terms that Weiss offers as examples in the passage

quoted above, only "make" – a negative example for Weiss – appears on the *Basic English* list. The difference between the two systems is telling. Today's business communicators, Weiss's system suggests, can be expected to have much more than a "basic" familiarity with English. Furthermore, Weiss contends, they expect to be addressed in fluent English, and they prefer English that is specific and free of "linguistic and cultural distractions" (11).

This brief overview of cross-cultural communication scholarship in business and technical communication is intended to establish the scholarly landscape and to provide a background for the conversation in which this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric participates. To conclude, nation-specific metrics serve as *negative models*. They contend that rhetors must understand the unique culture of their audiences in order to effectively address and persuade them. At the same time, I depart from the "high theory" approach. For all its merits, I argue that it is impractical in the deadline-driven business environment. What matters to a theory of global rhetoric is neither the particulars of "foreign" audiences, nor the complex intersection of language, culture, and identity, but the argumentative techniques that can persuade global audiences. A theory of global rhetoric is interested in rhetorical techniques that can maintain persuasive potential to broad and dispersed audiences – audiences that may often have diverse cultural leanings or inclinations.

This dissertation's theory of global rhetoric for professional communication aligns, for the most part, with Goby and Weiss. I believe that communication can overcome cultural barriers by finding appeals common to many, diverse audiences. That is the lesson of studying the rhetoric of Tolstoy, Bourne, and Aung San, and that

is why we need to identify persuasive argumentative techniques for global business argumentation. However, unlike Goby, I resist claims to universality. As discussed in Chapter One, rhetoric is a situational practice and cannot, by its very nature, be "universal." Additionally, this dissertation is distinct from Weiss's work, because I focus on *rhetorical* and not just *linguistic* aspects of global communication. There are, of course, rhetorical consequences to linguistic choices, but Weiss's scholarship leaves a significant question unasked and unanswered. Namely, what argumentative techniques can business communicators employ to persuade across cultures? In this chapter, I show how a business presentation – one that contains both verbal and visual elements, and one that is meant to be used as the backdrop for a speech – was revised in order to persuade global audiences. I offer the analysis of this revision as an illustrative case study that shows how a theory of global rhetoric can provide strategic rhetorical guidance to practicing business communicators.

Rhetoric at Work: Globalizing a Business Presentation

GCS is a small consulting firm in the professional services industry that helps its private-sector clients prepare for "population aging" – a change in the global demographic structure brought about by increasing life spans, decreasing fertility rates, and the aging of the "Baby Boomer" population. GCS is hired by clients to help them plan for a range of challenges that they will face in a world with an older population. These challenges can be internal to their organization: aging workers, multigenerational workforces, new schemes of savings and retirement planning, health and wellness challenges, rising healthcare costs, etc. They can also be external:

an aging consumer base, changing consumer priorities and preferences, new values and life-plans aligned to increased longevity, etc. Every month or two, GCS gives a presentation at a business or public policy event, both in the United States and internationally. Broadly speaking, GCS is invited to speak at events that focus on what is happening at the intersection of business and public policy. When I joined GCS as its first-ever in-house speechwriter, it was the organization's practice to create new presentations for each speaking event, though it borrowed heavily from past presentations.

GCS accepts speaking invitations because these events serve as excellent marketing and networking opportunities. They offer occasions for GCS to persuade key audiences of two things: first, that population aging is a seminal business issue that presents opportunities if handled strategically; second, that GCS is the preeminent partner to choose in order to prepare for population aging. On becoming GCS's speechwriter, one of my first initiatives was to create a "core presentation" that we could use and re-use on multiple occasions. While different situations would require occasion-specific rhetorical choices, it was my belief that a presentation could be created that had the breadth and flexibility to fit a variety of situations. Such a presentation, I argued, would save considerable time in the future and allow us to invest wisely in a professionally designed set of slides to be used as the backdrop. The first step to creating this presentation was to imagine a composite rhetorical situation – a hypothetical occasion that embodied the particularities of past and future speaking events. Once this composite situation was developed, a presentation could be created, I argued, to meet these various needs and could be repurposed for future

events with only minor modification. In early brainstorming for the composite rhetorical situation, it was agreed that the audience was the most important factor to consider, and I defined two overarching questions that needed to be answered: What is the audience's attitude towards population aging? What do we want the audience to do after the presentation? Each of these questions has a series of sub-questions, and I discuss each in detail below. I provide this background because, I believe, it offers necessary context for my subsequent discussion of the core global presentation's rhetorical strategies.

In seeking to estimate how potential audiences thought about population aging, I created two sets of questions. First, to what extent is the audience aware of population aging? Do they recognize it as a far-reaching social, political, and economic issue? Second, to the extent that the audience is aware of the magnitude of population aging, what is their attitude towards it? Optimistic, pessimistic, neutral? From these two sets of questions, I developed the following matrix (see table 1):

High Awareness		
Low Awareness		
	Negative Attitude	Positive Attitude

Table 1. Audience identification matrix.

This matrix is, of course, an imprecise way to analyze potential audiences, but it was a valuable first step in leading a discussion about how a core presentation could fit multiple occasions. By assessing the general attitudes and awareness levels of past and future audiences, we developed a foundation for making strategic rhetorical decisions about the form and content of the core presentation.

After working with the matrix, it was agreed that most audiences would fall into one of two categories: low-awareness and neutral attitude, or high-awareness and negative attitude. For the former audience, the core presentation needed to argue that population aging is one of the most critical "issues" of the early twenty-first century and that successful management can be achieved with the right strategies. In both the public and private policy realms, there is fierce competition in the so-called "marketplace of ideas" as advocates for different issues compete for the attention (and budgets) of decision-makers. Therefore, in order to get a new client or strategic partner to dedicate limited resources to population aging, they must see population aging as too significant to be ignored. For this low-awareness/attitude-neutral audience, the presentation needed to both introduce population aging and present GCS's interpretation of it. For the latter audience – those with a high-awareness and a negative attitude – the presentation needed to offer a new, alternative interpretation of population aging. For this audience, the common belief is that population aging will lead to fiscal deficit, economic decline, and over-crowded workplaces. There is a wealth of previous argumentation contending that this is the case, and GCS's "positive interpretation" is novel, even contrarian.

In answering the second overarching question about audiences – What do we want them to do after the presentation? – GCS's leadership and communications team divided audience members into three groups: potential clients, potential partners, or potential advocates. For each, GCS needed to be seen as a unique, highly credible organization that is the preeminent private-sector leader on population aging. Yet, despite the similarity of these goals, we intended for each type of audience member to

pursue a different course of action. Potential clients, ideally, would go back to their organizations and make the case that they must join or hire GCS, and they would be equipped to argue persuasively that the aging of the global population is a critical business issue and that they need assistance in making strategic aging-related decisions. Potential partners, on the other hand, would, we hoped, be led to visibly and publicly support GCS as the one organization at the cutting-edge of thought and action related to population aging. GCS's *ethos* is, in large part, validated by those who partner with it, and its partners and advisory board members are critical in building GCS's credibility. The current GCS advisory board contains members from the British House of Lords and the World Health Organization, and we are always looking to expand this network. For the third type of audience member – potential advocates – the rhetorical goal is very much the same as with potential partners. Our intent is to persuade them that GCS has a unique, authoritative argument about aging. The difference, however, is that potential advocates will not visibly associate with GCS. Instead, these advocates will be high-ranking public and private leaders who absorb the GCS argument and then repeat it. To offer one example, an influential U.S. government official heard a presentation that GCS gave at the Council on Foreign Relations, and afterwards he asked us to help him write an editorial for publication in a major news outlet. Of course, we obliged. GCS did not and could not charge for this service, but it was a worthwhile investment of time because such editorials help bring population aging into the national conversation.

Over time, GCS began receiving more invitations to speak at international events – events not only in foreign locations, but also domestic events attended by

audience members from around the world. When these invitations increased, I argued that we should create a "core global presentation" – a presentation similar to the core presentation, but one that was specifically created for global audiences. This need was recognized by the leadership of GCS, and I began brainstorming the revision process. I turned to the scholarly literature on cross-cultural communication (as discussed in the literature review above). While the debates informed how I thought about revising the presentation, I did not find the kind of practical guidance I was looking for. As is typical with a business presentation, I was under pressing deadlines to put together a first draft, and guidance from scholarship did not answer all my questions.[42] For my purposes, the Hall/Hofstede approach was inappropriate for two reasons. First, the global audiences I anticipated would be diverse – not country specific. Second, as I have previously discussed, these audiences, given their professional standing, would be accustomed to and prepared for being addressed as a global audience member, thus relieving the pressure on the rhetor to cater to different national rhetorical preferences.

The highly theoretical scholarly responses to Hall and Hofstede – as epitomized by Hunsinger and Lehtonen – were also insufficient. Nickerson's claim to develop a core set of strategies to shape the presentation was useful, and Grobman's insight on speaking to broad, diverse audiences also applied. But, practically speaking, the majority of this scholarship offered sophisticated philosophies of language and culture instead of specific guidance. For a practicing rhetor, such scholarly conversations left certain questions unanswered. In addition, while looking

[42] As I discuss below, Edmond Weiss's *The Elements of International English Style* is extremely useful.

for answers from scholarship, I was also writing previous chapters of this dissertation. Even my own scholarship on global rhetoric could not answer all the questions I had. The "argument from definitional essence," for example, provided insight into how to define "population aging" in a way that was stable and self-evident, and the argument from shared values guided me to shape the presentation around claims of economic growth and development. Yet, in the end, GCS faced a rhetorical challenge that needed supplementary guidance. Thus I turned to "traditional" rhetorical theories for potential insights. As I learned, if one analyzes rhetorical theories with an eye towards the global rhetorical situation, a wealth of useful strategies emerge. Ultimately, what I realized is that a combination of both bodies of scholarship is ideal. For present purposes – to discuss how practicing business rhetors can create argumentation appropriate for the twenty-first century global business rhetorical situation – I discuss how a set of "non-global" rhetorical theories and vocabularies can be re-approached and broadened to guide a practicing global rhetor. This guidance, I argue, provides a useful, practical supplement to both the body of scholarship discussed so far and to this dissertation's discussion of global rhetoric.

The first step I took to create the core global presentation was to review the core presentation in order to identify what slides could be revised and re-used. Once I had gathered these slides, I began a revision process to globalize their argumentative appeal. Of the many revisions I made, most fall into one of four broad categories. First, I revised the language. I removed language choices that could trouble second-language audience members. Second, I removed photographic images and replaced them with monochrome icons. As I discuss in greater detail below, this change was

intended to reduce the connotations that the images could elicit from culturally diverse audience members. Third, I restructured the relationship between the headlines of the slides and the arguments made in the content of the slides. For global audiences, I believed that the headlines should state the conclusion of the slide. Finally, I changed some of the substance of the argument and amended the conclusion. The conclusion of the presentation discusses certain steps that need to be taken to turn population aging into an opportunity. These steps had to be revised so that they would make sense to global audiences. As I detail these "before and after" comparisons below, I have three goals: to further develop this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric; to supplement the existing body of scholarship to provide a practical, usable strategy for the practicing global rhetor; and to re-examine existing rhetorical theories through the lens of global rhetoric.

` The first set of revisions I made to globalize the core presentation was to change the style of English to better persuade both first- and second-language audiences. Below, *Figure 2* is the introductory slide of the core presentation.

Fig. 2. Introductory slide to core presentation.

Figure 3 is the introductory slide to the core global presentation:

Fig. 3. Introductory slide to core global presentation.

This introductory slide attempts to create exigence by making a sweeping claim about the importance of population aging. In addressing American audiences, the slide states: "The aging of the global population is one of the greatest drivers of social, economic, and political change in the 21st century" (see fig. 2). There are many things that could be said about the rhetorical choices of this introductory claim, but, for present purposes, I focus only on the term that I identified as most inappropriate for global audiences: "driver." GCS uses the term "driver" often, because in exoteric, but highly credible economic discourse – like that of *The Economist*, *Bloomberg Businessweek*, and *Harvard Business Review* – this term is quite common. We use "driver" because we assume that many of our audience members would be familiar with these publications and therefore be accustomed to journalists, business leaders, and other "thought leaders" using the admittedly awkward nominalization to describe the forces that shape economic and political developments. Thus, I use the term here to suggest that GCS is a member of the select discourse community that understands and analyzes the highest levels of business and policy. At its most fundamental level,

it is a language choice to build the *ethos* of the speaker and to insert GCS into a privileged discourse community.

In considering the rhetorical potential of the term "driver" for global audiences, however, I concluded that it relies upon linguistic and metaphorical knowledge that is too culturally specific. To be sure, *The Economist* and *The Harvard Business Review* enjoy favorable global reputations and broad, international readerships, but this does not validate the global suitability of either publication's linguistic tropes. Indeed, I felt certain that "driver" would lose its rhetorical nuance for audiences not fully immersed in the exoteric English lexicon of economics and politics. As *Figure 3* shows, I revised this introductory sentence to state: "The aging of the global population is one of the greatest social, economic, and political transformations of our time." The term "transformation" has a far more concrete definition for second-language audience members. While it may seem like a more complex term than "driver," I argue that, for second-language audiences, it is not. "Transformation," unlike "driver" – which many second-language speakers may first associate with transportation – is not used figuratively. Nor is it common to see the term used figuratively. Moreover, the definition of "transformation," according to *Merriam-Webster's Learner's Dictionary* – a very popular online site for English-language learners – is straightforward: "a complete or major change in someone's or something's appearance, form, etc." There remains potential for misunderstanding, of course, but "transformation" has only one meaning, whereas "driver" (and its root "drive") has vast and complex idiomatic usages. For second-language audience members, this difference could prove critical.

As I revised the core presentation to create the core global presentation, I made a number of similar changes to try to clarify and "globalize" the language of the argument. Nearly all of these revisions follow the guidelines set forth in Edmond Weiss's *The Elements of International English Style* (2005). Weiss's text, as I have discussed, offers a useful compendium of "international English style" guidelines, and, having studied and used them in practice, I argue that the majority of Weiss's recommendations are valid. While I might contest small points of his argument or approach, Weiss's text stands as a highly valuable resource for professional business communicators writing for global audiences.[43] As such, I do not discuss the language revisions that I made to the core presentation any further in this chapter.

The second major revision made to globalize the core presentation was to replace photographic images with monochrome icons (see fig. 4 and fig. 5):[44]

[43] Weiss's advice to avoid "sports vocabulary," for example, is too definitive. He cautions against participating in corporate "fondness" for "sports imagery." While one should proceed cautiously in using sports metaphors for global audiences, it would be unwise to dismiss wholly the rhetorical potential of sports metaphors, especially those of soccer. Soccer is the world's most popular sport, and it opens metaphorical possibility not only to persuade, but also to unite diverse audiences around a shared interest. In work that I have done at GCS – specifically in regards to arguments about the development of Alzheimer's therapies – I have used the pharmaceutical industry's soccer metaphor "not enough shots on goal" to imply the dearth of potential drugs in the near-term development pipeline. This soccer metaphor, I argue, holds significant persuasive potential for global audiences because of the broad understanding of and shared enthusiasm for the game of soccer.

[44] The language used to describe the trends in these two slides is, of course, different. In *Figure 3*, I used figurative language to try to create catchy titles that audiences would remember and use in future conversation. I believe that it would help GCOA's authority if its phrases for these trends became standard usage. For global audiences, though, I decided that this goal, while worthwhile, was less important than clarity.

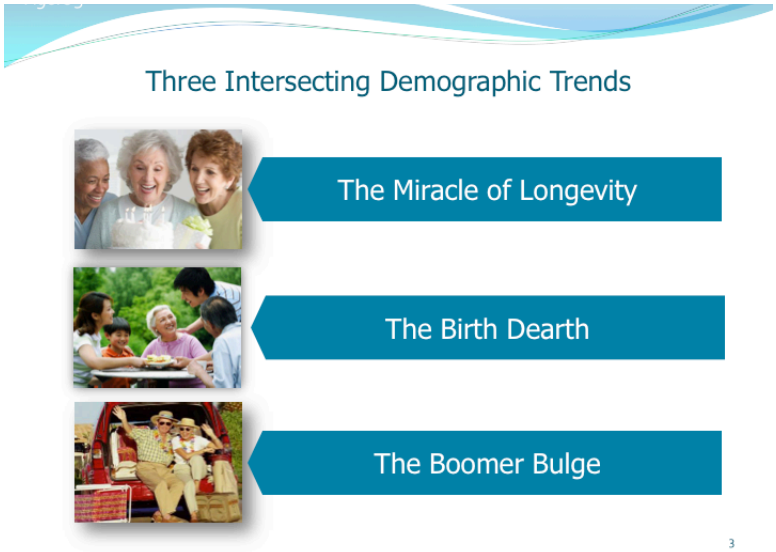

Fig. 4. Core presentation's use of photographs.

