

# The rhetoric of economics

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2010

Online at http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/35030/ MPRA Paper No. 35030, posted 26. November 2011 / 02:45

# The rhetoric of economics

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This paper is an updated version of: *Language and argumentation in the controversy Economic* [2010]

#### Abstract

This article offers an approach to the general structure of the rhetoric in economy. In our case we adopted a perspective to study a particular aspect of the rhetoric that comes from the context of a particular controversy: the controversy on the advantages of the free commerce between Daly and Bhagwati. It is sustained that the positions in economy present with relative frequency interest conflicts that are revealed in the dialectic one of the arguments. A proponent in open defense of the free commerce is not released of presumptions reflected in the field of the rhetoric. Reason why to include the language dimensions of the argumentation in economy has advantages for the field of the explanation and the epistemology in the social sciences.

**Keywords**: rhetoric, language, argumentation, theory economics, epistemology, public choice, decision theory.

#### Introduction

This article aims to propose an analysis of patterns of argumentation in economics<sup>1</sup>. Since the works of MacCloskey, Hirschmann, Ovejero, Kotonzian, epistemology of economics has found it necessary to raise the issues arising from the language. In particular, look at the history of concepts as part of its extensive and complex dialectic and evolution. Argumentation schemes are understood here as the structures that show rhetorical techniques by which a theory or a thought are structured to put a position or point of view.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Recall that MacCloskey Donald (1987) and Stettler (1995) found in a broad context the impact that the rhetoric is in the theoretical justification and in the debates on economic policy. The merits of both authors suggest that the economy is developed with relative frequency in an area contaminated by the interests, rather than strictly rational calculation purposes. Place the categories of the economy in the rhetorical dimension involves both the dynamic nature of the discipline throughout history.

The main aim is to discuss a problem of economic theory and language in mind two issues raised by A. Rubinstein  $(2000)^2$ .

• *Why economic theory can be relevant in matters of language?* Economic theory is trying to explain regularities of human interaction and the more fundamental non-physical regularity in human interaction is natural language. Economic theory discussed in detail the design of social systems, the language is partly a communication mechanism. The purpose of explaining the social institutions like regularities derived from the idealization of certain functions, something similar happens with language. Using the argument as a general framework our goal is to illustrate the relevance of economic thought for the study of language. And this purpose is illustrated with a specific discussion between Daly and Bhagwati about the possibilities and limits of free trade.

• Why economic theory can be relevant as a research objective from the point of view of the argument? Because traders are human beings for whom the argument is a central tool in the process of forming judgments and making decisions. And also, other central activity of economic theory, significant *per se* among theorists, is the use of formal models. Only models in economics are not only mathematicians, their importance lies rather in their interpretation, which is normally expressed using everyday language.

Offer an approximation to the structure of the debates in economics. In our case we adopt an approach to study a particular aspect of the rhetoric that comes from the context of a particular discussion: the debate about the advantages of free trade between Daly and Bhagwati.

We argue that economic positions relatively frequently conflicts of interest, as revealed in the dialectic of the arguments. An open position in defense of free trade (Bhagwati) is not free from biases and assumptions reflected in the field of rhetoric. Similarly to reverse positions (Daly). In other words, we sustain that understanding the rhetorical dimensions of discourse among economists has advantages for the field of explanation and epistemology<sup>3</sup>.

# **Rhetoric Schemes**

The schema concept has had wide influence on argumentation theory. For a review see Garssen (2001). The most significant contributions, however, come from the work of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Although the subject has a different approach Rubinstein its overall framework of analysis has helped us to locate the basic terms of the methodology employed. I did not know this work of Rubinstein and according to the consultation, the materials in this specific field of economic metatheory just beginning to be revealed in our midst. See Ariel Rubinstein: Economics and Language, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Since he should demonstrate the theory of Perelman/Tyteca argument field new rhetoric has been systematized with novel approaches. Pragmadialectics of Eemeren & Grootendosrt is a systematic extension of the originally planned in the context perelmaniano (2003).

Douglas Walton (1996). As this author has designed a technical argument scheme takes the form of an inference rule.

Consider, such as, the flowing outline of epistemic reasoning:

The person W says that p

The person W is in a position to know p

Then (presumably), p

A point of support for the conclusion is our assumption that people usually tell the truth. Another illustration is presented by Albert Hirschman in describing the theory of risk in Hayek's book, The Road to Serfdom (1938) as follows:

- People generally can not agree more that a few common tasks,
- to be democratic government must be consensual;
- *democratic government is possible only when the government therefore confined their activities to the few things that people can agree,*

• when the State seeks to undertake substantial more features, you'll find that you can only do it by coercion, and both freedom and democracy will be destroyed

The basic structure of the argument is remarkably simple: any tendency to expansion of government power is intended to threaten freedom.