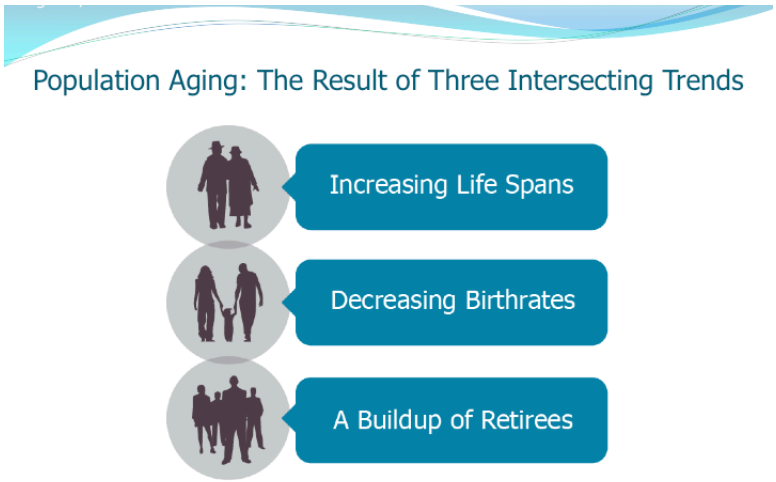

Fig. 5. Core global presentation's use of monochrome icons.

Like most business presentations, GCS's core presentation uses numerous images. As I sought to revise for global audiences, however, I decided that even though photographs were the norm for business presentations – along with data and graphical illustrations – they were not the best choice for visualization in the core global presentation. The reason is that photographic images are too rhetorically loaded and complex, and their connotative richness could distract or mislead global audiences

who did not have the "right" cultural background to read the images as intended. Indeed, photographs are, as Roland Barthes suggests, deeply cultural messages that contain a vast, unpredictable, and culturally specific wealth of "connotators" ("Rhetoric" 162). For global audiences, photographs could potentially connote unwanted meanings and associations, thus working against their rhetorical purpose of illustrating and enlivening the argument. To reduce the opportunity for unwanted connotation, the best course of action for the core global presentation was to remove the photographs and create monochrome icons as substitutes.

This choice is supported by the advice of educational and international training consultant William Horton. In "The Almost Universal Language: Graphics for International Documents," Horton contends that graphics and images need to be "expressly designed" in order to "bridge barriers of language and culture." Horton suggests that rhetors should, when selecting or creating images, "suppress unimportant details" and avoid images with a "definite personality" (682-685). The change from photographs to monochrome icons achieves this goal of reducing detail and stripping down personality. Despite Horton's advice, I am aware that removing interest or "personality" from a business presentation will still strike many professional rhetors as misguided. Therefore, it is worth briefly overviewing Barthes's theory of visual rhetoric in order to more firmly establish the rhetorical rationale for the substitution of icons for photographs in the core global presentation.

In two separate essays – "Rhetoric of the Image" (1964) and "The Photographic Message" (1977) – Barthes discusses the rhetorical nature of images, with a particular focus on photographs in the latter essay. Though each essay is far

more interested in questions of theory than of practice, it is possible to gain from these essays very practical and valuable guidance. Here, I discuss each of these essays, and I consider how they complement each other and inform the rhetorical decisions I made in globalizing the GCS core presentation. "Rhetoric of the Image" lays the groundwork of Barthes's theory and "The Photographic Image" follows with more nuanced analysis of the rhetorical differences between photographs and other forms of visualization (like the monochrome icons that are used in the core global presentation). In "Rhetoric of the Image," Barthes argues that images contain two types of messages: a non-coded iconic message and a coded-iconic message. The non-coded iconic message is perceptual: it is "the literal image" being denoted ("Rhetoric" 155). The coded iconic message is cultural. It is the symbolism suggested by the image, and it triggers a "number of readings" among viewers ("Rhetoric" 162). For Barthes, this distinction is essential, because it is the coded iconic message – and its abundance of "connotators" ("Rhetoric" 162) – that creates an image's rhetorical dimension. To give an example, a photograph of an apple is, perceptually, just an apple. Its non-coded iconic message is nothing more than a piece of fruit. The coded iconic message, on the other hand, is far richer and its connotations are abundant and unpredictable. This is the case no matter the choice of visual representation: it is true for drawings, photographs, graphic illustrations, etc. Each representation of the apple will connote, and the connotation will vary from one audience to the next. For some, an apple will connote healthy eating; to others, original sin; to others – perhaps in Tokyo or Seoul where the cost of fresh fruit can be extremely high – luxury or decadence; and so on. It is not hard to imagine how an apple could connote a vast

number of culturally determined meanings for audiences around the world. Because images have this strong and uncontrollable connotative power – no matter their style or mode of illustration – Barthes argues that rhetors use language to "anchor" ("Rhetoric" 156) meaning. Images, especially advertisements, are often accompanied by a linguistic message to "direct the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others" ("Rhetoric" 156). A "linguistic anchor," according to Barthes, "remote-controls [the viewer] towards a meaning chosen in advance" ("Rhetoric" 156).[45] In other words, rhetors add linguistic messages to images in order to ensure that audiences read the images as they are meant to.

Throughout "Rhetoric of the Image," Barthes makes little note of different types of visualization. His intent, it seems, is to explore how different components of an image, including the language, work together to argue. In "The Photographic Message," on the other hand, Barthes makes clear distinctions between different kinds of images. As the essay's title suggests, most of the focus is on photographs – and "the press photograph" in particular. Nevertheless, the essay does offer valuable insight into the connotative nature of different types of images. Of drawings, paintings, cinema, and theater, Barthes writes:

> all these 'imitative' arts comprise two messages: a *denoted* message, which is the *analogon* itself, and a *connoted* message, which is the manner in which the society to a certain extent communicates what it thinks of it. This duality of message is evident in all reproductions other than photographic ones: there is

[45] According to Barthes, the linguistic message has two functions: anchorage and relay. Above, I describe only anchorage, which is the predominant use of a linguistic message. But Barthes also notes relay – the use of language in a comic strip or cartoon in order to complement the image and advance the action.

> no drawing, no matter how exact, whose very exactitude is not turned into a style. ("Photographic" 197)

As Barthes suggests, with drawings, paintings, etc., an audience knows it is reading a constructed and "unnatural" image. The connotations, therefore, are not concealed behind the mask of objectivity, as they are with photographs. Because photographs seem like non-artistic, non-ideological stills of reality, readers do not confront them as representations that have been manipulated in order to connote some things and not others. According to Barthes, a photograph appears to be "*a message without a code*" ("Photographic" 196, italics in original); its "connotation is not immediately graspable at the level of the message" ("Photographic" 198). But though this *seems* the case, it isn't: the photograph is an image that "has been worked on, chosen, composed, constructed, treated according to professional, aesthetic, or ideological norms which are so many factors of connotation" ("Photographic" 198). Barthes calls this the "photographic paradox" ("Photographic" 196).

Barthes's theory of the rhetoric of images, as it emerges from these two essays, offers valuable guidance to the professional global rhetor constructing an argument that uses images. Barthes's theory, I contend, suggests that drawings and other "imitative" ("Photographic" 197) modes of illustration are better than photographs because of *how* and *how much* they connote. In drawings – especially plain-style monochrome icons – the connotators can be minimized and deliberately controlled. These icons still connote, but their connotations can be better – though not fully – regulated. A global rhetor must indeed still consider the connotative possibilities of the icons, but the advantage over photographs is clear. Photographs require more decoding than icons. And photographs contain an abundance of

connotative possibilities that enable many diverse – and justified – readings of the same image. Barthes's reading of a press photograph of Agadir, Morocco illustrates the point:

> I *know* that this is a North African country because on the left I can see a sign in Arabic script, in the center a man wearing a gandoura, and so on. Here the reading closely depends on my culture, on my knowledge of the world…If one photographs Agadir in ruins, it is better to have a few signs of "Arabness" at one's disposal, even though "Arabness" has nothing to do with the disaster itself. ("Photographic" 208, italics in original)

Barthes's reading is rational, but his presumptions are also particularly cultural, as he points out. One can imagine how the above photograph he describes, for certain audiences – perhaps the wealthy of Casablanca, Dubai, other powerful cities throughout the Arab world – could connote holiday travel and pleasure. For many Western readers today, however, such an image would invariably connote, to a certain extent, the ongoing "war on terror." Regardless of the particular readings of this specific photograph, one thing should be clear: far more than the monochrome icon, the photograph evokes a wealth of culturally determined connotations, and these connotations could easily work against a rhetor's persuasive goals.

For a global rhetor creating a text with images, Barthes's insight is indispensable. Turning back to the GCS core presentation, the majority of images used throughout would elicit any number of divergent, culturally influenced readings. Consider *Figure 3*. While this photograph of an older couple wearing luaus and sunhats may, among a privileged audience in the United States, securely and predictably connote "retirement," "leisure travel," and the economic spoils of the Baby Boomer generation, it is easy to imagine how this photograph would have a far less predictable and controllable series of connotations for global audiences. Indeed,

it is not hard to imagine how this image would have negative connotations amongst any number of global readers, especially those who live in areas that have been overrun by Western tourists. Against such rhetorical uncertainty, there were three potential choices. First, all photographs could be removed and replaced with text and graphs. For a variety of reasons, this was not an ideal option. Such a drab and uninspired aesthetic would work against our overall goal of igniting our audience's interest in population aging. Additionally, as I have previously discussed, business audiences have become accustomed to presentations that are rich with images, not just charts and graphs. In the age of infographics – when organizations of all sizes employ in-house design teams to create customized graphics and illustrations for speaking events – it would work against GCS's credibility if it gave a presentation that looked novice and unprofessional. Second, the photographs in the presentations could be *anchored* with a linguistic message to ensure that audiences read each image in the "right" way. I considered this option – and even attempted a few drafts – but decided against it because it felt too pedantic and heavy-handed, especially for audience members who would identify the intended connotators without anchorage. The third option – which I ultimately chose, as seen in *Figure 5* – was to replace the photographs with monochrome icons. The icons, as I have previously discussed, reduce the potential for unwanted and misleading connotations, while also satisfying audience expectations. Here, it is worth looking at a few of these slides in more depth.

Figures 4 and *5* are important slides in the argument. Each slide introduces GCS's interpretation of how and why global population aging has arisen. As GCS tries to establish both its credibility and the massiveness of population aging, it is

critical to articulate an informed, historical perspective on the issue. In rhetorical terms, these slides had to achieve the purpose described for the exordium in Book 1 of Cicero's *De Inventione*. In this brief section, I attempt to "bring the mind of the auditor into proper condition to receive the rest of the speech" (41; bk. 1, ch. 15). To be persuaded by the argument, I felt that the audience must recognize GCS as the leading interpreter of a complex, decades-long structural demographic change. Thus, as *Figures 4* and *5* illustrate, the GCS argument posits that there are "three intersecting demographic trends" that have brought about population aging. To be sure, other demographic experts would hardly object to this interpretation, and they might even criticize it as commonplace. However, I believe that our target audience would receive this interpretation as fresh, clear, and authoritative. To begin the exordium for American audiences, as seen in *Figure 4*, I chose photographs to try to achieve a very specific rhetorical goal: I aim for the images to epitomize the ideal consequence or the "best case scenario" of each demographic trend. As I have previously stated, GCS's unique, optimistic perspective on population aging is that it presents opportunities for social and economic success if the right preparatory steps are taken. These photographs, therefore, were selected for the core presentation because they contain a number of connotators that would, for our privileged American audiences, capture the consequence of the demographic trend while associating it with a positive outcome.

For audiences with different social and cultural backgrounds, however, these connotations cannot be assumed. The photographs and their abundance of connotators in *Figure 4* would permit a vast number of readings that might not support GCS's

overall thesis. Consider, for example, the first image in *Figure 4*. While this image is intended to epitomize the health, happiness, and community of aging, an audience member from Russia or the Baltics – where male life expectancies are dramatically lower than those of females because of the high-rates of non-communicable diseases among middle-aged men – might see a scenario where increased life spans lead to a society with far more women than men. The races, clothing, and jewelry of the women, moreover, might connote for certain audiences that the "problems" of longevity are particular to the rich world. Both of these readings would be rational, and neither would support the argument the presentation tries to make. The second image, as another example, may fail to epitomize multigenerational familial joy. For audiences in Hong Kong or Singapore, the image may connote the dangerously low fertility rates that have persisted over the past few decades. In Singapore, for example, the fertility rate is currently 0.79, and it has led to near panic among many public and private officials. For audiences in China, the image could connote the Chinese government's draconian and very unpopular "one-child policy" that leaves many elderly alone and uncared-for as their children move to coastal cities seeking economic opportunity. Like the previous image, the overall upper-middle-class-ness of the image might disenfranchise certain readers from less industrialized nations. As Barthes makes clear, audiences from different cultures would de-code these photographs in any number of ways, and these various interpretations would clearly work against the goals of the presentation.

There is also one further potential act of decoding that could be expected among GCS's potential audiences. GCS often addresses the kinds of professionals

who are predisposed to enter the role of global audience member. These professionals would be accustomed to navigating the various cultural connotations of images used in business presentations, and, as such, they could most likely assume the connotations of the images that the presentation intended. Given the professional backgrounds and experiences of many of GCS's potential audience members, this preemptive interpretation would occur frequently. While it may seem to make the problem of visual connotation less delicate, it gives rise to another challenge. The GCS presentation cannot position these audience members to *read* some connotations and *ignore* others, because then GCS could be seen – reasonably – as a provincial or even ethnocentric organization, rather than the seminal global voice on this business issue.

For these reasons, I decided to remove the images and replace them with monochrome icons. Using icons in place of images, however, does not eliminate the potential for "mis-readings." Icons will still connote, but they reduce the possibilities for mis-readings, because they only contain a fraction of the connotators of photographs. While this may be undesirable for advertisements or other visual rhetorical texts created for specific audiences, it is a distinct advantage for rhetors persuading global audiences. As the icons were created, I worked closely with the visual designer through a number of drafts in order to get the few connotations right. *Figure 6* shows two separate drafts of the icons produced by the designer:

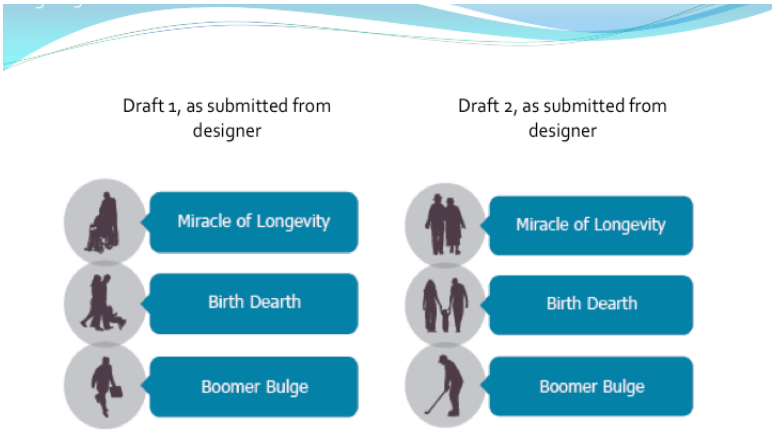

Fig. 6. Revising monochrome icons to guide the "right" reading.

The images on the left are the designer's first draft, and the images on the right reflect my first round of feedback. The top image on the left, I argued, did not capture the opportunity of aging. Being disabled and in a wheelchair, I claimed, would connote for most audiences a feeling of dread about the historically long life spans that have become the norm in the twenty-first century. On the bottom row, neither image connotes the massiveness of the aging Baby Boomer demographic segment. The golfer, moreover, is far too culturally specific, and the briefcase-carrying man, walking alone, could also suggest that the Baby Boomers "that matter" are of a certain socio-economic class. Much more could be said about each of these images, of course, but the point here is not to exhaust potential readings of the icons, but to show that icons still carry significant connotative power and have a range of potential readings among culturally diverse audiences. Icons, I argue, only reduce the possibility for misinterpretation with global audiences, but connotations still occur,

and the global rhetor needs to consider how diverse audience members will read the images.

The third major revision I made to globalize the core presentation was to change the relationship between the headings of the slides and the content. In the core presentation, I did not have a disciplined approach to this relationship and there is little consistency with what the headings "do." At times, they make colorful commentary on the content (*Figure 7*); other times, they suggest the slide's subject or theme (*Figure 8*) or they articulate the conclusion of the slide that we wanted the audience to reach (*Figure 9*); and sometimes slides have no heading (*Figure 10*).

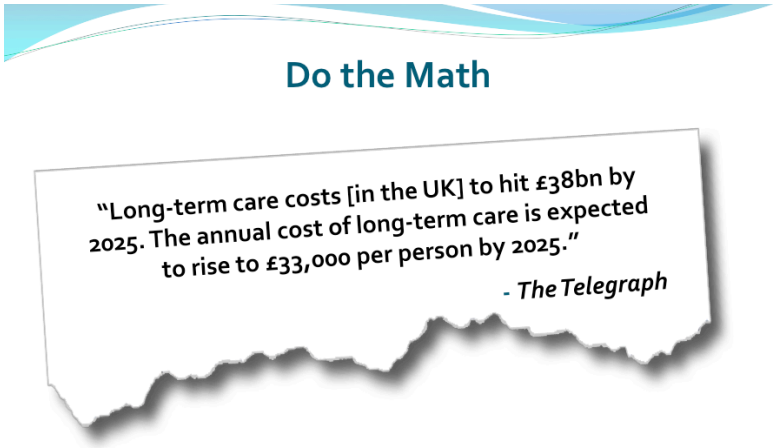

Fig. 7. Title making commentary on the content of the slide.

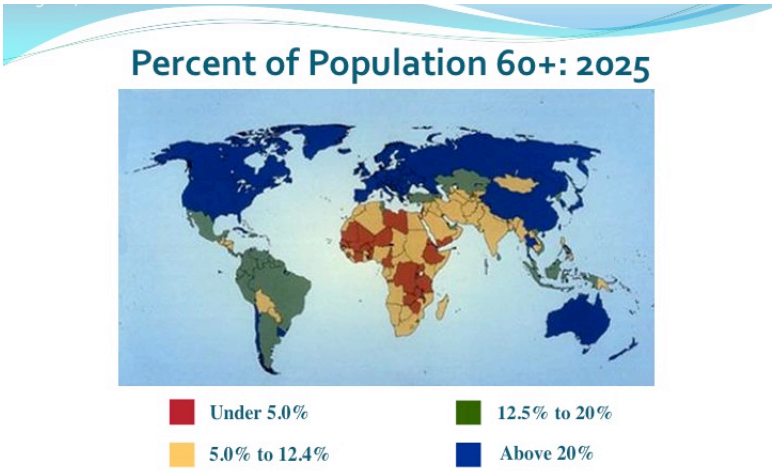

Fig. 8. Title stating the subject of the slide.

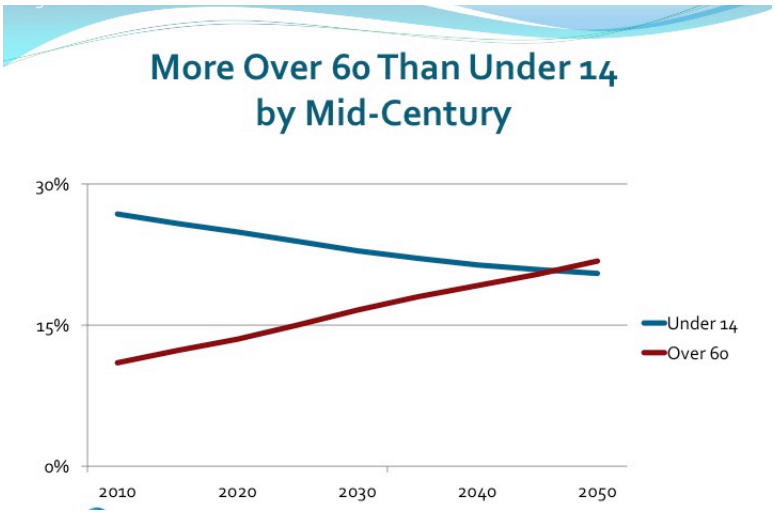

Fig. 9. Title stating the conclusion of the slide.

Fig. 10. Slide without any title.

As I created the core global presentation, I realized that this inconsistent approach to headings and the overall layout of slides might not be ideal. In *The Elements of International English*, Weiss warns that the layout of documents can hinder a second-language reader's comprehension. He writes, "Generally, headings that contain one noun or a short string of nouns are clear only to their author and do not help the reader find needed passages or anticipate what is coming next. These headings are best replaced with fuller language: clauses, even whole sentences" (81). In Weiss's discussion, he refers specifically to written texts, not presentations or multimodal texts that mix visual and linguistic elements. Nonetheless, his insight does offer guidance to the rhetor creating a presentation with verbal and visual elements for global audiences. Headings should be unambiguous, and they should enable the reader to "anticipate" the slide's argument. In the core global presentation, I followed Weiss's general advice but applied it to a new situation: I created headings that were written in complete sentences and that state the conclusion of the slide.

Figure 11 illustrates this change; the conclusion of the slide's argument is captured and articulated by the heading in clear, "culture-free" language.

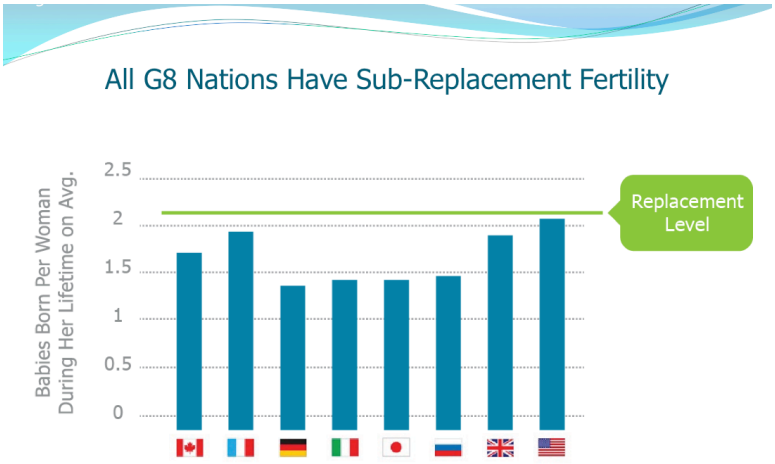

Fig. 11. Slide with title capturing conclusion of slide in "culture-free" English.

The decision to use headings as the conclusions of slides was also informed by theories of visual rhetoric. Weiss's discussion was helpful, but I also considered the ways that global audiences would approach a slide and "read" its constituent parts. As Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen argue in *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996), audiences approach images with expectations and conventional reading habits, and the layout of an image, therefore, influences its communicative and rhetorical power. Like Barthes, Kress and van Leeuwen are more interested in analysis than practice, but their theories still prove helpful to the practicing rhetor. Most basically, Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images* builds from the premise that "the visual component of a text is an independently organized and structured message" (18). Unlike Barthes, they believe that the layout of an image can argue and communicate without a "linguistic anchor" ("Rhetoric" 156). Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images* details the many visual conventions that

communicate and argue independent of language, and, importantly, they note that many of the conventions they discuss are particular to Western readers. As one example, Kress and van Leeuwen maintain that because Western audiences read sentences from left to right and because sentences generally operate on the "given to new" principle, Western audiences also read images from left to right and invest the "given" and "new" meaning to the left and right halves of an image, respectively (181). For Western audiences, what is on the left space of an image therefore tends to be read as "given," "established," or "old," and what is on the right as "new" or "advanced" (Kress 181). According to Kress and van Leeuwen, these conventions make up an image's "grammar" (1), and audiences read and are persuaded by images through manipulation of these grammatical principles.

To illustrate how images are constructed in regards to cultural conventions and reading practices, Kress and van Leeuwen compare two versions of one large corporation's homepage (182). The English-language version and the Arabic-language version are, essentially, mirror images of one another. Because the reading pattern in Arabic is right to left, the images and the layout of the homepage are constructed in anticipation of audiences reading from right to left. The corporation's logo, for example, which is usually found in the upper-left-hand corner of English-language websites, is on the upper-right in the Arabic version. Because English-language and Arabic-language readers are accustomed to reading texts from different starting points, visual rhetors anticipate these reading practices and design images accordingly. For a global rhetor, this insight is valuable, but it also presents a challenge. To get images to communicate and argue effectively, one must use a

"grammar" (Kress 1) that makes sense to audiences with diverse members who are accustomed to different, culturally constructed visual grammars. The solution, I contend, is to create a layout (a visual grammar) that is consistent and enables audiences to, in Weiss's terms, "anticipate" (81) how each slide is constructed. For the core global presentation, I decided that using headings to state the slide's conclusion would give each slide a predictable, understandable grammar. This grammar, I concede, may presuppose too much; it may feel awkward or illogical to a number of audience members, and it may favor Western patterns of logic. These are important concerns, and it would be a valuable pursuit for scholars to search for a "global visual grammar" for PowerPoint presentations and other global multimodal texts. The most likely conclusion, I suspect, would be that most audiences who are accustomed to business presentations would have learned Western reading habits, if for no other reason than the overabundance of visual designs – online, in presentations, in printed materials – in the professional workplace that favor Western customs.

Regardless of whether and to what extent the global business audience may be ready to read images constructed upon Western reading habits, I do suggest that using the heading of a slide to state its conclusion may be the best option for PowerPoint presentations intended for global audiences. Consider, for example, *Figure 11* (above). In this slide, the heading states the exact conclusion that audience members are meant to reach after they consider the chart on the slide. When the heading articulates the conclusion, it essentially *anchors* the slide's meaning and directs the reader through the slide with a conclusion already established. Using *anchorage* in

this way does not follow Barthes exactly, but the effect is the same. In *Figure 11*, the title – "All G8 Nations Have Sub-Replacement Fertility" – is specifically what readers should take away from the slide. And this is no small matter. In reading this slide, it would be very easy and fully rational for the audience to look at the vertical bar graph and reach any number of conclusions. One obvious reading would be that France and the U.S. are relatively more fertile than Germany or Italy. Such a reading, while justified and rational, would also work against the presentation's overall thesis. Moreover, when the heading acts as the *anchor*, it may help second-language audience members who are struggling to follow the oral component of the presentation. This consistency gives the audience the ability to anticipate, and they could read the conclusion first and then treat the rest of the slide and the speaker's comments as supporting evidence for a known conclusion.

The fourth and final major set of revisions made to globalize the core presentation was to change the actual content of the argument. Both the core presentation and the core global presentation are divided into three sections: first, an interpretation of what triggered population aging; second, a projection of the future of population aging; third, a set of recommendations about what people and organizations can do in order to turn population aging into an opportunity. As I revised for global audiences, the content of the third section – not just its rhetorical techniques – had to be amended. For example, the core presentation, as seen in *Figure 12*, argues that four areas of reform are needed: healthcare, retirement,

"second act," and education. As I globalized the argument, I changed these to health, finance, work, and education, as seen in *Figure 13*.[46]

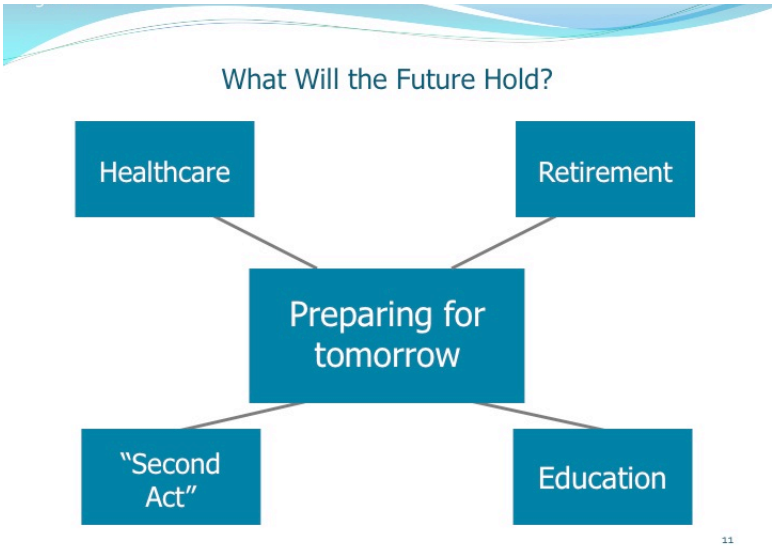

Fig. 12. Table of Contents for final section of core presentation.

Fig. 13. Table of Contents for final section of core global presentation.

These changes are not just linguistic or visual. "Healthcare" and "health" match up to a certain extent, and, of course, "education" appears in both, but the

[46] In both presentations, this slide serves as a "table of contents" for the final section of the presentation, and each of these four areas is discussed in greater depth. The changes made in this slide, thus, are carried out through the remainder of the presentation.

change in terminology sets up a different path of argument. A discussion of the changing face of "retirement" before global audiences, for example, would be largely irrelevant. The concept of retirement is peculiar to high-income nations, and retirement reform is not an agenda item for the public or private sector in most of the world. "Finance," on the other hand, affects everyone. As lives extend, all people must grapple with new financial equations and savings plans. Whether one will depend upon a state-sponsored pension, an employer-backed pension, or community or familial support, the finances of longer lives (and fewer children) will resonate with audiences from any number of national backgrounds. In addition, the linguistic change from "second act" to "work" was also significant – both within the presentation and within the larger strategy of GCS's business. The phrase "second act" is a term that one of GCS's clients likes to use to describe one of its service offerings. This client uses the term to describe the entrepreneurial, yet socially-minded kind of work that older Americans can do once they retire from their careers. These "second act" jobs, as our client describes them, are meant to "give back" and draw upon one's life skills in a constructive, progressive way. Part of GCS's service offering is to help clients achieve "thought leadership" – and incorporating their terminology into our discourse (in blogs, speeches, white papers, etc.) is one method of doing so.

Plenty more could be said about the content changes made to the conclusion of the presentation, but much of this discussion would be particular to specific revisions with little relevance to this chapter's goal of developing global rhetorical strategies for business communicators. Therefore, in the remainder of this chapter, I

discuss what large questions remain unanswered – and unasked – for business communicators who must create arguments to persuade global audiences. As I previously suggested, when I began to revise GCS's core presentation to give it global persuasive appeal, I found the current body of scholarly literature unfinished. This gap in the literature should be filled, because the demand for texts with globally persuasive appeal is increasing. Overall, I argue that there are three significant questions that scholars should answer in order to provide business communicators with a working, practical theory of global rhetoric. First, to what extent are charts, graphs, and other quantitative visualizations appropriate for global audiences? In the GCS core global presentation, I rely heavily on charts and graphs to illustrate the enormity of population aging and the speed at which it has come to be. *Figures 14* and *15* offer two examples.

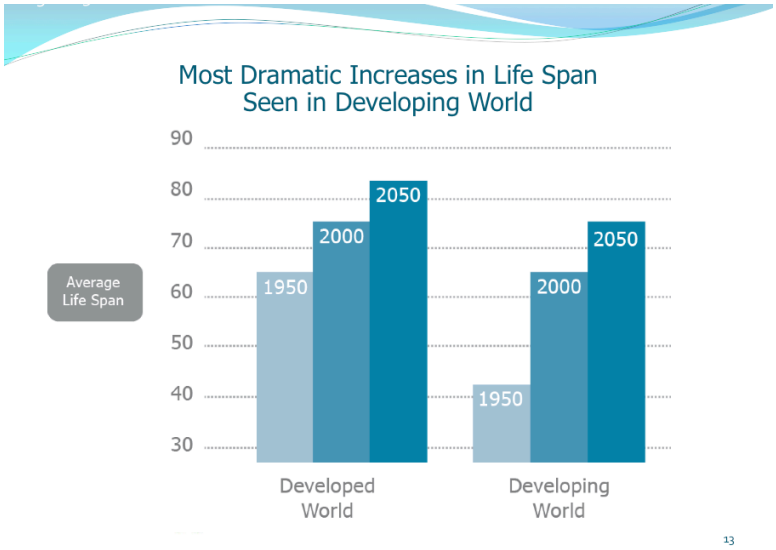

Fig. 14. Example of core global presentation's use of bar graphs.

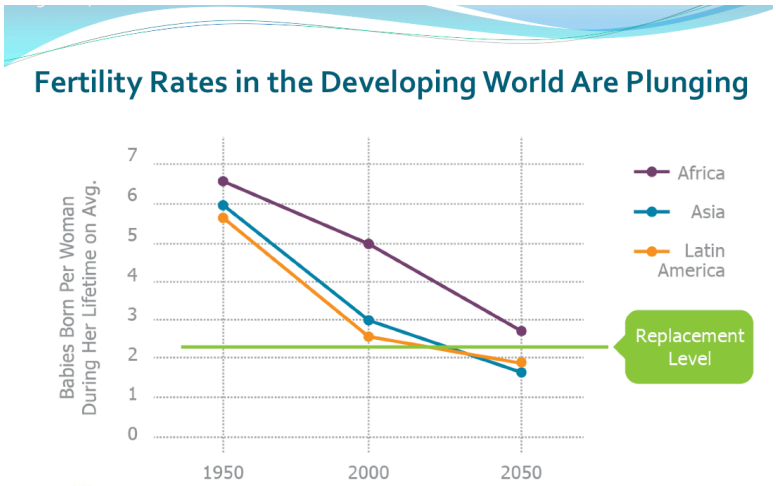

Fig. 15. Example of core global presentation's use of line graphs.

As I globalized the core presentation, I searched professional journals in business communication, technical communication, TESOL, and other fields that focus on English as a lingua franca to find discussion of how various global audiences may read graphs and whether they would accept them as credible evidence. I found little guidance. However, the statistician, political science professor, and slide-guru Edward Tufte does make a definitive claim about the universality of charts and graphs in his landmark text, *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information* (1983). In the introduction, Tufte writes: "The design of statistical graphics is a universal matter – like mathematics – and is not tied to the unique features of a particular language" (10). There is reason to believe that Tufte's claim is accurate, since the practice of graphing has mathematical origins, with the universal usage of X and Y axes. In the past three decades, however, there has been little scholarly support or refutation of Tufte's claim, though a substantive recent discussion is to be found in the professional psychology journal *Cognitive Science*. Orly Fuhrman and Lera Boroditsky examine "spatial representations of time" and "particular spatial layouts"

across cultures and conclude that "people automatically access culturally specific spatial representations when making temporal judgments even in nonlinguistic tasks" (1430). Their conclusion tests Tufte's claim of graphical "universality." For a global rhetor, the question is significant: if one uses charts to show change over time, one must account for the different "culturally specific spatial" reading habits of different audiences. Unfortunately for global rhetors, Fuhrman and Boroditsky do not advise ways to create graphs to represent time so that they can be understood by audiences with different reading frames. This was, to be sure, not the purpose of their study, and their research is not invalidated by this omission. It would be fruitful ground, however, for scholars of communication and rhetoric to bring insights like this to bear on persuasive argumentation intended for global audiences. Indeed, it would be worth exploring whether Tufte is right to claim that the "design of statistical graphics is a universal matter" (10).