For Hirschman, within this framework of Hayek's argument is mobilized much of the rhetoric of risk the welfare state.

In the cases cited, argument schemes do not depend on its logical form but content. A majority of argumentative schemes express epistemic principles (like the scheme on the authority of the expert) or principles of practical reasoning (such as the risk of Hayek's thesis.) Therefore, in different contexts have different techniques of argumentation. Argumentative schemes are regularly supplemented with recommendations on applications

in specific fields. But its conclusions may be controversial. Is it really jurisdiction W p? Or the analytical questions are declared Hirschman against the premises of Hayek can you have a conclusive character? In this case, Hirschman is conclusive: "It's like if we could dispense with the demonstration of any causal link more persuasive once we can draw a sequence of emergency-and-drop as well-timed: there will be a collective leap to the conclusion that the two are intimately related".

As can be inferred, the possibility to contest the findings of an argumentative scheme makes a point of view to have a provisional character. Thus "the person W may be reliable in some fields of knowledge, but unreliable in others." The expansion of care services by the State does not necessarily bring misfortune. Reason why the arguments are refutable schemes is that they can enter the same incompatibility with applications, or other schemes argument.

Specifically, the limitations on the welfare state in the causal chain of Hayek's argument had serious consequences, as noted by Albert Hirschman in *Rhetoric's of Intransigence*. An objection to the scheme may be raised in terms of the topics of debate, the circumstances, the information provided by the opponent or as Schopenhauer says, "simply can attack the opponent's reputation."It has been reported that the patterns of argumentation are classified according to their content. However, from the logical point of view, they can be transformed into cases of logical inference rules by means of connectors between premises and conclusions, using the premises are subject to refutation same we have for the cases referred to the following schemes:

The person W says that p

The person W is in a position to know p

People who are in a position to know say the truth

Then (presumably), p

The schemes that take this form are cases of modus ponens rule refutable, or types of cases that have come to be formalized in various systems of nonmonotonic logic (Horty 2001):

P If P then usually Q

#### then (presumably), Q

This scheme can be attacked by arguing that there is an exception to the rule, if P then usually Q (such as, P & R then usually non-Q). However, the logical reconstruction of argumentative schemes does not cover the field of force of argument. As illustrated, two argumentative schemes may have a structure similar to the cases of modus ponens refutable, each with its own form of effective criticism. The case *Hayek* widely discussed by Hirschman (2001, 97-150) has the merit of breaking down institutional and political extent of welfare state model.

# Justification

Argumentation schemes feature prominently in the history of economic thought, as explained by Marcelo Dascal (1997). An interpretation of Malthus-Ricardo debate that Dascal and Cremaschi (1999) developed from the structural sequence of correspondence among economists allows derive some methodological considerations that support our approach:

1. *The pragmatic dimension of the rhetoric* The analysis of the debate between Malthus-Ricardo stressed the importance of context for understanding different viewpoints. Questions and answers about the proper methodology to interpret data. This context is important to see the evolutionary trend of thought empiricist Malthus, who gave emphasis to the need to quantitatively check the relations between population growth and the amount of food. While Ricardo, methodological objectivity asked to attend a priori calculation models in the investigation. Investigate not only have empirical data. The study about Dascal develop-Cremaschi, suggests difficulties on the "scientific rationality" in the strict sense. A reading of this correspondence suggests that this debate between Malthus and Ricardo, there were no winners or losers. The evidence is inconclusive and demonstration (Dascal, Cremaschi, 1999). This means: patterns of argument may contain a pragmatic justification. And in these cases, both the premises and the conclusion have a controversial nature. Develop specific studies can give to the discovery of types of argumentation.

2. The debate is how it has taken on a majority of cases the *deliberation of collective decisions*. What distinguishes the debate of another kind of choice is that the agents use the rhetoric. Moreover, market mechanisms include key aspects such as each motivations and publicity in the mainstream media. The results of a debate depend not only on the charisma of the participants, but also the quality and strength of the arguments. An auditorium or a

consumer market can be manipulated with misleading information, how to distinguish in these cases lies?

With the exception of the work of Dascal (1997, 1999, 2002) and MaCcloskey (1987), Aragones (2001), economic theorists have not attempted a formal approach to the layout of the argumentation<sup>4</sup>.

On the contrary, references to the rhetoric are often accompanied by prejudices inherited from the academic world. The rhetoric is confused with ornaments of language that lack the precision of the discipline itself<sup> $\delta$ </sup>.

What makes the debate difficult to model is its relative lack of a homogeneous structure, when compared with the principles of physics or mechanics<sup>6</sup>. There are no criteria to decide rhetorical force of an argument in economics by appealing only to the arguments. But precisely because it is a language between common sense and mathematical modeling is that the analysis of the economic argument is relevant<sup>7</sup>.

# **Components of the debate**

In general, the debate goes two steps from the point of view of their process. In the first phase participants use logical rules to transform data and information in units of arguments that depend on the case. In other words, the arguer intends to select the arguments related to the theme of his speech. The second phase relates to the rules of persuasion that chooses to be admitted into the auditorium. This process has the rhetorical conditions that will decide the persuasive force that may have different arguments<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> There is literature on strategic information and communication games are called "debates", but actually have nothing to do with the rhetoric of communication.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The theme of the argument in economics that is proposed in this paper is indirectly related to two jobs. The first MaCcloskey Douglass, If you're so smart (1987), the second of Albert Hirschman, *Rhetoric's of Intransigence* (2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Inc., Melvin J., Munger, Michael C., 2003. *Teoría analítica de la política*, Barcelona, Gedisa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The theory of argumentation is to study various rhetorical patterns that ensure adherence to the statements that present a speaker before an audience (Perelman, 1958, 1963, 1979, 1989, 1997). These schemes play a central role in analyzing conditions as clarity, coherence and strength of the arguments (Leo Apostel, 1978, Lorenzen and Lorenz, 1978). In this sense, the new rhetoric is designed as a powerful analytical tool which helps to study the status and relations of categories such as "persuasive force", "discourse", "involvement dialectical" or "illocutionary significance." (Searle, 1989; Frans H.van Eemeren & Rob Grootendorst, 1992). Getting extend understanding of this theoretical framework is part of investigations into the argument over the 90 (Roth, 2003). This objective has progressively specialized in disciplines distinctive formal studies (Roth, 2003). Recent modeling work argumentative schemes in basic sciences and interpret the dialectic of scientific dialogue in text understanding.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In general, there are three types of argument in the theoretical debate: the discussion, the dispute and controversy. Here we only present a summary view, and we avoid technical details (Engelhard and Caplan, 1987; Dascal, 1995; Gross, 1990). These correspond to ideal types, i.e. the actual arguments and discussions combine their unique characteristics. In some cases, the mixture is diffuse, the argument gives rise to the

The discussions can be developed independently and complementary. An election campaign in which they discussed the conditions for carrying out a tax reform can generate a debate on two occasions:

1. *Parallel sessions:* Different issues may be discussed in different places and in front of different audiences.

2. *Plenary session*: The matters discussed in one place and to all other candidates.

The sessions will lead possibly to three sessions around the subject field. A session devoted to defending the supporters of reform, a debate dedicated to those who oppose and another session of debate to-face confrontation of ideas. The data used in each case will be similar. However, it will be noted in the various arguments in favor of different mechanisms.

For example, "the need to balance fiscal accounts of the nation" is an argument which some people expected the reforms, or "hit the pockets of the needy", an argument of those opposed to it. This phenomenon is most visible when the debate is set. Separately, each participant may have opposing views. What led us to consider, as has been emphasized that the discussions depends on the circumstances under which they are addressed the issues.

However, there is a dichotomy between the rules of persuasion and the rules of argumentation. Argument rules find the set of arguments that are valid for each one of the parties in the various stages of debate. The point to emphasize is the consistency condition that will keep the parts in the parallel sessions and a plenary debate.

Discussions evolve over time. Its basic unit is the rapport between a speaker (P) and an opponent (O), four times, which can be represented as P-O-P \*-O\* (Pereda, 1994; Lorenzen and Lorenz, 1978)<sup>9</sup>. The real debates than the basic units in the political debates in the media; the game between the speaker and his opponent depends on other participants, the time of the themes, rating. The argumentation cycles may exceed a generation or an era.

The thematic debate and argument can evolve with changes in perspective, new tests, different settings and people (Dascal, 2002)<sup>10</sup>. However, in some cases can last the thematic

dispute may end in dispute or, mutatis mutandis, a heated dispute may lead to calm controversy. Before we refer to conditions which in some cases have no way verbal communication acts preceding arguments and the same, we refer to the assumptions that have to each speaker and opponent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The classical model, which comes from the scholastic *disputatio* conserved with slight variations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In the case of natural science illustration of the historical examples of Thomas Kuhn in his seminal work is overwhelming. The subjects of normal science and scientific revolution, paradigm and incommensurability

principle, although the subs come out of the original field. In such cases, the criteria to frame the debate are not precise and may need vague notions such as "thematic affinity" or "family resemblance" (Sartori, 1998)<sup>11</sup>.