Second, rhetoric and communication scholars could further develop a practical theory of global rhetoric by working towards a better understanding of how presentations should use verbal and visual elements when addressing both first- and second-language speakers. In the GCS core global presentation, I created the slides to "tell the story" in full, and I anticipated that the oral component of the presentation would discuss the content of the slides and intermittently add anecdotes, examples, etc. I concluded that, if the slides tell the story, then the oral component would be of secondary importance, thus making it easier for lower competency second-language

speakers to follow along.[47] I concede that this method is not perfect. Yet, there is no scholarship suggesting an alternative strategy that might be more effective. In *TESOL Quarterly* and other English-as-a-second-language scholarship, one can find a number of discussions about how to deliver lectures in regards to speaking rate, linguistic cues, etc., but there is very little discussion of how the verbal component of a presentation can and should interact with the visual element in order to best and most clearly communicate to and persuade second-language users. Such scholarship would be highly valuable to business communicators creating presentations to global audiences. Again, there is already a solid foundation of scholarship to build from (though here it is from TESOL journals and not the sciences), and scholars have a "head start" in this more practical line of inquiry.

Third, it would be worth exploring which visual layouts – the composition of all elements within a frame – are most appropriate for global audiences. Such insight would enable rhetors to manipulate these layouts for persuasive effect. Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images* provides a superb background for understanding the visual conventions of English-language audiences in the West, but it does little for the rest of the world. This question, perhaps, may be best answered by scholars in Contrastive Rhetoric. Contrastive Rhetoric is firmly rooted and well-practiced in the art of comparing the texts of one culture to those of another, and a series of analyses that compared the visual grammars of many different cultures could yield important insights to guide the practicing global rhetor in creating a broadly persuasive layout.

[47] In making this claim, I am assuming that second-language auditors would find it easier to follow the visual and written component of the speech than the verbal. Both scholarly literature and personal experience as a second-language instructor support this assumption.

As Contrastive Rhetoric struggles to redefine itself and find institutional footing, it should look, perhaps, at discovering a global visual grammar. One could imagine how such knowledge would prove valuable not only to business communicators, but also advertisers, web designers, scientists, and others.

In this chapter, I have aimed to create an illustrative case study that can supplement both the traditional body of cross-cultural communication scholarship and the theory of global rhetoric presented in the previous chapters. My aim has been to offer practicing business communicators a strategy for addressing global audiences and to begin to fill the gap in current scholarship. As the global audience emerges as the norm for business communicators, the best path forward, I argue, is not to catalogue national differences or to imagine how high cultural theory can shape everyday communication. Instead, we should study rhetorical techniques that maintain their persuasive potential as they travel the globe and reach broad, diverse, and dispersed audiences. More and more, professionals are ready to fill the role of global auditor, and the successful rhetor will address them as such by using global rhetorical strategies. This rhetorical skill, I argue, is critical in today's workplace, and it is one that teachers of writing should bring to their classrooms. In the following chapter, I outline how a theory of global rhetoric can inform a professional writing course that trains students to enter the workplace ready to be global rhetors.

Chapter 6: Teaching Global Rhetoric: Training Professional Writing Students to Be Global Rhetors

Introduction

Thus far, this dissertation has offered four case studies: three that illustrate exemplary, illustrative global rhetorical texts, and one that details how a professional multimodal presentation was revised to better persuade global audiences. In each case study, I have framed the global audience as one that, despite their cultural, national, linguistic, and/or geographic differences, can be aligned to a particular thesis through a strategic set of rhetorical tactics and set of appeals.[48] The purpose of these case studies has been to build out both a theoretical understanding of and a practical application for a theory of global rhetoric. Yet a critical question remains to be asked: How can we train writing students to become effective global rhetors?

If we, as teachers of writing, are committed to preparing our students for future success, we must find new answers to this pressing question. Evidence from the business sector indicates that American-educated professionals are failing to become successful global rhetors, and we must recognize that their failure is, at least in part, the consequence of inadequate academic training. At many American universities today, despite the global student population, the majority of students – even second-language and other international students – graduate with little or no experience designing arguments to persuade audiences of diverse linguistic and

[48] As I discuss in Chapter One, I define the global audience as a geographically and/or temporally dispersed "particular audience." I use the term "particular audience" following the terminology and theory of Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca's *The New Rhetoric* (1969).

cultural backgrounds.[49] With inadequate training in cross-cultural communication and global rhetoric, students-turned-professionals struggle to succeed in multicultural, multilingual business environments. Meta-analyses of professional international placements tell the story. Consider, for example, the number of American businesspeople for whom international assignments – often seen by employers as opportunities to advancement – become professional stumbling blocks. In the late 1990s, J. Stewart Black and Hal Gergerson, writing for *Harvard Business Review*, claimed that "between 10 and 20 percent of all U.S. managers sent abroad returned early because of job dissatisfaction or difficulties in adjusting to a foreign country" (53). Over the next ten years, as international placements increased, the percentage of expatriated business professionals who returned home early kept pace. Some studies now place the failure rate of U.S. expatriate assignments as high as 50 percent (Hemmasi 983, Eschbach 270). A few even suggest the figure might be closer to 70 percent (Yeaton 75).

The costs of inadequate training in cross-cultural communication and global rhetoric are multi-faceted and high. For businesses, which now invest on average $1 million per person per international assignment, there are staggering financial losses when employees fail to thrive in global settings (McNulty 69). More importantly, for this project, are the personal and professional costs to students-turned-employees who

[49] One could object that while first-language students do not face global rhetorical situations, second-language students – both domestic and international – encounter global rhetorical situations throughout their daily lives on American college campuses. There is merit to this claim, but it is not quite accurate. For the most part – with obvious and important exceptions – the audiences that second-language students address while at an American university will be American. And second-language students are mostly expected to conform to American rhetorical norms while they live and study in the United States.

are ill-prepared to succeed in multinational environments. A mythos, captured in the title of Joyce Sautters Osland's 1995 book *The Adventure of Working Abroad: Hero Tales from the Global Frontier,* surrounds international travel and work. Employees who accept international posts expect that time spent abroad will be both personally and professionally transformative. Through the experience, they expect to learn about another culture, to acquire stronger interpersonal and communication skills, and to obtain career advancement upon their return (Hemmasi 987). Yet, a large number of American-educated professionals find the experience of communicating and cooperating across cultural boundaries to be more overwhelming than enriching. As Mark C. Bolino explains, many American professionals sent abroad are "extremely disappointed and frustrated when they come back" (820). For those who are unable to complete their assignments abroad, future promotion becomes "very unlikely" (824). Not all of our students, of course, will live or work abroad. But professional workplaces in the United States – much like American universities – are also becoming global microcosms. Professionals who cannot navigate the cultural, linguistic, and rhetorical complexities of twenty-first-century workplaces – whether in the U.S. or abroad – are finding limited potential for advancement. This state of affairs makes it incumbent upon teachers of professional writing to design writing courses that replicate multicultural, multinational workplaces in order to help our students achieve long-term professional success.

Therefore, in the final chapter of this dissertation, I draw upon the four case studies of Tolstoy, Bourne, and Aung San as well as my professional experience as a global rhetor to outline a professional writing course based on global rhetorical

theory. The course I propose – *Professional Global Rhetoric* – leverages the diversity of American universities to replicate inside the classroom the global rhetorical situations that have become the norm in today's workplaces. These workplaces, it is important to note, do not need to be multinational to benefit from a global rhetorical approach to communication. Much like the writing classroom, professional settings bring together a mix of people with different linguistic, rhetorical, and cultural perspectives.[50] Global rhetoric, as I define it in Chapter One, is the practice of constructing arguments to maintain persuasive potential for audiences beyond the rhetor's immediate location and time. In the contemporary professional setting, the term "immediate" takes a more conceptual meaning: even in a workplace where employees may be from the same geographical location, they will still often have a diverse range of communications norms and preferences. Rhetoric and composition scholars have been discussing these issues of communicative norms and preferences as they apply to race, class, gender, and sexuality for decades. Yet what a theory of global rhetoric draws our attention to is not that different cultures and communities have conflicting perspectives and practices, but how a rhetor can construct an argument to penetrate – or perhaps even transcend – these differences. In other words, *Professional Global Rhetoric* focuses on the solutions for multi- and cross-cultural professional communication, and it frames this discussion within a theory global rhetoric.

[50] Here it is useful to recall the discussion in Chapter Five regarding DeVoss, Jasken, and Hayden's claim that all business communication – even that between two people of the same nationality – is taking place on a continuum of intra- and inter-cultural communication. Thus, even settings that may seem monocultural are, in fact, multicultural, even if all interlocutors live in – and originate from – the same geographic area.

To replicate these complex professional settings within the classroom, *Professional Global Rhetoric* strategically integrates first-language (L1) and second-language (L2) writing students into the same classroom. The course creates a linguistically and culturally dynamic space in which both sets of students can experiment with and hone their global rhetorical skills.[51] Such integration, as I discuss in detail throughout this chapter, provides distinct advantages for both L1 and L2 students, as it helps to prepare them to succeed in the multinational, multilingual twenty-first-century workplace. Furthermore, the course also offers an alternative to the kinds of "Business English" courses that anchor a multi-million dollar global industry of English-as-a-second-language instruction. These Business English

[51] It is important to acknowledge upfront that the "L1" and "L2" classification scheme, while the most widely adopted, remains contested. Scholars have long complained that these two terms reduce a wealth of diversity into two overly neat categories. I agree that we need to create a larger, more specific vocabulary to refer to students' linguistic backgrounds and to enrich our understanding of student diversity. Developing this vocabulary should remain a goal for composition scholarship. However, such a goal exceeds the scope of my work here, which is to draft a blueprint for a course in global rhetoric. Thus, I continue to use the imperfect terms "L1" and "L2" because they remain the clearest way to signify different types of learning backgrounds and needs. To try to compensate for the generalizing effects of these terms, however, I expand the definitional domain of "L1." The term needs to account for the oft-neglected diversity of L1 speakers. In the U.S. and in a number of countries throughout the world, there are significant numbers of *ambilingual* English speakers: those who speak English as a "first language" and also have other "first languages." Many English speakers in India, Nigeria, and the Philippines, to name only a few examples, as well as many people born into linguistic minority communities in the U.S. speak English as a primary language, but not as their only primary language. In this discussion, therefore, I use "L1" to refer to three types of students: those who only speak English, those who learned English as a first language and later acquired additional languages, and ambilinguals who learned English and an additional language from a very early age. I use "L2," on the other hand, to refer to students who learned English as a second or foreign language at a later stage in life. Like "L1," however, "L2" can and will refer to a vast diversity of students: those who are studying abroad in the U.S., those who at some point in their lives immigrated to the U.S., and those who were born in the U.S. into linguistic minority communities.

courses, often offered at for-profit schools with little rigorous academic oversight, vary widely in quality but tend to align on their goals: preparing students for standardized tests such as the Cambridge Business English Certificate. From five years of personal experience teaching in these sorts of schools throughout Southeast Asia and South America, I have observed that these "test prep" courses and the texts that they teach from take a very narrow view of linguistic competency and pay no attention to rhetorical strategies. *Professional Global Rhetoric* would offer a distinct, complementary approach to what L2 students may have learned in these Business English courses.

Professional Global Rhetoric could be offered at either the undergraduate or the graduate level. To anchor my discussion in an actionable, implementable strategy, I outline how the course could be launched at the University of Maryland within the Professional Writing Program. I choose to focus my discussion on the University of Maryland – rather than offer a generic outline of how the course could be launched at any number of universities – in order to show, in detail, how the course can be flexible enough to fit within pre-established pedagogies and administrative systems. I do not want to suggest that *Professional Global Rhetoric* is either more or less needed at Maryland than at other American colleges and universities – though Maryland does have a history of early and continued international campuses and teaching – but I do think that by locating my discussion within the context of one university, this chapter can go beyond general guidelines and towards specific strategies. Furthermore, these strategies should offer guidance for professional writing instructors and Writing Program Administrators interested in launching a similar course at their universities.

Specifically, I propose that *Professional Global Rhetoric* could be housed within the University of Maryland's Professional Writing Program, an upper-level undergraduate program that aims to teach professional (rather than academic) communication skills and strategies.

In this chapter, my discussion of *Professional Global Rhetoric* is divided into three main sections. First, I overview the exigence for implementing *Professional Global Rhetoric* and outline the pedagogical advantages of the course, focusing in particular on how the course will benefit both L1 and L2 students. Second, I briefly situate *Professional Global Rhetoric* as well as the approach that I take in this chapter of integrating pedagogical theory and practical tools within the broader body of composition studies scholarship. Finally, I present ready-to-use classroom materials – in the form of five theoretically situated writing assignments – for instructors interested in teaching *Professional Global Rhetoric.* The assignments, which conclude the chapter and the dissertation, are designed both to help students think strategically about how to make arguments for global audiences and to provide them with a set of "practical" rhetorical tactics for professional business settings. Each writing assignment is shaped by this dissertation's theory of global rhetoric, and, taken together, they aim to serve as the kind of concrete, actionable starting points that are often lacking in scholarly discussions of pedagogical issues. At best, these assignment sheets will help instructors to teach *Professional Global Rhetoric* and enable their students to become capable global rhetors.

The Pedagogical Advantages of Professional Global Rhetoric

Professional Global Rhetoric supports the general mission of professional writing education nationally, and it aligns specifically to the University of Maryland's Professional Writing Program. The stated goal of the University of Maryland's Professional Writing Program is to teach "the professional strategies employed in the best workplaces, preparing students to meet their post-graduate needs" ("About PWP"). In order to prepare Maryland's students for "the best workplaces," the Program offers upper-level undergraduate courses designed to familiarize students with "the research, analysis, writing, and language skills" they "will need in their lives beyond the classroom" ("The Professional Writing Program"). The language that concludes this mission statement is key: Professional Writing Program courses do not teach academic writing, but the kinds of writing that students will be expected to perform in their careers. Professional Writing Program courses are designed to complement what students learn in English 101, a required course in academic writing for all first-year students. Like English 101, courses in the Professional Writing Program are required for students from all departments across the university, but students may choose a course within the Program that is relevant to their major. For example, the Professional Writing Program's core offerings include *Science Writing*, *Argumentation/Advanced Composition*, *Legal Writing, Technical Writing, Business Writing*, and *Writing for the Health Professions*. In addition, "special topics" courses are offered intermittently, which include *Writing about the Arts, Writing for Social Entrepreneurship, Writing about Economics, Nonfiction Narrative Writing and Editing*, and a few others. I propose that *Professional Global Rhetoric* should initially

be offered as a "special topics" course. Though I do believe that – given the rapid and irreversible rate at which today's business environment is globalizing – *Professional Global Rhetoric* could and should be a standard core course, I bear in mind the hurdles to implementation within the core curriculum. Additionally, a more gradual method of introduction would create a trial-and-error period for the course, enabling instructors and administrators to troubleshoot and refine prior to broader implementation.

One of the primary goals of *Professional Global Rhetoric* is to create global rhetorical situations inside the classroom that resemble what students will face in their professional lives. While there should not be a standard "quota" of L1 and L2 students, a near-even mix would be ideal. At the University of Maryland – and at colleges and universities across the United States – there is significant potential to create such situations in the classroom. In fact, it would be no overstatement to claim that American universities are global microcosms. In the 2012-2013 academic year, there were a total of 819,644 international students enrolled in American colleges and universities (Desilver 1), enough to populate the country's fifteen largest universities. At the University of Maryland, there are over 4,000 international students from 137 countries currently enrolled, comprising just more than 10 percent of the overall student body ("Welcome"). These numbers, moreover, do not account for the many immigrant or Generation 1.5 students who have diverse language backgrounds but are not classified as "international" by university censuses. Much to its credit, Maryland's Professional Writing Program has already taken important steps towards embracing the linguistic and rhetorical diversity that students bring to the classroom.

Unlike many writing programs across the country, Maryland's Professional Writing Program does not actively encourage L2s to self-segregate and take separate writing courses. In Fall 2014, for example, of the seventeen total Professional Writing courses on offer, only one course (in Technical Writing) was designated specifically for second-language students. It is clear, then, that most L2 students are already integrated with L1 students in the Professional Writing Program. From here, *Professional Global Rhetoric* requires the small but crucial step of creating a course that intentionally balances the mix of L1s and L2s.