The debates differ in their dynamics and their contents as they amplify those issues over time. The discussions tend to stay linked to the original topic, within shorter time limits. Both debates and disputes are characterized by changes in emphasis, which involve the subject of the dispute and the meta-level of understanding.

The debates are not static in another key aspect: can change depending on the types of argument overlap of interests argue. These changes are noted in the modification of the original problems, strategies and rhetoric. A discussion can evolve into controversy when the contenders are willing to revise their assumptions and in dispute, when criticisms of his arguments are a sign of irrationality or bad faith of his opponent. Disagreements in the discussions and disputes were common among the opponents, and the call for "balance" is often overlooked<sup>12</sup>.

If the debate is obvious changes that change the conclusions. You can solve disputes discussions and dissolve, but a debate in most cases is not conclusive. In the debate, the modes of argument can be made that the conclusions are always provisional. This field of transformation of the field argument can be the basis for a conflict resolution strategy (or for emphasis).

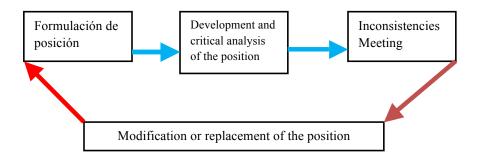
Regarding the debate is misleading to assume that each party has an interest in questioning tacit assumptions and arguments of his opponent and thereby pave the way for radical change. It is right that in the debate, unlike the dispute, rationality precedence over selfish desires or manifestations of verbal aggression. A debate may heat up the mood of the containers without loss of analytical capacity to continue among themselves the order of the arguments.

along with categories of time, movement, space, body, world, etc., Provide material for the study of the debates in science that has been developed by several investigators (Gross, 1990).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Epistemic or ethical risks are relative, in any case, it incurs the danger of too much relaxation of the themes and concepts, an elongation category type dog-cat states as Sartori (1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> This is illustrated by many examples of policy and management of armed conflict in Colombia. See (Rangel, 1998; Gómez Buendía, 1999; B. Salazar, 1996).

During the development cycle of debate dialectical argumentation schemes can be displayed graphically in the figure below:



The development of a proponent can be an endless task that takes the form of a dialectical cycle of the type displayed in the previous figure. In economics as in the social sciences is difficult to manage to find a natural point of rest in which everything that can be argued has been argued. Undoubtedly, the conditions are more complex at first. For example, an objection that is usually the opponent in front of the thesis is that "it is not clear," and is intended to be judged until their assumptions are branched and elaborated with supporting arguments.

To some extent, always stay programmatic discussions. At each stage there is a presumption imperfectly developed, on which work is carried out improvements that overcome difficulties and remove inaccuracies. Moreover, this dynamic approach for change and development of theories in the natural sciences is one of the lessons of the work of Thomas S. Kuhn, especially in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1972)

#### The rhetoric on Free Trade

The debate over free trade and its scope has a long history which refers to the origins of political economy. In particular, it presents controversial history that has led to different types of economic and trade policies by countries. There have been various interpretations, even on the role of collective and individual action in the first expressions of trade.

A constant theme in the debate over free trade is that of tariffs. A measure that was used during the formation of modern nation states to protect their industries, a process that would end with the unification of Italy in 1861 and Germany ten years later. During their long hegemony, the current mercantilist got the concept of just price lost ground to the advancement of business and tariff impositions.

The defense of free trade<sup>13</sup>, according to the liberal socio-political discourse of the eighteenth century, the state had a number of purposes including to legitimate rights not infringe. The harmonious balance of society was the result of forces that seek their own benefit, maximizing pleasure and minimizing displeasure. This idea guides the competitive market, where vendors looking to get the highest price and the lowest consumers, bargaining in producing the balance.

The strength of this argument has been sustained until today. The industrialized countries declared the need to free international trade in pursuit of general welfare, although in practice take targeted measures to products from developing countries subsidize their economies. That is, those who seek to keep up tariffs, raises the need to keep up the employment level is not always specifying the type of job that is needed<sup>14</sup>.

In other words, we propose other arguments in favor of tariffs: national security reasons, goals of dubious benefit and protection to infant industries. The latter was one of the cornerstones of the policy of import substitution, which adopted most Latin American countries in the fifties, with mixed results. However, behind these policies are seeking to merge political pressures to economic groups that influence the central power or escape to international competition through concessions.

In the mid-eighties, they began to think of development without destruction, environmentalist's thesis to reconcile with the economic interests and the need of development. This idea was promoted by the United Nations Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* that coined the term "sustainable development". And in this case, the interdisciplinary approach and broad global debate gave the report, which invited to study the complex relationships between environment and development.

The concept of sustainable development in light of the report implies, among other things, the conceptualization of the ecologically possible through the critique of consumerism and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The main contribution of the Physiocrats was the description of the economic circuit, see Schumpeter (1968).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Before the 40s, the average tariff in industrial countries was around 40%. After six rounds (Geneva, 1947-1956, Annecy, 1949, Torquay, 1951, Dillon, 1962 and Kennedy, 1967) had fallen to 8%. The continued decrease moderately in the Tokyo Round (1979) and Uruguay (begun in 1986), with some obstacles, such as high tariffs in sectors and products of importance and frequent use of non-tariff measures. The latter, in its modern form, is very important as it is of technical garb.

technological ceiling abuse, to cross the threshold of environmentally acceptable in terms of environmental soundness; a clear proposal for economic growth in areas where necessary to meet basic needs and maintenance, where it has been achieved. It is a call to increase productive potential and equal opportunities (Garcia and Patiño, 1998).

The report was prepared for the Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, which left the Agenda XXI. It has the program to adapt the principles embraced by some 180 countries, specifically oriented toward the pursuit of sustainable development. However, good intentions made at the Rio Conference, there are many weaknesses, such has, privileging the economist sense of the ecology, the answer to the dominant conception of the anthropocentric, is based on unlimited growth and avoids the Differential reality demographic, economic and technological. This proponent, in general, has also been reflected in next summits.

In general, the relationship between international trade and the environment are complex, which was demonstrated in the famous panels (dispute resolution) on tuna fishing. More recently, the Earth Summit in Johannesburg all approved government commitments to stop the warming of the globe. Environmentalists and representatives of corporations approached their positions, thus opening up more realistic possibilities. The statements are important because they offer governments with responsibility goals. But they are not binding. The latter is shown by the Kyoto Protocol, supplementary document of the 1992 Rio Treaty, which seeks to reduce industrial emissions of gases that cause global warming. Moreover, the Bush administration rejected the treaty last year, while most industrialized countries chose to ratify it and act according to its terms.

# Daly versus Bhagwati

In the case we studied, we discuss whether international trade without restrictions, as proposed in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), damaging or protecting the environment (Scientific American, November 1993)<sup>15</sup>. Jagdish Bhagwati, a professor at Columbia University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, argues that trade liberalization is the best way to keep the environment while promoting prosperity and freedom. On the opposite side, Herman E. Daly, a World Bank economist and professor of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The World Trade Organization was born in 1995 as successor to the GATT, created after the Second World War. The latest round of negotiations the Uruguay-ran from 1986-1994; the case is studied in this work illustrates the debate of those years.

economics at the University of Louisiana, for whom free trade is an aggression against the environment and human welfare<sup>16</sup>.

# Thesis Bhagwati: In defense of free trade

According to Bhagwati, economists are baffled by the passion and ferocity, "given the lack of logic and evidence to explain environmental groups in their recent attacks on free trade and GATT, the institution that oversees the global trading system" (6-1). It is "tragic that the advocates of the two major causes of the nineties, trade and the environment, walk at loggerheads".

For him, "is an artificial conflict, in good measure? There are certainly some differences of principle between the two that do not support compromise: for some environmentalists, nature preserve is a self, while most economists believed that serves humanity. However, ussualy, discrepancies arise from misunderstandings. "We need to unmask the more obvious fallacies to dismiss it before tackling problems": (7-1).

The main focus of her thesis is: "Among the Environmentalists fear has spread that free trade will increase economic growth and environmental deterioration. This fear makes no sense: growth allows governments to raise taxes and increase resources for various purposes, including the moderation of pollution and general environmental protection. Without these revenues, little can be done, however pure the motives "(7-1). He adds: "The environmentalists want to intervene in trade policy to impose their own values on other communities and countries" (9-2).

In this explanatory statement, must be taken into account at least two details. First, there are many intentional aspects of the opponents. The disqualified for lack of evidence and logic, and gives them a selfish interest "to impose their own values." Second, it suggests a direct relationship between economic growth and environmental preservation.

# **Arguments derived**

The arguments from the arguments of Bhagwati schemes are summarized in seven points:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The analysis seeks to identify the heuristic function of the debate. Case was chosen for his political life and academic. The controversy spread in Scientific American, "Debates on the Free Trade", in November 1993. A decade later, the Bhagwati-Daly debate is particularly important because of the controversies regarding the final signing of the Free Trade of several Latin American countries with the United States.