An approximate balance of L1 and L2 students in the *Professional Global Rhetoric* classroom will provide overlapping and distinct advantages for both sets of students. For many L1 students, *Professional Global Rhetoric* will offer the only counterpoint to the monolingualism that governs the majority of their university experience, and it will afford them the crucial opportunity to gain much-needed and difficult-to-come-by practice in creating arguments that appeal to audiences from different linguistic and rhetorical backgrounds. *Professional Global Rhetoric* aims to train L1 students to be global rhetors by enabling them to work alongside L2s. The course will create situations in which L1s must craft arguments to persuade L2s and other L1s, as well as situations in which L1s and L2s will collaborate to create globally persuasive arguments.[52] For L1 students, simply analyzing case studies of global rhetoric in a classroom dominated by L1s – and most likely taught by an L1 – will not suffice. One of the most important benefits of *Professional Global Rhetoric* for L1 students will be the actual experience of working with diverse colleagues and

[52] The assignment sheets that conclude this chapter offer detailed discussions of how L1s and L2s will interact and cooperate rhetorically.

of practicing persuasive tactics in a simulated global rhetorical situation. Furthermore, the deliberate, strategic mixing of L1 and L2 students will put the instructor in a position in which he or she can build the course from the explicit premise that all students (and the instructor) are part of a large, complex, multilingual, and multi-rhetorical global society.

While the specific benefits for L1 students are perhaps the most obvious, *Professional Global Rhetoric* is equally committed to improving the global rhetorical training of L2 students. Indeed, there is a growing body of scholarship arguing that monolingual or English-only writing and rhetoric courses fail both L1 and L2 students in many of the same ways. Scholars argue that L1-dominant pedagogies lead instructors to make faulty assumptions about the kinds of rhetorical environments students will encounter and about the rhetorical skills they will need. In fact, scholars have been issuing warnings about the social, cultural, and professional impacts of English-only, monolingual, L1-dominant pedagogies in composition courses since at least the mid-1990s. As early as 1993, Elsa Roberts Auerbach urged the "Reexamining of English Only in the ESL Classroom" on both pedagogical and socio-political grounds. She argued that there were a "range of uses for…native language[s]" in English instruction and, perhaps more importantly, that American institutions' insistence that English was the only appropriate language of instruction reflected "a particular ideological perspective" that "serve[d] to reinforce inequities in the broader social order" (Auerbach 9). Turning from the ESL classroom to "regular" composition classes, Robert E. Land and Catherine Whitely claimed in a path-breaking 1998 article that monolingual pedagogies left L1 American students

struggling to understand – much less to create – arguments that did not conform to their rhetorical preferences. Land and Whitely called for teachers to adopt pedagogies that encouraged all students, both L1 and L2, to study and to use rhetorical practices beyond their own cultural norms. Yet, twelve years later, in 2010, Bruce Horner asserted that "the 'norm'" in college composition courses remains "a monolingual, native-English speaking writer writing only in English to an audience of English-only readers" (1). Horner contends that the vast majority of U.S. composition courses still have a "tacit policy of 'English Only'" – a policy that does not reflect the multilingual, multi-rhetorical nature of twenty-first century classrooms and workplaces (1). Many American composition instructors still perpetuate what A. Suresh Canagarajah calls "monolingual insulation" and, thus, our classrooms continue to fall short of preparing both L1 and L2 students to become "functional postmodern global citizens" (591). While monolingual or English-only pedagogies remain entrenched in U.S. classrooms, there is plentiful evidence – originating in both professional and academic arenas – that L1 and L2 students would benefit from pedagogical approaches informed by the requirements of globalized twenty-first century workplaces.

In order to formulate the kind of multicultural, multilingual pedagogies that would better serve L1 and L2 students, Allen Luke claims that teachers must change the way we think of our classrooms and ourselves. Luke urges professors to conceptualize teaching as "a cosmopolitan form of work" and to create classrooms that position L1 and L2 students first as "world citizens, thinkers, intellectuals, and critics, and within *this* context, as national and community-based subjects" (1430,

italics in original). In what approximates a rallying cry, Luke claims that teachers, many of whom are L1s accustomed to teaching rooms full of other L1s, must lead by example:

> What is needed is nothing short of the reenvisioning of a transcultural and cosmopolitan teacher: a teacher with the capacity to shunt between the local and the global, to explicate and engage with the broad flows of knowledge and information, technologies and populations, artefacts and practices that characterise the present historical moment. What is needed is a new community of teachers that could and would work, communicate, and exchange – physically and virtually – across national and regional boundaries with each other, with educational researchers, teacher educators, curriculum developers, and, indeed, senior educational bureaucrats. What is needed is a teacher whose very stock and trade is to deal educationally with cultural "others," with the kinds of transnational and local diversity that are now a matter of course. (1439)

In other words, Luke argues that L1 composition teachers must model – and their classrooms must reflect – the kind of professional practices that will help L1 and L2 students succeed in workplaces where monolingual isolation is ancient history. Such dynamism, James Paul Gee argues, is particularly important in professional writing classrooms. In his book, *Situated Language and Learning: A Critique of Traditional Schooling* (2004), Gee argues that the business leaders of the future are "shape-shifting portfolio people" (4). They are people who "gain many diverse experiences that they can then use to transform and adapt themselves for fast-changing circumstances throughout their lives" (Gee 4). Luke and Gee envision writing courses that produce versatile, multi-rhetorical, globally-oriented students (both L1 and L2) who bear little resemblance to the inflexible, stubbornly local students that Land and Whitely describe. Building on Canagarajah, Luke, Gee, and others, the *Professional Global Rhetoric* course I propose aims to benefit all students by shifting away from

monolingual pedagogies, moving towards greater cultural and linguistic inclusivity, and better preparing all students to work in dynamic, diverse business environments.

In addition to these benefits that L2s share with their L1 counterparts, there are additional advantages of the *Professional Global Rhetoric* classroom that are particular to L2 students. By basing its pedagogy in global rhetorical theory – thereby democratizing the rhetorical preferences and practices of each student – *Professional Global Rhetoric* creates an environment in which L2s are treated as equal, essential contributors. Following Jay Jordan, I envision the educational opportunities of the linguistically and culturally plural *Professional Global Rhetoric* classroom as operating in multiple directions. In "Second Language Users and Emerging English Designs" (2009), for example, Jordan describes how L1s help L2s by familiarizing them with mainstream idiomatic dialects while L2s help L1s by exposing them to various dialects of emerging World Englishes. In a course that aims to produce rhetorical versatility through global rhetorical theory, both sets of contributions are equally essential. Yet, as Horner, Canagarajah, and others have argued, such classroom environments are all too rare for L2 students in American universities. Most L2 students become accustomed to having their particular linguistic and rhetorical capabilities overlooked or, worse, to being treated as remedial. According to Guadalupe Valdes, monolingual pedagogies cause most U.S. writing instructors to ignore the "complexit[y] of bilingualism per se and in particular the special characteristics of American minority bilingualism" (90) in their quest to produce what Horner describes as college composition's norm: "writing only in English to an audience of English-only readers" (1). Other scholars characterize our current

treatment of L2 students in even less lenient terms. Marla de la Luz Reyes claims that our collective failure to recognize the complexities and potential contributions of L2 students amounts to "educators and policy makers…ignor[ing] differences and…treat[ing] them like deficiencies" (437). As I noted earlier, the University of Maryland's Professional Writing Program has already rejected the established practice of segregating L2 students.[53] *Professional Global Rhetoric* aims to build on this ethos of inclusion by creating a classroom environment in which both L1 and L2 students recognize, interrogate, and experiment with using the full range of rhetorical practices that students bring with them to the classroom. The course I propose offers much-needed training in global rhetorical skills for both L1 and L2 students for whom the global rhetorical situation will be not the exception, but the norm.

Professional Global Rhetoric: Theory in Practice

There is near unanimous agreement among composition scholars that the traditional division of students into "normal" or "ESL" composition classes is no

[53] A broad body of critical literature establishes the negative effects of labeling L2 students and of placing them in separate "remedial," "English-learner," or "ESL" courses. Composition scholars largely agree that the division of composition courses into standard and ESL sections is built upon reductive assumptions that homogenize and alienate students while failing to accommodate – much less nourish and encourage – their unique linguistic and rhetorical resources. While there are numerous scholarly articles delineating the consequences of separate ESL courses and of student labeling, I have found Linda Harklau's and Kerry Enright's work particularly useful. In particular, Harklau's early article, "ESL versus Mainstream Classes: Contrasting L2 Learning Environments" (*TESOL Quarterly* 28.2 [1994]: 241-272) when paired with Enright's more recent piece, "Language and Literacy for a New Mainstream" (*American Educational Research Journal* 48.1 [2010]: 80-118) gives a sense of the evolution of scholarly conversations about the ESL classroom. Together, the articles also reveal the stubbornness of problems relating to resource allocation, cross-cultural communication, and high levels of frustration and academic underperformance by L2 students.

longer best practice. Yet administrative and procedural hurdles have made many writing programs slow to adapt. But even against broader institutional resistance, composition studies scholars are pushing – en masse – for changes that better serve increasingly diverse student populations. As Horner and Canagarajah point out, "English-Only" approaches remain deeply entrenched, but most writing programs and instructors are aiming for greater "internationalization" within courses and across curriculum. Before turning to the sample writing assignments that structure *Professional Global Rhetoric*, I want to briefly situate this course within the broader critical trend that both recognizes the reality and strives to capture the opportunities of the increasingly global college classroom.

Stated broadly, *Professional Global Rhetoric* participates in the "internationalization" movement within composition studies. However, as Christiane Donahue suggests, internationalization has become a "buzzword" in composition studies – a "hot commodity" label that composition scholars and administrators are eager to apply to a wide range of work and initiatives (212). In fact, Donahue claims that internationalization has become so broad a term that scholars must now ask themselves: "Which 'internationalization' are we evoking?" (212). Responding to Donahue's call for terminological precision, I use the term "internationalization" within the context of the *Professional Global Rhetoric* classroom to acknowledge (1) the complexity and multiplicity of English – or, perhaps better, Englishes – and (2) the extraordinary (and often missed) opportunities inherent in the diverse language and rhetorical practices of U.S. university populations.

In recognizing and respecting students' multiple Englishes, languages, and rhetorics, *Professional Global Rhetoric* builds upon scholarly work in the field of business and professional communication as well as composition studies. For example, in designing the course, I follow professional communications scholars Danielle DeVoss, Julia Jasken, and Dawn Hayden in imagining all communication – including composition – as occurring along a continuum of intra- and inter-cultural communication. Bruce Horner articulates a similarly internationalized approach within the field of composition studies. Horner, to quote him at some length, advocates for composition courses in which:

> Multilingualism, rather than monolingualism, is taken as both the historical and the ideal norm. The context of writing and the writing itself are defined as multilingual: not only is the monolingual writer writing only in English to an audience of speakers only of English viewed as an aberration; even in the case of such aberrations, the "English" being written and the English of the audience is understood to be plural – Englishes – and hence even that situation is in a certain sense multilingual. Moreover, even the monolingual writers writing only in English to an audience of speakers only of English are viewed as operating in the context of – both responding to and provoking responses in turn from other languages – including other Englishes and other tongues – and thus themselves engaging in cross-language relations. (2)

For Horner, even the "aberration" of a seemingly intra-"English" exchange is – by virtue of the complexity of our multicultural, multilinguistic world – a cross-cultural, "cross-language" interaction. Horner's solution to helping students navigate the extraordinary complexity of our multicultural world is also one of the foremost goals of *Professional Global Rhetoric*. The course strives to teach students "to work within and among and across a variety of Englishes and languages" (3). To Horner, however, I add the goal of helping students to negotiate not just multiple languages, but also multiple rhetorical practices. In developing the writing assignments that shape

Professional Global Rhetoric, I applied the theoretical work of DeVoss et al, Horner, and others to create a usable course model for instructors interested in transitioning to a more "internationalized" composition classroom.

I also drew heavily on the pioneering work of Paul Kei Matsuda and Tony Silva, who were among the first scholars to attempt to capitalize upon the diversity of U.S. colleges in the composition classroom. As early as 1999, Matsuda and Silva advocated the wider adoption of an optional "cross-cultural composition course," which was then being piloted in Purdue University's writing curriculum (247). The course Matsuda and Silva describe "integrate[d] U.S. and international students" and was "taught by an instructor who is prepared to address the needs of both groups of students" (247). They presented their course as a new solution that disrupted "the binary opposition between 'mainstreaming' and 'segregation' of ESL writers" (Matsuda 246). In order to help other teachers and institutions envision and implement a similar cross-cultural composition course, Matsuda and Silva provide guidance on student placement procedures, writing projects, and classroom activities. The work of Matsuda and Silva is foundational in the field of cross-cultural writing pedagogy, and many of their ideas – especially about the benefits for L2 students – informed how I have theorized and developed *Professional Global Rhetoric*. Yet, despite their wide-ranging publications and their stature in the field, Matsuda's and Silva's experimentation with a course that intentionally combines L1s and L2s for the mutual benefit of both student populations stands largely alone fifteen years later.[54]

[54] In fact, Silva is now the Director of the ESL Writing Program at Purdue, which continues to offer "First Year Composition for International Students"; students, that is, who are "nonnative English speaking undergraduate students who might be

Professional Global Rhetoric seeks to address two important shortcomings in Matsuda's and Silva's course, which could explain, in part, why the course has not been more widely implemented. Perhaps, most importantly, Matsuda and Silva give very limited attention to how L2 students can learn from each other and how they can teach L1 students. For Matsuda and Silva, the cross-cultural composition course is foremost a remedy to a problem experienced by L2 students – specifically, the rigid choice L2 students often face between mainstreaming and forced- or self-segregation in the composition classroom. Matsuda's and Silva's cross-cultural composition course was designed, primarily, to create opportunities for L2 students "to work with [L1] writers" and to prepare L2s for "the challenge of working – and in some cases competing – with their [L1] peers" (249). For Matsuda and Silva, the paramount benefit of the course is for L2 students to learn from and to better understand the language practices of L1 writers. While they do claim that the cross-cultural classroom will help prepare students "for an increasingly internationalized world" (246), they do not discuss in any depth how the diversity of L2 students' linguistic and rhetorical backgrounds could be transformed into assets for all students – both L1 and L2. Additionally, aside from this brief reference to an "internationalized world," Matsuda and Silva do not connect the unique educational opportunities of a cross-cultural composition course to the global rhetorical situations that students will encounter in the twenty-first century workplace. Conversely, one of the most important features of *Professional Global Rhetoric* is the connection between its

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disadvantaged in…the mainstream writing course" ("First Year Composition"). It should also be noted, however, that in 2012-2013 Purdue University had 4,974 international undergraduate students – second-most among all universities in the United States ("Purdue's International Student Population").

pedagogy and the demands of the globalized business sector outside the classroom. *Professional Global Rhetoric* builds on Matsuda's and Silva's work, but it also seeks to make a more compelling case for broader implementation. *Professional Global Rhetoric* emphasizes the assets that both L1 and L2 students bring to the classroom, and it recognizes the strong connection between developing global rhetorical proficiency and future professional success.

In the sample writing assignments that follow, the diversity of students' linguistic and rhetorical practices is treated as an indispensable asset, as part of the very foundation of the preparation that students will need in the globalized professional workplace. Though each assignment focuses primarily on one of the global rhetorical strategies identified in the preceding chapters of this dissertation, the assignments are designed to work together to help students explore the individual, rhetorical traditions of both L1 and L2 students in the context of global rhetorical theory. The assignments encourage students to recognize that arguments can be constructed to appeal to audiences of different linguistic and rhetorical traditions, and, most importantly, they aim to help students build the confidence and rhetorical versatility necessary to create globally persuasive arguments. For each assignment, as the assignment sheets detail, the students will work very closely with a peer editor who will be chosen by the instructor at random. If the course has an even or near-even mix of L1s and L2s, most students will, by chance, be paired with a student with different linguistic and rhetorical background. Yet, to ensure that students will benefit from a cross-linguistic encounter in each assignment, I have built in substantial pre-writing and invention exercises in which students will work in groups of four. With

this larger group, students will encounter – and be forced to negotiate – a greater range of perspectives and ideas about his or her work.

I present the following writing assignments in the form of student-facing assignment sheets – as documents that instructors can print-and-use to run a *Professional Global Rhetoric* course. By offering the assignments in this way, I aim to bridge the gap that exists between theory and practice – and between scholarship and the classroom. Academic journals devoted to college composition – for example, *College Composition and Communication* and *TESOL Quarterly* – regularly feature articles aimed at helping instructors develop better writing assignments. Some articles, like Richard Leahy's "Conducting Writing Assignments" (2002), divide the writing assignment creation process into stages and provide suggestions for improving communication between teacher and student at each stage. Others, like Helen Throckmorton's "Do Your Writing Assignments Work? – Checklist for a Good Writing Assignment" (1980), extrapolate a list of guidelines for teachers from analysis of sample writing assignments. And, still others, like Thomas M. McCann's "Gateways to Writing Logical Arguments" (2010), take a long-view of the writing assignment, offering advice on preparatory classroom activities ("gateways") that encourage students to understand, become invested in, and succeed at completing composition assignments. These are but three representative examples of hundreds of articles in which teacher-scholars attempt to provide helpful insights for crafting successful writing assignments for the benefit of their peers and new instructors. Yet, these articles rarely offer more than a few insights or helpful hints. In McCann's own words, academic articles offer "some general guidelines…but the process in the end

relies on the teachers' facility with invention, or with finding the situations or stories that become the substance of the problems that students tackle" in their academic writing (37). This approach – offering advice but then directing teachers back to their own "facility" – is not ideal, because many instructors (especially newer ones) turn to scholarly literature for practical guidance. By including a course-length series of sample writing assignments, I aim to give instructors interested in global rhetoric an actionable model for course implementation, even if they are not yet confident in their ability to independently develop effective assignments.