1. The accusation is inaccurate (green) of symmetry between growth and pollution, "the net effect on the environment depends on the type of economic growth" (7-2). This argument is a critique of impoverishing growth. The paradox that a growing country may worsen their situation was observed by Edgeworth and rediscovered by Bhagwati. Something similar happens in agriculture increased production can be a curse for farmers as prices fall at the low elasticity of demand for agricultural products.

2. Free trade produces environmental improvements as a result of the change in the composition of production. Recall that the concept of production possibilities frontier paves the way for modern neoclassical theories. This boundary shows the greatest number of combinations of goods that the economy can produce given the reason endowments and technical expertise.

3. Environmentalists are wrong because there are two classes of environmental problems: the intrinsically domestic and international intrinsically (7-3). This argument reinforces the idea of integration between environmental and economic policy in a network of causes and effects within a larger system.

4. International differences in environmental law are perfectly natural (8-2). Industrialized countries may undermine any international agreements which are not signatories. And the differences in environmental regulations can decide the location of industries, especially in the case of multinational companies.

5. A specific environmental good can be more valuable to a poor country to one rich. India, such as, "[...] probably prefer drinking water to the benefits of a pharmaceutical company (8-3).

6. The moral of environmental activism has begun to disappoint their counterparts (9-3).

7. Environmentalists are reluctant to scientific evidence to decide whether it can ban the trade of a product (11-1). This argument shows that the debate on free trade and the environment has generated more heat than light.

#### Daly Thesis: the dangers of Free Trade

Herman Daly, founder and associate editor of Ecological Economics, develops his thesis as follows: "No political doctrine enjoys greater acceptance among economists that free trade, based on international specialization according to comparative advantage." However, it should be "reverse this assumption and choose to promote domestic production for domestic markets. It would come to the international market when right, without allowing never meddle in the affairs of a country where the risk of causing an environmental disaster and social "(12-1).

It usually draws a division between economists and ecologists, the former would be in favor of free trade and against the latter. But this bias distorts the debate. The real controversy revolves around the type of regulation and the legitimate goals.

The free trade advocates seek largest profits and production without looking at the social and environmental costs hidden "(12-2). By contrast, environmentalists and some economists (myself included) suspect that the environmental cost growth increases at a rate faster than that of the benefits of production, which makes us poorer not richer  $(12-2)^{17}$ .

The arguments in favor of free trade "faced with three basic goals of any economic policy: the efficient allocation of resources, their fair distribution and maintenance of a practical scale (sustainable) use of resources" (14-2). According to Daly, the first two are traditional goals in neoclassical economics, but the third, more recent, is linked to the ecological approach. "International trade creates problems unrestricted distribution of resources. That is, in the world of comparative advantage, described by Ricardo, the capital of a nation is at home, and only traded goods "(15-2). From the perspective of steady state, the author says, "the economy is an open subsystem in a finite ecosystem, zero growth and materially closed, matter is constantly circulated through the interior and only exchanges energy with the outside world" (16-2).

#### **Argumentation derived**

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The concept behind this argument is "environmental impact quotient (CIA) of GDP, or impact caused by each unit of national income. If the content of economic activity changes and each extra unit of GDP tend to consume less resource than the previous year, the CIA dropped.

The arguments from Daly are summarized in six points:

1. The defense of free trade is based on the law of comparative advantage, set the early nineteenth century by David Ricardo (12-2). The critical element implicit in this argument is that openness to international trade is costly: it takes fewer resources to divide to products with lower comparative advantage, and leads to human problems, social and political.

2. Economists have become dangerous to the earth and its inhabitants (12-3).

3. Supporters of free trade supported a policy that seeks to remove national borders to free flows of capital and goods (13-2).

4. The simple version of that specialization and trade are good for the sake of increasing per capita goods ignores the EU dimension of welfare (14-1).

5. In neoclassical economics, the efficient allocation of resources depends on accounting and full cost internalization (14-2).

6. International trade spatially isolate the costs and benefits of environmental exploitation and makes comparison difficult (17-2).

Having obtained a summary of the central arguments of each participant, we will develop specific comments that underscore the relevance of some schemes of argumentation and the nature their.

# Analysis

Schemes are varied and diverse arguments methodological positions between Bhagwati and Daly. Both authors advocate a degree of consistency, or at least affinity of their hypotheses. His overview of the problem retains classic guidance on free trade legacy of the tradition to which they belong, but its central conception of the advantages or disadvantages of distance from irreducible way on key points. Thinkers argue in favor of objectivity and the debate is proposed based on evidence by using historical examples.

In the framework we use to reconstruct this debate are not judged as factors the data or the statistics reported by Bhawati-Daly. On this point the chain of arguments can be indefinite. By contrast analysis is suggested as the structure and mechanisms of argumentation schemes as adequate resources for the interpretation of their positions. Moreover, when you're conducting a debate and any are the reasons given by the antagonists, each one is tempted to tilt in its favor those arguments that can prove their position. It follows that the accumulation of propositions that fit the paradigm professed and supporting data will be shown to the opponent in detail.

Each antagonist has an option to choose the reasons for their arguments and put them in a certain way in the eyes of the audience. Such options may be described within the schemes of argumentation in a systematic way. They are optional on the extent to which each participant can gain advantage by some scheme of argumentation. Decisions are always made under conditions in which the random result will always depend on the argumentative moves of the opponent. Argumentation schemes employed by each form the basic units of speech that defends or attacks.

In the Bhagwati-Daly debate argumentation schemes employed are based on disqualifications often keep their degree of subtlety. Bhagwati says: "The moral activism of environmentalists in the industrialized world has begun to disappoint their counterparts closer to the undeveloped countries, which accuse rich countries of ecological imperialism and denied that the Western nations have a monopoly of virtue" (9-3). For his part, Daly responds similarly, but with emphasis on the central thesis of the first: "The measures to do greater integration of national economies should be considered now as wrong, unless proved otherwise in specific cases "(17-3). In addition, Bhagwati says: "These requirements, the environmental law-reveal a lack of economic logic, as well as ignore political reality. Recall that the so-called subsidy to foreign products, by applying very restrictive environmental standards, is only implicit subsidy does not materialize "(9-2). Daly: "The economists are right in his insistence that nations continue programs to internalize costs in prices. But they err when they invite to trade freely with other countries that do not internalize their costs. If a country tries to tackle both policies at once, the conflict is obvious: free competition between countries with different ways to internalize the costs is unfair "(14-3).

In several passages of the debate appealed to the request in principle. We present a petition stating the principle that requires an earlier demonstration. For example, Bhagwati says: "Trade is age-old practice of institutions dealing with the promotion of which consolidated over many years of experience and reflection. Environmental protection, by contrast, is a recent effort of national and international institutions embryonic uncrystalized (6-2). The fascinating idea that carries the ruse of the argument is a downgrading of the antagonist for

reasons external to the same debate or, at least, not directly related, namely the existence at the time of an entity confers privileges of higher value. He adds: "The efficient policies, like free trade in general, should help protect the environment, not degrade" (7-1). By emphasizing placed in the soundness of the measure, "protecting the environment, not degrade," the argument is strained requires demonstration of freeing trade.

In the diagrams of Daly's argument also uses the same rhetorical effect: "The supporters of free trade using an argument based on the impermeability of national borders to capital to support a policy that aims to open those barriers increasingly fluid passage capital and goods "(13-2). Note the technique of attributing to the argument container in a principle of absolute terms. Another argument in the same direction: "But the absence of rules, says Daly, is not always good for politics. From my university teaching of the doctrine of free trade, I have some sympathy for his approach. I am concerned; however, now that our profession has been left dazzled by the results naturally beautiful and ignores the evidence-based policies, the economists have become dangerous to the Earth and its inhabitants "(12-3). This technique of argument has a special attraction. It combines various schemes of argumentation. Want to show two things: the arguer qualitatively compare gains and losses of the profession on two levels, the impact of the advantages of free trade and politics "goal" that tell the truth, is an assessment of taken his argument against extreme: "The economists have become dangerous".

A recurrent pattern of retorting argument to absurdity, this argument is to "flip the argument" of the antagonist, i.e., used against the argument that the opponent used in his defense.

Bhagwati writes: "The frequent and enormously expensive, advertising issued by environmental groups against the GATT shows that its resources far outweigh those of countries with economic difficulties, whose policies reject" (10-2). The argument again compare different areas. But the ploy used to exaggerate the differences between the advertising costs of environmental and economic difficulties of countries in need.

In the same vein, the following argument of Daly: "The truth is that, all things considered, free trade itself is an ecological imperialism in reverse. When firms produce covered by more permissive rules and sell their products elsewhere without penalty are pressuring countries to soften their harsh rules. In fact, unrestricted trade imposes lower standards "(15-2). Retaliation comes from the natural implications of extreme inconsistency between what they preach and what benefit countries that practice.

Another scheme of argument is the appeal to the sources of authority which, in the case under study, cites principles of classical authority recognized. Bhagwati appeals to Adam Smith to support his defense of free trade: "Trade has been central to economic thinking since Adam Smith discovered the specialty markets that sustain naturally. In the absence of spontaneous markets in pursuit of environmental protection should be created to try "(6-1). The appeal to authority legitimizes theoretical hypotheses.