That said, I imagine (and hope) that instructors will modify the assignment sheets to suit their own classrooms and student populations. Specifically, I imagine that some of the theoretical framing, which I now make quite explicit in the assignment sheets, could be removed, either because it will be redundant to classroom discussions or because some student populations will respond better to shorter, less comprehensive assignment sheets.[55] However, I have included detailed, theoretical rationales in each part of each assignment sheet in order to fill another important gap for instructors seeking specific guidance in course creation: the gap between JSTOR and the open-web. As I have already suggested, scholarly articles discuss pedagogical grounding and theoretical guidance, but rarely do they offer fully articulated, ready-to-use classroom materials. Yet, as seen by the proliferation of sample syllabi and

[55] A recent article by Cynthia Quinn, entitled "Communicating Writing Tasks Effectively: Assignment Sheets as Pedagogical Tools" (2013), argues that two-to-three page assignment sheets are often intimidating and off-putting to L2 students. She recommends a more interactive, step-by-step approach for communicating writing expectations to L2 students. It is also worth noting that, as late as 2013, Quinn observes that there is "little guidance" on creating effective writing assignments in L2 pedagogical literature.

writing assignments available online, writing instructors are searching out these types of materials. Purdue University, University of Arizona, Florida State University, York College-CUNY, and Georgia State University – just to name a few – provide publicly available databases of sample composition syllabi and writing assignments. Scores of university professors also post their syllabi and assignments online. At this end of the spectrum, the syllabi and assignment sheets available online often lack any kind of theoretical or pedagogical framing. They are merely ready-to-use examples – examples developed by others whose pedagogical investments and allegiances can only be guessed. The *Professional Global Rhetoric* writing assignments seek to strike a balance. They are designed to be used, but they also strive to be explicit about the pedagogical and rhetorical theories in which they are grounded. By providing the writing assignment sequence, I hope to empower instructors to launch a new course and also to help them develop the confidence to explain how each assignment both furthers students' mastery of global rhetorical principles and prepares them for the globalized twenty-first century workplace.

Finally, I offer a rationale for the sequence of the assignments. Each assignment is designed to introduce, offer practice for, and ultimately test the tactics that will help students develop a "toolbox" of global rhetorical strategies for the professional workplace. The five assignments below are:

Assignment 1: The Argument from Definitional Essence
Assignment 2: The Argument from Shared Values
Assignment 3: Code Meshing for Global Audiences
Assignment 4: Globalizing a Multi-Modal Presentation
Assignment 5: Responding to a Request for Proposals (RFP)

Assignments one and two are designed to focus on rhetorical techniques of global persuasion, while assignments three and four focus more on linguistic elements (though assignment four also asks students to "globalize" sets of visuals). The reason for this structure is simple: in the professional workplace, savvy rhetors will construct arguments and share them with their colleagues before they edit and fine-tune linguistic and visual components. Given the realities of professional workplace editing – many hands working in many opposing directions, multiple drafts of the same document, an endless streams of contradictory wordsmithing – it is the height of inefficiency to labor over editorial issues (issues of language and specifics of images) before getting agreement from "the team" on the basic fundamentals of the argument (the rhetorical structure). The assignment structure below, therefore, is designed to prepare students to think first of a text's rhetorical issues before moving on to questions of style. Finally, the fifth and final assignment is designed to bring all skills together, and students will have to negotiate for themselves how they proceed from invention to style. This rationale is, I believe, a strategic way to proceed with the assignments in this course, but I do not argue that it is exclusively the best way. As other instructors adopt these assignments in the pursuit of helping students become fluent global rhetors, I imagine that other arrangements of the assignments might be tried and proven effective. Like much else in the teaching of global rhetoric, the most important thing is to get the conversation started.

ASSIGNMENT 1: THE ARGUMENT FROM DEFINITIONAL ESSENCE

Length: 4-5 pages, 1200-1500 words
Concept Outline for Peer Workshop: DATE
Draft for Peer Workshop: DATE
Final Draft to Instructor: DATE

Overview

Rhetors the world over often face the same, complex challenge: how to persuade global audiences with a single argument. It's a challenge that rhetors encounter at the highest levels of business, government, and nonprofit: the CEO of Intel delivering a keynote speech at the Consumer Electronics Show on the future of the internet; British Prime Minister David Cameron announcing why the G8 will make the global fight against Alzheimer's a top item on its 2014 agenda; Bill Gates writing his annual letter as the head of the Gates Foundation.

It has also become common for today's business rhetor to face the challenge of persuading global audiences. Indeed, it would be hard to find many businesses today that are not globally connected. Certainly no *Fortune 500* company could deny the global makeup of its staff, clients, vendors, or customers. And even if a business doesn't seem to be global, it is sure to have employees who – even if from the same city – have different linguistic and rhetorical perspectives.

As we have discussed in this course thus far – and as we will continue to explore throughout this semester – there are a host of rhetorical strategies at your disposal that enable you to create persuasive arguments for global audiences. In this assignment, you will write a paper that builds upon one particular technique: "the argument from definitional essence." As our course readings should suggest, this argumentative technique contains unique persuasive potential for global audiences.

As we have discussed, the argument from definitional essence:

- Analyzes how a person or institution behaves.
- Contends that these behaviors both reveal and are determined by its "genus" and that these behaviors, therefore, define each individual manifestation.

If that's confusing, a formulaic expression may help clarify:

- Because X does Y, Y is the essence of X.
- Because X must and can only do Y in order to be an X, Y is the essence of all Xs.

If that doesn't help, perhaps an example will. The following argument is about "sustainable development" by the World Bank. For the World Bank, sustainable development is one of the key criteria that a nation must meet in order to secure a

loan. This argument – and the criteria it articulates – is not academic, but a very real matter of dollars and cents. According to the World Bank:

> "Sustainable development recognizes that growth must be both inclusive and environmentally sound to reduce poverty and build shared prosperity for today's population and to continue to meet the needs of future generations. It must be efficient with resources and carefully planned to deliver immediate and long-term benefits for people, plant, and prosperity." ("Sustainable Development Overview")

This is an argument from definitional essence. If you look at the argument closely, you can see how the actions of sustainable development define what sustainable development is. The argument identifies what sustainable development does, and it argues that these actions are genus-level characteristics of all sustainable development, no matter where in the world it is occurring. The argument here, as the World Bank frames it, is specifically and exactly about the definition of "sustainable development." It is not asking that nations *believe* in sustainable development, or that they *value* its application. Their argument is about definitional criteria, as established through actions.

And the implication, of course, is that a development project must do these things – actually do them, not just believe in them – in order to be defined as "sustainable" and qualify to receive funding.

What to Write About

At this point, you're probably wondering: *What am I going to write about?* It's a good question, and it's one you will work through both individually and in small groups. With your group, you will be responsible for analyzing four feature stories from the global media. You may choose from any of the following publications:

- *The Economist* – choose a "feature length" article or cover-story;
- *The New York Times* or *The Wall Street Journal* – any article in the "World" section;
- *The New Yorker* or *The New Republic* – any article focusing on political or economic developments;
- *The Spectator* – choose from the "feature" section of the website.

You must also include at least one example from a non-English or non-Western publication. You may choose a publication that writes first in another language but also translates into English (*Spiegel*, *China Daily*) or one that writes first in English but does so in a non-Western setting to predominantly non-Western readers (*Times of India, Bangkok Post*).

Your task will be to provide an "audit" of the argumentation as it emerges through these publications. Choose four articles in total, and be sure that this selection includes both definitional and circumstantial argumentation. Then, with your group, you will prepare a ten-minute presentation overviewing what you found. You will

present to the class, answering: Which mode of argument prevails in the articles you selected: circumstance or definition? Are these two modes used to complement one another? What sorts of topics are covered through each mode?

Be sure to provide specific textual examples that support your analysis.

As you present – and as you watch other groups present – you should get a number of ideas that could help you develop your own topic for the first assignment.

Your Global Rhetorical Situation: Audience and Purpose

This course is focused on professional global writing – on the kinds of writing that you will be asked to perform in the workplace of the twenty-first century. As you think about what topics may or may not be good to write about, you should think about where, how, and why this argument would be justified in a "real life" global setting.

One important guideline is to think about *exigence* – or the purpose of your essay. People are busy; memos are plentiful; emails are relentless; reading in a second-language can be a headache. Why then, with so many words and so little time, would anyone read your argument? Part of this assignment is identifying a plausible, contextually sensible, exigent global rhetorical situation. This is the first step to succeeding with this assignment – and it is the foundation of all good professional writing.

How to Proceed

This assignment will consist of three different stages:

1. **Concept Outline**: Peer Workshop (groups of four; assigned by instructor)
   What you need to bring to class:
   - Summary of your argument
   - Description of your rhetorical situation, including audience and purpose
   - Four copies printed to share
2. **Rough Draft**: Peer Workshop (same groups as Concept Outline Workshop)
   What you need to bring to class:
   - Full draft, including:
     - Audience analysis: one paragraph on who will read this and in what medium
     - Situational analysis: two paragraph overview on the debate that your argument is entering; brief assessment of how an argument from definitional essence will contribute to the debate
3. **Final Draft**: Due to instructor, including audience and situational analyses

Peer Workshops

In the Peer Workshops, you will work in groups of four to "peer edit" each other's papers. Done wrong, peer editing workshops are a terrific waste of time. Done right, peer editing workshops can be one of the most valuable components of this course.

Not only do you get helpful, constructive feedback from your peers, but you get the opportunity to develop as a "reader" and a constructive critic – two skills that will serve you very well in developing your own writing and in your professional life. Only rarely do documents, papers, presentations, etc. get created in the workplace without the *help* of many hands and many more drafts.

That said, it's important to approach the peer workshop with the right mindset. Here are a few guidelines:

- **Be a thought-partner:** You are being asked to be a "thought-partner," not a grader.
- **Macro, not micro:** Comments on the "micro" issues of the paper are less helpful than the "macro" issues: *I think you're missing a comma here* won't help your partners as much as *I think you're missing an opportunity to build your exigence*; or *I'm not sure this particular action reveals the essence of the genus, because…*
- **Difference of perspective:** Your rhetorical background and skills will be different than your peers: how might you work together to think about how certain argumentative strategies are or are not working? And how can they be revised to be more persuasive?
- **Share your ideas:** Keep in mind that you are only one reader: what may "work" for you may or may not for someone else. It's worth having a conversation with your group about whether certain argumentative techniques are reaching their desired goal.

In the professional workplace – with its messy complexity of different needs, languages, preferences, authoritative structures, and time-constraints – the best written documents are those that offer clear, clean, widely persuasive arguments. You have been put into groups of four so that each reader can weigh in and offer advice.

If different peer editors have different ideas and suggestions, that's not a problem. That's a reality of the rhetorical situations you are bound to face. Your job as a writer – and an editor – is to balance these viewpoints and produce a document that meets reader expectations while also recognizing that, as President John F. Kennedy famously said, "You can't please all the people all the time."

If it sounds hard, it is. And it won't get any easier, especially when your seven bosses give you seven contradictory directives for a writing assignment. Learning to balance, mesh, and push on is key.

Your peer editing groups will be chosen by your instructor at random. Names will be drawn from a hat.

How You Will Be Graded

Peer Editing: 25%. Each of the other three people in your group will grade you on your editing feedback, and you will also grade yourself. These four grades will be averaged.

Final Paper: 75%. The audience analysis and situational analysis will account for roughly one-third of this grade, and the argument itself will account for the other two-thirds.

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ASSIGNMENT 2:
THE ARGUMENT FROM SHARED VALUES AND BELIEFS

Length: 4-5 pages, 1200 – 1500 words
Concept Outline for Peer Workshop: DATE
Draft for Peer Workshop: DATE
Final Draft for Instructor: DATE

Overview

In the previous assignment, you wrote an argument deploying "the argument from definitional essence" in order to persuade global audiences about the inherent nature of a thing. The goal, ultimately, was to show that the "essence" of an idea, person, or institution was determined at the "genus level." In a global rhetorical situation, this argumentative technique gains its persuasive potential by arguing that natures and essences endure across borders and do not change from one place to the next. For the professional business communicator, it's a handy tool to have in reserve.

In this assignment, we will strive for the same goal – to create a globally persuasive argument – but through a very different kind of rhetorical tactic. For this paper, you will construct an argument that employs shared values in order to align different audiences that might otherwise disagree or fail to unite because of other conflicting values they may hold.

For the professional business communicator, this rhetorical strategy can be very useful. More and more, public and private organizations are recognizing that their operations influence a group of "stakeholders" – a vast, global network of people who care about and are invested in the future of a product, an idea, a company, etc. And "aligning stakeholders" has become a common – if tricky – goal for organizations of all shapes and sizes.

The successful rhetor will identify a shared value – or a set of shared values – and build arguments that highlight this value (or these values) while minimizing the importance of other, non-shared values.

The Example of Google Glass

Google Glass offers an illustrative example of how an argument can be made to unite diverse stakeholders through a shared value. Google is, of course, one of the world's most admired (and profitable) organizations. Google has an extraordinary reputation,

and it enjoys a kind of cult-like fanfare unrivaled even by its trendiest Silicon Valley rivals.

Then came Google Glass – and its hordes of "glassholes." Glass was widely repudiated, and all sorts of arguments – about privacy, copyright law, social etiquette, etc. – began to tarnish the once-untouchable organization. Shockingly, the mighty Google was besieged.

So Google pivoted. It switched its argument: Glass was no longer a cool new toy for techies, but a unique product for specific purposes. One example – and one that is most illuminating to our present purposes – is when Google reached out to the Alzheimer's disease community to explore how Glass could act as a memory support system for those in the early stages of the disease.

The first step in this journey was to unite Alzheimer's stakeholders around a vision for how Glass could help those affected by Alzheimer's. In the Alzheimer's disease area, the stakeholders are many: patients, families, caregivers, doctors, scientists, policymakers, insurance providers, pharmaceutical organizations, financial advisors, long-term care providers, and more. As one can very easily imagine, these stakeholders are not aligned on any number of issues.

Perhaps the most obvious example would be the disagreement between a pharmaceutical company and an insurance company about the price-point for a potential Alzheimer's medication. Another example would be the disagreement between scientists and policymakers about the requirements for running clinical trials. Another would be how patients and physicians disagree about a patient's levels of competency, such as the ability to drive, work, etc.

In this complex stakeholder environment, Google built an argument around the Alzheimer's specific application of Glass by identifying a value that all stakeholders could agree on. The argument established a single value as the "ultimate" or "higher order" value that all others, however implicitly, ranked beneath.

This value was *increased independence* for the Alzheimer's patient. For all stakeholders, greater and longer independence is a top-tier goal. It saves all stakeholders money and time. Google, therefore, began to position Glass as an enabler of independence. And, furthermore, Google suggested that Glass become a platform upon which these various stakeholders could collaborate.

To see one specific example of how this argument was articulated, read the following blog by a preeminent Alzheimer's advocate: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/george-vradenburg/alzheimers-google-glass-as-brain-prosthetic_b_4637488.html.

As you, the rhetor, seek to unite stakeholders based on a shared value, you should consider three different levels upon which this mode of argumentation can work. Below, each level is detailed for your reference; these examples are not "real life"

quotes from Google or Glass advocates. They are sample illustrations that have extrapolated from the Glass example, designed to help you think through how shared values can be used to "unite stakeholders":

Uniting the audience: Rhetors can argue through shared values and beliefs in order to unite audiences – or coalesce them into a whole. Imagine a Google Glass representative presenting the following claim to a cross-sector Alzheimer's audience:

> The costs of caring for those with Alzheimer's will devastate individuals, families, and nations. Until there is a "cure" for this awful disease, we must strive to create practical solutions that can be implemented in a short timeframe in order to reduce caregiving costs.

The values – not going bankrupt, finding short-term relief, providing continuing care – are assumed to be shared by most or all stakeholders.

Uniting audience and rhetor: Rhetors can also argue through shared values and beliefs to both unite the audience and align it to the rhetor herself. In the following example, consider how the Glass spokesperson establishes that "caregiving" is a critical issue not only for families and insurance companies, but also for public sector businesses:

> When you're caring for someone with Alzheimer's, it's not just the costs that are overwhelming – but also the time. Most Alzheimer's caregivers have no choice but to withdraw from the workforce prematurely. This not only strains family finances and public entitlements, but it robs businesses of their talent. I know that we have lost some of our best people to caregiving obligations.

Caregiving may seem like something that only certain stakeholders should care about, but the rhetor here is showing that it's a consequence with a farther reach than commonly believed. Consequently, new connections are made between disparate audiences.

Uniting audience, rhetor, and subject: In some rhetorical situations, the rhetor can deploy shared values and beliefs to unite not only the diverse audience together and alongside the rhetor, but also to the subject under consideration in the argument. This technique is most obviously useful when the argument's subject matter is a group of people. To use this kind of argument, a Google Glass representative might say to his Alzheimer's audience:

> Until we have a cure, the most important goal is to give people who suffer from Alzheimer's greater levels of independence. More independence will save public and private spending on long-term care. It will relieve the burdens that caregivers face. And, perhaps most importantly, it gives patients more freedom and happiness.

Google Glass is, of course, only one example of many in which professional business rhetors try to unite stakeholders around shared values and beliefs.

Can you think of any others?

Brainstorming Activity

Unfortunately, there is no shortage of civil and international conflicts underway in the world today. And as political and military leaders ramp up tensions, others argue for resolution. This latter group of rhetors, in almost all situations, will not try to resolve every point of disagreement between opposing sides. Most likely, these rhetors will identify an "ultimate" or "higher order" value that trumps the other values that are the points of conflict or disagreement.

With a partner – the same one who will be your peer editor for this assignment – you are to choose a geopolitical conflict and analyze how the value argumentation works. Specifically, locate a situation that seems to be "stuck" or mired in seemingly incompatible visions for resolution. Then, search for arguments that use "higher order" values to suggest where different stakeholders can find points of agreement.

For this assignment, you will need to find two separate arguments that outline a course of resolution by appealing to a value or a set of values. With your partner, you will analyze how these arguments are working by ranking the values: Which value is posited as the ultimate, overriding value – the one to which others should fall in service? How is that value framed in order to be seen as ultimately desirable for all stakeholders involved?

You may choose any number of texts for this assignment: speeches, op-eds, editorials, open letters, excerpts from books, etc.

You will give a short, informal presentation to the class on what you find. Be prepared to share the specific parts of the argument that helped you shape your assessment of the values-based argument.

The Assignment

For this essay, you will write an argument – in the form of an open letter – advocating for a course of action that the University of Maryland administration should take in order to benefit the student population. There are, of course, many ongoing points of contention between the administration and the student body, and you may either choose one of these, or you can invent a new issue that, feasibly, would serve student interests but also receive pushback from the university's decision-makers.

Your open letter should be written with the goal of appearing in a major news publication with an interest in UMD, like the *Washington Post, The Baltimore Sun*, or even Annapolis's *Capital Gazette.*

Your audience, therefore, will be large and diverse. On one hand, you will address university stakeholders at large – including students, faculty, staff, alumni, and other supporters. It is no exaggeration to call the University of Maryland a global microcosm, as its students, faculty, and staff come from all corners of the world. On the other hand, you will address Maryland and DC residents who, to varying extents, have some investment in the future and success of the university. You will also be addressing an audience who doesn't really care about UMD, but might become invested after reading your argument.

As you think about aligning stakeholders through an argument about values, consider:

Your audience. Whether they are affiliated with the University or simply residing in this very diverse region, they will have all different kinds of linguistic and rhetorical backgrounds, socio-economic privileges, sets of interest, goals for the university, etc. They may even be predisposed to agree with the administration over the student body. You will need to use values to get them on your side.

The student body. You will be writing to represent the student body as a whole – and attempting to coalesce them into one. This is no easy task, as UMD students can be (and often are) divided on many issues, including: the importance of Greek life, the selection criteria of who qualifies for on-campus housing, the allocation of tuition and fees, the usefulness of graduate student teachers, etc. Your job as the rhetor is to unite the students together through a value that transcends these other points of disagreement.

If the rhetorical situation feels artificial, it shouldn't: Just think about the rhetorical situation President Loh faced recently as he decided that the University of Maryland would leave the ACC and join the Big-10.

How to Proceed

This assignment will consist of three different stages:

1. **Peer editing rough drafts**: You will partner with one other student for peer editing. Like last time, your partner will be chosen by your instructor at random. We will devote one full class period to peer editing. You will need to bring:
    - Full draft, either printed or on a laptop.
    - Two- or three-paragraph situational analysis, answering:
        - What is the context for your argument? Summarize the debate to date as objectively as possible.
        - Who are the stakeholders? What are the various viewpoints to consider? What outcomes do different audiences want?
        - What is at issue? What are the one or two or three sticking points that have different sides at loggerheads?
    - Audience analysis: Segment your audience as you see fit, and briefly capture what you think their attitude toward your topic to be. Sketch out their interests in how it should be resolved. There

are numerous ways to segment the audience, and the right way will depend upon your issue. For President Loh's Big 10 announcement, as an example, there are several ways he could have segmented his audience. On one hand, he could have thought of his audience in terms of athletics: those loyal to the ACC, those tired of mediocre teams, those ready to leave the ACC (tired of playing third-wheel to UNC and Duke), etc. On another hand, he could have imagined his audience in financial terms. If the Big 10 move was designed to generate greater revenue, the financial relationships of his audiences to the university would matter very much indeed: those who pay money to the university; those who get paid by the university; those who support the university through merchandise, ticket sales, TV-viewership; those who contract with the university to broadcast games; those who contract to the university to provide uniforms, etc.

2. **Final Draft**: Due to your instructor, with situational and audience analyses.

Before the peer editing session, we will devote 30 minutes of class to a small-group brainstorm. You and your peer editor will partner with another pair and work as a small group. As a group, you will discuss early ideas of what you'll write about, what debate you will enter, etc. This will give you the opportunity to get feedback on your proposed idea and also to hear how others are conceiving their projects, which should also help you to shape yours.

How You Will Be Graded

Peer Editing: 20%. Your partner will grade you on your editing feedback, and you will grade yourself. The two grades will be averaged.
Final Paper: 80%. The situational and audience analyses will account for roughly one-quarter of this grade, and the argument itself will be the other 75%.

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ASSIGNMENT 3: CODE MESHING FOR GLOBAL AUDIENCES

Length: 3-4 pages, 1000-1200 words
Draft for Peer Workshop: DATE
Final Draft for Instructor: DATE

Overview

In the previous two assignments, you have experimented with rhetorical techniques that can help you persuade global audiences. Both "the argument from definitional essence" and "the argument from shared values and beliefs" are rhetorical tactics that give professional business communicators choices when seeking to persuade global audiences.

To meet the goal of this course – to prepare you for the kinds of writing you will do as a professional global rhetor – we need to now focus on practicing a different component of writing and persuasion. It's time to move away from *rhetorical* techniques to focus on *linguistic* strategies.

Linguistic choices, of course, have rhetorical consequence, so this two-part division is a bit simplistic. Nevertheless, it should prove useful to help you think about the potential modes of persuasion that are available to you in global rhetorical situations.

To get started, it may help to put yourself in the shoes of a writing teacher and consider how you would answer these two tough questions:

- How can students become successful rhetors without adopting a "standard" dialect that feels phony and unconnected to their unique linguistic background?
- How can students structure arguments to both satisfy their rhetorical preferences and meet audience expectations?

While these two questions address separate issues, the goal is ultimately the same: to respect, draw from, and preserve students' linguistic and rhetorical backgrounds while also leveraging these backgrounds to create persuasive arguments. Though teachers of writing have been struggling to answer these questions for decades, new global dynamics have added layers of complexity.

Indeed, as ever-more diverse students bring an ever-richer kaleidoscope of dialects, languages, and rhetorical traditions into the classroom, writing teachers – and the university at large – must find ways to harness this richness.

That's not easy.

Code Meshing: A Tool for the Multilingual Writer

For your third paper, you're going to experiment with *code meshing* – a writing strategy that has been causing plenty of controversy among scholars and teachers of writing.

Some claim it's a powerful solution that enables students to maintain their individual voice and cultural traditions. Others think it's an ineffective, counterproductive gimmick that does nothing to help students for real-world writing demands.

Who's right? You, the writing student, should answer that question for yourself. And you should discuss with your classmates to see what they think.

As we have discussed, *code meshing* is the practice of integrating multiple languages or dialects into a single text. According to scholars Sara Michael-Luna and A. Suresh Canagarajah, code meshing is a "communicative device used for specific rhetorical and ideological purposes in which a multilingual speaker intentionally integrates local

and academic discourse as a form of resistance, reappropriation, and/or transformation of the academic discourse" (56).

Michael-Luna and Canagarajah contend that code meshing can enable writers to negotiate linguistic and rhetorical expectations while also harnessing their unique linguistic skills and backgrounds. It is, perhaps, an answer to the two questions raised at the beginning of this assignment.

Code meshing is easier to show than explain. Here are two examples of rhetors code meshing:

- Junot Diaz, the Dominican-American novelist, in *This Is How You Lose Her* (2012):
    - "Her father, who used to treat me like his hijo, calls me an asshole on the phone, sounds like he's strangling himself with the cord. You no deserve I speak to you in Spanish, he says. I see one of Magda's girlfriends at the Woodbridge mall – Claribel, the ecuatoriana with the biology degree and the chinta eyes – and she treats me like I ate somebody's kid." (1)
- Geneva Smitherman, writing teacher and scholar, in "Black Language and the Education of Black Children: One Mo Once" (1997):
    - "Long before literary theorists recovered the vernacular tradition in African American literature, Bailey made a case for the linguistic reliability of the black writer's ear and extrapolated language data from literature. It was (and is) an unconventional method in the field of linguistics, but one that can provide authentic representations of black speech data that might otherwise be inaccessible to the researcher (cause Brothas and Sistas don't be wonin to talk into no tape recorders). Making the case for the intellectual boldness and keeping it real, way back in 1965, Bailey put it this way: 'I was compelled to modify the orthodox procedures and even, at times, to adopt completely unorthodox ones.'" (32)

One important point to note, as the Smitherman excerpt should reveal, is that while code meshing is mostly discussed as a tool for multilingual writers, it has potential for *all* writers. The dialect that the university has conventionally demanded from students – what is known as Standard Written English (SWE) – is no one's "native" dialect. It is an artificial construct that prevails only within certain professional discourse communities. Regardless of your background, you have a trove of linguistic practices and characteristics that do not conform to SWE. Code meshing is a tool to unleash their persuasive capacity.

The Assignment

For this essay, you and a partner (who again will be assigned to you at random) will re-write a "mission statement" for an organization. Your task is to make it better – giving it global appeal, but also giving it style and character. As we will see when we examine mission statements in class, they present a unique rhetorical opportunity to

build a persuasive case for an organization while also communicating its character. In other words, it's an opportunity to engage in the kind of "high stakes" writing that demands that certain conventions be abided while also allowing for turns of informality.

But mission statements should do more than simply set out the framework for how an organization will operate and build its strategy. A great mission statement will also distinguish an organization in a crowded marketplace.

The best way to learn what makes a good mission statement is to read good mission statements. Many are boring, some are brilliant, and most fall in between. In the first step of this assignment, you and your partner will search online for mission statements to get a sense of how they look and feel. Drawing from the categories below, the two of you should identify five separate mission statements and prepare to discuss them with two other groups in class. You should choose at least two that you really admire, and one or two that you think are lousy. Be prepared to present the mission statement to others and be ready to validate your opinion of its quality.

Organizations that will have online mission statements include:

- Global businesses
- Non-profit organizations
- Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
- Coalitions (of businesses, non-profits, etc.)
- Educational institutions
- Social organizations

Once you and your partner have discussed your mission statements with two other groups, and once you have seen a handful of others from your classmates, you should be in a good position to identify a mission statement that you wish to rewrite.

Given the nature of this course and the particular skill set that this assignment is designed to help you develop, you will need to choose an organization that is seeking to persuade at least two sets of stakeholders who prefer different styles or standards of language. Or, perhaps, you will find an organization addressing audiences that prefer different languages altogether. How you code mesh to appeal to these distinct communities is essential to the success of this project.

A few other points and questions that may help you get started:

- You are writing your mission statement to appeal to potential stakeholders (employees, partners, investors, customers, etc.). What will they need to hear to become confident in your organization's success?
- The worst mission statements read like laundry lists of corporate platitudes. How can you give your mission statement a *style* to separate it from the dross?
- Given the global nature of your audience, what arguments, appeals, topics, and languages will you need to utilize to be most persuasive?

How to Proceed

Once we have reviewed and presented our mission statements in class, there are two further stages to this assignment:

1. **Peer Editing Rough Draft**: You and your partner will work with another pair to peer edit each other's papers. We will peer edit one day during class. For this session, you will need to bring to class:
    - 400-500 word situational analysis, answering the following questions:
        - Who are the stakeholders you are trying to reach? Of these, who is the most important? How will their values and beliefs align and differ?
        - What are the two most important – and culturally divergent – sets of stakeholders that you want to persuade? How can code meshing help you in this endeavor?
        - Why does this organization exist? What solutions is it aiming to offer?
        - Who are the nearest competitors? What other organizations operate in a similar space? What distinguishes this organization from another?
        - What kind of character do you want to build for this organization? How do you want to present its ethos?
    - Full draft, either printed or on a laptop.
2. **Final Draft**: Due to your instructor, with situational analysis.

As we talked about before, peer editing workshops can be one of the greatest developmental and educational opportunities in this course, or they can be a waste of time. The outcome is fully up to you. A couple things to bear in mind:

- **Think big:** Think first about the big things, not rogue commas or grammatical mishaps.
- **What's the situation?** Help your partner develop a sense of his or her situation; the success of the situational analysis will in large part determine the success of the paper. Has the writer found a mission statement that would bring together linguistically distinct audiences to read the text?
- **Code meshing opportunities:** Help your partner think through the opportunities – both good and bad – for code meshing; and assess whether their mission statement employs code meshing as an effective persuasive tool.

A previous assignment sheet (on "the argument from definitional essence") went through the ins-and-outs of peer editing quite thoroughly. You may find it helpful to re-read it.

How You Will Be Graded

Peer Editing: 20%. The other group that you and your partner work with will grade you on your editing feedback, and you and your partner will grade yourselves. The two grades will be averaged.
Final Paper: 80%. The situational analysis will account for roughly one-quarter of this grade, and the argument itself will be the other 75%.

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ASSIGNMENT 4:
GLOBALIZING A MULTI-MODAL PRESENTATION

Length: 15-25 slides; including 4-5 page editing narrative
Proposal Due to Instructor: DATE
Presentation to Class: DATE

Overview
In the professional workplace, you will be asked – and asked, and asked, and asked – to edit other people's work. You, as a professional business communicator, will be an editor just as much as a writer. To succeed, therefore, you need to be both a competent writer and editor.

These two skillsets overlap, but they also differ.

In this next assignment, you will work with a partner to "globalize" a professional presentation. You will edit a presentation to increase its persuasive potential for global audiences.

There are three sets of skills that this assignment is meant to develop and challenge:

- **Editing** – revising English into an "international style" and even code meshing, as appropriate;
- **Visualizing** – using images to reinforce, enliven, and even make your argument;
- **Formatting** – structuring a "frame" (a slide) that uses both linguistic and visual elements.

The final presentation that you submit (and present to the class) must be in PowerPoint. Other visualization options like Prezi and Haiku Deck open a wealth of interesting and beautiful alternatives, but they are not allowed for this assignment. And the reason is simple: in the professional workplace, you will be required to work in PowerPoint. It is the necessary evil of the contemporary workplace, and no matter how much better or more fun other presentation options may be, they simply don't work in professional environments. It is lamentable – agreed – but also the norm you must deal with.

Unpacking Images

To practice "reading" images – reading them for their cultural assumptions, reading them for their suitability for global audiences – we will begin by working in groups of four (again, assigned at random by your instructor). Each group will choose three ads – one for a business, one for a brand, and one for a consumer item. And you will look for different versions of these ads as they appeared in different countries. In your group, you will have students who are familiar with different cultures, and you should choose the ads from these cultures in order to explain their cultural appeal. Then, working together, you can discuss how these ads could be modified for global audiences.

We will spend one class period on this exercise; for the last ten minutes, groups will share specific ideas about how one ad could be globalized.

Choosing a Presentation to Globalize

For this assignment, you will choose a presentation from one of the following websites:

- **Slideshare** – This site contains countless PowerPoint presentations about business, technology, design, and more.
    - http://www.slideshare.net/?ss
- **Tutor 2 U** – This site has dozens of business and economics presentations designed to help teach students about principles of the disciplines.
    - http://www.tutor2u.net/presentations.asp

Alternatively, if there is a presentation that you really want to work on that is not found on either of these two sites, you may speak to your instructor about using it.

Of the many PowerPoint presentations you will find on these two sites, very few are appropriate for global audiences. Indeed, most have been created on a false assumption. This assumption holds that the creators of the slides, and the many audience members who will see them, all share the same reading patterns, habits, and preferences. And they assume that audiences will "get" what is implied by a visual or suggested by wordplay. This, of course, is incorrect.

So your first task is to start looking: Look for a presentation that can – and should – be edited in order to increase its potential global persuasive appeal. The presentation should be between 15-25 slides. If you find a longer presentation that you really want to work on, you may cut out some of the slides so it fits within these requirements.

All students will meet one-on-one with the instructor to discuss and finalize the choice of presentation. See "Presentation Proposal" below for more detail.