As an exercise, pay attention to the contrast between the natural and spontaneous emergence of market specialization, and the artificiality of environmental causes. With this comparison, Bhagwati uses irony but with the subtlety of this defect rhetoric. Bhagwati also supported by the authority to attack their opponents: "Al Gore, vice president of the nation, wrote in Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit: According to the laws of trade, are sometimes considered unfair government subsidies to an industry, soft and ineffective implementation of measures to control pollution should be included in the definition of unfair commercial practices "(8-3). The appointment supports his thesis of the lack of economic logic and the inequity of preventive measures on the environment.

The outline of the argument from authority is not always resorted to the appointment of a reputable character theoretical or political, but to specific conditions. As in the Bhagwati following statement: "The environmentalists are reluctant to use scientific evidence to decide whether it can ban the trade of a product. The need to prove your own point of view is always a burden for those with political power to take unilateral action "(11-1). Facing the antagonist more reliable court is undermining the strength of their assumptions.

His opponent is no slouch, he resorts to such prestigious authorities as John Maynard Keynes and David Ricardo, the first, a reminder that the defense of national interests is a priority and, second, to criticize an argument for free trade, Comparative Advantage: "Removed from Keynes, proponents of the amendments to the GATT, proposed in the Uruguay round, not just want to play down domestic production, but also claim that the finances and all other services are predominantly international (12-2). An outline of argument that combines an appeal to the authority of experts from one side and on the other hand the use of retaliation to the absurd.

The deliberation also uses analog or metaphorical arguments. Daly: "The national economy should represent the international trade in dog and tail. However, the GATT seeks to tie the tails of all dogs with such force that would be the international hub that would direct the movement of each domestic dog (12-1). This argument is a brilliant blend of metonymy, metaphor, satire and skillfully woven by the author. Another expression of a similar tenor: "There is evidence that we have already crossed that threshold, the permissible level of

environmental damage and, like Alice through the looking-glass, the faster we run we linger over (17-1).

The analog support argumentative scheme is best seen in the following argument: "In the same way that an organism lives by consuming nutrients and excrete waste products, and an economy must, to some extent, deplete and pollute the environment" (16-3) They move sets of significant objects from a domain familiar to the listener to a level that can be relatively distant. Daly criticizes himself isolated vision of growth and development through another analogy with biology: "It's like a biologist, an animal considered as a circulatory system without regard to the gastrointestinal tract or lungs. Such people would be independent of their environment and size unimportant. If I could move, would be a perpetual motion machine "(16-3). The stratagem used to support analog until it becomes a powerful metaphor that causes irony in the reader.

Comparing these argumentation schemes is a step towards a comprehensive view of the aspects that join the core of the debate. There are several points of meeting, topics discussed variations and not affect the substance, as the need to improve economic conditions and quality of life.

# Conclusions

It has been suggested as the analysis of rhetoric schemes can be used so that it can improve our understanding of the strategies and movements of speaker and opponent in a debate. The works carried out only a first step. However, the results are important because they can lead to an important interdisciplinary work. The framework of this analysis is necessary to meet for the different paths that still confront those ideas in the economic argumentation the purpose was to explain an exemplary representation of this type of argument.

Le exposition of the arguments of Bhagwati - Daly served as a guide to analysis. Naturally believe offer the complexity of refuting his opponent from places that are a matter of debate. The cycles of argument, however, help you find key moments of the dialectical process. The full image will be a growing tree whose branches are clearly differentiated guidelines. The problems of theory to reconstruct the arguments go through the detailed construction of lines and sub-lines of the debate in general.

This article has extended the framework of argumentative research because it places the images of the process that are linking arrows and intercepting each other. A graphic model

of the debate in the argument can stimulate theoretical studies to applications in the reading of classic texts of the theoretical tradition in the economy, but we need more exercises to develop reconstruction as discussed here.

Roth (2003) presented an initiative for formalizing dialectical argumentation schemes from a like similar to that proposed by this text. Other related work (Ashley, KD 1990, Prakken, H. and Sarto 1998). The idea of dialectical argument comes from a tradition of interdisciplinary (Rescher, 1995). Recently work in Artificial Intelligence P. M. Dung (1995).

Since mathematical modeling and Mark Johnson have extended Simon Parson dialectical arguments in a dispute as part of a social dynamic between multi - computer agents. The text of Mark - Parson restates the need to renew the semantics to interpret the strategies of composition and decomposition of arguments between agents with bounded rationality (Johnson, Mark. W. & S. Parson, 2005).

A reconstruction of the debate in economics can display the proper conditions to merge a theoretical framework relevant field as collective decisions in social policy, such as.

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