As previously mentioned, there are three primary skills this assignment is designed to test and develop. Each is discussed in detail below.

Editing for International Style

As we have discussed, rhetors can make certain stylistic choices to make their writing clearer, more readable, and more persuasive for global audiences. In the global setting, many readers – or, more likely, many auditors – may not speak English as a first language. The colorful, idiomatic expressions that intuitively "make sense" for first-language speakers may trouble speakers of other languages.

For guidance on creating "international style" English that avoids the pitfalls of idiomatic English, we have leaned heavily upon Edmond Weiss's *The Elements of International English Style* (2005). In this assignment, you will leverage Weiss's insights to revise a non-internationalized English-language presentation.

However, as we have discussed, Weiss's guidelines are not perfect. So your job as an editor will be to abide by Weiss's guidance when it makes sense, but also to alter or reject it when it does not. There is no requirement or quota for how many times your group must accept or decline Weiss's advice, but you are certainly encouraged to think through what's appropriate. As discussed below, part of this assignment is to offer an "editing narrative." In the narrative, you will detail how and why you rejected or adhered to Weiss's guidelines.

Finally, one of the trickiest parts of this revision is to internationalize the style without completely abandoning the tone of the original presentation. Weiss, as we have discussed, does not offer much advice in this regard. But as businesses, non-profits, and other organizations go through great lengths to establish an organizational *tone* and *style* (just like you did with your Mission Statement), it is the rhetor's job to maintain it while also internationalizing for greater global persuasive appeal.

You may also wish to code mesh. If you see an opportunity to use code meshing to increase the persuasive potential of your presentation, go for it. Code meshing and Weiss's "international style" do, of course, suggest opposing strategies. So be thoughtful about how you can bring the two together to create a persuasive text. It can certainly be done. And if done well, you will create a unique, distinct presentation.

Visualizing for Global Audiences

Perhaps Roland Barthes puts it best: "The language of the image is not merely the totality of utterances emitted…it is also the totality of the utterances received: the language must include the 'surprises' of meaning" ("Rhetoric of the Image" 47). But if Barthes isn't to your taste, perhaps William Horton is: Graphics are "not universal" and must be "expressly designed" in order to "bridge barriers of language and culture" (682).

Both Barthes and Horton suggest that visuals communicate variably across cultures, and audiences "read" meaning into and from images far differently than many rhetors expect. The global rhetor, thus, must learn to adapt to this variability and choose or create images with (at best) predictable and (at worst) minimally surprising connotative effect.

In this assignment, you will analyze the use of images in a presentation, and replace them, as necessary, so that the visualization is more appropriate for global audiences. Generally speaking, there will be five kinds of revision in this process:

1. **Doing nothing:** Some of the images may be perfectly suited for the global rhetorical situation, and you may choose to leave them exactly as they are.
2. **Substituting images**: Some images may be close, but not quite right. You may want to substitute them with a near-ish replacement. Simply copying and pasting images that you find through a Google search will run you into copyright issues. Some employers will be okay with this, and others won't. To be safe, use flickr.com for sourcing images. Flickr states very clearly whether images on its site are in the public domain and free for sharing.
3. **Deleting images:** Some of the images may be too culturally specific and unpredictable, and you may choose to delete them altogether.
4. **Creating new visuals:** Some of the arguments may not be visualized at all, and you may choose to add a completely new visualization.
5. **Changing modality:** Some of the visualization may be in the wrong modality, and you may choose to change it. Perhaps a line-graph is better replaced with a photograph – or vice versa.

As you revise the images, you may want to consider creating new images for the presentation. You can use the graphic capabilities within PowerPoint; you can search the internet for appropriate images; or you can use Photoshop or another program to create images from scratch. Like professional rhetors, you must figure out how to work most effectively within your constraints.

While it may seem like a group with Photoshop skills holds an innate advantage over a group without them, this is not the case. There are millions of Photoshop-rich slides out there that show how poorly things can go. The challenge for this assignment is exactly the challenge you will face professionally: how to do the best you can with the resources you've got.

Formatting a Frame with Visual and Linguistic Elements

The University of Maryland's homepage says it all: in the top-left-hand corner, the University's spherical logo sits. Just to its right, the university's name is spelled out in its usual slim and elegant font. Just below is the homepage's main attraction: a scrolling set of images and text to tell the visitor "what's happening now" – a new recycling initiative, the buildup for Maryland Day, an event sponsored by a famous alumnus. The Maryland homepage is structured in a way that is fully predictable. Structurally, it looks just like ESPN.com, Yahoo.com, BBC.co.uk, and countless other English-language websites.

The global rhetor, thus, faces a challenge when creating visuals that contain multiple elements – what is the best way to arrange the visual so that numerous, various audiences will understand the grammar? As your group revises, consider the grammar of your visuals, and edit so that the revision can work in a global rhetorical situation. We have seen how some organizations create their websites accordingly –

Honda.com, as one example – and in your editing narrative, you should detail the rationale for your choices, and note the sources of influence.

Audience and Purpose

You and your partner will inherit the rhetorical situation of the original presentation, but it should also be modified to be global:

- The speaker will remain the same;
- The occasion will be largely similar, though more global in scope;
- The audience will be – of course – global.

But though the occasion and the audience have become global (or are at least finally being recognized as such), it is important to keep the "stakes" relatively the same. There may be a tendency to think: *If this presentation must adapt from a local situation to a global one, it must be more important and of greater consequence.* While global audiences may indicate increased stakes at certain times, this is not always the case. As we have discussed, the global rhetorical situation is becoming the norm in professional workplaces, and it is very important to recognize that everyday communication can and should be recognized as potentially global.

Delivering the Presentation

You and your partner will deliver the presentation to the class. And you will do so not as students who have edited the presentation, but as if you were the actual speakers. You will fill the role of professional rhetor – and your classmates will be your global audience. Each presentation should be 7-8 minutes.

After you give your presentation, you will spend another 7-8 minutes talking the class through your editing rationale. Specifically, tell us why you decided to edit certain images:

- Which images from the original were highly specific to a single culture? "Unpack" these images for us, and explain how they were designed to appeal to a specific set of cultural values (that you understand and are familiar with). Then, explain your substitutions.

Also, explain why you made certain linguistic revisions:

- Which components of the original argument – either rhetorical or linguistic – did you think were especially problematic for global audiences?
    - Did you have to revise *how* the argument was being made?
    - Or did you have to give it a major stylistic revision?

Editing Narrative

When you submit the slides to your instructor, you will also turn in an "editing narrative." This narrative (4-5 pages) will detail the rhetorical choices you made as you edited:

- What language changes did you make? Why did you make those choices? What theories or insights informed these decisions?
- How did you change the visuals and the layouts? What specific changes did you make and why?

- What questions do you still have? What problems did you confront that you did not feel equipped to solve?

What to Submit

You and your partner will need to submit to the instructor:

- The original presentation;
- The revised presentation;
- Speaker notes for the presentation (if you made them; and making them is optional)
- Editing Narrative

How You Will Be Graded

- Presentation Revision: 50%
- Editing Narrative: 30%
- Presentation delivery: 10%
- Project Proposal: 10%

Working in Groups

You will work in groups of two – and your partner will be assigned by the instructor at random. If you end up partnered with someone you have worked with before, your instructor will find you a new partner.

Project Proposal

To get started, you and your partner will complete a two-part project proposal (see the end of this handout for both templates). For the first one, you will identify three potential presentations, and you will answer a few questions about each. Then you will schedule a ten-minute office session with your instructor to discuss. For the second one, you will draft a revision strategy and submit to your instructor. You will receive written feedback designed to help you as you revise.

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GLOBALIZING A MULTI-MODAL PRESENTATION
PROJECT PROPOSAL PART 1:
IDENTIFYING THE RIGHT PRESENTATION.
BRAINSTORMING REVISIONS.

Group Members: _____

This first project proposal is intended to help you engage in a constructive dialogue with your instructor so that you can 1) choose the right presentation to globalize, and 2) begin brainstorming about how you will go about revising. After this first meeting with your instructor, you and your partner will begin work on a second project proposal – one that charts out a revision strategy that you and your partner can execute.

In this first proposal, you are to identify three potential presentations that you are interested in revising. For each, answer the questions below. Then, bring this to the meeting with your instructor.

Presentation 1:

What is the title?

What is the rhetorical situation of the original presentation?

- Speaker:
- Audience:
- Occasion:
- Rhetorical goal:

What is the argument that the presentation is making?

What rhetorical techniques have you identified as particularly "local" or culturally specific?

What are some revisions you could make to give the presentation greater global persuasive appeal?

1.
2.
3.

Presentation 2:

What is the title?

What is the rhetorical situation of the original presentation?

- Speaker:
- Audience:
- Occasion:
- Rhetorical goal:

What is the argument that the presentation is making?

What rhetorical techniques have you identified as particularly "local" or culturally specific?

What are some revisions you could make to give the presentation greater global persuasive appeal?

1.
2.
3.

Presentation 3:

What is the title?

What is the rhetorical situation of the original presentation?

- Speaker:
- Audience:
- Occasion:
- Rhetorical goal:

What is the argument that the presentation is making?

What rhetorical techniques have you identified as particularly "local" or culturally specific?

What are some revisions you could make to give the presentation greater global persuasive appeal?

1.
2.
3.

***

GLOBALIZING A MULTI-MODAL PRESENTATION
PROJECT PROPOSAL PART 2:
CHARTING A REVISION STRATEGY

Group Members: _____

This second project proposal is intended to help you discuss with your instructor your revision strategy. After meeting with your instructor for the second time, you should be ready to begin the revision process. You may, of course, check in with your instructor during office hours, but this proposal and the feedback that you receive on it should enable you and your partner to create a clear, executable revision strategy.

Editing the language:

- Do you think you need to add or remove any of the "linguistic messages"? Is there enough text that appears on the slides to aid second-language readers but not so much that it is overwhelming?

- What is your assessment of the language? What is the style and tone of the original? What specific elements of the style and tone do you think you will need to maintain even as you internationalize?

- Are there any overarching metaphors or tropes that are integral to the argument but that might be inappropriate for global audiences? If so, how might you revise?

Visualizing for Global Audiences:

- What is your overall assessment of the presentation's use of images? How will this assessment, generally speaking, guide you as you revise?

- Identify two images in particular: one that you think is appropriate for global audiences, and one that is not. For each, explain why – and ensure that this explanation connects to the rhetorical situation that you identified in Project Proposal 1.

- What is your strategy for replacing images? Are you going to find, create, borrow images? Some combination?

Formatting the frame:

- Some presentations use a consistent visual grammar. Others are less disciplined and the grammar varies from slide to slide. Does this presentation use a consistent grammar? If so, what is it? If not, what is its predominant grammatical style?

- Will you create a new visual grammar for the presentation? Or is there a visual grammar already being used that can – and should – be carried through?

***

FINAL ASSIGNMENT:
RESPONDING TO A REQUEST FOR PROPOSALS (RFP)

Length: 15-18 pages, including text and images
Draft for Peer Workshop: DATE
Final Draft for Instructor: DATE

Overview

This final assignment is the capstone of our course. It requires you to combine, as appropriate, all of the tactics you have learned thus far. For this assignment, you and a partner will respond to an RFP (Request for Proposals).

RFPs are issued by organizations when they are seeking vendors to execute specific projects. It is common for both public- and private-sector organizations to issue RFPs, and they are – for better and worse – something that professionals must learn to conquer. RFPs can be huge, time-consuming, headache-inducing paths to nowhere. Or they can be avenues to business growth and development.

But one thing about RFPs is certain: they present a unique rhetorical challenge that you will encounter in the professional workplace.

The Assignment

With a partner, you will create a proposal that responds specifically to a "real world" RFP. Given the nature of this course and the goals we have been striving towards, you and your partner will be required to find and respond to an RFP that is either 1) issued from a global organization, or 2) issued by an organization that would have a review board populated by members from various linguistic and rhetorical traditions. To find an actual RFP that you wish to respond to, you should search online. There are websites that collect RFPs, and these are good places to start:

- The RFP Database – www.rfpdb.com
- Find RFP – www.findrfp.com
- Philanthropy News Digest – http://www.philanthropynewsdigest.org/rfps

You may also wish to look for specific global organizations like Amnesty International, the Children's Investment Fund Foundation, Doctors Without Borders, or the United Nations Foundation. Local governments are also regular issuers of RFPs. Cities like New York, Los Angeles, Toronto, and London – to name only the most obvious ones – would want an RFP in English, but would be certain to have multilingual readers reviewing the submissions. Looking at RFPs issued by these cities will yield a number of results. You'll probably want to narrow your search with terms like *transportation, healthcare, education,* etc. based on what you're looking for and what you're interested in.

You can also look at global businesses. Think of organizations that you admire or want to be a part of. Chances are they've got some RFPs floating around out there.

Finally, you can also try keyword searches. Things like "RFP travel tourism," "RFP engineering services," "RFP women economic development" will also turn some things up.

While you and your partner don't need to find an RFP that is currently open, you should find one that is at least recent. Again, given the abundance of RFPs out there, this shouldn't be too difficult.

Then, you and your partner will create a proposal that answers the questions raised in the RFP. Ideally, you will try to answer it specifically, but you may need to make some adjustments to meet the requirements of this assignment. You will meet with your instructor once before deciding on which RFP you will answer, and all potential modifications can be discussed and agreed upon in this meeting. If a second meeting is required, you can schedule this with your instructor.

Assignment Specifications

RFPs are like snowflakes: they're all different, and they disappear quickly. Nevertheless, the best proposals responding to RFPs usually contain:

- An introductory "landscape assessment" – a unique, informed analysis of the organization's situation (the organization that is issuing the RFP) and a vision for how the landscape is changing;
  - And, importantly, an argument for how these changes open opportunities that have yet to be recognized, much less captured.
  - Done best, the landscape assessment offers a perspective on how the world is changing, not just a claim that it is. In other words, the landscape assessment should say *what* these changes mean, not just *that* they're occurring.

- A brief discussion of who you (the organization writing the proposal) are and why you are qualified;
  - Of course, you will need to make this up, as you and your partner are not a certified company. Here, you have two choices: Identify a small firm and write as if you are members of that firm or make up your own firm.

- A mix of linguistic and visual argumentation;
  - The best proposals specifically answer each of the questions that the RFP raises, but they also go a step further and identify places where new, untapped opportunities lie.
  - To best execute these two functions, you'll have to think through how you want to argue: Which claims are best made in language? Which should be visualized? Which require a combination of both?

- Speak to the audience; align your values with theirs, and frame your mission and objective so that it complements theirs;

- You may be able to identify exactly who the audience will be through online research, or you may only be able to estimate it based on close readings of parts of the organization's website. Either way, however, it is critical to show the readers that you – and your organization – are a vendor with whom they should do business.

As you outline your paper, you will need to consider *how* you want to make your arguments. In the previous four assignments for this course, we have tested various rhetorical and linguistic techniques: the argument from definitional essence, the argument from shared values and beliefs, code meshing, and "global style" for visuals and language. In this final RFP, you will need to bring all of these elements together. Your final RFP will need to include an argument from definitional essence and an argument from shared values and beliefs. Throughout the essay, as you craft the style of your narrative voice, you will be tasked with writing in an "international style," as Weiss calls it, but you will also need to give your voice some dimensions of character. Code meshing is one way to do so. In other words, use your multilingual capabilities to your advantage; use them to persuade your audience that your organization is uniquely qualified to pursue the work they need.

If you feel that the RFP you are responding to stubbornly refuses to allow one of these global rhetorical techniques, please see your instructor. You may be right. And if you are, then you certainly will not be required to use an argumentative strategy that would harm your overall persuasive impact.

Peer Editing

Two full class sessions will be dedicated to peer editing. Each group will partner with another group, and you will spend one class period focused exclusively on one group's paper, then the next class period will focus on the other group's paper. The idea here is to give a full, dedicated hour to reading and thoroughly analyzing the paper. There will be a lot to discuss, and we do not want to rush. For the peer editing session:

Those whose papers are being edited should:

- Share a draft of the paper 24 hours in advance, either electronically or printed out, including:
  - A pdf or printed out copy of the RFP to which you are responding
    - Do not rely on a hyperlink, as RFPs can often be taken down and the links become "dead."
  - A list of questions you want your editors to consider as they read and think about your argument.
  - A brief description of who you are – as the organization writing the proposal.

Those who are editing should:

- Read all the material before the class, including the RFP, the draft proposal, the list of questions, and the organization's bio.

- Come to class ready to lead the conversation.

How You Will Be Graded

As the capstone assignment of this course, the bulk of your grade will come from the final proposal that you submit to your instructor. This assignment is designed to elicit – and test – all the skills you have developed thus far, and the grading will break down as follows:

- Proposal to instructor and peer editing: 10%
- Final Proposal: 90%

You and your partner will receive the same grade for the assignment. If this seems unfair, it shouldn't. This course is designed to prepare you for the kinds of writing you will do in the professional workplace, and you will be evaluated, as a professional, by the work you do in teams. This method of grading parallels exactly how you will be professionally evaluated (and compensated!), so even if it is difficult, it will, one hopes, prepare you for what lies ahead.

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